

國立政治大學台灣研究英語碩士學程

International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies
College of Social Science
National Chengchi University

碩士論文

Master Thesis



臺灣婚姻移民經濟困境之研究
The Study of Economic Predicaments
of Marriage Migrants in Taiwan

學生：陳美芳

Student: Chen, Mei-Fang

指導教授：黃仁德

Advisor: Dr. Hwang, Jen-Te

中華民國九十九年一月

January, 2010

Acknowledgement

As playing multiple roles of a career woman, mother of three kids, and a housewife as I am, it is not only physical but also mental challenges for me to fulfill the master degree.

Through the process of studying, I used to suspend schooling temporarily for one and a half years due to imbalanced physical condition and ever considered that I probably could not make it. However, my advisor, Dr. Hwang, Jen-Te, continued instructing me and recommended me moving on; furthermore, my classmates—Claire and Cindy, and my colleagues—Pheobe, Qun-Hua, Shu-Hui, Shu-Chuan, Yu-Fang, Mei-Hui, and Hui-Ying encouraged and assisted me frequently. Moreover, the suggestions that the committee members of my thesis review, Dr. Huang, Chintan and Dr. Chen, Jennjou provide me do help me a lot. Most of all, my family such as my parents, my elder brother, Guanzhu, and sister, Mei-Long encouraged me all the time. Especially, my dearest husband, Major, and lovely kids, Edward, Anita, and Alex are my biggest support and everlasting energy source. Here I sincerely appreciate all the various kinds of contributions that you have offered for my thesis completion and degree attainment.

Nowadays, to obtain a master degree is no longer a goal hard to reach as it used to be. Nonetheless, it is still like a tug of war of endurance and willpower to some degree. Just as an old saying says “nothing is impossible to a willing heart.” Only if you try hard then you will make it. Fortunately, I finally realize one of my objectives in the present stage of my life.

Abstract

Migration has been a globally prevailing phenomenon through human history, which urges multilateral activities and prompts diverse concerns among sourcing and receiving nations in different arena simultaneously. Marriage migration is one of the common migratory patterns; wherein women constitute the main part of marriage migrants as dependents proportionately. The female marriage migrants and their economic plights are the target of this study.

Three aims of this study are to examine the status of marriage migrants; to discover marriage migrants' influence; and to analyze marriage migrants' economic predicaments and propose suggestions for the government and further study.

Aside from secondary data analysis and the vertical and parallel comparison, two additional analytic tools are used to elicit effects of migrants' employment and estimate causes and strategies of migrants' economic predicaments.

The conclusions are that the source of marriage migrants are women from less-developed nations; the transnational marriage is generally poverty combination in Taiwan; the possibility to ease economic plight depends on the job supply and access; marriage migrants entering employment benefits on mixed families; the variables of marriage migrants' labor participation are multiple; and the opportunity to have a new and better life attracts women to migrate via marriage.

In addition, several suggestions are proposed for further researchers: to refine the variables analysis method for marriage migrants' labor participation; to study marriage migrants' post-employment situation; and to emphasize migration forced by global warming and climate change. For the government, the suggestions are: to list migrant employment promotion programs on policy agenda and to make professional training channels and job supply more accessible and affordable for migrants.

CONTENTS

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 The Motive and Purpose of the Study.....	4
1.2 The Major Issue and Background.....	5
1.3 Research Framework.....	12
1.4 Research Methods and Procedures.....	13
Chapter 2 Literature Review	15
2.1 Theoretical Foundation.....	16
2.1.1 Migration Theory from Economic Aspect.....	16
2.1.2 Migration Theory from Political Aspect.....	17
2.1.3 Marriage Theory.....	18
2.2 International and Domestic Research on Migration.....	19
2.2.1 International Migration in the Globe.....	20
2.2.2 Women Migration in the Globe.....	23
2.3 International and Domestic Research on Marriage Migration.....	27
2.3.1 Marriage Migration in the Globe.....	28
2.3.2 The Impacts of International Migration.....	30
2.3.3 Marriage Migration in Taiwan.....	35
2.3.4 The Second Generation of International Marriage Families.....	42
2.3.5 The Impacts of Marriage Migrants.....	43
2.3.6 The Development and Amendment of Migration Policies and Service Measures.....	45
2.3.7 Wives or Workers?.....	49
2.3.8 The Motives and the Incentives for Marriage Migration.....	51
2.4 Summary.....	54
Chapter 3 The Economic Predicaments of Marriage Migrants in Advanced Countries	57
3.1 Status Quo of Marriage Migrants.....	57

3.1.1	Patterns and Structure.....	58
3.1.2	The Marriage Migrants in Japan, USA and Britain.....	59
3.1.3	Treatment and Attitude toward Marriage Migrants.....	64
3.2	Cause and Effect from Marriage Migrants.....	67
3.3	Strategies and Policies for Marriage Migrants Employment	68
3.4	Summary.....	70
Chapter 4	The Economic Predicaments of Marriage Migrants in	
	Taiwan.....	73
4.1	Status Quo of Marriage Migrants	73
4.1.1	Patterns and Structure.....	76
4.1.2	The Marriage Migrants in Taiwan.....	77
4.1.3	Treatment and Attitude toward Marriage Migrants.....	80
4.2	Cause and Effect from Marriage Migrants.....	84
4.3	Strategies and Policies for Marriage Migrants Employment	91
4.4	Summary.....	95
Chapter 5	Conclusions and Suggestions.....	97
5.1	Conclusions.....	97
5.2	Suggestions.....	99
References.....		103

List of Tables

Table 2-1:	International Migrants as a Percentage of the Population—2005.....	22
Table 2-2:	Female migrants as Percentage of all International Migrants.....	25
Table 2-3:	Female Migrants as Percentage of all International Migrants.....	26
Table 2-4:	The Proportion of Female Migrants among the Total Migrants.....	27
Table 2-5:	Number of Foreign Spouses by Nation—Sep. 30, 2009.....	33
Table 2-6:	Number of Foreign Spouses by Gender—Sep. 30, 2009.....	36
Table 2-7:	Number of Foreign Spouses Attaining Citizenship.....	37
Table 2-8:	Number of Foreign Spouses in Taiwan.....	39
Table 3-1:	Number of International Marriage by Nationality in Japan.....	61
Table 4-1:	Marriage Migrants Acquiring R.O.C Nationality by Home Country.....	78
Table 4-2:	Number of Foreign Brides in Taiwan—2001~2008.....	79
Table 4-3:	SWOT Analytic Results of Marriage Migrants' Employment.....	92

List of Figures

Figure 2-1: Number of Foreign Spouses—2001~ 2008.....	40
Figure 2-2: Number of Newborns by Mothers' Nation—1998~2008.....	41
Figure 4-1: Causes Affecting Employment of Marriage Migrants.....	86



Chapter 1 Introduction

In the past few decades, Taiwan has experienced dramatic changes including demographic transition, economic liberalization, political democratization and social diversification. The national transformation has been particularly remarkable since the mid-1980s when the 40-year-old martial law was lifted in 1987. As a result of the changes, Taiwan, an island state, has become more and more involved in the process of globalization. One major aspect of the involvements is human interactions with the rest of the world through migration, especially the inflows of foreign workers and the immigration of spouses married to Taiwanese (Tsay, 2004).

Since the mid-90s in the so-called age of migration, Taiwan becomes one of the destination countries of migrants. As we may know that the process of marriage migrants is not simply a physical move of one individual but also a social process which has its effect on both sending and receiving societies of marriage socially, culturally, politically and demographically as well as economically (LeeAn, 2008).

Furthermore, foreign brides came to be a phenomenon in the '80s when the number of migrant women from poor countries marrying foreign men from more advanced countries rose unprecedentedly. This was the time when cross-border marriages became not just a hype but also an alternative to poverty and starvation (APMM, 2007).

The implementation of the policies of neoliberal globalization that led to the worst global recession has pushed women from underdeveloped and developing countries into transnational marriages that often put them in worse destitution, distress and death, even though a lifelong honeymoon all the more remains an illusion for women who grasp the only opportunity to improve their condition by means of marriage migration. No doubt, the proliferation of marriage agents, internet matchmaking, aggressive advertisements for brides on the media, and other modus

operandi has eradicated the honor and dignity of marriage (AMMORE, 2009). That is a negative impact what the mediated marriage puts on the traditional marriage. Besides, the gap between the ideal and reality is still existing and even growing.

Not surprisingly, the phenomenon often spurs heated discussions about the commoditization of women which started from Hsia, Hsiou-Chuan in 1997 and the need to either regulate or forbid intermediary agencies. In both the sending and receiving countries of marriage migrants, media accounts also frequently question the morality and motives of women who engage in these marriages (Belanger and Tran, 2009).

According to the latest statistics form Ministry of the Interior (henceforth MOI), the number of foreign spouses including those from Mainland China is close to 430 thousand in November of the year 2009.¹ Along with increasing transnational marriage and comparative higher birth rate of foreign spouses than that of native women in the first to two years after marriage, children from inter-racial families is gradually occupied more proportion of future population. In addition, the statistic report of MOI showed that one of more that six babies are from international marriage. From ethnicity perspective, aside from the major four ethnicities like Holo, Hakka, the second generation of Mainlander and Aborigines, foreign spouses seem to be the fifth major ethnic group in Taiwan. Furthermore, due to increasing researches on migration in Taiwan and the establishment of National Immigration Agency (henceforth NIA) in charge of increasingly complex migration affairs; apparently, migration has turned from a topic to a hot issue and even to a focus in Taiwan.

Beginning in the 1990s, large numbers of foreign born women, most from Mainland China and Southeast Asia, married Taiwanese men in Taiwan. Sandel and Liang (2009) claimed that foreign brides now number nearly 400,000 (according to

¹ See National Immigration Agency, *The Statistics of the Number of Foreign Spouses*.
<http://www.immigration.gov.tw/aspcode/9811.asp>.

the newest statistics of MOI, the number is close to 430,000) warranting some to call them “Taiwan’s Fifth Ethnic Group.” Members of this group of immigrants are commonly referred to as *Waiji Xinniang* — Foreign Brides.

Taiwan has long been understood to have four major ethnic groups, aborigines and three kinds of Han immigrants, the Holo, Hakka, and post-1949 mainlanders. But in a speech on November 2004, President Chen Shui-bian added a fifth group to the list--foreigners. Their inclusion was an acknowledgement of both the size and the impact in recent years of marriages between Taiwanese and overseas nationals. The currently released statistics of NIA shows that there are about 143,894 foreign spouses from Southeast Asia applying for entry in Taiwan, along with another 284,741 from the People's Republic of China in November of 2009.² More than 90 percent of these cases involve a Taiwanese man marrying a woman from abroad. Currently, in one in four newly registered marriages in Taiwan, one of the partners is either Southeast Asian or a PRC national, while one in seven newborns is the product of a mixed marriage. The result is that Taiwan is turning from ethnic homogeneity to diversity, and its insular society suddenly has to cope with an influx of large numbers of outsiders.³

Migrants including marriage migrants, to different degree, undergo the move of social locality, dislocation of the self, and are also situated in discriminative environments based on gender, race and stratum in their host country. Confronted with discrimination and various forms of exclusion, they start to struggle and negotiate to belonging to the host society, but for marriage migrants are in particular ways.

² The data is calculated from 1987 to 2009. Wherein, the number of male and female spouses is respectively 11,608 and 132,286 among those from foreign countries; that of those from Mainland China is 17,222 and 267,519, i.e. female spouses occupy more than 90 percent of total foreign spouses either from foreign countries or Mainland China in Taiwan. <http://www.immigration.gov.tw/aspcode/9811>

³ See “The Biggest Leap,” *Taiwan Review*, <http://taiwanreview.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xitem=23746&ctnode=1362&mp=1>

As Chang (2007) expressed that the attitude of the natives toward international migrants are not totally friendly, especially toward marriage migrants. Most of all, the sourcing countries of marriage migrants are mainly the less-developed nations than their receiving countries; comparatively speaking, the natives are tentative to feel superior than the migrants and look down on them. It is obvious what the marriage migrants need to face are multi-aspects manifested by the relative researches categorized by Chang (2005) as the following: adaptation, satisfactions, Mandarin proficiency, education of their second generation, labor participation, empowerment, citizenship, and welfare claims.

Although the government and the private sectors such as some NGOs and NPOs endeavor to revise relative migration regulation as well as offer support and assistance programs for the new immigrants, the new immigrants and some social welfare organizations continue calling for what they deserve. The marriage immigrants try hard to overcome the obstacles of naturalization, work, life adaptation and etc. Indeed, the concerns and debates over migration still exist and grow complicated

1.1 The Motive and Purpose of the Study

This research is to study the economic situation which marriage migrants through transnational marriages are in, whether they contribute to or worsen their household finance in their natal families and their husbands' families and what option they may take to maintain or improve the economic condition they may sustain in Taiwan's society. Moreover, further comparisons with other countries' migration phenomena is aimed to propose several practical suggestions for governmental and private institutes and elicit some unresolved questions for further researchers.

Here the author urges to study three questions, firstly, whether marriage migrants are content with their economic status quo in destination countries — Taiwan.

Secondly, what marriage migrants contribute to or deteriorate household finance in their destination families, owing to their original inferior and unfavorable educational and socio-economical backgrounds plus contemporary insufficient aids and policies associated with migrants. Thirdly, Taiwan, in some ways, is not completely immigrant-friendly and there are lots of to do for building foreigner-friendly environment in public and private sectors. Under such an unfavorable circumstance marriage migrants existing, i.e. generation dissonance, culture shock, experiences of discrimination such as somehow anti-immigrant sentiment both in labor and marriage markets, how marriage migrants find a way out and fulfill their original dream and what steps the government may take to improve or build an immigrant-friendly society and allow marriage migrants possess the sense of belonging and be more economic-independent to support and secure their families.

1.2 The Major Issue and Background

Migration has a long history of development and has accumulated to tremendous amounts of migrant population in the past century. Siddiqui (2008) stated that over the last 25 years, the number of international migrants has almost doubled. In the 1980, 99 million people were living outside their country of origin. In 2005, it became 190 million (United Nations, 2006). Compared to the 1960s, growth rate of migrant populations is rather high. Therefore the migration has been a trend of no end.

The statistics of International Migration Report 2006 of United Nations indicated that there were more than 175 million people who migrated to another country in 2000. Furthermore, since more than 175 million people live outside their country of birth, destination country impacts are, indeed, important (Pfeiffer and Taylor, 2008). Between 1960 and 2005 the number of international migrants in the world doubled, and in 2005 about 190 million people — roughly 3 percent of the world's

population — lived outside their country of birth (United Nations, 2006; Morrison *et al.*, 2008).

Piper (2005) indicated that international migration has become an established feature of contemporary social and economic life globally. It has both positive and negative features and opportunities for the countries and individuals involved. As a result, cross-border mobility has, in general, attracted a great deal of international policy attention in recent years.

Moreover, the gender aspect of migration is also an important element in relative researches on migration. As Piper (2005) claimed that global estimates by sex confirm that for more than 40 years since 1960, female migrants reached almost the same numbers as male migrants. Since then, the share of female emigrants among all international migrants has been rising steadily. By 2000, female migrants constituted nearly 51 percent of all migrants in the developed world and about 46 percent of all migrants in the developing countries. The fact which Taiwan's marriage migrants mainly consist of women from Southeast Asia and Mainland China just complies with the global trend. Especially, according to the statistics from MOI, the number of foreign spouses is over 420 thousand in 2009 and represents almost 90 percent of total migrant population.

International migration has received increasing attention in recent decades. However, migration issue in Taiwan was not always a hot topic as it is today; on the contrary, migration has been a heated issue around the world, especially in those developed countries.

However, along with surge of globalization, unceasingly migration waves flow worldwide. Inevitably, Taiwan, a developing country in the international community, is also confronting the migration wave and facing the effects and problems caused by it. And migration issue has attracted researchers' interest and has been the main

concern of the government.

From historic point of view, Taiwan has long been a migration destination through its development process. Moreover, transnational marriage as a pattern of cross-border migration is not a novelty in Taiwan. As Cheng (2008) indicated that a few researchers mentioned that the formation of transnational marriages had experience a long process. At the very early period of transnational marriage were mainly from studying abroad, emigration or jobs; from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, some overseas Chinese arranged partners for the veterans. At the midst of 1980s, along with Taiwanese Businessmen invested in South-east Asia, more and more single males on the edge of marriage market married foreign spouses on the basis of breed, especially those from Thailand and Philippines. Foreign spouse and new female migrant influx started from the 1990's, females from Southeast Asian countries married Taiwan's males so that arouse a heated wave of transnational marriages (Ye, 2006). That is what Cheng (2008) declared the three waves of marriage immigrants occurred and occurring through different periods of economic and social development in Taiwan.

Taiwan, an island state selected by the women migrants from South-east Asian countries as the destination country, accepts migrants via transnational marriages to great proportion. In consequence, the female spouses constitute the major part of the body of the total marriage migrants in Taiwan. Therefore, the female marriage migrants may lay much influence on our society, culture, ethnicity and politics and etc.

Throughout the 1990s and the early period of 2000s, approximately twenty percent of all marriages registered in Taiwan involved a Taiwanese man and foreign born woman (Wang, 2007) and the total number of such women has reached nearly

400,000 (out of a population of 23 million),⁴ namely constructing so-called Taiwan's fifth ethnic group called the "new immigrants".⁵ The presence of such women is more acutely seen in rural communities, where, as will be discussed later, a kind of "chain-marriage-migration" is found as one married woman may encourage a sister or cousin to marry another man later in the community.

Sandel and Liang (2009), conducting interviews across Taiwan, found it not uncommon for two Taiwanese brothers in one family to be married to two Vietnamese sisters or cousins. The term *Waiji Xinniàng*, however, has become associated with negative undertones and is contentious, marked by the public television program that was aired in Taiwan from 2007-2008 entitled, *Bie Jiao Wo Waiji Xinniàng* — Don't call me a foreign bride. The show dramatically portrayed the struggles of Vietnamese women who met and married Taiwanese men in Vietnam, and then followed them as they moved to Taiwan and learned to adjust. Part of their resistance to being called *Waiji Xinniàng* is that the term implies the sense that no matter how well they adjust to life in Taiwan, they are forever foreign and unable to be accepted as competent "women." And no matter how long they have been married, they cannot get rid of the term *Xinniàng* which is used for a newly-wedded woman. As a result, foreign bride has long been the stereotype name of the marriage migrant no matter how old they are and how long they have stayed in Taiwan.⁶ As Hsia (2005) pointed out that middle-aged women complained that even though they are pretty old, they are still called "new".⁷

Therefore, the term generally used to call marriage migrants has changed

⁴ The newly released statistic data showed the number is above 428 thousand in November of 2009.

⁵ The women immigrated to Taiwan via transnational Migration are called from foreign brides, foreign spouses, daughter-in-laws of Taiwan, new immigrants to new residents through the development process of marriage migration in Taiwan. No matter whether the name implies discriminative denotation, the marriage migrants urged for the name they are comfortably to be called and the government implemented responsive measures.

⁶ The term "bride" spoken in Chinese denotes "new" wife.

⁷ See http://www.allacademic.com/one/www/research/index.php?click_key=1&PHPSESSID=de0cc023fd18138e1ea5d835b0240f6c

respectively from foreign brides, foreign spouses, new immigrants, and new residents through the development process by their resistance and claim as well as NGOs and NPOs' assistance. In this paper, the terms-foreign brides and foreign spouses are regarded as neutral nouns in distinguishing the spouses or brides coming from foreign countries from those being born and residing in Taiwan.

As Jones and Randas (2004) indicated that some significant marriage trends in East and Southeast Asia are delayed and non-marriage and cohabitation are probably increasing, even far less prevalent in the West. The globally transforming marriage trend and bi-sexual relations have laid influence on the marriage pattern and need-and-supply gender balance in the marriage market of Taiwan.

In rural Taiwan, many men of marriage age without a high paying job, advanced degree, or home in one of Taiwan's cities, without a wife or child, requisite symbols of success and maturity in this Confucian-influenced society. With few opportunities for marriage in sight, they intended to pursue a path toward marriage as thousands of other men taking in Taiwan: he contacted a professional marriage broker, who for a fee arranged to have him fly to Southeast Asian Countries where he could meet women interested in marriage. Only if he found some woman attractive who assented to his request, and they were married in a brief ceremony. Then after a short "honeymoon" with their brides, the Taiwanese men flew home, while the women remained in homeland for several more months until the marriage company arranged their spousal visas, which allowed them later to fly to Taiwan and begin married life. This kind of story happened repeatedly in Taiwan's society.

Nowadays, due to prevailing globalization worldwide in economics, culture and politics in the recent few decades, countries in different regions interact much more frequently. Thus, international migration tends to occur simultaneously. The causes for migration are diversely ranged from economic, educational, cultural and political

dimensions such as for business, family reunion or refugee seeking for asylum, etc. However, Taiwan is a special case. The main migrants influx is from transnational marriage and the source countries are chiefly South-east Asian countries and Mainland China.

Basically, Taiwan's luxurious and lively images presented in the global stage are attractive to people of Southeast Asian countries of poverty and stagnation; therefore, women in the above-mentioned nations may embrace and pursue for the dream of better future via transnational marriage.

On the basis of marriage slope theory which marriage tendency of women is to search partner of better condition; conversely, that of men is look for someone inferior to them. On the contrary, men of inferiorly socioeconomic and educational background in Taiwan are facing the imbalanced relation of marriage supply and need and are frustrated to find a partner in homeland. Thus, they turn to Southeast Asian women for establishing a family. Consequently, the transnational marriages in Taiwan are increasing in the past two decades and maintain in recent years in spite of decrease for several years due to executing interview mechanism to block pseudo marriages.

Since soaring increase of transnational marriage between Taiwan's grooms and Southeast Asian countries' brides, migrants draw more and more attention by the mass media and the general public, especially for once a racially homogeneous nation. Definitely the ethnicity, culture, society and economy in Taiwan are influenced gradually to different extent. Furthermore, not only the government but the private sectors offer assistance service for the new immigrants.

Nonetheless, what a pity is that in spite of all the commitments made to satisfy and assist the marriage migrants or something around them, the marriage migrants still fight for their rights and welfare they deserved via various channels. As a result, migrants are no longer a chat topic or an issue but a concern to be concentrated in

Taiwan. This arouses the author's individual interest in exploring and discovering what the government and the private sectors may offer marriage immigrants further assistance they actually need in improving their economic situation and whether insufficient payoff the family, society and even nation returned for what they contributed.

In the past, immigrants to Taiwan mainly from the mainland China, of same language and ethnicity, may easily adapt to Taiwan's society. With regards to different cultural, ethnic and economical background, marriage immigrants through interracial marriage may struggle over adjustment to Taiwan's society and face more obstacles for survival from discrimination from their family and the general public. They migrated here for better opportunities, life or promising future. Now if their dreams come true? Whether they live really better than they were in their original countries?

In recent years, the main sources of immigrants are from transnational marriage, especially the brokered marriage. The statistics from MOI show that the number of foreign spouses amounts to around 430 thousand at the end of the year 2009. Moreover, comparatively speaking, the birth rate of female marriage immigrants is not definitely higher than that of Taiwan's married women, but it is prevailing that female marriage migrants are less reluctant to be pregnant right after their marriage. Ye (2006) stated that foreign spouses, especially Vietnamese Spouses, are pregnant for the first time at the first year of their marriage; as a result, the second generation of transnational family has gradually occupied ten percent of the total newborns.

At the early stage of this new century, low birth rate of native couples is increasingly serious and the second generation of transnational couples is accumulating. Foreign spouses become the major fertility force, one eighths of newborns are of mother from foreign countries or mainland and estimated increase to one fourths of newborns are from transnational marriage family (Huang, 2008).

As Ye (2006) indicated that the population structure of Taiwan has transformed dramatically in this decade due to soaring immigrants; moreover, the increase of international marriages has led to more and more marriage-related female immigrants flow into Taiwan's society. Will marriage immigrants be the burden or be productive to society? Are the descendents of transnational marriage family inferior to their peer group in academic performance? The debates over marriage immigrants' positive and negative effects on the original and receiving countries never end. The marriage immigrants have become the main concern of policymakers that also arouse the author's individual interest in studying the marriage immigrant economic situation and suggesting responsive policies which the government and the private sectors may implement.

1.3 Research Framework

In this research, "native families" refer to families, where both spouses are the natives born and raised in Taiwan and "mixed families" refers to families, where one spouse is an immigrant and the other a native. The definition of a "mixed marriage" to a "native marriage" in this paper is a marriage between foreign born and native born individuals in the destination country and a marriage between both native born individuals in the destination country.

Although Taiwan has been a destination country of a long history accepting women marriage immigrants, nowadays, Taiwan are absorbing brand new elements to enrich the diversity of ethnicity and culture while women marriage immigrants from southeast Asia entering Taiwan unceasingly. Their backgrounds differ to great extent from the native females and their husband in terms of education level, language, socio-economic capability, culture, and etc.

This paper is to analyze the status on the basis of the differences that marriage

immigrants from their spouses and the native females to find out the situation immigrants are in and further to explore the effects they bring to family, society and nation from economic perspective. In addition, another emphasis of this study is laid on the description of relative data of three other nations and discussion of executed and draft policies associated with marriage immigrants so as to elicit potential policies.

Moreover, the women marriage migration trend is to explain by means of different migration theories and to which extent the women marriage immigrant increase in Taiwan is affected by the shifting international and domestic environments. Aside from analyzing the status quo of women marriage immigrants in Taiwan from economic perspective, the cases of other destination countries of women marriage immigrants are taken as examples to compare and analyze. Through comparing among countries, some practical suggestion may be proposed for our government.

1.4 Research Methods and Procedures

In this research, secondary data analysis is utilized. In addition, the vertically and parallel comparative analysis is also used as a tool to make conclusion and to discover suggestions.

Moreover, two kinds of analysis methods are also used to demonstrate the status of marriage migrants and to analyze the cause and effect of marriage migrants' participating in labor market; which are Ikishikawa Diagram and SWOT analytic methods (i.e. strength, weakness, opportunity, and threat).

While conducting this study, it is essential to search and select relative statistics, research papers and documents adhering to the topic of this research from diversified resources. Thus, the following data review, categorizing, and analysis may complete according to the theme of the specific chapter including in this paper. Finally, the

process approaches to the stages of comparison and conclusion from that the suggestions may derive.



Chapter 2 Literature Review

Population movements are closely related to variety of socio-economic, demographic and political dimensions (United Nations, 2006). Migration, of a long history of development, is a concern to manage through different period of human history. Recorded human history is dotted with “ages of migration.” From the Greek colonies and Roman military conquests through the Byzantine and Ottoman empires, and from the European colorizations to the great migrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, migration has been consequential to civilizations as few other large social phenomena have. Yet considering that the process is as old as humankind, crucial to human progress, and integral to the rise and decline of organized political entities, it is remarkable that virtually no society seems capable of managing it particularly effectively (Parademetriou, 2003).

McKay (2003) stated that women migrate for many reasons, including offers of permanent jobs or labor contrast, anticipated improvements in their conditions of self-employment and trade, offers of marriage, and as participants in broader, household moves.

Prior to stepping on the stage of research on the economic predicaments of women marriage immigrants in Taiwan, it is quite essential to collect and describe relative research papers, data, documents and statistics with immigrants, especially marriage migrants in economic domain in order to obtain sufficient background knowledge for constructing a integral and overall configuration of marriage migrants in Taiwan and further in the globe. As we know migration has been a common human behavior through historic development in various continents; especially, international migration is a prominent universal trend in recent decades; however, what the triggers and what the main direction are for unceasing human migration, especially for

marriage migration. Therefore, the detailed description and explanation of international migration trend and the motive and incentives for arousing migration based on respective migration theories are the backbone of this chapter.

2.1 Theoretical Foundation

In this section, a brief description about migration theories, marriage migration theory and marriage models are providing to obtain sufficient background as a foundation to back-up the research theory basis.

Moreover, regarding migration selection and decision, the key theories associated with migration and incentives to attract immigrants are discussed, either from a micro perspective of individual decision-making or a macro aspect of structural determinants. For example, the first theory about migration, perhaps the most influential, was the theory of migration that emanates from neoclassical economics. Secondly, probably the most migration-specific of all, the new economics of labor migration lends attention to income distribution, contrary to the neoclassical explanation (Arango, 2004).

2.1.1 Migration Theory from Economic Aspect

Arango (2004) ever stated that migration is too diverse and multifaceted to be explained by a single theory. Apparently, referring to migration theories, there is no single theory provide perfect and exact explanation for human's internal and international movement both in sending and receiving countries compassing political, economic, racial aspects and etc. And each theory may generally explain the migration in a specific time period and a respective nation, region or continent.

Keely (2000) indicated that theories about the initiation of international migration are categorized into four sorts of economic explanation and one political

economy approach known as world systems theory. The following are their brief definition and explanation for migration respectively.

Moreover, neoclassical macroeconomic theory explains migration flows as the result of wage differentials and the probability of obtaining a job in the form of unemployment rates. Neoclassical microeconomic theory focuses on the corresponding individual choice facing potential migrants in places with different wages and probabilities of finding work. Neoclassical economics focuses on differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries, and on migration costs; it generally conceives of movement as an individual decision for income maximization.

In addition, dual labor market theory switches the focus from an individuals or household decision-making level to the institutional context of economic structure and needs. Migration is the result of needs of industrial economies but not push factors in sending countries. The need in industrial economies result from structural inflation, motivation problems stemming from the social meaning and mobility prospects connected with various occupations, economic dualism related to capital and labor costs in market economies, and the demography of labor supply (Keely, 2000).

Aside from the above mentioned theories, the typical push-pull theory, world system theory and system approach are taken as the foundation of analysis on the cause-and-effect relation and the trend of increasing marriage immigrants in Taiwan.

2.1.2 Migration Theory from Political Aspect

As for world system theory, it is a variety of political economy theory that proposes bifurcation of the world economy related to capitalist penetration from richer, industrial, market (capitalist) economies to poorer nations or the periphery. The search for land, raw materials, new markets, and the labor upsets traditional economies and

mobilizes labor for migration internally and internationally to meet the needs of core capitalist countries. Network theories postulate that the existence of family, friends, and acquaintances in a receiving country reduces the costs and risks of migration by related people in the sending country. `

Moreover, the relationship between international migration and economic development in the migrant origin country has been traditionally explained from two contrasting theoretical approaches: the convergence point of view and the divergence point of view. The convergence school, rooted in neo-liberal economic theory, states that sending areas obtain major benefits from out-migration for their development process. This approach primarily posits that emigration leads to an improvement in resource, availability, and income distribution in origin areas. On the other hand, the divergence school argues that out-migration hinders development of the sending regions because it perpetuates a state of economic dependency that undermines prospects for development. Apart from these two perspectives, there also exists a third approach referred to as the “time perspective”. According to this perspective, in the short term, negative factors dominate the impact of migration, while in the long term positive factors come to stimulate development. Different types of migration have different impacts on the process of development in sending countries, and therefore should be examined in a disaggregated manner in order to understand the role that each specific type of migration actually plays in the process of development (Rahman, 2009).

2.1.3 Marriage Theory

With regards to marriage theory, Çelikaksoy *et al.*, (2003) sketch a theoretical framework describing the marriage decision of immigrants. In the context of immigrants in a host country, the marriage decision consists of two simultaneous

choices. As in standard marriage decisions, the individuals decide whom to marry in terms of observed characteristics/qualifications.

In addition, they decide from which country the spouse should come, that is the source country or host country. The decision to marry and the decision to import a marriage migrant are assumed to be simultaneous decisions that depend upon the characteristics that are brought into a marriage by the spouses. The characteristics of the spouses are summarized in marital capital, which includes for instance physical capital, financial capital (such as bride price or dowry) and human capital (such as health or education).

Çelikaksoy *et al.*, (2003) indicated that the theoretical background for our empirical model for marriage migration is to be found in the Becker model. It builds on the assumption that marriage markets in the source country and in the host country are competitive. The decision to marry is considered as a decision taken by the household of the young individual. An immigrant household considering marriage has to choose between two alternative marriage markets. When a household chooses to enter another marriage market than the local marriage market, this reflects that the utility of a match in that marriage market is higher than the utility of a match with a person from the local marriage market (or any other relevant alternative). For marriage migration actually to take place, this must be the case for both households.

2.2 International and Domestic Research on Migration

From historical point of view, migration continually occur in every period of historical development due to various reasons in political, economic and cultural respects such as war or work etc, and by means of diverse channels like asylum, human-trafficking, education and marriage. Here is the description about the past and the present phenomena of migration.

2.2.1 International Migration in the Globe

Jordan and Duvell (2003) postulated that the twenty years after the Second World War saw huge movements of population, some for economic and some for political reasons. Other massive migratory flows have comprised both these elements. The exodus of population from Europe to North America and Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century was proportionately larger than any movement in the twentieth. These flows, for the sake of both economic opportunity and political freedom, were welcomed as congruent with the transnational political economy of the major powers in that period (movements of capital and the opening up of markets).

Hatton and Williamson (2005) also claimed that world migration grew and its scope expanded in both eras (i.e. prior the First World War and post the Second World War). The richer parts of the world were the magnets for long-distance migration from the poorer (but not too poor) parts in both eras. The shifts that destination nation turned to source nation such as those in South and Central America and sending place become receiving place like Europe are consistent with the economic and demographic fundamentals that drive mass migrations.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, international migration touches the lives of more people, and looms larger in the politics and economics of more states, than at any other time in the modern era. With more than 160 million people estimated to be living outside their country of birth, almost no country is untouched by international migration or is immune to its effects (Parademetriou, 2003). Tsai and Hsiao (2006) indicated that there were more than 175 million people who migrated to another country in 2000.⁸

As Siddiqui (2008) stated over the past 25 years, the number of international

⁸ See United Nations, *International Migration Report 2006: A Global Assessment*. The United Nations estimated that the total number of international migrants in the world stood at 175 million in 2000 and 191 million in 2005 which was 3 percent of the world population.

migrants has almost doubled. In 1980, 99 million of people were living outside their countries of origin. In 2005, it became 190 million. Between 1960 and 2005 the number of international migrants in the world doubled, and in 2005 about 190 million people-roughly 3 percent of the world's population-lived outside their country of birth (United Nations, 2006; Morrison *et al.*, 2008; Pfeiffer *et al.*, 2008).

In addition, with regard to the regional migrant density in terms of the development differential of states, almost one in every 10 persons living in more developed regions is a migrant (migrant as 9.6 percentage of population) compared to one of every 70 persons (migrant as 1.5 percentage of population) in less developed regions (Table 2-1).⁹

In addition, sixty percent of the world's migrants currently reside in more developed regions. Also, most of the world's migrants live in Europe (64 million), followed by Asia (53 million) and North America (45 million). Three-quarter of all international migrants are concentrated in just 28 countries and one in every three international migrants lived in Europe and one in every four lived in the United States of America in 2005 (United Nations, 2006). That reflects most migrants flow into Europe followed by Asia and North America and the global migratory tendency is region-oriented and selection-concentrated. Especially, the United States of America as a single country accepts global migrants to great extent.

International migration has become an integral and inevitable feature of globalization. In Asia and the Pacific, it has become a structural and permanent element of societies and economies. The movement of people across borders in search of better economic opportunities or safety is a long-standing characteristic of societies

⁹ According to the definition of major areas and regions of International Migration Stock of United Nations, the more developed regions refer to Australia, Europe, Japan, New Zealand, and North America; and the less developed regions comprise Africa, Asia (excluding Japan), Latin America, the Caribbean, and etc.

Table 2-1: International Migrants as a Percentage of the Population — 2005

Region	Persons
Latin America and the Caribbean	1.2
Asia	1.4
Africa	1.9
Europe	8.8
North America	13.6
Oceania	16.4
World	3.0

Source: United Nations (2009), *International Migration Stock: The 2008 Revision*.

in the region. However, more countries are now significantly affected by international migration than that at any time in history (United Nations, 2008).

International migration is being propelled in the region by various push and pull factors, including persistent inter-country disparities in development, increased integration of the regional economy and divergent demographic dynamics. Labor market transformations, technological progress and economic interlinkages are creating new demands for both skilled and less skilled migrant labor (United Nations, 2008). An increasing number of countries in this region are participating in the migration process as either sending, transit, or receiving countries.

With regard to the employment of the immigrants, Hatton and Williamson (2005) raised two different views: one is optimistic that immigrants entered rapidly growing high-wage employment, thereby easing short-run labor supply bottlenecks in leading industries and the other is pessimistic that immigrants crowded into slow-growing, low-wage employment in industries undergoing relative decline, thereby crowding out unskilled natives. It is confirmed that immigrants found employment more frequently in unskilled jobs, compared with natives. More to the point, immigrants are located in

slow-growth sectors, not fast-growth sectors. Moreover, it is evident that immigrants flowed disproportionately into the slowest-growing parts of the economy.

2.2.2 Women Migration in the Globe

Although there has been a long tradition of female cross-border migration in the Asia Pacific region, women are increasingly dominating migration flows and they do so in a variety of forms. With these women migrating either as single, independent workers as a stage in their lives when marriages seen as appropriate, if not obligatory, or as wives (and mothers), the issue of marriage, or marital relationships, becomes closely intertwined with international migration (Piper and Roces, 2003).

It is ever indicated that gender-sensitive or female perspectives of migration recently have begun to contribute new insights by pointing to noneconomic incentives to migration. In these studies, the family, or households, emerges as important units of analysis, but migration's impact on marriage or marital relationships as such has not been explored in their multiple dimensions and forms (Piper and Roces, 2003).

The interaction of marriage and migration was related to sex imbalance, which female migrants "follow" male pioneers. Researchers ever noted that in the specific contexts of Asian women's experiences, works on the so-called "picture brides" fall into this category. Furthermore, scholars concerned with women's migratory patterns seem to be more comfortable discussing women as either migrants for marriage or as overseas contracted workers (OCWs) (the woman as worker), especially women as unskilled laborers, domestic helpers and careers in particular. Historically inclined studies on the phenomenon of "marriage migration" also include those discussing "war brides". Other studies focus on how these brides are represented by the host countries. Yet in this discussion of marriage migration, little attention is paid to the women's subsequent entrance into the labor market. Other studies discussing marriage

and migration are those typical by sociologists and geographers on “mail-order brides” (Piper and Roces, 2003).

Piper (2003) manifested that scholars concerned with women’s migratory patterns typically discuss women as *either* migrants for marriage *or* as overseas contract workers (OCWs) (i.e. the woman as worker or as ‘bride’), especially in studies on women as domestic helpers and carers — which, together with “entertainment” related work, are the main jobs that such migrant women are employed in. Such depictions, however, totally ignore the fact that these women’s roles can, and often do, shift, such as when the ‘migrant for marriage’ engages in paid employment or when the “labor migrant” marries a “local” citizen.

Significant share of women in international migration has been noted since 1960s. According to estimated numbers categorized by regions, Asia stands as the second largest in the world. In 2005, the total number of Asian migrants was 55 million followed by North America of 45 million, only surpassed by Europe which had 64 million (United Nations, 2009).¹⁰ It also displayed that women constituted close to half (49.2%) of all international migrants in 2005.

Moreover, Piper (2005) claimed that global estimates by sex confirm that for more than 40 years since 1960, female migrants reached almost the same numbers as male migrants. Since then, the share of female emigrants among all international migrants of the world has been rising steadily.

Based on the data of United Nations (2009), female migrants constitute roughly 50 percent (all the number showed on the table is over 49 percent since 1990) of the international migrants in the past two decades (Table 2-2). Moreover, by 2005, there was another astonishing fact that the female migrants constituted more than 51 percents of all the migrants in the more developed regions and about 46 percent of all

¹⁰ Except for the less number of total migrants than Asia in 1990, Europe has long been the leading region of having the hugest proportion of international migrants in the globe.

Table 2-2: Female Migrants as Percentage of All International Migrants

Year	%
1990	49.1
1995	49.3
2000	49.4
2005	49.2
2010	49.0

Note: The number in the year 2010 is predicted based on the data and the global migration development trend in 2009.

Source: United Nations (2009), *Trends in the International Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision*.

the migrants in the less developed countries were female migrants during the same period (United Nations, 2009).¹¹

Furthermore, nearly half of all international migrants are female and female migrants outnumber male migrants in developed regions like Europe and North America. Moreover, according to the data of Population Division of Department of Economic and Social Affairs of United Nations, women migrant population maintain steady development in most regions in the world, having close to and even over half of the global migrant population; there is no significant regional differentials showing in various areas (Table 2-3).

Furthermore, the female migrants proportion compared to male migrants in terms of different regions nearly equal in most regions around the world, even surpassed that of male migrants except in Africa and Asia in last decade as showed on Table 2-4 (Siddiqui, 2008; United Nations, 2009). Nonetheless, over the last decades, growth rate of female migrants compared to male is higher in Asia.

According to the International Migration Stock Report of the United Nations in

¹¹ According to the estimate data of international migration stock of UN in 2009, the female migrants as percentage of international migrants maintain over 51 percent in more developed regions and over 45 percent in less developed regions but both slightly decrease in 2010.

Table 2-3: Female Migrants as Percentage of all International Migrants

Unit: %

Year	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Region					
Latin America and the Caribbean	49.7	49.9	50.0	50.1	50.1
Asia	45.4	45.3	45.7	45.0	44.6
Africa	46.2	47.1	46.7	46.7	46.8
Europe	52.7	52.4	52.8	52.5	52.3
North America	51.1	50.8	50.5	50.4	50.1
Oceania	49.1	49.7	50.2	50.7	51.2
World	49.1	49.3	49.4	49.2	49.0

Note: The number in the year 2010 is predicted based on the data and the global migration development trend in 2009.

Source: United Nations (2009), *Trends in the International Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision*.

2008, the leading three regions owning great proportion of migrants in the world are Europe, Asia, and North America, which respectively have 64 million, 55 million, and 45 million in 2005; moreover, they may grow to 69 million, 61 million, and 50 million in 2010. That is Asia standing as the second largest.

Asia has been in the forefront of migration of people all alone. People of Asia moved across territory for better life and livelihood. Over the years Asia has been experiencing increased movements within the region. Another important trend in migration within Asia is the emergence of women as principal migrants (Siddiqui, 2008; United Nations, 2009).

Referring to the main stream of female migrants, we follow what Siddiqui (2008) indicated that the typical migrations of women are as dependent spouses of male migrants both within and outside Asia, independent women migrants for labor migration, independent migrants as students and professionals, and transnational marriage migrants. However, the global and regional inequalities are inherent to these marriages. For many women and their families, an international marriage can offer

social, economic, and geographic mobility through international migration (Belanger and Tran, 2009).

Another conspicuous fact is that the women migration is no doubt maintain the steady development and even occupies almost a half of the total migration population in different regions whatever their respectively various economic, political and technological development degree around the world. It is a common phenomenon and attracts a lot of attention (Table 2-4). Therefore, women play equally important roles as men in human migration which obviously reflects that there is no gender-preference indication and tendency in migrant acceptance of many countries.

Consequently, female migration, being dominant in world stage may also have influence in various regions socially, politically, culturally and economically to different degree.

Table 2-4: The Proportion of Female Migrants among the Total Migrants

Unit: %

Year	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Region					
Europe	52.7	52.4	52.8	52.5	52.3
Oceania	49.1	49.7	50.2	50.7	51.2
North America	51.1	50.8	50.5	50.4	50.1
Latin America and Caribbean	49.7	49.9	50.0	50.1	50.1
Africa	46.2	47.1	46.7	46.7	46.8
Asia	45.4	45.3	45.7	45.0	44.6

Note: The number in the year 2010 is predicted based on the data and the global migration development trend in 2009.

Source: United Nations (2009), *Trends in the International Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision*.

2.3 International and Domestic Research on Marriage Migration

As noted above, the women play a crucial role in migration around the world,

wherein, except for migrant worker and asylum seekers, marriage migrants occupy the tremendous proportion of the whole female migration in the contemporary world.

2.3.1 Marriage Migration in the Globe

Piper (2003) indicated with economic development and unprecedented ease of travel, the number of individuals working, studying and/or travelling abroad is rising globally, and hence it is not surprising that the number of international marriages has simultaneously been on the increase.

For the women from South-east Asia, marriage with men in economically-advanced nations is simply the shortcut to search for better opportunities and livelihood. However, the reality of life in receiving countries doesn't meet their satisfactions and mostly disappoint them.

Accordingly, a dramatic rise in the number of marriage in the international, or transnational, contexts has occurred in the final decades of the twentieth century, reflecting deepening globalization process including increasing numbers of individuals working, studying, and/or traveling abroad. This trend can very well be observed in East and Southeast Asia where intraregional labor migration flows have grown in importance and diversity in recent years (Piper and Roces, 2003).

With the intensification of transnational activities and the expansion of regional networks, there has been an increase in international marriage within Asia over the past few decades (Belanger and Tran, 2009). Among the various types of international marriage of citizens from Asian countries, unions involving women from developing countries (i.e. China, Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia) and men from wealthier nations (i.e. Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan) have attracted media and academic attention since the late 1990s (Norimitsu, 2007; Piper and Roces, 2003).

These marriages generally involve the international migration of the woman to

her husband's country of residence. In Asia, the phenomenon is referred to as "marriage migration" or "cross-border migration." Women migrants are called "foreign brides" or "immigrant spouses" in receiving countries, and they constitute a separate statistical category in immigration data (Belanger and Tran, 2009).

Piper and Roces (2003) stated that as migrants for marriage they could be asked to relinquish control of the purse strings to husbands or in-laws, or they could be victims of a husband's slave mentality where wives are expected to be their personal maids. McKay (2003) also indicated that domestic workers has often been un- or underpaid, usually provided as a set of free services exchanged between spouses in marriage. Since a good wife is a good (domestic) worker. A hard working yet feminine women makes a good wife. A woman got her ticket to operate a bulldozer, for instance, might make far more money than a maid, but the job itself would not portray her to potential suitors as "wife-and mother-like."

Apparently, the phenomenon of "foreign brides" is one of the international migration flows in our globalization times by means of the convenient and highly-developed transportation and communication technologies contributing to more frequent and closer contact among people of different regions and spheres. Research has documented rapid increases in cross-border marriages involving men from Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Singapore, and Hong Kong with women from the Philippines, Vietnam, China, Indonesia, and Thailand (Piper and Roces, 2003). This gendered migration flow has created new social categories with derogatory connotations like " *Waiji Xinni*ang " (foreign bride) in Taiwan, or " *Japayuki* " (Japan-bound) in Japan. In Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, these cross-border female migrants are *de facto* economic migrants in the sense that their role is as unpaid reproductive workers (Wang, 2007).

Siddiqui (2008) stated that a distinct feature of international migration of Asian

women is marriage migration. In the 1970s, international marriage mainly took place between western men and Asian women. Since the rise of international migration, international marriages are taking place between persons of various Asian countries. Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore have witnessed record number of international marriages over the last decade. In South Korea, 9.9 percent of the total marriages involve a foreign wife.

Moreover, Asian contains both destination and source countries of migrants. South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand are some of the major destination countries of South East and East Asia. Thus, it can be argued that women migration is more common in the case of South East Asian countries in comparison with South Asian sending countries. It also shows that destination countries are not static.

Asia has been in the forefront of migration of people all alone. People of Asia moved across territory for better life and livelihood. Asia contains both destination and source countries of migrants.

Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore have witnessed record number of international marriages over the last decades. Ninety-nine percent of the total marriages of South Korea involve a foreign wife. Another important trend in migration within Asia is the emergence of women as principal migrants. In case of migration of women four broad streams are discernable: (1) typical migration of women as dependent spouses of male migrants both within and beyond Asia; (2) independent migration of women for labor; (3) independent migration of women as students and professionals; and (4) international marriage migration (Siddiqui, 2008).

2.3.2 The Impacts of International Migration

Migration is controversial. Nationalists argue that states have the rights to recruit

or restrict according to the interest of their citizen, and to select applicants for entry. Globalists prescribe international migration management regimes to regulate population flows across borders, in pursuit of sustainable growth and the welfare of all. International organizations also recognize the need for humanitarian protection (Jordan and Duvell, 2003).

Piper (2005) indicated that international migration has become an established feature of contemporary social and economic life globally. It has both positive and negative features and opportunities for the countries and individuals involved. As a result, cross-border mobility has, in general, attracted a great deal of international policy attention in recent years. However, along with surge of globalization, unceasingly migration waves flow worldwide.

As Parademetriou (2003) claimed because of low rates of native population growth across the advanced industrial world, migration is already a large demographic force, a function of increased immigration and relentlessly low fertility. Moreover, countries with significant migration inflows in the last decades will also notice the evolving racial and ethnic composition of their workforces as much larger proportions of those joining the labor market will be immigrants and their offspring.

Theoretically, moves over boundaries would seem to have more impact by changing the population characteristics of the old and new political units of the migrant's residence. When there is large-scale mobility in a population in general or in some specific time period, then social, economic, and political impacts can be great indeed (Keely, 2000). Therefore, the impact of migration is diversified on the receiving countries; and whether the degree of influence expanding or reducing depends on the management and maneuver of the government.

National population must respond to new conditions, set by international organization and global market forces. Substantial rights to resources, provided by

states, become less reliable, and ‘supply-side’ adaptations essential. Earlier waves of migrants find themselves disadvantaged in competition that demands employability, enterprise and mobility.

Often they were among the first to be redundant as industrial employment contracted, and their offspring have least access to advantageous education and training for the expanding financial, professional and service sectors. They are forced to rely on informal improvisations and survival strategies.

Like large groups of indigenous losers, they become isolated from mainstream social systems and resources; but they are then blamed, and perceived as rivals by native outsiders. Even their rights to be part of the society are questioned (Jordan and Duvell, 2003). However, migrant development renews and becomes complex as time goes by; even the mature and sophisticated governments still regard it seriously in case of carelessness leading to growing negative impacts, i.e. affecting society and culture.

Three sets of factors lie at the root of the difficulty governments and, more generally, societies, have in managing the effects of large-scale immigration well. The first is found in immigration’s relationship to sudden and deep social and cultural change; the second concerns immigration’s complexity; and the third stems from its deeply uneven distributional effects. All three sets factors require governments to engage in delicate balancing acts in which the cost of failure is often measured not only in severe social and economic consequences but also in political ruin (Parademetriou, 2003).

Another clear impact of migration is on global ethnic structure. Along with international labor migration, the scale of international marriage migration, especially intra-regional migration in Asia, has increased drastically in the last decades, transforming global ethnoscape in many countries. This movement is becoming a

critical topic in the field of international migration that has primarily focused on labor migration, whether it is individual or family migration (Kim, 2007).

In terms of women who migrated due to their marriage with foreign Asian nationals, Global commission on International Migration, Migration in the Asia-Pacific region Asia indicates that “foreign brides are increasing in Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong (APMM, 2007).

With regards to international marriage migration, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand are some of the major destination countries of South East and East Asia. Vietnamese, Philippine, Indonesian, Thai and Cambodia brides rank among the top five sources of marriage migrants to Taiwan. Over the past two decades, Vietnam has continued to stand at the first position of key source countries of international marriage migrants in Taiwan (Table 2-5).

Obviously, feminization is an essential attribute to migration in most regions of the world, since an obviously increasing number of women are crossing borders for international marriages. Such a phenomenon is commonly seen in Taiwan, since the marriage migrants in Taiwan are mainly consisted of women. Men are scarce components of marriage migrants here.

Table 2-5: Number of Foreign Spouses by Nations — Sep. 30, 2009

year	Total	Nationality of Foreign Spouses															
		Vietnam		Indonesia		Thailand		Philippine		Cambodia		Japan		Korea		Others	
		person	%	person	%	person	%	person	%	person	%	person	%	person	%	person	%
2004	121,804	68,181	20.26	24,446	7.27	8,888	2.64	5,590	1.66	4,356	1.3	2,163	0.64	751	0.22	7,429	2.21
2005	130,899	74,015	20.3	25,457	6.98	9,675	2.65	5,899	1.62	4,541	1.3	2,339	0.64	762	0.21	8,211	2.25
2006	134,086	75,873	19.8	26,068	6.8	9,426	2.46	6,081	1.59	4,514	1.2	2,467	0.64	797	0.21	8,860	2.31
2007	136,617	77,980	19.54	26,124	6.55	8,962	2.25	6,140	1.54	4,502	1.1	2,640	0.66	838	0.21	9,431	2.36
2008	139,248	80,303	19.42	26,153	6.33	8,331	2.02	6,340	1.53	4,423	1.1	2,774	0.67	876	0.21	10,048	2.43

Note: The number of the foreign spouses from Mainland China is not included in this table.

Source: National Immigration Agency (2009), *The Monthly Statistic of the Number of Foreign Spouses*.

Female migration has become prominent in terms of both absolute numbers and proportions of the migrant population (Table 2-2). Marriage migration presents a women-centered trend in the global migration.

In addition, regarding to the decision making process of migration, there are differences in gender perspective somewhat apparently. According to the statement by Vu, Kieu-Dung,¹² the reasons for men and women, in terms of the human capital, social capital and financial capital, are different respectively. They are synthesized and categorized as follows:

- Men are more economic-affected and while women are more family-affected than the opposite sex.
- The marital status are ineffective on men's choice to migrate (both single and married are economic-oriented); however, on the contrary, which are quite effective on women's (married women are family-oriented but single women are economic-oriented).
- Reasons for migration were affected by demographic attributes and human and social capital, but not financial capital. Human and social capitals are good predictors of reasons for migration but financial capital is not a good one. This might be explained by the migrants' relatively high income levels. From this point of view, it doesn't comply with the realistic international female migrants to a certain extent (either for marriage migrants or labor migrants) which financial capital is the prior concerns for international women migrants than the other three.
- Men are self-determined movers while women are directed to migrate by family members.
- Single women and men are directed to migrate by family members while

¹² See *Gender Pattern of Migration in Decision-making Process*, http://www.arenaonline.org/docu/2007%20Regional%20School/Gender_pattern_of_migration_in_decision-making_process.ppt#256,1

married men are self-determined movers and married women join with their husbands in making the decision to migrate.

- Both women and men with higher educational levels are self-determined movers while those with lower educational levels are directed to move by family members.
- Decision-makers of migration were affected by almost all capital (human, social, and financial) and demographic attributes, but especially social capital.
- social capital and human capital including gender and marital status are good predictors for the participation in decision making.
- Men move alone while women move with others.
- Men and single women move solitarily while married women move with others.
- Both men and women with social connections move alone.
- Men, regardless of type of relations at destination, move alone while women with kin relations move alone and those with non-kin relations move with others.

From the aforementioned description, making decision to migrate is interrelated with the marital status, gender, and kinship.

2.3.3 Marriage Migration in Taiwan

As Hsu (2009) noted that new immigrants after being settled in Taiwan often find themselves encounter difficulties and unfair treatments in terms of social welfare, culture adaptation, working environment, job hunting opportunities, and language barrier. Those make them less comparable and more disadvantage in host society. It implies that the status of marriage migrants contradicts to their originally embraced hope for better opportunity and potential improvement of economic plights of their

original families.

Due to the recently growing international marriage migration in Taiwan, the trend has spurred extensive irregular migration, including human trafficking and smuggling. In the past several decades, Taiwan is gradually becoming a major point of attraction to the women involving with the international marriage migration.

With regards to the women-centered traits of marriage migrants in the globe, Taiwan is not an exception at all. According to the statistic data of MOI collected in 2009, it is obviously reflects this phenomenon (Table 2-6). From the data showed on that table, the numbers of yearly women marriage migrants maintain more that ten times of that of men migrants as foreign spouses in the past three years. It indicates that women constitute the dominant parts of foreign spouses and become the main source of marriage migrants in Taiwan.

The newly released statistics shows that the number of registered newlyweds of international marriage mounts to nearly 25,000 couples occupying about twenty percent (18.03%) of the total in the year of 2006; whereas, the number of brides from foreign countries, especially from Southeast Asia and Mainland China, are 22,000 which are more than 80 percent of the total foreign spouses in Taiwan in Taiwan..¹³

Table 2-6: Number of Foreign Spouses by Gender — Sep. 30, 2009

Unit: person

gender	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Sep. 2009
Male	8,661	9,513	9,820	10,042	10,380	11,500
Female	113,143	121,386	124,266	126,575	128,888	132,035
Total	121,804	130,899	134,086	136,617	139,248	143,535

Note: The number of foreign spouses from Mainland China is not included in this table.

Source: National Immigration Agency (2009), *The Monthly Statistics of the Number of the Foreign Spouses*.

¹³ Statistics from Dept. of Statistics, Ministry of Interior at <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/week.aspx>.

That implies female foreign spouses in a single year may immigrate to Taiwan with an astonishing amount equaling almost 0.1% of Taiwan's total population in the very near future.¹⁴

Moreover, the total number of foreign spouses has reached over 420 thousand in 2009, wherein near 20 percent of foreign spouses possess the Chinese Nationality. In addition, according to the statistics of MOI (2009), the number of foreign spouses is over 420 thousand till November of 2009 (Table 2-7). From this point of view, there are 2 foreign spouses among 100 people living in Taiwan; moreover, the number of foreign spouses maintains accumulating by a stable speed. As a result, foreign spouses have drawn attraction and aroused unceasing concerns from social, economic, cultural dimensions and etc.

Table 2-7: Number of Foreign Spouses Attaining Citizenship

Unit: person

year	Total	Foreign Spouses								
		Subtotal			Naturalization			Overseas-Chinese Residence		
		No.	Male	Female	No.	Male	Female	No.	Male	Female
2004	336,483	121,804	8,661	113,143	27,060	151	26,909	94,744	8,510	86,234
2005	364,596	130,899	9,513	121,386	38,249	230	38,019	92,650	9,283	83,367
2006	383,204	134,086	9,820	124,266	50,126	286	49,840	83,960	9,534	74,426
2007	399,038	136,617	10,042	126,575	60,726	353	60,373	75,891	9,689	66,202
2008	413,421	139,248	10,380	128,868	73,710	437	73,273	65,538	9,943	55,595
Sep. 2009	426,297	143,535	11,500	132,035	81,162	539	80,623	62,373	10,961	51,412

Note: The total number of the foreign spouses here includes the foreign spouses from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Macau.

Source: National Immigration Agency (2009), *The Monthly Statistics of the Number of the Foreign Spouses*.

¹⁴ The notion of foreign spouse here refers to distinguishing spouses from foreign countries from natives.

From historic point of view, Taiwan has long been a migration destination through its development. Moreover, transnational marriage as a pattern of cross-border migration is not a novelty in Taiwan (Cheng, 2008). As the researchers indicated that the formation of transnational marriages had experience a long process.

At the very first period transnational marriage were mainly from studying abroad, emigration or jobs; from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, some overseas Chinese arranged partners for the veterans. At the midst of 1980s, along with Taiwanese Businessmen invested in South-east Asia, more and more single males on the edge of marriage market married foreign spouses on the basis of breed, especially those from Thailand and Philippines.

Foreign spouse and new female immigrant influx started from the 1990's, females from Southeast Asian countries married Taiwan's males so that arouse a heated wave of transnational marriages (Ye, 2006). That is what Cheng (2008) declared the three waves of marriage immigrants occurred and occurring through different periods of economic and social development in Taiwan.

Taiwan, selected by the women marriage migrants from South-east Asian countries as the destination country, accepts immigrants proportionately mainly from transnational marriages. In consequence, the female foreign spouses constitute the major part of the body of the total marriage immigrants in Taiwan; therefore, the women marriage immigrants may lay much influence on our society, culture, economy, and politics and etc. In this study, all the concentration will be lay on the economic aspect. In Taiwan's case, the proportion of female foreign spouses (potential women marriage immigrants) is over 90% of total international marriage couples (Table 2-8).

The international marriage among Taiwan and Southeast Asian Countries should be recognized as a part of the global female trade rather than a unique specific

Table 2-8: Number of Foreign Spouses in Taiwan

Unit: person

	Male (1)	Female (2)	Total (3)	Ratio (4)=(2)/(3)
Dec/2006	25,630	357,574	383,204	0.933
Dec/2007	26,297	372,741	399,038	0.934
Sep/2008	26,600	381,210	407,810	0.934

Source: Ministry of the Interior (2008), *The Yearly Statistic Report of Foreign Spouses*.

phenomenon. However, Taiwan is a special case. The main immigrant influx is from transnational marriage and the source countries are chiefly Southeast Asian countries. Above all, the immigrants in Taiwan are not only marriage-oriented but also Women-dominated; therefore, the women marriage immigrants from Southeast Asia, especially from Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, and others, are the center of this research.

In the past, immigrants to Taiwan mainly from the mainland China, of same language and ethnicity, may easily adapt to Taiwan's society. With regards to different cultural, ethnic and economical background, marriage immigrants through interracial marriage may struggle over adjustment to Taiwan's society and face more obstacles for survival from discrimination from their family and the general public.

For instance, as Ke (2004) indicated that marriage immigrants are radically sensitive to the fame of no-good resulted from the mass media and they protect their dignity carefully while conceptualizing and internalizing this partial human relationship. They migrated here for better opportunities, life or promising future. Now if their dreams come true? Whether they live really better than they were in their original countries? The author always bears these questions in mind.

The completion and a transnational marriage is the process of patience, endurance, and wiliness in each side of groom and bride. Most of these transnational marriages are guided and directed by matchmaking agencies that organize tours for

prospective future grooms, assemble potential brides, match spouses, hold group weddings, and fulfill the paperwork for the subsequent bride's emigration to her new husband's country of residence (Wang, 2007). There are a lot of challenges and risk to take during the application process for the groom and bride embracing full hope of better future. However, such an exhausted affair will not be their obstacle to find a wife or husband through transnational marriage.

In recent years, the main sources of immigrants are from transnational marriage, especially the brokered marriage owing to lack of well-prepared mechanism, diversely-organized system and strictly-scrutinized procedure. The couples of transnational marriage tend to increase steadily since the open policy and matchmaking agencies associated with transnational marriage; however, it started to go downwards along with executing prior-interview policy ahead of marriage and entrance, which blocks tremendous pseudo marriages (Figure 2-1).

From this graph, a distinguishing truth is showed obviously that the number of female foreign spouses drop so sharply while there is no apparent change displayed on that of male foreign spouses. It implies the bogus marriage occurred more frequently among the transnational marriage between foreign women and native men.

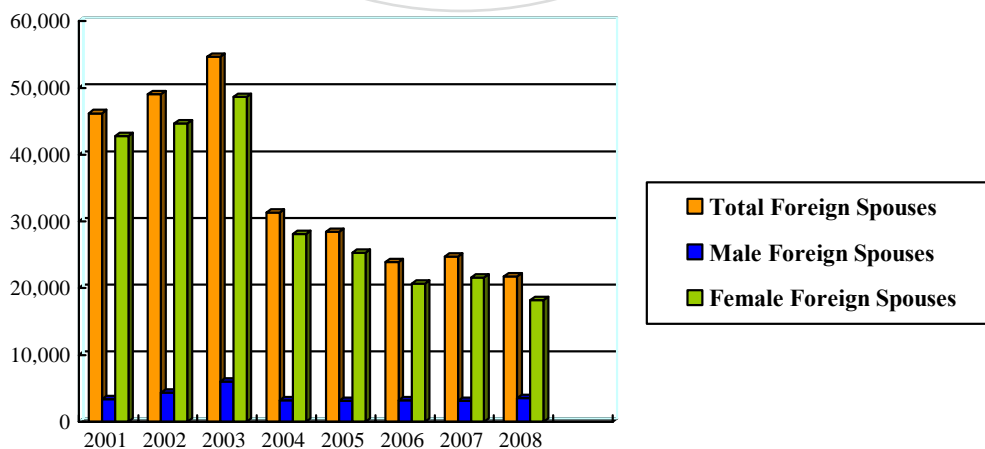


Figure 2-1: Number of Foreign Spouses in Taiwan — 2001 ~ 2008

Moreover, comparatively speaking, the fertility willingness of marriage immigrants under the pressure of their husband and parents-in-law seems stronger (Ye, 2006) than that of native married women due to their own more serious hesitation and less willingness of pregnancy. To some degree, the growing birth rate of marriage migrants contributes to preventing the gradually declining national birth rate to drop sharply in the past few years (Figure 2-2).

As Ye (2006) indicated that the population structure of Taiwan has transformed dramatically in this decade due to soaring immigrants; moreover, the increase of international marriages has led to more women marriage migrants to flow into Taiwan's society. In marriage market aspect, marriage migrants deem to make up for the bi-gender population gap in Taiwan and actually improve the shortage of brides, especially not only for the men in the rural areas but also for those in the urban areas.

The higher is the marriage rate of transnational marriage, the higher is the divorce rate of that. Nowadays, there have been more than 1,400 divorced transnational couples among near 410 thousand of foreign spouse amount. It implies that there are 28 divorced couples of every thousand transnational couples. Heterogeneous couples' divorce rate is two and a half times higher than that of

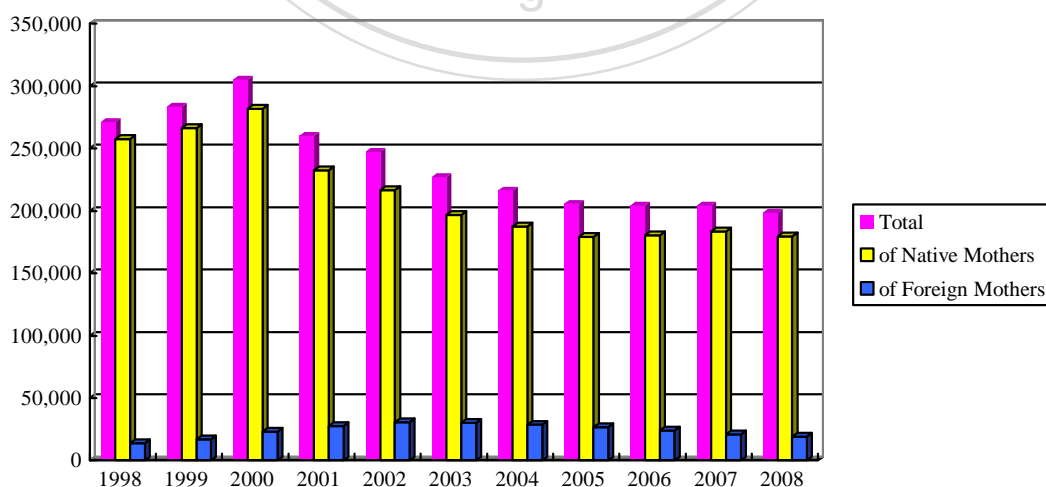


Figure 2-2: Number of Newborns by Mother's Nation — 1998 ~ 2008

homogeneous couples, a brand new high for recent four years.¹⁵

2.3.4 The Second Generation of International Marriage Families

Another striking fact is that newborns in Taiwan given birth from mothers of foreign nationals have risen from 5.12 % in the year 1998 to 10.23% in the year 2007, doubled in a decade.¹⁶ Furthermore, another statistic report of Department of Household Registration of MOI showed that one of more that eight babies are from international marriage family.¹⁷

Along with increasing transnational marriages and comparative higher birth rate of foreign spouses than that of native women, children from inter-racial families is gradually occupied more proportion of future population. Therefore, the household finances, a decisive cause whether they can afford the living and education costs, turns to be an important element for raising their second generation.

Above all, most of the transnational marriage families belong to the lower socio-economic ladder of the society pyramid in terms of the wage, education level, and so on. For instance, the previous relative researches (Chang, 2005; Chang, 2007; Hung, 2005; Ye, 2006; Chang, 2006) on female foreign spouses and their husband all manifested the fact.

Since foreign spouses' high fertility rate releases the tension of low national fertility rate to exact extent, simultaneously the financial burden of transnational marriage family increase definitely. Consequently, the necessity and desire for marriage migrants to seek financial support in host countries is gradually accelerating. The only way for them to gain extra money is from income, so that they need a job.

¹⁵ See "The Record High Divorce Rate of Transnational Marriages Leads to Triple Suffering of Children of Mix Families," *China Times*, <http://migrant.cooloud.org.tw/node/42638>.

¹⁶ See Ministry of Education, "The Number of Newborns by Mothers' Nationality," http://www.edu.tw/files/site_content/B0013/overview77.xls.

¹⁷ See Ministry of the Interior, "The Number of the Infants by Mothers' Nationality," <http://www.ris.gov.tw/ch4/static/m0s309811.xls>.

However, as playing the complex roles of wife, mother, daughter-in-law or sibling-in-law in their marriage family, it is conflict to their will to participate in the labor market. They face the dilemma to stay or to work. Under such a predicament, marriage migrants hope for the assistance from our government or other private or public units as much as possible to obtain more employment opportunities.

Another striking fact is that the second generation of transnational marriage families along with the increasing higher divorce rate of international marriage and decreasing donations is underprivileged under the situation of triple disadvantages – divorced parents, transnational parents and lack of assistance. As Professor Yeh, researching on marriage migrants for a long time, indicated the major causes leading to divorces of transnational couples are husband's unemployment, alcoholism and bilateral cultural conflicts.¹⁸

2.3.5 The Impacts of Marriage Migrants

However, migration issue in Taiwan was not always a hot topic as it is today; on the contrary, migration has been a heated issue around the world, especially in those developed countries in western countries. Inevitably, Taiwan, a developing country in the international community, is also confronting the migrations wave and facing the effects and concerns caused by it.

From ethnicity perspective, aside from the major four ethnicities like Holo, Hakka, the second generation of Mainlander and Aborigines, foreign spouses seem to be the fifth major ethnic group in Taiwan. Therefore, more and more researchers are interested in immigration issues in Taiwan. According to the Electronic Theses and Dissertation System of National Central Library, there are more than 750 relative theses and dissertation on the basis of foreign brides, foreign spouses and new

¹⁸ See “The Record High Divorce Rate of Transnational Marriages Leads to Triple Suffering of Children of Mix Families,” *China Times*, <http://migrant.cooloud.org.tw/node/42638>.

immigrants that marriage migrants are called in different stages, comprising diverse aspects such as culture, society, economy, and politics including topics like social and cultural integration, education of second generation, labor participation, ethnic dignity, adaptation and etc.

Moreover, the National Immigration Agency was established and extended to a larger scale for maneuvering increasingly complex immigration affairs in January 2nd, 2007. Apparently, migration has turned from a topic to a hot issue and even to a focus in Taiwan.

Most of all, when people migrate from one country to another, it does not only make a difference in the total population numbers of the countries involved, it also signifies the interactions between cultures, politics, and economies (Tsai and Hsiao, 2006). The argument for immigrants' impact on both the sending and the receiving countries' domestic economy never ends; for example, whether women marriage immigrants leads to brain drain for origin country or a supply for the lack of labor in destination country referring to the influence on labor market. The question whether marriage immigrants are burdens of the receiving countries' fiscal budget or a boost of their economic growth seems uncertain to answer. Meanwhile, the marriage immigrants still try hard to overcome the obstacles of naturalization, work, life adjustment and etc. Indeed, the concerns and debates over immigration still exist and grow complicated. Thus, what are abovementioned all contribute to spurring my research interest on women marriage immigrants, especially in economic aspect.

Since soaring increase of transnational marriage between Taiwan's grooms and Southeast Asian countries' brides, immigrants draw more and more attention by the mass media and the general public, especially for once a racially homogeneous nation. Definitely the ethnicity, culture, society and economy are influenced gradually to different extent. Migration's economic and social impacts are distributed unevenly

across policy domains (such as human resources, trade and tax) and among investors, producers, consumers and workers. Those effects, if managed improperly and unwell, may lead to apparent division of victor and loser and bring negative political reactions into migration. Albeit, not only the government but the private sectors offer assistance service for the new immigrants; nonetheless, what a pity is that despite all the commitments made to satisfy and assist the marriage immigrants or something around them, the marriage immigrants still fight for their rights and welfare they deserved via various channels. As Freeman and Kessler conceded that the supply of immigration policy does not always match demand (Hollifield, 2000). As a result, immigrants are no longer a chat topic or a concern but an issue be concentrated and managed in Taiwan

2.3.6 The Development and Amendment of Migration Policies and Service

Measures

For many migrants, citizenship becomes an issue as their periods of stay in the new country of residence grow longer, especially if they have children (Piper, 2003). Many countries including the United States, South Korea, Japan, and Germany require a two-year waiting period before applying for naturalization and during this time. Therefore, marriage migrant women's legal status is dependent on the goodwill of their husbands and on the survival of their marriages for several years, leaving migrant wives extremely vulnerable in their relationship with their husbands. However, women's sense of inclusion and exclusion does not solely rely on her acquisition of legal citizenship, and her social or substantive citizenship should be taken into consideration as well (Kim, 2008).

As Shuck (2000) reinforced that the political dimension in the form of immigration law and policy is particularly relevant for international migration.

However, few migrants know much about law and even fewer would point to law as a major factor in their migration decision. Nonetheless, law defines individuals' rights to property and economic activity, political participation, physical security, religious and cultural identity, and family relationships. All states seek to limit immigration and to enforce those limits through legal and extra-legal techniques.

Taiwan's government, through the Caring and Consulting system, has been engaged in finding solutions to the pressures of employment of women migrants with a view to maximizing its benefits while minimizing its negative consequences.

In recent years, the government executes pre-interview mechanism ahead of foreign spouses' entry to Taiwan so as to block illegal immigrants and bogus marriages.¹⁹ Moreover, the government also set a financial proof requirement for residence and neutralization application as a credit for sustaining their life expenses in Taiwan.²⁰

Besides, the government and the private sectors such as some NGO and NPO endeavor to revise relative migration regulation as well as offer support and assistance programs for the marriage immigrants, the marriage immigrants themselves and some social welfare organizations still continue calling for what they deserve like more access to information and job offers.²¹ This phenomenon may reflect a fact that the gap between the ideal and the reality which the marriage immigrants search for and the government determines to achieve.

Women's acquisition of a stable legal status requires the husband's involvement, so the process often is associated with the relationship between a wife and her

¹⁹ Interview mechanism on foreign spouses from Mainland China and other foreign countries has took effect in December, 2003 and in April, 2005, which are respectively executed by Ministry of the Interior (the former) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the latter).

²⁰ The original minimum of the Certificate of Property required for residence and neutralization application for mainland china and foreign spouses is 380 thousand; and raised to 410 thousand since July, 2007 along with the increase of minimum wage.

²¹ The Life Adaptation and Guidance and Assistance Project for Foreign Spouses was promulgated and put into effect in December, 1999 by means of the trans-sector and cross-department cooperation with abundant fiscal budgets.

husband (Kim, 2008). Therefore, while look back to the essence of marriage itself, husband and wife are meant to be eternal partners sharing, supporting, loving, advising and etc. Thus, husband of a transnational marriage are responsible for helping their spouse to adapt and integrate into the receiving society.

In order to comply with the shifting roles or statuses of migrant women and foreign wives, the relative regulations associated with migrant residence, citizenship, right and obligation are necessary to review and make amendment in government department.

BEVT has insisted on “the disadvantaged first” to serve the purpose of assisting spouses from foreign countries and China and has tackled this issue with best effort each year, such as “Employment Project for Spouses from Foreign Countries and China” and vocational training centers and employment centers that support career development of spouses from foreign countries and China.²²

“Employment Project for Spouses from Foreign Countries and China” integrates current employment service and vocational training measures including employment consulting services, seminars for improving employment, employment referral information and services, latest employment opportunities and vocational training information, vocational training courses and vocational training, and “allowance for odd jobs” and “employment incentives” to assist the development of small business of foreign culture and to provide employment consulting services, business loan allowance, and business-starting seminars.

In addition public employment services centers visited civil groups to illustrate the “Employment Project for Spouses from Foreign Countries and China” and to invite them to refer potential employees who are foreign spouses to employment services institutions. The purpose is to provide better understanding of employment

²² The contemporarily executed service programs for the migrants employment, <http://www.ejob.gov.tw/special/foreignbride/index.html>.

and vocational training channels through closely working with civil groups.

It is hoped to assist foreign spouses in understanding employment rights and how to find employment services and vocational training to get familiar with channels for employment opportunities and vocational training. The foreign spouses may have better chances of seeking employment opportunities.

Moreover, the related resources for assisting foreign spouses by BEVT are as follows:

1. Caring for foreign spouses hotline 0800-088-885 offers:

(1) services: Toll free numbers provides counsel to foreign spouses in terms of life adjustment, education and culture, employment services, medical hygiene, personal safety, offspring's education, and regulations regarding alien residence.

(2) services hours: Mandarin and Vietnamese languages are available 9 am~5 pm Monday through Friday; Indonesian, Thai, English and Cambodian languages are available during 1 pm~5 pm.

2. Line 113 for women and children protection hotline provides counsel and assistance in terms of personal safety:

(1) Provide foreign spouses protection, counsel and reporting channel (against domestic violence and sexual assault).

(2) 24/7 hotline is available in languages like Vietnamese, Indonesian, Thai, English and Cambodian.

3. Local city and county foreign spouse family services centers in Taipei city, Chiayi county, Pingtung county, Taipei county, Ilan county, Tainan county, Nantou county, Kaohsiung county, Kaohsiung city, Chiayi city and Keelung county are to serve foreign spouses in terms of care and counseling.

2.3.7 Wives or Workers?

Moreover, since marriage-oriented migration is founded on international marriages, families are the center of these women marriage immigrants' lives, so that the roles they play in their whole new family with regards to five family theories and the functions of the family also affect marriage migrants' living conditions and life satisfaction.

The roles of women marriage migrants are discussed on the basis of the family function and five family theories. Just as foreign workers (migrants and immigrants) who are often seen by local workers as “competitors to local jobs available”, foreign brides have their share of the stigma. Negative attitudes are reflected as they are seen as “pariah”, “mere servants to service all the families' needs”, “a servant who can give birth and raise child(ren) for them (husbands)”, “wives (who were) bought” (underscoring supplied). Others refer to them as “dependents” or “passive participants” to migration. Piper and Roces (2003) contend that “mail-order brides” cannot be brides forever and international marriage migrants have many roles including wife, worker, mother and citizen.

After detailed migration theory prescription, inevitably; the family theories are the sub-center of this chapter in order to explore the marriage immigrants' contemporary economic situation. The main four family theories are function-oriented, conflict-dominant, symbolic interactionism, exchange theory and family development theory.

The Big Five Theory are as follows: the first is Structural Functional theory, which explains society's expectations of us as members, and our inability to stray too far from those expectations. Conflict theories explain the nature of self-interest in an otherwise tolerant society. Symbolic Interaction theory will explain socialization and acculturation, and Social Exchange theory does a good job of explaining our

motivation to action. Finally, Developmental theories, as a group, will characterize a wide array of human phenomena, including our increasing ability to conceive of our culture.

Their marriages to foreign men from more advanced countries were facilitated by marriage bureaus or matchmaking agencies serving as conduits in the marriage business. Just like food being ordered from a restaurant menu or an item from a product list, these brides were “ordered” from a list of photos and videos of women gathered by marriage bureaus who, in turn, ask for fees, for the matchmaking services they render. As time went by, the process and routes became more sophisticated and more exploitative for these women who are now colloquially called “foreign brides”. Since then, the term “foreign brides” implies a derogatory connotation by virtue of its being “foreign” and other aspersions casted on them.

Just as foreign workers (migrants and immigrants) who are often seen by local workers as “competitors to local jobs available”, foreign brides have their share of the stigma. A large number of marriage migrant employees are found in agriculture, construction, labour intensive manufacturing and cleaning services—jobs which are often referred to as 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult). Certain jobs in Taiwan come to be identified as migrants’ jobs. For low-skilled women, domestic work is one of the primary employment opportunities available in Taiwan’s shrinking labor market.

International marriage migration relieves bride shortages in Taiwan, allowing his economies to expand rather than be constrained. Migrant workers benefit the host economy by freeing female household members to participate in the labor market. Evidence shows that the impact of migration on wages and employment in host countries is mixed and changes with economic conditions. Some findings show that in segmented labor markets, where migrant labor is largely confined to labor-intensive

sectors such as construction and manufacturing, the impact on the wages and employment of the local labor force is minimal.

However, the availability of marriage migrant workers at low wages has the unintended consequence of retarding the adoption of new technologies and creating incentives for labor-intensive industries to expand the admission of foreign workers. Further research-based information is needed to clarify the various impacts of women marriage migration on host countries. It could then be used to serve as the basis for more realistic policies.

2.3.8 The Motives and the Incentives for Marriage Migration

International migration has long been an emphasis of researchers in economy, sociology, human development and additional areas. The previous literatures on international marriage migration referred this group as represented by mail-order brides or picture-brides, and mainly in association with sex industry as victims of male-dominated businesses gender-imbalanced recognition, the recent researchers influenced by feminist, globally-developed perspectives have attempted to stress on women's agency and sources of women's empowerment.

Some have examined various aspects that affect women's decision to find their spouse in another country, such as economic and geographic hypergamy — to find a husband who can support her and her family back home — and a desire to realize marital subjectivities, and others have paid attention to women's experiences in their new family, community and country. However, more and more strict border control along with increasingly discriminative policy, disastrous working environment and criminal-like treatment, all of these are the situations foreign spouse are confronting under present global depression.

Kim (2008) noted that even though international marriage migrants are primarily

expected to provide reproductive labor, they often engage themselves in productive paid work for a number of reasons and with varying levels of satisfaction both in urban and rural areas they settle in. International marriage migrants might face difficulties resulted from language and cultural differences, but they also make efforts to improve their human and cultural capital and make contributions to their families and communities through various activities.

With regard to the motivation to migrate, there are diverse and multiple explanation to human migration. As a renowned philosopher Aristotle ever said that man is a social animal. If individuals move long distances, leaving their families and communities behind and crossing national, ethnic, or cultural boundaries, then there must be some extraordinary forces compelling them to do this (Hollifield, 2000). Wars and large-scale disasters, whether natural or man-made, are obvious migration triggers as people flee for their lives. Beyond them, the roots of international migration can be found in the quest to protect oneself and one's family from sustained physical jeopardy and to escape dramatic declines in economic opportunities that have become chronic (Parademetriou, 2003). Therefore, the motivation behind human migration, whether it is out of inner own will or is forced by outer environment or both, has had long being researchers' focus.

As Keely (2000) stated that a major difficulty often noted in the migration literature is developing a comprehensive theory that takes account of both voluntary and forced migration. Part of the difficulty is the name used for the phenomena. Voluntary migration is usually used synonymously with terms like economic migration. This is contrasted to forced or involuntary migration caused by man-made or natural disasters. Man-made disasters include the persecution of racial, ethnic, and religious groups or political dissenters and the flight due to the devastation of war. The problem is that all migration includes elements of choice and pressure.

Nowadays, due to prevailing globalization worldwide in economics, culture and politics in the recent few decades, countries in different regions interact much more frequently. Thus, international migration tends to occur simultaneously. The causes for immigration are diversely ranged from economic, educational, cultural and political dimensions such as for business, family reunion or refugee seeking for asylum, etc.

A women's marriage may seem to be made by her own choice, but actually operates a wider of influence on her decision to travel abroad for marriage: the social realities of both the country of origin and the destination country, the structure of the economy including the matchmaking agencies, and the interaction between the two concerned governments.

Therefore, the study points out the following as the factors contributing to the increase of cross-border marriages, and shed light on (1) the uneven development among countries in the global economy which consequently encouraged the commercialization of women, (2) the country of origin's patriarchal culture and government that seem indifferent or covertly encourage female migration in order to find a solution to the country's poverty and unemployment, (3) the same of the destination country that promote such migration as a way to solve its lack of young female population for marriage, and (4) the marriage agencies that benefit from the aforementioned structure problems (Seol, 2005). Definitely, the surging women marriage immigrants flock to Taiwan in the latest decade, the aforementioned factors comply with the phenomena best.

The following statement made by UN Group Meeting of 2008 that remittances made by marriage migrants are one of the most visible outcomes of international marriage migration. They have a profound impact on the quality of life of millions of poor households in developing countries. At the household level, remittances enhance well-being and economic security by providing critical resources for spending on

immediate subsistence needs such as food and housing as well as on improved health care and education.

Therefore, marrying men of highly-developed nations probably is a channel for marriage migrants to gain money to remit back to their original family so as to support and improve natal family's life expense.

Remittances also provide income for investment, savings and entrepreneurial activities which, in turn, have stimulating effects on the local and national economies. In this respect, the contribution of international marriage migration to poverty alleviation and overall socio-economic development has been duly recognized. The volume of remittances to several countries of origin is now so high in absolute terms as well as in relation to other sources of finance that it has become essential to harness its potential to bring about longer-term and broader economic and social development.

Since the remittance from marriage migrants is so influential and practical that more and more women travel for a long distance to a totally unacquainted place to pursue for better opportunity. As a result, remittance for marriage migrants can be taken as both motive and goal simultaneously.

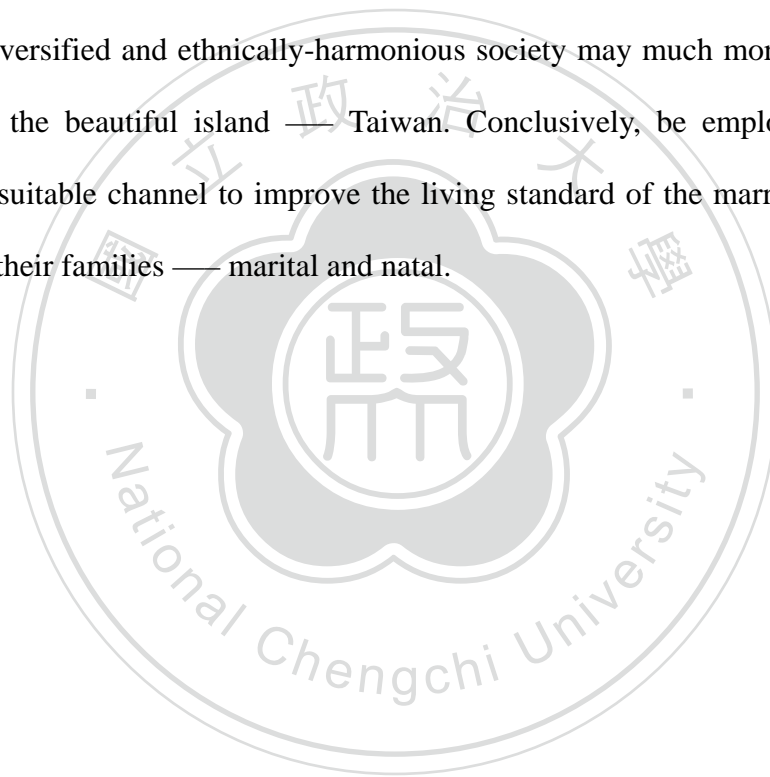
2.4 Summary

The literature review demonstrates that global migration has a long historic development in different periods of time and the numbers of migrants of both genders are almost equal. Moreover, the decision making process of migration really involves diverse concerns like human, social and cultural capitals and exit the differentials among the individual's marital status, gender, and kinship. Most of all, women migrants in Asian region display a unique characteristic which women migrants proportionately consists of marriage migrants in most of the cases.

In addition, the question that marriage immigrants are the burden or are

productive to society? Are the descendents of transnational marriage family inferior to their peer group in academic performance? The debates over marriage immigrants' positive and negative effects on the original and receiving countries never end.

Thus, this can definitely comply with a Chinese well-known discipline for adulthood — “To get married ahead of starting a career”. Moreover, traditionally speaking, since that a family is the foundation of a society is a prevailing and strong belief of the general public in Taiwan; thus, if transnational marriage couples may be economically-capable in order to establish healthy and complete family, then a culturally-diversified and ethnically-harmonious society may much more easily to be achieved in the beautiful island — Taiwan. Conclusively, be employed in labor market is a suitable channel to improve the living standard of the marriage migrants and both of their families — marital and natal.





Chapter 3 The Economic Predicaments of Marriage Migrants in Advanced Countries

This chapter is mainly to make a comparison with countries of remarkable immigrant influx, especially marriage immigrants, so as to discover the similarities and differences among them and to learn a lesson from their sophisticated experiences. Therefore, some countries with long-standing immigrant issues will be taken into accounts in order to elicit possible suggestions for Taiwan's government in dealing with the situation which marriage migrants are in.

The following countries which received many marriage migrants are chosen to compare in migrations on the basis of respective reasons.²³ The United States of America has a long history of migration development from diversified source countries. Britain, a member of European Union affected by his neighboring countries where marriage migrants are chiefly for family reunion, implements and amends feasible policies to decrease forced marriage and impede illegal marriage migrants. Japan, an island country same as Taiwan, attracts tremendous marriage migrants from neighboring countries like Russia, Mainland China and East and Southeast Countries such as Korea and Philippine. Especially, such a phenomenon existed in rural area or remote villages. Therefore, the abovementioned countries have specific functions to compare and extract informative resources for providing suggestions.

3.1 Status Quo of Marriage Migrants

Ahead of the discussion of economic predicament of marriage immigrants, it should be noted that main marriage migrants construction in different countries which have their own uniqueness respectively. However, there is still something in common

²³ United States of America is the country with the largest number of international migrants in 1990 and in 2005 based on the international migration report of United States.

among them; that is, women dominate permanent migration (that includes marriage migrants who have married foreign partners).

3.1.1 Patterns and Structure

Briefly speaking, women often migrate officially as dependent family members of other migrants or as a future spouse of someone in another country. Women also occupy tremendous amount of marriage migrants in nearly every destination countries. Basically, based on the marriage gradient and hypergamy theory,²⁴ women from underdeveloped and developing regions tended to take marriage with men of developed countries as a channel for the purpose of pursuit for better future livelihood and improve their original family economic situation.

No matter women marriage migrants travel from a far-off land out of their own wills, forced by their parents or surrendering to the cruelty of the reality, they all embrace their specific dream to realize in such totally unfamiliar and alien places in language, culture, and society.

Kinhide (2007) stated that the patterns to identify in marriage migration are as follows. Firstly, the women who migrate, taking marriage as a means to settle down, are often victims of economic transactions, formal and informal, which commodify them and ensure a state of chronic socioeconomic insecurity. They are caught in the current feminized process of global migration, and some are even the objects of trafficking.

Secondly, the marriage migrants are often subjected to the violence implied in patriarchy and racism and complicated by cultural dysfunctions in communication.

²⁴ Marriage gradient refers that people have different expectation of future partner of their opposite sex. Therefore, there will be an imbalance appears on bilateral socio-economic position between male and female. From women aspect, an alternative may occur as hypergamy and hypogamy out of the asymmetric situation existed between their husbands and themselves. Hypergamy refers to women marry men who are better positioned in relation to the system of social hierarchy, opposed to hypogamy referring to women stand in the higher position than their partners in that hierarchy.

It is the interplay of gender and race discrimination that leads to domestic and social violence, making married lives unsustainable and insecure. This is why marriage migrants constitute a special category.

Thirdly, marriage migrants also have a special role in building a multicultural Asian community. Unfortunately, their socio-economic and cultural insecurity makes it difficult for them to act as cultural mediators. Such difficulties need to be eliminated by the cooperation between the states and citizens in both their countries of origin and of destination.

Consequently, marriage migration possesses the following traits, which are women-dominance, economic-orientation, upward-mobilization, and diversified-operation.

3.1.2 The Marriage Migrants in Japan, USA and Britain

The prevailing image of marriage migration has been influenced by stories of marriage of convenience, of forced marriage, trafficking and of so-called mail-order brides. The above mentioned phenomena exist in the past and the present societies around the world. However, of its own specific background, the more developed countries in terms of marriage migration are generally regarded as magnets attracting women migration out of diverse reasons, namely for the better life.

Japan is one of the model countries with growing marriage migrants in the past few decades. As Piper (2003) noted that the global trend of increasing numbers of international couples can also be witnessed in Japan where Southeast and Northeast Asian women dominate numerically.

Kokusai kekkon (international marriages) between Japanese men and non-Japanese women have become increasingly common since the 1980s in Japan, showing a 550 per cent increase in number during the last two decades. The vast

majority of these marriages have been with women from other Asian countries, notably China, the Philippines, and South Korea. The increase in such marriages has coincided with the economic, political, and cultural integration of the Asian region that has accelerated the migration of people, temporary or permanent, to and from Japan (Nakamatsu, 2005).

The number of international marriage in Japan is gradually growing from 1970 to 1990 and increasing dramatically since then. Especially, the number of international marriage between Japanese husband and foreign spouses till 2000 with near 40% growth than 1990 is apparent. Since then, the increase shows steadily in the successive years (Table 3-1).

From the table indicated, the sourcing countries of international marriage in Japan are majorly from the nations in northeast and southeast Asia. From 1970s to 1990s, Korea topped on the list; however from 1995 on, China was at the leading place in terms of the original country of international marriage with Japanese. It testified the “Propinquity Theory”²⁵ while selecting marriage partner nearly from the adjacent and neighboring countries (Hung, 2005). Another apparent phenomenon among the increasing international marriage is that foreign brides are much more than the foreign husbands. Interestingly, USA is listed on the third place followed Korea and China as the major sourcing countries of foreign husbands in Japan.

As Nakamatsu (2005) indicated in the late 1980s “International Marriage through Introduction Agencies, IMIA” attracted enormous media interest in Japan. The topic became a torendo, or a trend, following the involvement of rural local government in arranging international marriages for their male residents in response to the problem of inability to attract Japanese brides to farm households. Thus, media interest was enormous, focusing on rural farming families and the experiences of the brides from

²⁵ Propinquity theory here refers to no matter he/she has the tendency to search his/her partner who is adjacent to him/her geographically.

Table 3-1: Number of International Marriage by Nationality in Japan

Year	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2003	2004	2005	2006
Total of Marriage	774,702	735,850	722,138	791,888	798,138	740,191	720,417	71,4265	73,0971
Japanese Couple	767,441	723,669	696,512	764,161	761,875	704,152	680,906	672,784	686,270
International Marriage	7,261	12,181	25,626	27,727	36,263	36,039	39,511	41,481	44,701
Japanese Husband	4,386	7,738	20,026	20,787	28,326	27,881	30,907	33,116	35,993
Nationality of Wife									
Korea	2,458	3,622	8,940	4,521	6,214	5,318	5,730	6,066	6,041
China	912	1,766	3,614	5,174	9,884	10,242	11,915	11,644	12,131
Philippines	-	-	-	7,188	7,519	7,794	8,397	10,242	12,150
Thailand	-	-	-	1,915	2,137	1,445	1,640	1,637	1,676
U.S.A	178	254	260	198	202	156	179	177	215
U.K.	-	-	-	82	76	65	64	59	79
Brazil	-	-	-	579	357	295	256	311	285
Peru	-	-	-	140	145	139	137	121	117
Other Countries	838	2,096	7,212	990	1,792	2,427	2,589	2,859	3,299
Japanese Wife	2,875	4,443	5,600	6,940	7,937	8,158	8,604	8,365	8,708
Nationality of Husband									
Korea	1,651	2,525	2,721	2,842	2,509	2,235	2,293	2,087	2,335
China	194	380	708	769	878	890	1,104	1,015	1,084
Philippines	-	-	-	52	109	117	120	187	195
Thailand	-	-	-	19	67	62	75	60	54
U.S.A	625	876	1,091	1,303	1,483	1,529	1,500	1,551	1,474
U.K.	-	-	-	213	249	334	339	343	386
Brazil	-	-	-	162	279	265	268	261	292
Peru	-	-	-	66	124	125	122	123	115
Other Countries	405	662	1,080	1,514	2,239	2,601	2,783	2,738	2,773

Note: Until year 1992, the Philippines, Thailand, U.K. Brazil, and Peru were included in other countries in the statistics.

Source: Ministry of Health (2006), *Statistics of International Marriage*, <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/jinkou/suii06/marr2.html>.

other parts of Asia who were referred to by a racialized term, Ajjia no hanayome (Asian brides). “Asian brides,” the majority of whom were Filipinas, were

consistently portrayed as economic victims of their homelands or as foreign workers disguised as brides. Moreover, this derogatory picture of female foreigners disallows the view of these women as “active female migrants”, positively contributing to Japanese society by providing reproductive and productive work. In addition, these women are not short-term labor migrants, but long-term settlers.

Piper (2003) pointed out that Japan is also host to an increasing number of international couples — a trend which has largely coincided with accelerated labor migration flows of Southeast and East Asian women. Numerically, Southeast and Northeast Asian women are the most common spouses in international couples, with Filipinas forming the largest settling immigrant group in Japan. Thus, these ‘newcomer’ foreign spouses have added to the various types of inter-ethnic relationships which are part of Japan’s significant (and historically established) minority populations.

As the research of Tsuda (2001) showed that for many decades, Japan was the only advanced industrial country in the world that did not rely on unskilled foreign labour. Japan, a nation insisting on ethnic homogeneity and refusal to accept unskilled foreign workers, opted to its labor requirements by mechanizing and rationalizing production and making greater use of untapped sources of labor (female and elderly workers).

Transnational marriages account for a significant proportion of family-based immigration to North America. An increasing number of immigrant men are choosing to marry women from their countries of origin, and an increasing number of nonimmigrant men are choosing to marry women from other countries. This article describes three interrelated theoretical frameworks that can inform further research, practice, and policy development related to female marriage migrants. The frameworks draw on cross-cultural models of gender-based violence, seminal work on

the psychology of women, and international human rights research (Merali, 2008).

As many envision Europe as a provider of unlimited opportunities and endless riches and wealth, they are often disappointed to find this image far from the truth upon arrival. Not surprisingly, European as well as American studies have documented how many irregular migrants do not realize their aspirations. However, some irregular migrants do achieve success. One should therefore take care not to regard them mere “victims”. Although irregular migrants do obviously experience limitations, a “victim perspective” can obstruct our understanding of the ways they manage to improve their situation. The extent to which they manage to realize their aspirations is closely connected to the extent to which they are able to enforce and mobilize resources like social, cultural, or economic capital. Numerous studies have explored the significance of different forms of capital for irregular migrants. Their findings are worthwhile yet ambiguous (Van Meeteren *et al.*, 2009).

The National Statistics of the Britain stated that the population will increase from present 61 million to 71 million and 600 thousand owing to the gradually growth of immigrants in 2033; calculated correctly, which probably the speediest population growth in the recent ten decades. The predicted statistic report showed that two thirds of the population increase is resulted from the influx of immigrants to Britain directly or indirectly till the year of 2033. The major sources of immigrants in Britain are asylum seekers, relatives of migrants for family union, labor migrants and marriage migrants.

With regard to source of spouse, the marriage migrants in Britain being different from Taiwan’s (brokered marriages), are unique, that is international arranged marriages with spouses from where they come. International arranged marriages are a major factor in the formation of ghettos in Britain. Even in the second generation, a high proportion of immigrants from certain countries enter arranged marriages with

spouses from their county of origin. This sets back integration by a generation.

It is now essential that immigration policy should discourage international arranged marriage which has become a means of immigration. The present regulations should be tightened and a “family connection test” should be introduced, similar to that in force in Denmark. Where a UK resident wishes to marry a spouse from the country in which he or she (or either parent) was born, entry clearance to Britain should not be granted until both parties have reached the age of 24.

Thus, USA, UK and Japan have specific and unique patterns and sources of marriage migrants respectively. Generally speaking, marriage migration is a common trend in the global migration.

3.1.3 Treatment and Attitude toward Marriage Migrants

Existing studies on the experiences of foreign brides entering North America have highlighted their vulnerability to spousal maltreatment, including unique forms of immigration abuse (e.g., threats of deportation). Their vulnerability to maltreatment has been attributed to the gender-insensitive nature of family immigration policies, the women’s lack of awareness of their rights and immigration status, and their husbands’ cultural beliefs about women’s roles (Merali, 2008).

The maltreatment of marriage migrants received from their international marriage from their natal family and husband’s family has started early from at the beginning of the process of matching making. They are regarded as a mixed figure combined with intruder, affordable housemaid and commodity by their husband’s family; conversely, seen as sacrifice, hopeful rescuer and trade commodity by their natal family. Besides, the discriminative attitude of locals in destination countries toward marriage migrants still persist and no one knows when to eliminate. This phenomenon seems to be universal. It can be proved in the following paragraph.

LeeAn (2007) ever noted that the marriage migrants face and experience diverse

unfair and unreasonable treatment prior and post their transnational marriages either in their host or destination countries. For instance, in the process of marriage arrangement, in particular, many of the women are exposed to inhumane commercialized marriages which include human right violations and human-trafficking factors such as receiving false information regarding their future spouses, and/or illegal physical abuses such as confinement, and un-payable debt, etc. In addition, the women are also scored by their race, appearance and age by marriage brokers and male customers.

In addition, after marriage, they may face all the familiar problems – domestic violence, racial discrimination, language barriers, and failure to communicate, leading to serious family disputes as well as social discrimination. Gendered immigration laws also make them vulnerable. In most countries, marriage migrant women have to keep their marriage for a certain number of years until they gain full residential rights. During that period, many women are exposed to all kinds of violence and discrimination; most of them keep silent for fear of deportation. Also, the complicated conditions for naturalization put women in an insecure situation because they can only achieve their civil right as wives of men.

Furthermore, marriage-migrant women also face diverse social discrimination and violence on the basis of gender, race and class both before and after marriage in receiving countries. Contrary to their expectations, their social economic status in receiving countries does not improve in most cases. The mainstreaming approaches to these problems so far have been mainly treating them as passive victims and beneficiaries of social welfare.

Marriage migrants often experience patriarchal discrimination, shared by their societies of origin and of destination, on top of cultural conflicts they are exposed to in their new homes. Çelikaksoy (2006) portrayed that in most countries Non-Western

immigrants have lower employment and wage rates than the natives and their economic assimilation is a crucial issue.

The prevailing interpretations tend to see the women either as victims sacrificing themselves for the sake of their families or as laborers “disguised” as brides. In such a paradigm, various support programs for migrant women offered by NGOs and local government bodies tend to be valued without reference to the users’ accounts. A transnational woman may not be able to control other social actors, but her personal resources, including her knowledge and capability , may be effectively used in her pursuit of marriage and migration to maximize her life chance (Nakamatsu, 2005).

After reviewing some of the evidence of employment patterns of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK and then relate this to the specific question of how marriage to a spouse from overseas affects women’s employment patterns. It is well established that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK have very low rates of economic activity — much lower than Indian women (Dale and Ahmed, 2008).

On the supply side, Dale and Ahmed (2008) have shown that both qualifications and lifestage (partnership and children) have a very big influence on levels of economic activity for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women — and larger than for other ethnic groups. Whilst levels of economic activity of Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are generally lower at most stages of the life-stage than for other ethnic groups, single highly-qualified young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK are as likely to be economically active as their counterparts in other ethnic groups. However, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK have lower levels of educational qualifications than other ethnic groups, with a sharp distinction between those who are UK-born and those born overseas. Amongst women born overseas, fluency in English also tends to be low. In addition, the gender-based division of

child-care is much more apparent for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women than for either Indian or white women.

Remittance of female migrants helped many of their families to come out of poverty. Studies found that more than half of female remittances were used for daily consumption, health care and children education. According to some studies shows that remittance have the following functions, such as lower school drop out ratio, more investment on private tuition of their children and increase the birth weight of the infants reflecting remittance affording household better healthcare.

Siddiqui (2008) stated that remittance also provided decent livelihood to other members of their families. Along with strong obligation towards own and extended family some of them are conscious about their future and save a portion of the remittance by keeping them in bank or purchasing insurance and investment bonds. All of these have a high social and economic return. Since women migrants are absent, remittances are usually utilized by the family. Due to lack of opportunities as well as lack information on available avenue for investment women migrants can hardly keep control over their remittances. However, women developed their own mechanism of saving for future during subsequent migration.

3.2 Cause and Effect from Marriage Migrants

Accordingly, the relative balance of power between the sexes is determined by dynamic interactions of dyadic and structural power. Dyadic power accrues to whichever sex is relatively rare owing to the larger proportion of potential relationships available to it, the demographic dimensions of which are commonly known as a marriage squeeze. Structural power refers to control over economic, political, or legal resources: men or women (Goodkind, 1997).

Kinhide (2007) deliberated that there is an urgent need to attend to the multiple

structural factors that produce migrate on through marriage. The general trend of women's impoverishment in recent decades has been a great concern, especially for those addressing global migration. But when we consider women's increasing poverty in the context of neoliberal globalization, we should not only think of it as an economic but also as a cultural impoverishment. When the cultural dimension is included, our understanding of marriage migration can be extended to the women's desire to find a new life. But often, their desire cannot be met, because they can only migrate to another society in which the only available jobs or roles are often contrary to their deepest wishes.

Many marriage migrant women decide to get married, not only for economic reasons, but also for the desire to have new equal relationship in the family. Many of them have a strong desire to make a change and improve their status in society. However, in reality, many of them are forced to take traditional women's role and are exposed to many kinds of discrimination based on gender and race (LeeAn, 2007).

The various aspects that affect women's decision to find their spouse in another country have been examined as follows, such as economic and geographic hypergamy — to find a husband who can support her and her family back home — and a desire to realize marital subjectivities; moreover women's experiences in their new family, community and country has attracted researchers attention as well. Nakamatsu (2005) noted that even though international marriage migrants are primarily expected to provide reproductive labor, they often engage themselves in productive paid work for a number of reasons and with varying levels of satisfaction both in urban and rural areas they settle in.

3.3 Strategies and Policies for Marriage Migrants Employment

Undeniably, migrants still contribute to the host country in several ways; thus the

positive effects brought about by marriage migrants will be discussed such as their commitment to family, society and nation. In addition, marriage immigrants' endeavor to household affairs and productivities to labor market are essential for stabilizing their family and the society. From the data of the previous research, new immigrants' contributions are in several aspects such as family, culture and economy, etc.

Çelikaksoy (2006) declared that in most countries, non-Western immigrants have lower employment and wage rates than the natives and their economic assimilation is a crucial issue. Immigrants and natives may have different preferences for home work, market work and leisure which in turn determine their gains from each type of work.

Unemployment has a proven negative impact on self-esteem and often negatively impacts family and social relationships. If Migrant being employed may assist them integrate in to the host society and benefit their family finance. To some extent, the integration into society may be not only a question of culture but also of work, especially, this is frequently observed in the first generation of migrants. The immigrant is essentially in search of opportunity and social mobility his own society does not provide.

As LeeAn (2007) elaborated the marriage migrants, through social networks, can become involved in economic sector. According to a survey by the Korean health minister, 60% of marriage migrant women are working in economic sectors and 93% of unemployed marriage migrant women want to work. Moreover, marriage migration from the southeast Asia to more economically developed nations such as Korea, Japan and Taiwan, marriage migrant women also have the potential to participate in economic activities between two or more communities of receiving and sending countries. For example, women migrants may sell their traditional food to immigrant workers or make a small business to import and sell some goods from their origin countries.

The above mentioned economic activities operated by marriage migrants are so

commonly seen on Taiwan's streets, no matter in the rural countryside or in the cosmopolitan area. The business using transnational networks as a form of social resources, which the immigrants can have, is economically transnational from the bottom (grass roots); it gives an alternative way of escaping from a low-wage and long-term labour for some immigrants, so as marriage migrants in Taiwan.

3.4 Summary

While discussing various kinds of treatment and attitude marriage migrants have experienced since arriving in the destination countries, consequently, the marriage migrants themselves perhaps are too busy facing their specific problems and are unconscious of the various obstacles (legal, economic, political, and cultural) which are at the root of the international migration system and its local sub-systems.

Therefore, if the family members, the relatives and neighbors, society and government can offer a helping hand to the marriage migrants, the predicament they are confronting may be downgrade and decrease and even eliminate.

Moreover, if the channels to social networks for marriage migrants are to be accessible, reachable, practical, profitable and eternal, then the economical predicaments of marriage migrants are removable and resolvable.

In conclusion, marriage migration pattern appeared more frequently in the globe are describe as the following items: women-centered, socioeconomic-upwards, benefit-dominated, source-diversified, and globally-increasing. It is common that migrants no matter from what channels are looking forward the better future life and search for opportunities in other nations. Therefore, getting a job is the simple way for them to fulfill their tiny dream. Therefore, the government of the destination countries should take it into concern and provide job offers for not only their natives but also the migrants, otherwise the unstable families will lead to social insecurity and turn toe

national burden.





Chapter 4 The Economic Predicaments of Marriage Migrants in Taiwan

In Taiwan, due to the past two decade of increasing marriage migrant inflows, the number of marriage migrants amounts over 420 thousand according to the statistic data released by Department of Household Registration Affairs of Ministry of the Interior in 2009. Proportionally speaking, the majority of the marriage migrants are women via Southeast Asia and Mainland China.

Since stepping on the territory of the host country, marriage migrants need to adapt anything which they are unfamiliar with and may immediately confront diverse challenges in domestic domain plus social, cultural and additional aspects. Especially, most of marriage migrants are generally from the poorer and less-developed sourcing countries and finally enter the comparatively economically-insufficient and socially-disadvantaged families in the receiving countries. Either their husbands or marital families are both seen as the less-advantaged and unaffordable in either economic and social or educational and cultural respects.

4.1 Status Quo of Marriage Migrants

According to the statistic data of MOI on April 2007, from January of 1987 to the end of August of 2007, the foreign spouses (male and female) population is 35,363 people. This number didn't include the spouses from mainland China. Of all the spouses, there are 76,780 people come from Vietnam and almost one hundred percent of them are female. Respectively listed at the second and third places, spouses from Indonesia are over 26 thousand and those from Philippines are more than six thousand.

According to the statistic data of MOI in the year 2003, the education level of

foreign spouses are as follows: graduated under junior school are 40.71%, graduated from high school are 39.54%. The age of foreign spouses below 24 is 44.6%, between 25 and 34 is 40.7%, and between 35 and 44 is 10.8%. Based on the quarterly statistics released in the summer of 2007, the number of the elementary and junior high school students whose mothers come from Southeast Asia and Mainland China reaches almost 52 thousand, wherein the mothers of Vietnamese and Indonesian nationalities occupy the most proportions.

The predicaments and needs of foreign spouses in Taiwan are categorized as the following items:

1. Language barriers and mandarin learning needs: This is the most common and fundamental problems. Foreign spouses may probably study Chinese for a short time in their home country. Since they were chosen as wives by Taiwanese men, they are incapable of communicating with others very well. Such a situation on different occasions leads to communication barriers, misunderstandings and disputes.

2. The expectations gap: Foreign brides may have good impression of Taiwan from various channels such as TV, marriage agencies and etc. But in real life, many young wives may feel frustrated and disappointed. Foreign wives frequently expressed they want to escape from the economic hardship so they migrate to Taiwan via transnational marriage, but actuality they jump into a complicated and disputed family.

3. The economic improvement pressures from their original family: Foreign spouses married to Taiwan, most of them want to improve their domestic finance of their original family. This often results in the argument of the couple frequently.

4. Loneliness and isolation in Taiwan: Since marriage migrants are those foreign brides from alien countries with totally different language and culture from those of Taiwan, therefore the gap of language and culture is tentative to become the

communication barrier between marriage migrants and their and in-laws, even the natives. Hence, the loneliness and isolation in the inner side of marriage migrants no doubt gradually grow and accumulate.

5. Parenting pressure. To some extent, marriage migrants in Taiwan have the responsibility of breeding, therefore they also bear the major responsibility of caring and educating their children. However, due to present education system in Taiwan, the post-school tutoring is indispensable. The scarce resources and limited language ability what marriage migrants have prevent them from providing enough guidance for their children's behavior and learning. Language barrier leads to communication barrier. Moreover, communication barrier leads to misunderstanding among family members. All the limitations resulting from incompetent language ability arouse marriage migrants' parenting pressure.

6. Cultural conflicts: Marriage migrants almost have completely different background from their husbands in many domains. The environment in destination countries are quite diverse from that of original countries, so it takes much time and effort for marriage migrants to adapt the situation they face in receiving countries. Even the culture conflicts seemingly occur in family, community, and society because of language and culture differences.

7. Weak and insufficient support system: Marriage migrants who used to be called foreign brides before were ever regarded as minor group in Taiwan. Consequently, they receive rare social services offered from government and society and obtain limited access to resources provided in receiving country. Therefore, marriage migrants need more support from receiving countries.

8. Residential problem and needs: While foreign spouses apply for the nationality of Taiwan, they must give the Financial Proof such as salary receipt, money saved in bank accounts, real estate, or other property they have. The total

amount of yearly salary must be more than US\$12,300, if taking real estate as the financial proof, the value of the real estate must be more than US\$153,850. Most of them and their family do not have so much property to meet the requirement. Recently, more and more marriage migrants stand out to fight for their rights via plea for government amending the present rules.

9. The rules constraint : the women who come from mainland China they can not work until they stay at Taiwan for 5 ~ 7 years.²⁶

4.1.1 Patterns and Structure

As the previous literature review (see chapter 2) showed that the fundamental marriage migrant source in Taiwan are women from Southeast Asia and Mainland China via transnational marriage. The age groups of marriage migrants range from early twenties to late sixties, but the majority group are those aged between 20 and 30 years old.

Most of all, women migrants display unique characteristics such as lower education level, triarchy, high fertility, male-breadwinner model, and low rates of education and waged work outside the home for women (Sandel and Liang, 2009). To some extent, the marriage migrants in Taiwan comply with the above mentioned description.

Generally speaking, the most cases of transnational marriage are in rural areas of Taiwan. With regards to the socio-economic stratum of the couples of transnational marriage, most of them are seen as being at the lower level of education, income,

²⁶ The Articles 17 of Act Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area on July 1, 2009 and implemented from August 14, 2009 has amended as any person who is permitted to have a spouse residency or long-term residency in the Taiwan Area in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 1,3 or 4 of the preceding Article may work in the Taiwan Area during the residency period. Accordingly, the Council of Labor Affairs abolished the Regulation Governing Work Approval of Mainland Spouse in the Taiwan Area during the spouse residency period. Since then, the mainland spouses may work during their residency period no matter the length of their stay.

culture, position, profession on average.

Moreover, the typical transnational marriage pattern in Taiwan is brokered marriage mediated by marriage agencies no matter legal or illegal; therefore, the information which the new couples known about each other is extremely deficient ahead of their marriage so as to result in mutual misunderstanding and potential problems frequently in their future life. The beguilement hidden behind marriage is revealed after arriving in the receiving countries so the foreign brides confront diversified shocks to different degree while facing their husbands, their family-in-laws, or the environment they live in.

4.1.2 The Marriage Migrants in Taiwan

From the marriage migrant respect, migration implies not only the uncertainty of future but also the expectation for life improvement. Migration should be a choice rather than a necessity for them. Migrants are conscious of their decision no matter what drive them to determine to move. Obviously, they choose to cross national borders to pursue better livelihood and opportunities through various channels like obtaining higher education degree, stable job, and even unpredictable marriage of the highest risk to face uncontrolled destiny and uncertain future.

The rapid rise in the number of foreign brides in Taiwan is related to the dual imbalance between supply and demand in the marriage market and the gender distribution in Taiwan's demographic population.²⁷ The Ministry of the Interior used to declared that as of the end of year 2000, there were something over 1.93 million unmarried men in the Taiwan in the "marriageable" age group of 20-34, but only 1.42 million women, that is an excess of men over women of half a million. In other words,

²⁷ According to the statistics released by the Department of Statistics of Ministry of Interior in 2009, the sum of total foreign spouses is very close to 43 thousand in the end of 2009, which rose almost to 10 thousand in 5 years, compared with that of the year 2003, which was more than 33 thousand. See <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/week/list.htm>.

there would be over 500,000 men in Taiwan unable to find wives unless the men who are more than 200,000 have outreached and extended their horizons abroad and married mainland or foreign partners.²⁸

Therefore, aside from the economic cause, the effect of demographic development (status) is influencing the development of transnational marriage as well. At present, the largest numbers of foreign brides are coming from Vietnam, the number of foreign brides from Mainland China are not calculated in this statistics. In the past nearly two decades, Vietnamese brides occupied the biggest proportion of the whole foreign brides in Taiwan based on the statistics of MOI, followed by foreign spouses from Indonesia and Cambodia listed on the top three highest simultaneously (Table 4-1).

The number of foreign spouses displayed a growing tendency before the year of

Table 4-1: Marriage Migrants Acquiring R.O.C Nationality by Home Country—1990~2008

Nation	Persons
Malaysia	159
Indonesia	9,685
Thailand	961
Vietnam	45,217
Cambodia	3,574
Myanmar	1,330
Philippine	2,935
Others	680

Note: The number of applicants from Mainland China is not included in this statistics.

Source: Ministry of the Interior (2009), *The Statistics of Foreign Spouses Acquiring ROC Nationality*.

²⁸ According to the statistics released by the Department of Statistics of Ministry of Interior in 2009, the ratio of foreign grooms to native ones is more than 3% and the ratio of foreign brides to native ones is near to 40% in 2003 when there were the highest amount of foreign spouses in Taiwan. It indicates that there are thirteen times of foreign brides than foreign grooms in Taiwan in a single year which infers Taiwan's men are tentative to play import roles in marriage market so as to bring more and more foreign brides to Taiwan. See <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/gender/ps03-04.xls>.

2003; since then, it showed minor decrease which probably resulted from the following potential causes: mainland bride interview mechanism execution at the end of the year 2003, foreign bride outer-state interview enforcement in 2005,²⁹ and the improving economy of the source countries of the foreign brides so that they preferred staying in their homeland.³⁰

Moreover, another potential reason is that the downgrading economy of Taiwan in recent years forces the men loath to spend much money on a transnational marriage (Table 4-2).³¹ The money spending on transnational marriage mostly by means of agents and brokers become the investment of no repayment.

Table 4-2: Number of Foreign Brides in Taiwan—2001~2008

Year	Persons
2001	42,802
2002	44,647
2003	48,633
2004	28,134
2005	25,288
2006	20,716
2007	21,559
2008	18,213

Source: Ministry of the Interior (2009), *The Yearly Statistics of Foreign Brides in Taiwan*.

²⁹ Both are executed for blocking human trafficking, prostitution, illegal labors or other criminal covered by pseudo transnational marriage, which are respectively under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

³⁰ Vietnam is a good example, which signed the Tariff-free Agreement with ASEAN in 2003 becoming a world factory and locating in an important geographic position in South Asia. It owns a promising economic vision. In 2005, it is also named by Goodman Sachs as the NEXT-11 displaying the abundant natural resources and strong labor force. Plus, it is an incentives to foreign investment and sees increasing domestic economic activities.

³¹ The prevalence of domestic factory relocation and business transfer to Mainland China and other countries in Southeast Asia affects the unemployment rate increase and consumption price rising in Taiwan. Under such a circumstance, an increase of family member like a foreign bride will lead to heavier burden of the family economically, even more burden if they have children in the future.

4.1.3 Treatment and Attitude toward Marriage Migrants

Xenophobia, as an anthropologist or sociologist might call it a fear of the other, of the unknown, and those who are different. In this sense, xenophobia could be considered as a basic human instinct. An economist or a demographer might argue that international migration places a strain on resources. Xenophobia could be a basic human instinct. The term immigration phobia encompasses threat perception or fear. These two dimensions of the phobia definition — fear and hostility (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000).

This part in this research is aimed to find out how local nationals view the negative and positive effects of marriage migrant brides having in our society. Whether they acknowledge the contributions of marriage migrants bringing into our society and how all the effects reflect on the overall development of the society where we are.

Have the attitudes of local peoples changed over the years? If so, what are these changes? Do the local people have the positive images of foreign brides now and ever? If so, what are these? Do local peoples see their contributions? Do they think that foreign brides should have equal rights as they do? How are these rights manifested and expressed in legal and practical terms?

It will also try to look on how locals (both men and women) interact with marriage migrants and whether they see them as one of the positive forces that can in general shape their society as well as guide and discipline the future generations of being mothers and women. It is also good to look on how local women perceive the existence of foreign mothers and how they view foreign brides as immigrants and as part of the local women's movement.

In general, migrants including foreign brides should be considered as part of local society. Especially, certain requirements in order to maintain and sustain their

lives in host countries are indispensable so long as they stay with the husbands and children and learn the language.

There are some stinging remarks in accordance with the foreign brides by the local or host peoples. What more stinging and traumatic is when separation or divorce comes in and they find out that they have “no rights” whatsoever over their children. Furthermore, they also lose their “right to stay”, “right of abode” or “citizenship” and the “right to work”, when the divorce or separation is finalized.

Moreover, if the natives hold a positive attitude toward migrants including marriage migrants and expect them integrate into the receiving society will be helpful for migrants to establish self-confidence and to quickly adapt to the environment of the destination countries. Especially, if migrants deserve the equal rights and privileges that the locals possess, they may easily to gain the sense and belonging and fairness to avoid unpredictable conflict and controversy. If the consensus between the locals and migrants founds, then the government or NGO's policy promotion related to marriage migrants may not face big obstacles.

Piper and Roces (2003) stated that primarily constructed as ‘emigrant spouses’ or ‘foreign wives’ inscribed in a patriarchal order whereby women are transferred from their natal family to their husband's family, these women migrants' status as transnational citizens, part of two families, has been neglected. In addition, the general public, to various extent, also put value on the contributions of foreign brides to the family and host society in general — a pool of human resource in order to solve the “marital need” of their “single population” and thereby raise new generations of children. One factor they recognize is the decreasing and ageing population as more and more local women prefer to marry late or stay single. Here are some of their views:

- They give family life to middle-aged men who have low level of education

- The existence of foreign brides can solve the marital need of single population in local society. The brides can also human resource to the society.
- In current Taiwan's society, these women's contribution to mitigating problems of low birth rate and aging population is critical.
- They help raise new generations of Taiwanese children.
- Taiwan needs women from other countries because younger Taiwanese women seem more interested in earning money than raising a family. We need to nurture young Taiwanese children to become responsible citizens. Many foreign brides are now guardians of Taiwanese children.
- The population of Taiwan is decreasing, and many people cannot find someone to marry. It will prevent Taiwan from losing its population.
- Many males in Taiwan can't find their marriage mate easily, some are due to the economic, health or age factors, and some can't find a stepmother who is willing to take care of his child. They can only go abroad to find their mate. So whether (they) bring up the birth rate in Taiwan, or take the most part of these domestic works, they do lots of contribution to Taiwan.
- Women in Taiwan are more independent now, most of us may get married late or even stay single. Foreign brides help Taiwan to make a balance of marriage proportion. Moreover, foreign brides are not so reluctant to have babies, which contribute a lot to the birth rate-a declining problem in Taiwan. Others view foreign brides' contribution in enriching and flourishing mono-culture or eradicate the "myth" of ethnic homogeneity.

Although the marriage migrants are commonly regarded as the products of globalization, they are more the products of compensation for urgent need of Taiwan's men to find a bride, stepmother, housemaid or caregiver in Taiwan's case.

There has been a "myth" of ethnic homogeneity in Taiwanese traditional society,

which limits many people's thoughts. The increase of international marriage challenges the myth, and will generate positive influences if dealt with well. The general public view that foreign brides should be treated equally as locals, and even are expressed as the "potential crisis" to the host society if women migrants are not given equal treatment. If migrants can not take care of their children properly, there would be a potential crisis for society in Taiwan, because the new generation will be the main support and producer of our country.

Just as foreign workers (migrants and immigrants) who are often seen by local workers as "competitors to local jobs available", foreign brides have their share of the stigma. Negative attitudes are reflected as they are seen as "pariah", "mere servants to service all the families' needs", "a servant who can give birth and raise child(ren) for them (husbands)", "wives (who were) bought" (underscoring supplied). Others refer to them as "dependents" or "passive participants" to migration (APMM, 2007).

Due to legal restrictions on residency and employment, however, foreign spouses who marry to Taiwanese men have long found life in Taiwan extremely difficult. The situation has improved recently, though, thanks to passage of the Entry, Exit and Immigration Law. Foreign spouses now have an opportunity to join the ranks of "the new Taiwanese." Since the enactment of Entry, Exit and Immigration Law, foreign spouses meeting certain criteria may gain the right to obtain permanent residency.

In Taiwan the term "foreign brides" generally refers to the female partners in international marriages in which women from less developed countries move to live in more developed countries. Over the past decade, as Taiwanese businesses have advanced southward and westward, and the government has opened Taiwan's doors to foreign laborers, more and more Taiwanese men have crossed boundaries to marry women from the countries of Southeast Asia and Mainland China, and the foreign brides they have brought back with them have become a group large enough to draw

attention of the government and the general public.

Another prominent cause leading to discriminative attitude toward marriage migrants is their extremely limited language ability to communicate well so that the mutual communication will be curb between the locals and the migrants. The language barrier not only affects job opportunities, but also the parental education a foreign spouse can provide and the social and cultural integration.

Foreign mothers are usually the main caregivers at home, but communication with their own children can be handicapped by language problems. Usually they do not speak their own languages with their children. A recent survey by King Car Education Foundation indicates that only around 32 percent of children born to foreign mothers can communicate with them in their mothers' native language.

Yet the children, surrounded by Taiwanese relatives, can often become more fluent speakers of the local language than their mothers; therefore, the communication gap existing among marriage migrants, their relatives of husbands' family and their own children may arouse children's disrespect to their mothers speaking foreign languages. Moreover, surveys done by the MOI and by King Car Education Foundation have, however, shown to be false the popular canard, much disseminated in the media, that children of such mixed marriages lag in learning ability.

4.2 Cause and Effect from Marriage Migrants

New immigrants via brokered marriage women are generally regarded as a merchandised commodity under the international capital (Hsia, 2000) and discriminated by their new in-laws, community and the public. Form employee aspect, the foreign spouses may be regarded as foreign labors in some ways due to their similar background, no matter the channels or reasons which they come to Taiwan. They receive different treatment from their co-workers in the working place, such as

working hours, wage, working environment, social support and etc.

However, due to the continuing cooperation of the public and the private sectors and new immigrants' own efforts to rebuild a brand new image, the general publics change their attitude toward the new immigrants and their descendents. The most apparent is the change of the term which marriage immigrants are called from the most discriminated foreign bride, to foreign spouse and finally to a normal and more respectful one- new immigrants till the present one-new residents.

Therefore, this section focuses on discussion and analysis on the past situation and the status quo of the so-called new immigrants in Taiwan from the early 1990s to the early 2000s, comprising many domains such as marriage expectation between themselves and their family-in laws in new family, self-concept and the locals' positive and negative attitudes toward them in labor market and society and regulation and welfare policies related to marriage immigrants from economic domain, basically the work right and the minimum financial requirement for naturalization.

Moreover, another analytic tool — Ikishikawa Diagram is also operated to discover the status of marriage migrants and the causes preventing the marriage migrants participating in employment (Figure 4-1). As a result, if the hindrance of being employed can be eliminated, then the increase of employment of marriage migrants may occur.

As Keely (2000) indicated motivation relates to the issues of social prestige arising from specific jobs. When a job is at the bottom of the ladder with little status and few occupational mobility prospects, worker motivation becomes difficult. Migrants may have few problems with status if the job pays a wage that allows a migrant to send money home at higher rates than could be made at home. Likewise, a migrant may see low-paying, low-status jobs as a foot in the door. The job may be the “dead end,” but the migrants sees a brighter personal future in terms of

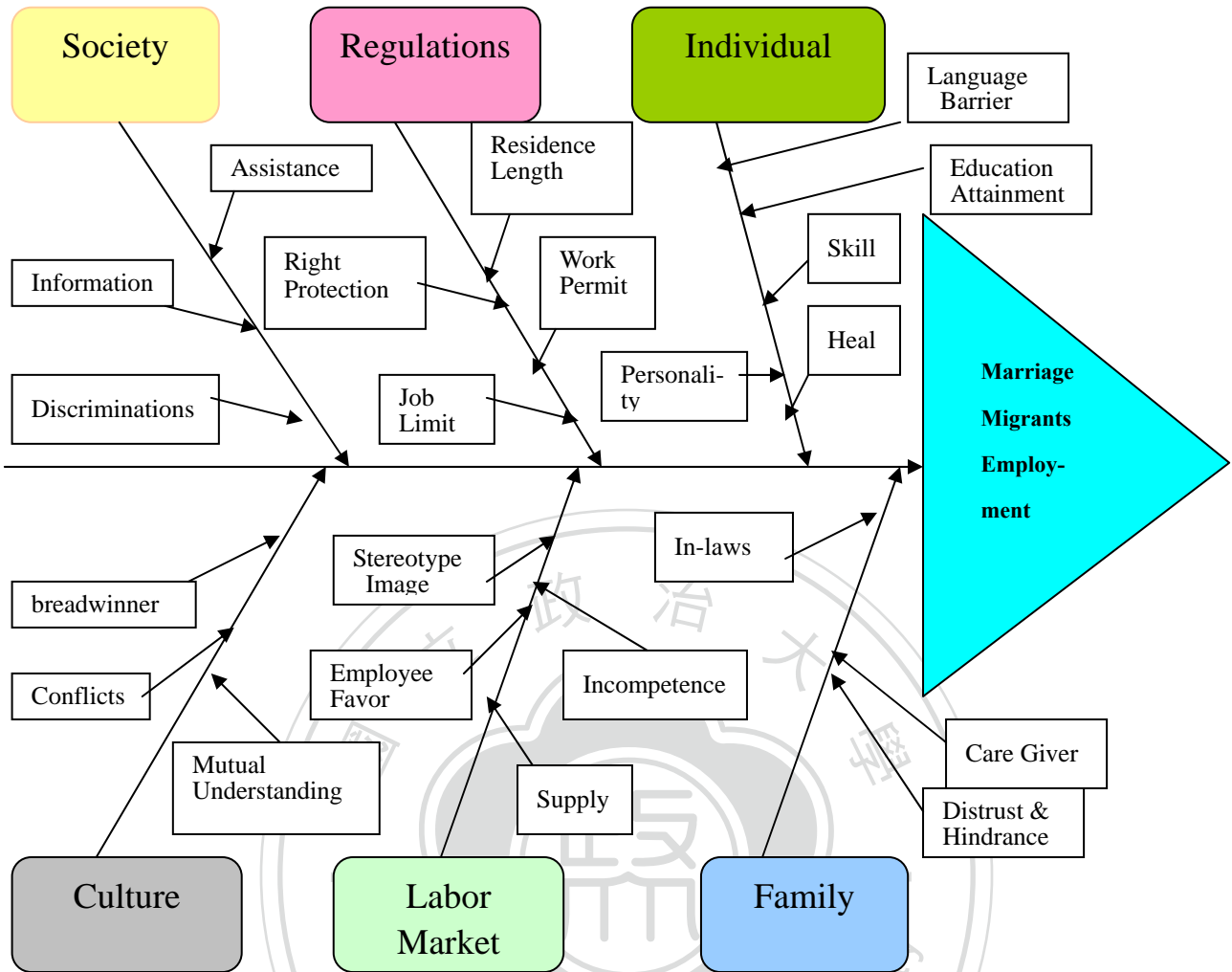


Figure 4-1: Causes Affecting Employment of Marriage Migrants

jobchanging and upward mobility.

Hatton and Williamson (2005) noted that immigrants found employment more frequently in unskilled jobs, compared with natives. They flowed disproportionately into the slowest-growing part of the economy and crowded out native unskilled workers and thus widen the gap between the working poor and the rest. As a result, the job option and availability of immigrants are restricted owing to their limited language abilities, sustainable profession skills, and comparatively inferior original conditions than the natives.

From the figures 4-1 showed here, it manifests and displays the six major

domains affecting employment rate of marriage migrants may occur in Taiwan, they are respectively marriage migrants themselves, their husband' family, labor market, relative regulations involved with residence, work, and citizenship, the host society and the bilateral culture differentials.

Therefore, if the economic predicaments of marriage migrants are expected to solve, the above mentioned difficulties and obstacles face by marriage migrants have to be eliminate so that marriage migrants may be employed and participate in labor market; accordingly, the household finance can be improved and maintained. Thus, the possibility of fulfillment of original dreams they embrace can increase and the mixed family life and the host society can stay harmonious as well.

Some people can't get hired because they don't have an education and they are not qualified to do the job. Most companies call a person's references and if they don't have a good work record they are unlikely to get hired. Employees will always hire the most qualified person based on their resume, or brief account of one's education and professional experience. Therefore, marriage migrants with no or less work experience in host countries than the natives are more difficult to find a job than the native peer group.

Studies have shown that many migrants do not speak the language of the destination country well. Language skills are important to study, because they play a pivotal role in immigrants' economic incorporation, and in ethnic intermarriage and interethnic contacts. Thus, whether marriage migrants can speak the language of the destination country affect them to some degree on employment.

For these reasons, language proficiency is considered a fundamental aspect of immigrant integration, and both sociologists and economists have frequently studied the determinants of immigrants' language proficiency. Researchers have found that the language skills of immigrants depend on individual characteristics, such as age at

migration and education, as well as contextual characteristics, like group size (Van Tubergen and Kalmijin, 2009). Therefore, language learning for marriage migrants will be a labor-demanding and time-consuming activity.

In the language barrier aspect, our government at the very early stage of promoting foreign spouses integration has opened many free Mandarin Learning Classes in different administrative units and districts. Moreover, aside from the language classes, government also set Mandarin Proficiency Test Standard for migrants as specific requirements for job and assistance application.³²

The greatest difficulties a foreign spouse might have is the language barrier and adapting to the way of life (Ke, 2004). TASAT's (Trans-Asia Sisters Association, Taiwan) Fanny Lee says: "A friend of my father-in-law considered hiring me, but eventually didn't because I didn't know any Chinese characters." She also says that the language barrier also hinders her from learning about the outside world. The most pressing issue for her, therefore, is to learn Chinese. Therefore, for a foreign spouse with some kind of professional qualifications, her employment chances are often limited because her professional credentials in her native country might not be transferable and she would have to take exams in Mandarin to become qualified in Taiwan. As a result, a lot of foreign spouses end up doing labor-intensive jobs.

Second, language proficiency is determined by economic incentives. Language is a form of human capital, with a clear positive effect on economic outcomes, but learning a new language is also costly. It is assumed that immigrants consider the costs of language learning and the expected benefits from such investments (Van Tubergen and Kalmijin, 2009). However, the free language classes provided for

³² According to the amendment of the Article 3 of National Act in 27 January of 2006, aside from meeting the original four requisites, a foreign national or stateless person who now has a domicile in the territory of the Republic of China, can apply for nationalization if he/she extra possesses basic language ability in the language of our country and understands the basic common knowledge of national' s rights and obligations.

migrants, they don't need to pay a penny for the class and waste nothing, so learning language brings them a lot of help and benefit. It is an investment of no loss.

Gender differences are usually interpreted in terms of incentives and exposure. In many immigrant groups, men have been more likely to migrate for economic reasons, whereas women have more often migrated for family reasons (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The controversy whether women's motherhood is fundamental in shaping their identity in their new country exists, whose primary purpose of migration is to create family. Due to this role, international marriage migrants may benefit from governmental and community assistance that are not readily available to other labor migrants (Kim, 2008).

From the above point of view, the marriage migrants are not originally well-prepared to join the labor market in destination countries; at the beginning they just hope to marry a man of better living condition to improve the poverty and life of themselves and their natal families. Therefore, the language barrier is the most influential cause for integration in the destination society.

Moreover, one of the most instant and apparent life changing effects of unemployment is the loss of income. Having no money means eventually having no food, no clothes, no shelter, and no car. In contrast, if marriage migrants can easily gain the access of entering the labor market, they may earn more money and enable their family more affordable on extra expenses in ordinary life such as child's better education and entertainment as other families with dual incomes do.

Marriage is a kind of socially recognized relation involving economic cooperation, sex and raising children and expected to be a longlasting relationship. Moreover, marriage provides social recognition for the rights and obligation of bilateral relative and economic activities. In addition, marriage is also regarded as a multi-level system; defined as share of emotion, intimacy, duty and economic

resources based on emotional and legitimate promise. In short, marriage is established on the combination of sexual and economic relation through legitimate recognition, including bilateral rights and obligation and the relation is assumed eternal (Ke, 2004).

After analyzing the positive and negative effect of marriage migrants' being employed, it is obvious there are more positive effects than negative on marriage migrants, their families and the society. In addition, the Ikishikawa Figure displays the causes behind the marriage migrant employment; on the other hand, it also demonstrates if the status improves then the marriage migrant employment may increase as well.

To sum up, the priority option which marriage migrants may take for status improvement is to get employed; hence, they turn to be economically independent and be capable of sharing the household expenses; further to improve their life standard and integrate into the society possibly.

Furthermore, since marriage immigrants contributed a lot to family, society and nation, one of their most important contributions is their comparatively higher willingness to give birth than native mothers', especially at the time that Taiwan are facing the lowest birth rate and increasingly aging population. Data from MOI show that in 2007 Taiwan's fertility rate fell to a record low of 1.1 children per woman of childbearing age, the lowest rate in the world. Child as the eternal generation and hope of a nation, the marriage migrants bring life to the receiving country. Therefore, the family financial status must lay influence on their second generation education and bearing, employment appears to be very important and helpful for marriage migrants and their families.

In addition, the development and amendment process of migration regulation and the need and service that the marriage migrants and their families require are also

included, for it will be a determinant to lead intra-marriage families even our society to economic-persistent well.

4.3 Strategies and Policies for Marriage Migrants Employment

From the previous description, it is found that the employment of marriage migrant is essential and helpful to life improvement and integration into the host society. Moreover, they are forced to rely on informal improvisation and survival strategies. Likely, they may become isolated from mainstream social systems and resources; finally, they are blamed and perceived as rivals by native outsiders. Jordan and Duvell (2003) acclaimed that migrants were among the first to be redundant as industrial employment contracted, and their offspring have least access to advantageous education and training for the expanding financial, professional and service sectors.

In order to elicit the possible solutions to economic predicaments of marriage migrants in Taiwan, the SWOT (that is strength, weakness, opportunity, and threat) analytic method are used to gain and discover the opportunity and threat as well as strength and weakness what if marriage migrants find employment to bring to themselves, their family, host society and country (Table 4-3).

It showed that if those leaving (emigrants) are the most destitute, least educated, and have low levels of human and social capital, they may pose a threat for the receiving society. Many economists and demographers have argued in Malthusian terms, that even the wealthiest societies have a limited amount of space (land) and capital, which should be preserved for the nationals or indigenous population. Moreover, migrants saturated urban labor markets may drive down wages, hurting those who are at the bottom of the social ladder (Hollifield, 2000). It demonstrates the role of migrant is just like a competitor to the natives showed on the Table 4-3.

Table 4-3: SWOT Analytic Results of Marriage Migrants Employment

Strength	Weakness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To Raise Household Income ➤ To Improve Life Quality ➤ To Increase Productivity ➤ To Offer Human Resource ➤ To Compensate for the Shortage of Labors in Some Sectors like Production Industry ➤ To Lessen the Domestic Financial Burden ➤ To Ease Brain-Drain of Labor Market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To Compete with Native Applicants ➤ To Imbalance the Need and Supply of Labor Market ➤ To Affect the Wage Structure ➤ To Augment Migrants' Own Physical and Mental Pressure
Opportunity	Threat
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To Increase the Involvement of the Destination Society ➤ To Promote Mutual Understanding between Locals and Migrants ➤ To Integrate into the Society ➤ To Advance Language Fluency ➤ To Improve Stereotype Impression ➤ To Be More Economic Independent ➤ To Obtain Empowerment Chance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To Affect Marriage and Family Relations ➤ To Distract from Child Rearing ➤ To Cause Imbalance between the Family and Job ➤ To Increase In-laws Burdens

Although migrants entering employment may cause some disadvantages and arouse tension to the locals and the society, it still brings advantages and benefits as well. From the Table 4-3, it clarifies that if marriage migrants' being employed and participating in labor market may create much more opportunities than threats for mixed family and host society; meanwhile, marriage migrants' being employed and participating in labor market has more positive impacts and benefits on themselves

and outside environment.

While migrants' contributions to their natal families are multifaceted, we begin with an analysis of contributions in the form of remittances. We estimate the determinants of remittance-sending and remittance amounts based on information obtained from 250 households in rural southern Vietnam that have one or more daughters married in Asia, mostly Taiwan and South Korea. Our objective is to go beyond the victim-agent debate by studying the impact of this migration on sending areas of origin. While examining this group of women as international migrants, we take into account their status abroad as foreign spouses (Belanger and Tran, 2009).

Furthermore, data collected show that the majority of female emigrants make significant economic contributions to their natal families. Results also indicate that the remittance-sending is mostly dependent upon the women's individual characteristics and living circumstances abroad, rather than the relative poverty level of their origin household. Additional findings provide evidence of the positive relationship between the strength of daughter-parent ties and the magnitude of remittances sent. We discuss our results in light of the literature on remittance-sending behavior and marriage migrants' agency and vulnerability (Belanger and Tran, 2009).

The absence of the mother is felt more than that of the father, because mothers are the normal point of references for children in situations which requires consultation (Ogaya, 2006). Government officially has the double task facilitating transnational marriage families and protecting the rights and welfare of migrant women; the private sector and marriage broker agencies seek profit from the process of transnational marriage, in many cases, directly mainly from grooms; and the NGO sector appeal for the rights and protection of migrant women while negotiating with both Government and private sectors. Government does not fulfill its responsibility to create more domestic (internal) job opportunities; instead it focuses on facilitating.

In Taiwan, marriage migrant women themselves founded Trans-Asia Sisters Association Taiwan (TASAT) and have participated in Alliance for Human Rights Legislation for Immigrants and Migrants (AHRLM) against the Taiwanese government's immigration policy in collaboration with local Taiwan women (LeeAn, 2007). Therefore, it is apparent that the wills and the ambitions of marriage migrants to fight for their fair rights and treatment. The government should pay attention to the issue and take steps to satisfy their needs as possible as they can.

The marriage migrants are eager to ultimately claim a lifelong sense of belonging in the society in which they seem to be a failure. The government should endeavor to execute practical policy complying with their needs to dismiss their sense of failure and depression. The idealistic employment environment or situation for marriage migrants is that they feel free to find or choose a job as equally as the locals only if complying with application requirement whenever they want without outside force.

In the past and the present, the transnational marriage structure consisting of foreign brides mainly from Southeast Asian Countries and Taiwan grooms residing in Taiwan may transform up-side-down totally along with gradually growing economy of these sourcing countries, that is, the original sourcing countries like Vietnam, Thailand, Philippine and etc. will become destination countries by means of Taiwanese grooms' emigration. Therefore, if the employment opportunities are so limited that force them being incapable of affording the whole family expenses, the demographic structure leading to migration deficits may occur. Furthermore, groom shortage of marriage market will be serious. Such an effect on our family structure and function, social stability, economic growth and national competence is unpredictable and immeasurable.

4.4 Summary

From the above descriptions, it apparently showed that the top obstacle has to be overcome is the language barrier. This not only affects the relationship of marriage migrants within their new family or the wider community, but also their opportunities for finding jobs.

Thus, our government should lay more influence on offering marriage migrants wider access to labor market through cross-sector and cross-department cooperation and private sectors assistance. Prior to joining the labor market, the marriage migrants also need to prepare well and train adequately to possess the competence of work. Consequently, the policies associated with migrant job opportunities the government ought to take into accounts and take it as the priority.

Of all the treatment and attitude faced by marriage migrants, the most apparent is that they are discriminated in diverse aspects. Since they migrated as family dependents, so they rely on their husband and their husbands' family not only in various areas, especially in economic domain. Therefore, the optional solution for marriage migrants' economic independence is to urge them to be employed and participate in labor market.



Chapter 5 Conclusions and Suggestions

After reviewing and analyzing secondary data and comparing difference and similarity among different countries, the study examines the features and status of marriage migrants and further to discover their economic predicaments in destination countries and elicit the suggestion for future researches and government.

5.1 Conclusions

After reviewing and analyzing secondary data and comparing difference and similarity among different countries, several findings related to the features, status and economic predicaments of marriage migrants are revealed as follows:

1. The source of marriage migrants are women from less developed countries than destination country

With regards to sourcing countries of marriage migrants of Taiwan and Japan, over 90 percents marriage migrants are from Mainland China and Southeast Asia like Phillipine and Vietnam, partly is from Northeast Asia like Korea in Japan's case. This demonstrates the Propinquity Theory of transnational marriage. The source nations of marriage migrants in USA are diversified than Taiwan and Japan mainly from Asia and South-America. As for Britain, the major sources are South Asia such as India, Bangladesh and etc.

2. The transnational marriage is generally a combination of poverty in Taiwan

The common transnational marriages in Taiwan are combination of two poor families, i.e. poor native men marrying poor foreign women (from mathematics aspect: the value of poor plus poor extends multiple times). The definite result of such a marriage is the economic status of transnational marriage family will deteriorate if there is no way to resolve, e.g. double income.

3. The resolution to improve economic situation is to work; the obstacle to improve economic situation is restricted job availability

In general, the breadwinner in mixed family is husband and the caregiver is wife. However, the professions husbands take are of less-potential position and minimum wage, the husband's single income can't afford increasing expense. Moreover, the limited access to labor market in destination country results in less employment of foreign brides. Therefore, the financial burden is gradually growing. Thus, to work is either solution or obstacle for poverty improvement.

4. Marriage migrants participating in labor market has more positive effects on mixed families

Furthermore, by utilizing the SWOT Analytic Method to estimate the strength, weakness, opportunity and threats of marriage migrants' labor participation, the positive effects are more than negative effects on mixed family. Therefore, the labor market for marriage migrants is to be accessible in order to ease the domestic economic pressure and further to decrease the possible threat and burden bringing to society and nation.

5. The variables influencing marriage migrants' labor participation rate are multiple

According to the analytic results of the Ikishikawa Diagram analysis, the variables affected marriage migrants' labor participation are categorized in six domains, respectively described as below.

From the individual respect, language barriers, education level, skills, personality and health lay influence on marriage migrants' employment. From family aspect, mutual distrust and hindrance between couples and the pressure from the in-laws are also the decisive causes for their employments, especially they generally play the role of the key care giver in the family.

Besides, the present regulations put into effect on marriage migrants' residence, work and other rights or the discrimination and inequality seen in the labor market are quite important for widening or squeezing the accesses of migrants' employment.

Finally, the differences in the cultures and the stance in societies of the origin and host countries definitely have impacts on marriage migrants employment.

6. The main reason behind marriage migration is the chance to change

The dominant motive to migrate via marriage is the opportunity to better their life condition; the most attractive incentive to migrate via marriage is the advantages or benefit offered by the government of receiving countries. The determination of foreign women to migrate via transnational marriage is out of opportunity pursuit. Transnational marriage is a kind of method rather than a final goal for foreign brides. Furthermore, the purpose of the transnational marriage is the benefit obtaining from the transnational marriage.

5.2 Suggestions

Aside from the findings mentioned above, several suggestions are proposed for the government and future study in this section.

1. Further researchers are to refine the analytic measurement of variables of marriage migrants' labor participation to obtain more findings

It is crucial to refine the analytic measurement of variables of marriage migrants' labor participation to obtain more cause and effect associated with it. The analysis in this study is based on an indirect method so the implications of estimating results are restricted.

2. Marriage migrants' post-employment situation and outcomes deserve to study

The data comparison in this research paper is on the basis of secondary data and

mainly focuses on the present economic status of marriage migrants and their potential solution to improve household finance, the further studies on the post-employment situation and the outcomes are still worthwhile to discover and explore more information for contributing to the migration research.

3. The government should provide more employment promotion programs for marriage migrants.

In order to decrease the occurrence of transnational marriage as a combination of poverty, the government ought to set a requirement of minimum financial proof to attain the qualification to marry foreign brides. On the other hand, the foreign brides are obligated to meet the requirement of communicative language ability. Furthermore, except for the welfare measures for foreign brides, the government also enforces the caring and support policy for the second generation of mixed families. Thus, the marriage migrants may work without worry about their children.

4. The channels of professional training and job supply should be more accessible and affordable for the migrants to be more effective

The finding shows that the marriage migrants and the mixed family are situated in the condition of insufficient job supply to gain additional income to improve their domestic economy and living environment, even to offer betters for the second generation of mixed families — so-called New Taiwanese Children. Therefore, the government may widen the access and channels of professional training and job information and supply in drafting and amending relative policies in the near future.

5. Global migration resulting from the global warming and climate change has to be the emphasis of the research in this century

According to the literature review of this study, a universal consensus of migration is that the trigger of migration is multiple and diversified, but the goal of human migration is all for better life and future. In his study, the focus is on the migration

associated with economic aspect, here the author raises that future human migration will be environmentally-dominated due to the increasingly severe global warming and climate change leading to environmental deterioration and gradual decrease of land to live on. After all, human migration is all for human life improvement.





References

- AMMORE (2009), "Marriage Migrants Call for Rights Protection amidst Global Crisis," available at <http://imacanada.blogspot.com/2009/06/marriage-migrants-call-for-rights.html> (Accessed 5 December, 2009).
- APMM (2007), "Attitude of the Local People to Foreign Brides," available at http://www.apmigrants.org/research/Attitude_of_Locals.pdf (Accessed 10 April, 2008).
- Arango, J. (2004), "Theories of International Migration," in D. Joly, ed., *International Migration in the New Millennium* (Vermont: Ashgate), pp.16-35.
- Belanger, D. and G. L. Tran (2009), "Contributions of Women Marriage-Migrants to Their Families of Origin in Rural Vietnam," paper presented at the 2009 IUSSP Conference, available at <http://iussp2009.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=92978> (Accessed 13 November, 2009).
- Brettell, C. B. and J. F. Hollifield, eds. (2000), *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. New York: Routledge.
- Çelikaksoy, A., H. S. Nielson, and M. Verner (2003), "Marriage Migration: Just Another Case of Positive Assortative Matching?" available at <http://www.hha.dk/nat/cim/roervigII/ACELIKAKSOY.PDF> (Accessed 8 October, 2009).
- Çelikaksoy, A. (2006). "A Wage Premium or Penalty: Marriage Migration and Inter-Marriage Effects among the Children of Immigrants?" available at <http://dse.univr.it/espe/documents/Papers/E/4/E43.pdf> (Accessed 30 November, 2009).
- Chang, C. H. (2007), "The Research on Culture Identification of Foreign Spouses in Taiwan: A Case of New Immigrant Learning Center in Taoyuan County," master thesis, Graduate Institute of Public Administration, Tamkang University. (in Chinese)
- Chang, Y. C. (2005), "Discussion of the Need of Social Rights and Welfare of Daughters-in Law via Transnational Marriage — Taking Vietnamese Spouses as Examples," master thesis, Graduate Institute of Social Work, Soochow University. (in Chinese)
- Chang, Z. S. (2006), "The Study Focusing upon the Working Process of Foreign and Mainland China Spouses: The Case of Home Care Worker of Care Service Industry in Taichung City and Changhua County," master thesis, Graduate

- Institute of Social Welfare, Hsuan Chuang University. (in Chinese)
- Cheng, I. (2008), "Immigrants and National Identity of Taiwan: Preliminary Study on Multiculturalism Practice," available at <http://www.soas.ac.uk/taiwanstudies/eats/eats2008/file43182.pdf> (Accessed 25 July, 2009).
- Dale, A. and S. Ahmed (2008), "Migration, Marriage and Employment amongst Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Residents in the UK," available at <http://www.ccsr.ac.uk/erm/documents/EmploymentpatternsofmarriageimmigrantsintheUKv3.pdf> (Accessed 28 November, 2009).
- Goodkind, D. M. (1997), "The Vietnamese Double Marriage Squeeze," *International Migration Review*, 31:1, pp. 108-127.
- Hatton, T. J. and J. G. Williamson (2005), *Global Migration and the World Economy — Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Hollifield, J. F. (2000), "The Politics of International Migration — How Can We Bring the State Back In?" in C. B. Brettell and J. F. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory — Talking across Disciplines* (New York: Routledge), pp.137-186.
- Hsia, H. C. (2000), "Transnational Marriage and Internalization of Capital — the Case of the "Foreign Bride" Phenomenon in Taiwan," *Taiwan, A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 39, pp. 45-89. (in Chinese)
- Hsu, C. B. (2009), "A Study on the Equality of Working Rights of Foreign Spouses," master thesis, Graduate Institute of Laws, Tunghai University. (in Chinese)
- Huang, Y. Q. (2008), "The Fertility Level and Standard of Foreign Spouses," available at <http://www.nhu.edu.tw/~society/e-j/74/74-23.htm> (Accessed 28 March, 2009).
- Hung, F. M. (2005), "Discussing the Status Quo of Transnational Marriage in Taiwan — Comparison with That in Japan," master thesis, Graduate Institute of Foreign Affairs Police, Central Police University. (in Chinese)
- Jones, G. W. and K. Randas (2004), "Not When to Marry but Whether to Marry: The Changing Context of Marriage Decisions in East and Southeast Asia, (Un)tying the Knot: Ideal and Reality in Asian Marriage," available at http://books.google.ca/books?hl=en&lr=&id=IttiQ3QdJ6YC&oi=fnd&pg=PA173&dq=ROLE+OF+MARRIAGE+MIGRANTS&ots=ezyYOKN3fFN&sig=tazlgpS_KEfhkHpliiRQKFdIc48#v=onepage&q=&f=false (Accessed 30 June, 2009).
- Jordan, B. and F. Duvell (2003), *Migration — The Boundaries of Equality and Justice*.

Malden: Blackwell.

- Ke, I. L. (2004), "A Study of Transition in Foreign Brides' Marital Visions: The Example of "Vietnamese Brides" in Taiwan," master thesis, Graduate Institute of Futures Studies, Tamkang University. (in Chinese)
- Keely, C. B. (2000), "Demography and International Migration," in C. B. Brettell and J. F. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory — Talking across Disciplines* (New York: Routledge), pp. 43-60.
- Kim, D. S. (2007), "The Rise in International Marriage and Divorce in Contemporary Korea," *Population and Society*, 3:1, pp. 1-38.
- Kim, M. (2008), "Gender, Motherhood and Citizenship of International Marriage Migrants: Maternal Citizenship of Filipinas in South Korea," paper presented at *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association*, available at http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p243041_index.html (Accessed 27 May, 2009).
- Kinhide, M. (2007), "Action Research Strategy on Marriage Migrant Human (In)security," available at http://www.isiswomen.org/downloads/wia/wia-2007-3/03wia07_10gotMale_Mushakoji.pdf (Accessed 1 October, 2009).
- LeeAn, J. (2007), "Transition to A New Perspective: From Passive Victims to Diverse Agent Subject," available at <http://www.arenaonline.org/docu/workshop2007/jiyoung.html> (Accessed 5 December, 2009).
- LeeAn, J. (2008), "Resistance to Integration by Marriage Migrants – Implications to the Debate and Practice on Citizenship," paper presented at *2008 Forum of the People's Global Action Pueblo/People's Camp*, available at <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/18955834/Resistance-to-Integration-by-Marriage-Migrants> (Accessed 20 May, 2009).
- Massey, D. S., J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino, and J. E. Taylor (1993), "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review*, 19:3, pp. 431-466.
- McKay, D. (2003), "Fillipino in Canada — De-skilling as a Push toward Marriage," in N. Piper and M. Roces, eds., *Wife or Worker?* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 23-51.
- Merali, N. (2008), "Theoretical Framework for Studying Female Marriage Migrants," available at <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/121376137/abstract?CRETRY=1&SETRY=0> (Accessed 22 December, 2009).
- Morrison, A. R., M. Schiff, and M. Sjoblom (2008), "Overview," in A. R. Morrison,

- M. Schiff, and M. Sjoblom, eds., *The International Migration of Women* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 1-10.
- Nakamatsu, T. (2005), "Complex Power and Diverse Responses: Transnational Marriage Migration and Women's Agency," in L. Parker, ed., *The Agency of Women in Asia* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International), pp. 158-181.
- Norimitsu, O. (2007), "Korean Men Use Brokers to Find Wives in Vietnam," *New York Times*, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/22/world/asia> (Accessed 15 January, 2008).
- Ogaya, C. (2006), "Feminisation of Overseas Employment and the Discourses on Women Migrants — Migration as a Social Problem," in A. Agrawal, ed, *Migrant Women and Work* (New Delhi: Sage), pp. 126-135.
- Parademetriou, D. G. (2003), "Managing Rapid and Deep Change in the Newest Age of Migration," in S. Spencer, ed., *The Politics of Migration-Managing Opportunity, Conflict and Change* (Malden: Blackwell), pp. 39-58.
- Pfeiffer, L. and J. E. Taylor (2008), "Gender and the Impacts of International Migration: Evidence from Rural Mexico," in A. R. Morrison, M. Schiff, and M. Sjoblom. eds., *The International Migration of Women* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 100-123.
- Pfeiffer, L., S. Richter, P. Fletcher, and J. E. Taylor (2008), "Gender in Economic Research on International Migration and its Impacts: A Critical Review," in A. R. Morrison, M. Schiff, and M. Sjoblom, eds., *The International Migration of Women* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 11-49.
- Piper, N. (2005), "Gender and Migration," paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, available at <http://www.gcim.org/attachements/TP10.pdf> (Accessed 22 April, 2009).
- Piper, N. and M. Roces (2003), "Introduction: Marriage and Migration in an Age of Globalization," in N. Piper and M. Roces, eds., *Wife or Worker?* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 1-21.
- Piper, N. (2003), "Wife or Worker? Worker or Wife? Marriage and Cross-Border Migration in Contemporary Japan," *International Journal of Population Geography*, 9, pp. 457-469.
- Sandel, T. L. and C. H. Liang (2009), "Don't Call Us That, Something, Waiji Xinniang — A Cultural and Semiotic Analysis of Perceptions of the Foreign Bride Phenomenon in Taiwan," available at <http://www.allacademic.com//meta/>

- P_mla_research_citation (Accessed 13 July, 2009).
- Seol, D. H. (2005), "Women Marriage Immigrants in Korea: Immigration Process and Adaptaion," paper presented at the 9th *Lunch Seminar, CAPAS*, December, 2005, available at <http://www.dhseol.org/publish/archive/dhseol.2006.Women.Marriage.Immigranrs.in.Korea.APF.33.32-59.pdf> (Accessed 25 June, 2009).
- Shuck, P. H. (2000), "Law and the Study of Migration," in C. B. Brettel and J. F. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory — Talking Across Disciplines* (New York: Routledge), pp. 187-204.
- Siddiqui, T. (2008), "Migration and Gender in Asia," *United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Asia and the Pacific*, available at http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM_Iitmig_Asia/P06_Siddiqui.pdf (Accessed 3 June, 2009).
- Tsai, Y. H. and H. H. Hsiao (2006), "The Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for Foreign Workers and Foreign Spouses in Taiwan: A Portrayal," *Asian-Pacific Research Forum*, 33, pp. 1-29.
- Tsauda, T. G. (2001), "Reluctant Hosts: The Future of Japan as a Country of Immigration," *Research and Seminars*, available at <http://migration.ecdavis.edu/rs/printfriendly.php?id=39030> (Accessed 31 July, 2008).
- Tsay, C. L. (2004), "Marriage Migration of Women from China and Southeast Asia to Taiwan," available at http://apmrn.anu.edu.au/regional_members/Marriage.doc (Accessed 13 March, 2009).
- United Nations (2006), *International Migration Report*, available at http://ww.un.org/esa/population/publica-tion/2006_MigrationRep/report.htm (Accessed 5 May, 2008).
- United Nations (2008), *International Migration Report*, available at http://ww.un.org/esa/population/publica-tion/2008_MigrationRep/report.htm (Accessed 15 June, 2008).
- United Nations (2009), *International Migration Report*, available at http://ww.un.org/esa/population/publica-tion/2009_MigrationRep/report.htm (Accessed 5 October, 2009).
- Van Tubergen, F. and M. Kalmijn (2009), "A Dynamic Approach to the Determinants of Immigrants' Language Proficiency: The United States, 1980-2000," *International Migration Review*, 43:3, pp. 519-543.
- Van Meeteren, M., G. Engbersen, and M. Van San (2009), "Striving for a Better Position: Aspirations and the Role of Cultural, Economic, and Social Capital for

- Irregular Migrants in Belgium,” *International Migration Review*, 43:4, pp. 881-907.
- Wang, H. Z. (2007), “Hidden Space of Resistance of the Subordinated: Case Studies from Vietnamese Female Migrant Partners in Taiwan,” *International Migration Review*, 41:3, pp. 706-727.
- Ye, S. K. (2006), *The Problems and Policies of Foreign and Mainland Spouses’ Families: From the Social Capital and Integrative Perspectives*. Taipei: Xue-Fu. (in Chinese)
- Ye, W. H. (2006), “Discussion of Counseling Policy for Foreign Spouses from Southeast Asia by Multiculturalism — the Inspiration of Australia’ Multiculturalism on Taiwan,” master thesis, Graduate Institute of Foreign Affairs Police, Central Police University. (in Chinese)

