

Cultural Adaptation of Taiwanese Female Marriage Migrants in Hong Kong 快樂的異鄉人--在香港的臺灣已婚婦女之生活適應

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Abstract

Trans-border marriage patterns have varied over time reflecting uneven economic development, changing gender role expectations, and increasing frequency due to globalization in tourist activities, overseas study, and employment opportunities. This study proposes to explore trans-border marriage migrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong, which are historically and politically separate entities despite similarities in Chinese culture. An understanding of these marriage patterns was obtained from 38 in-depth interviews of Taiwanese women married to Hong Kong men. Patrilocal residence (嫁雞隨雞) and acceptance of the patriarchal customs was the norm for the early female Taiwanese migrants. The various aspects of adaptation including learning Cantonese, fulfilling new gender roles, facing different human relationships in Hong Kong, and experiencing condescending attitudes of Hong Kongers. While encountering various difficulties in adapting to a different kind of Chinese culture, some have developed a strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong, and have successfully made Hong Kong their homes. Through joining various Taiwanese organizations, they have developed female friendship networks over the years, especially in relating to other Taiwanese living in Hong Kong, while some seek solace from religion.

While developing careers, their socio-economic contributions to the Hong Kong society gets beyond the families that they have been married to. These Taiwanese migrants in Hong Kong have broken new grounds by developing an egalitarian relationship with their husbands, acquiring flexible sex roles in the family, and establishing a strong sense of self-esteem. Despite successful efforts in planting new roots by becoming Hong Kongers over the last few decades, a majority of the immigrants mentioned returning (*luo ye gui gen* 落葉歸根) to Taiwan. Personal connections maintained with their homeland through frequent visits has enabled them to be aware of latest developments, while trans-border linkages with their parents and siblings in Taiwan have strongly affected their desire to return. A more hospitable environment combined with a better quality of life compared to that of Hong Kong are the main considerations for their intention to leave their host community. In future studies, further comparison of early and recent Taiwanese marriage migrants are necessary to reflect socio-political changes in both Hong Kong and Taiwan. It can be seen that forces of globalization is operated through the dissemination of information and opportunities which enable women to be as mobile as men, enjoy egalitarian relationship and more flexible sex roles in the family, thus breaking new grounds in marriages as a social institution that used to be limiting to Chinese women in the past patriarchal society

Keywords: trans-border marriage, Taiwan and Hong Kong, patrilocal residence, cultural and social adaptation, *luo ye gui gen*.

Introduction

Studies on cross-border marriages have drawn the attention of scholars in recent years. Owing to the fact that traveling and studying abroad is becoming increasingly convenient, the number of individuals getting married to partners from a different nation and culture is growing. The existing literature on cross-border marriage in Taiwan mostly discusses cross-strait marriage between Taiwanese (men) and mainland Chinese (women), or Southeast Asian (women). Studies of cross-border marriages between Taiwanese women and men from more developed regions/countries, such as Hong Kong, Japan, or other countries are needed. Statistical data released by the Department of Household Registration, Ministry of Interior (ROC) (2017), shows that the number of Taiwanese citizens applying for marriage registration with Hong Kong or Macao citizens has increased over the years (442 in 2006 and 1,140 in 2016) and is therefore worthy of intellectual review. The adaptation of male and female migrants in Hong Kong constitutes our research project as a case study of migrant adaptation in “more developed” societies. The reason to focus on Taiwanese women married to Hong Kong men in this paper is that the former would be more knowledgeable of Hong Kong society than Taiwanese couples that include women who accompany their husbands to conduct businesses in Hong Kong or Mainland China, as “passive migrants.”

Apart from this cross-border marriage phenomena, there are more students and tourists between Hong Kong and Taiwan these days. As quite a number of aspiring young adults from Taiwan have moved to Hong Kong to find jobs with higher salaries and better career developments in the past two decades (Chiang, Wong & Huang, 2016),

it is possible that men and women from both regions meet to become friends and marriage partners. Despite migration flows between Hong Kong and Taiwan in the last few decades, there has been limited statistics on how many have immigrated to their counterpart destinations. Despite rapid economic growth in both regions beginning in the 1970's, there is a discrepancy in income as demonstrated by GDP, as discussed in our literature review below. Economic asymmetry would most likely encourage the flow of women from a less developed region to one that enjoys a global city status, as in the case of Hong Kong. In this research, early and recent Taiwanese female migrants who married Hong Kong men are studied as an example of spatial hypergamy whereby women from poorer areas marry wealthier men in cross-border marriages (Constable 2005, Lavelly 1991). In contrast, Hong Kong women who married Taiwan men have formed a minority among early immigrants from Hong Kong to Taiwan and generally not hypergamous (Chiang, 2018).

The issues that are addressed in this paper include: 1) The Socio-economic Profile and Marriage Categories, 2) Cultural adaptation with regard to dialect, food, social norms, and position in Hong Kong society, 3) Negotiating gender and intra-family relationship (family members, family business, and other familial obligations), 4) Sense of belonging to Hong Kong, and returning to Taiwan.

Review of Pertinent Literature

We will first review pertinent literature on cross-border marriage and female marriage migration in Asia, and then present the economic development of Hong Kong

and Taiwan as the background of the living environment of the migrants. The literature on cross-border marriage discuss three aspects: 1) Feminization of marriage migration in Asia, 2) Cultural differences and adaptation, 3) Gender roles and female position in the patriarchal family. This will be followed by a synopsis that compares development in Hong Kong and Taiwan since 1950.

1. Feminization of marriage migration in Asia

Cross-border marriage in Asia is not a recent phenomenon. As early as 1900, Asian women known as “picture brides” from Korea, Japan and Okinawa immigrated to Hawaii to marry working men of the same ethnicity, with the belief that they would find spouses with better economic standing and lead better lives, while leaving the patriarchal systems of their home countries and enjoy more political freedom. (Chai & Kawakami, 1987). In those days, the movement is linear and seldom do they return to visit their natal homes. In academic discourses on globalizing development and transnationalism in the last few decades, trans-border marriage, which plays a crucial role in changing the human landscape is receiving increasing attention. A visible pattern of women from developing countries migrating to developed countries to work has been studied (Liaw, Ochiai, & Ishikawa, 2010; Lu & Yang, 2010; Tseng, 2010).

Studies on marriage migration are noticeable in East Asia (Tseng, 2010), as a result of the rapid increase of cross-border marriage migration in the region. Marriage migratory flows are dominated by women, as a number of Asian women married across borders to spouses both in East Asia and elsewhere in the world (Constable, 2005). One

main characteristic of these intra-Asian flows of cross-border marriages is “gender imbalance”, which means that the majority are between men of wealthier countries marrying women from economically less developed countries (Yang & Ku, 2010). Hence, cross-border marriages in Asia have been considered as part of the phenomenon of “feminization of migration” in the globalization process (Hugo, 2005; Yamanaka & Piper, 2005).

Female marriage migrants chose cross-border marriage for a variety of reasons. Their motivations to marry husbands from different nations might be due to their sense of adventure (冒險精神), desire to travel abroad and experience different worlds, to leave the experience of significant failures (in romantic relationships or careers) behind, and to be free from hardships and family pressure (Kim, 2010). The economic factor is usually considered the main reason for cross-border marriage, as women from developing countries seek partners from developed countries that would provide financial security and allow them to support their families back in the home countries (Nakamatsu, 2003). “Spatial hypergamy”, a term coined by Lively (1991) refers to women marrying up into a higher socioeconomic group, as demonstrated by cross-border marriages, in contrast to men seeking foreign brides from poorer areas (Constable, 2005, Fan & Huang, 1998). Among early Hong Kong immigrants in Taiwan, Taiwan would be a desirable destination for Hong Kong men who come to study or do business in Taiwan, seek after Taiwanese women as marriage partners, and settle down, or bring them back to Hong Kong. Concomitantly, cross-border marriages are less likely to occur between Hong Kong women and Taiwan men, as Taiwan was less developed in Hong Kong a few decades ago (Chiang, 2018). On the other hand, some

studies which did not focus only on the economic aspects of cross-border marriage, stated that marriage migrants seek “a better life” that includes caring middle-class husbands, children, affection, love, financial security, and personal career advancement (Constable, 2003, 2005; Freeman, 2005; Nakamatsu, 2003).

As a significant feature of cross-border marriages in Hong Kong, “spatial hypergamy” has been demonstrated by Hong Kong males marrying mainland Chinese females. Geographically, Hong Kong is seen as part of the larger Pearl River Delta area of China’s Guangdong Province (So, 2003). Thus, the cross-border linkages between Hong Kong and mainland China in the past decades have profoundly influenced the social, economic, and political development of Hong Kong. As a newly industrialized economy in the twentieth century, Hong Kong has attracted immigrant workers fleeing the communist rule and becoming new Chinese capitalists in the British colony. Men from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore are motivated to look for wives in mainland China for similar reasons (Li, 2001; Constable, 2005). Hong Kong women are described as spoiled and demanding, too materialistic, too feminist or career-oriented, and less committed to their families than mainland women. It is a paradox that women with the poorer economic background would become traditional wives, as men are looking for modern wives at the same time.

While discussing the phenomenon of cross-border marriage migration in the globalized world, male “marriage squeeze” is commonly identified as the major pull factor in all these receiving countries in Asia (Lu & Yang, 2010). Ma et al. (2010)’s study shows that in the 1960s a male marriage squeeze caused by the influx of male migrants and increased economic relations with Mainland China were primary factors

of cross-border marriages in Hong Kong. Siu (1996) also argued that the influx of male mainland immigrants in the late 1970s has intensified the imbalance in the sex composition. The sex ratio increased to 115.8, and there are 228,000 more male than female, a disadvantage for Hong Kong men of marriageable age.

The factors of cultural affinity, economic disparities, and ease of travel may have prompted single male immigrants to go back to Mainland China to find wives. This situation remains in contemporary Hong Kong, as studied by Lu and Yang (2010) who found that the number of cross-border marriages between Hong Kong residents and Mainland Chinese has risen ten-fold from 1995 to 2005, which account for more than one-third of registered marriages of Hong Kong residents in 2005. In Taiwan, Mainland Chinese women constitute the majority of “foreign brides” (*Hsinyimin*), who amount to over 319,990 in Taiwan in October 2017, a rapid rise since 1992 when cross-border marriage between Mainland Chinese women and Taiwanese men was first approved (National Immigration Agency (ROC), 2017).¹

It has been noted that the high proportion of cross-border marriages has caused tensions at both societal and personal levels in Hong Kong. So (2003) wrote that when mainland wives and children of Hong Kong’s working-class men arrived in Hong Kong, they have been discriminated against and condemned as causing Hong Kong’s social and economic problems. He argued that “social class” has played an important role in shaping the formation of Hong Kong’s cross-border families. Due to their rural backgrounds, many female new immigrants had adjustment difficulties when they

¹ In 2016, total marriage immigrants amounts to 521,136 (479,579 female and 41,557 males) (National Immigration Agency, 2017)

arrived in Hong Kong. They experienced problems of finding jobs, studying, and interacting with local Hong Kongers.

2. Cultural differences and adaptation

In general, cross-cultural issues are usually derived from differences among people of diverse racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds. Hong Kong has always been described as a place combining East and West cultures, as it has been under the British rule for 155 years from 1842 till 1997. Christianity has a strong influence on the better-educated population who occupy many of the positions in the government and the education sector. Since Hong Kong is mostly a Chinese society, it is relatively homogeneous than other Asian societies. Traditional Chinese cultures and values are still strongly embedded in the Hong Kong society, such as celebrating Chinese festivals, the emphasis of filial piety in the patriarchal family, preferring harmony over conflict, work over leisure, and so forth. Although new Chinese immigrant women from Mainland China do not constitute a different ethnic minority group, the social distance between them and the host society of Hong Kong are noticeable and may have an impact on their lives. Moreover, the labor market in Hong Kong is very sophisticated for the Chinese immigrant women. Their chance to enter into the labor force might be hindered by demands for educational qualifications, required skills, and language proficiency in both English and Cantonese. Also, immigrant women need to get used to the fast pace of life in Hong Kong, which is very typical of global cities. New immigrants thus find it challenging to adjust to such a time-conscious and efficiency-demanding society as

Hong Kong. The values and practices of local Hong Kong people are considered to be individualistic, opportunistic, materialistic and achievement-oriented (Ho et al., 2003). Newcomers would therefore find it hard to adjust upon arrival. Although cross-cultural issues between Hong Kong and Taiwan are not perceived to be prominent, there still exist a considerable number of differences in cultural practices and characteristics because of different social, economic and political developments. Analysis of a social survey in Taiwan reveals that among the Taiwanese, those who are more educated are more likely to accept people from Mainland China, despite controversial relationship across the Taiwan Strait. It is worth noting that, compared to Mainlanders, who themselves, or whose parents, moved to Taiwan after the Civil War, Hoklo and Hakka people are more likely to disapprove of Mainland Chinese migrants (Chen & Yi, 2014).

3. Gender roles and female position in the patriarchal family

Most Hong Kong parents-in-law would expect their sons to marry women with traditional virtues. Therefore, immigrant women would confront value discrepancies with their Hong Kong husbands and new Hong Kong parents-in-law (Ho et al., 2003). A main source of tension in cross-border marriage is communication difficulty. Wives' limited proficiency in the local dialect can intensify both the women's isolation and the misunderstandings and tensions between the women, their husbands, and their parents-in-law. In addition, women's participation in paid work and their economic contribution to their natal and marital families can be a source of familial conflicts (Nakamatsu, 2003). Much less is known about marriage between Taiwan women and Hong Kong

men, in the above regards. Chiang and Lin's study (2018) shows that Hong Kong women married to Taiwan men cannot tolerate gender inequality at home and demands from their mothers-in-law. They did not follow the traditional pattern of "trailing spouses" as shown in the literature on marriage migration, but have developed careers successfully despite challenges.

4. Hong Kong and Taiwan compared

Hong Kong, along with Shanghai, has often been studied as a "global city", as in Sassen (1991, 1999), whereby active global networks have helped to bring in new ideas, and such networks have profoundly changed the global cities' urban and cultural landscape. In the case of Hong Kong, the attraction of skilled migrants, or the "creative class" have provided the "stage" for some young migrants who join the expat (外籍人士) categories. Hong Kong has long been an international city and a regional center for business, finance, information, tourism, entrepôt activities, and manufacturing. It is a leading world city and the "Capital of the Overseas Chinese" (Sinn, Wong & Chan, 2009). Since the 1990's, Hong Kong, London, Tokyo and New York have been listed as global financial centers.

We continue to support our arguments by comparing the economic situations of Hong Kong and Taiwan over the last fifty years (Appendix). While Hong Kong was a British colony for over 150 years, Taiwan has been ruled for 50 years (1895-1945) by the Japanese until the end of WW II. Before Hong Kong was returned as Special Administration Region to China, major infrastructure categories such as

communication systems, law and order, finance, civil service, public housing, and environmental conservation had been well developed. The post-war economic situation of Taiwan lags behind that of Hong Kong, as shown in their GDP in 1951, being USD \$280 for the latter and USD \$154 for the former.

While Taiwan was still under authoritarian rule, its economy began to thrive with labor-intensive industries that attracted foreign investment, and the establishment of Export Processing Zones. In comparison with Hong Kong's USD \$960, Taiwan's GDP was USD \$397 in 1970. In 1980, Taiwan started its first Industrial Park, attracting large numbers of young educated Taiwanese overseas to come back for the first time, helping to build strong human capital. The GDP for Hong Kong and Taiwan were respectively USD \$13,486 and USD \$8,216 in 1990. The latest figures recorded in 2016 were USD \$43,681 and USD \$22,561 respectively, showing quite a discrepancy.

Since the 1970s, Hong Kong's economy grew rapidly, as local Chinese took part in innovative decision-making by the government to include the construction of the Mass Rapid Transit in 1972, the establishment of the Independent Commission against Corruption (OCAC) in 1974, public housing schemes, and a countryside park. Benefitting from her successive five-year plans under an authoritarian government, Taiwan rose to be one of the Newly Industrialized Countries. A new turning point for Hong Kong's economic growth occurred in the 1980's, as the cost of land and labor increased, leading to the re-location of the manufacturing industry to Mainland China.

The second wave of emigration took place during the signing of Sino-British Joint Declaration (中英聯合聲明) in 1984 to revert Hong Kong to China. Substantial amounts of emigration took place after 1989, when the June 4 incident in Mainland China

became a major source of anxiety and incentive for the middle-class to emigrate. In 1980, Taiwan started her first Industrial Park, attracting large numbers of young educated Taiwanese overseas for the first time, helping to build her strong human capital.

One can continue to demonstrate differences in the extent of economic development by comparing the living index, average income, HDI, and Global Citation Index to illustrate a large discrepancy in development between the two former colonies. As a whole, Hong Kong is regarded as a more developed state with a well-established financial system, well-maintained law and order, and a global city on a par with London and New York. Taiwan was (and still is) regarded as a bit far behind Hong Kong from certain aspects. Therefore, the phenomenon of Taiwanese in Hong Kong would make a good case study to test or further explore the argument of “South-North” migration.

Research Methodology

It is not easy to get an accurate estimate of Taiwanese in Hong Kong based on published statistics.² Speaking with government officials and an old-timer who immigrated to Hong Kong in 1968 to work, and have become the key person of a Taiwan organization in Hong Kong, the first author learned that there are four types of

² The first author learned from Taiwan officials in Hong Kong that number of Taiwanese ranges from 20,000 to 80,000. She learned from personal communication with a Taiwan government official previously working in Hong Kong that the number of Hong Kongers depends on how Taiwanese are defined (定義). In theory, they include two main types: 1. Those who were born and raised in Taiwan, or have obtained citizenship. 2. Those who had completed tertiary education in Taiwan as Overseas Chinese Students (OCS), obtained TW citizenship, and strongly identify with Taiwanese value or culture. A conservative estimate of Taiwanese in Hong Kong is at least 30,000 for the first generation. The second generation born from Taiwan parents may not identify (認同) with Taiwan, and some have not obtained permanent residence status while working in Hong Kong.

Taiwanese immigrants in Hong Kong. The first type are mostly women who were married to Overseas Chinese Students (僑生) who came from Hong Kong to study in Taiwan. They contribute to the majority of cross-border marriage between Hong Kong men and Taiwanese women in the 1970s, when it was less likely for Hong Kong women to marry Taiwanese men (Chiang, 2018). In recent years, cross-border marriage has increased, with Hong Kong men who stayed in Taiwan after marrying Taiwan women, and Taiwan men moving to Hong Kong after marrying Hong Kong women (結婚之後去台灣住的香港男人·或結婚後來香港住的台灣男人), displaying a deviation of patrilocal residence. There is limited data to support the notion of patrilocal residence of cross-border marriage between Hong Kong and Taiwan in the early days (before 1990), and there are no separate data for Hong Kong and Macau marriage migration. Data from the past two decades (1998 to 2017) shows that trans-border marriage is constituted mainly by Hong Kong and Macau women and Taiwanese men (女多男少, 如外配), except in 2001, 2002, 2008 and 2012 (Department of Household Registration, Ministry of Interior, 2017).³ This would also mean that trans-border marriage of Hong Kongers and Taiwanese has gained significance as a recent phenomenon, and contribute a new perspective to conventional views on foreign spouse from different source countries.

The second type of Taiwan immigrants in Hong Kong are those who were the spouse of Taiwan men who went to Mainland China to establish factories and set up their office in Hong Kong. This was at the time when industries moved out from Taiwan

³Statistics from National Immigration Agency (Taiwan) (2017) imply that the number of Taiwanese marrying Hong Kong and Macau people has risen, while the number of Taiwanese marrying Mainland Chinese is decreasing year by year.

due to labor shortage, in order to seek after less expensive labor elsewhere such as Dongguan 東莞 and Shenzhen 深圳 in the Pearl River Delta. The third type are Taiwanese men and women who entered Hong Kong directly with working visa. The fourth type include those who went to Taiwan as Overseas Chinese Students 僑生, has obtained Taiwan citizenship upon completion of their tertiary education and has “returned” from Taiwan, while some have remained in Taiwan for work and got married.

Without a sampling frame to select cases, we decide to use chain referral/snowball sampling methods and carry out in-depth interviews using a semi-structured questionnaire. Each interview lasted from 1.5 to 3 hours, enabling respondents to use their own words to tell us a great deal about their experiences and attitudes. It also allowed them to reveal key underlying social structures (Hay, 2010). To supplement face-to-face interviews, self-administered questionnaires received by e-mails, and follow-up phone calls were made in successive visits to Hong Kong by the first author. Participant observation in social gatherings, public events, gatherings of religious groups, and several focus group interviews over tea or dinner in restaurants, and respondent’s homes in Hong Kong and Taiwan were carried out. Several capable and zealous Taiwanese women and men in Hong Kong helped as key informants to look up interviewees through their networks. As most of the respondents belong to two or more Taiwanese organizations (Examples are: 香港台灣工商協會、港澳台灣同鄉會、國際華商協進會、香港台灣婦女協會、香港台灣商會、客屬同鄉會、大專校友會), the snowball sampling method was used effectively. Altogether, six short trips of up to two weeks in length between 2013 and 2018 were undertaken to Hong Kong by the first author, with logistical support from David C. Lam Institute for East-West Studies (LEWI), Hong

Kong Baptist University.⁴

We acknowledge the limitations of our snowball sampling procedure and the sample size used in this paper. Despite our efforts to identify Taiwanese and make repeated efforts to meet interviewees, we encounter challenges of refusals or no response. Efforts made to seek out interviewees within the busy Hong Kong ethos (風氣) were not all successful, despite introductions. Apart from keeping in mind the importance of diversity, and generational differences, quality control is exercised at all times.⁵ We do not intend to generalize about Taiwanese immigrants who are settled permanently in Hong Kong, but rather to acquire a nuanced understanding of immigrants and circumstances while presenting the complexities of their experiences in a global city. The research method has been consistently employed by the first author in her recent research (Chiang, Wong & Huang, 2016; Chiang & Wong, 2017; Chiang, 2018), in which ‘rigour’ in interview analysis is observed (Baxter & Eyles, 1996).

Research Findings

The Socio-economic Profile and Marriage Categories

The socio-economic profile of the 38 Taiwanese women married to Hong Kong

⁴ Altogether, the project sample consist of 60 Taiwanese men and women, among whom 38 were Taiwanese women married to Hong Kong husbands, 12 Women married to Taiwanese husbands, and 10 men.

⁵ The three invalid cases among the female immigrants include a dispatched woman working in a Hong Kong branch of a bank of Taiwan, a Taiwanese woman who married a Hong Kong men but did not immigrate to Hong Kong, and a young Hong Kong lady whose parents are Taiwanese, but was born and raised in two other countries other than Hong Kong. Refusals/non response to interview came more frequently from men than women resulting in a smaller number of men in the sample.

men is shown in Table 1. Ranging in age from 32 to 74, they emigrated from Taiwan to Hong Kong between 1965 and 2011.⁶ Fourteen attended vocational schools in Taiwan, and the rest have received University and above education, among whom four received their education in the US and the UK (no. 1, no. 11, no. 25, and no. 27). Apart from four who “help the husband and teach the children” (相夫教子), as the traditional duty of a wife (No. 3, No. 17, No. 34, No 36), almost everyone was employed, even at one time. They are not like the expatriate wives that Fechter (2016) studied, by being professionally oriented, and active in many social activities. Neither are they like Mainland Chinese wives who marry Hong Kongers, as reported in previous studies which indicated that they do not meet the qualifications to find work. They are also different from middle class female immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China who were deskilled in Australia and Canada despite their high educational levels (Chiang, 2004, 2008). A variety of occupations are included among the interviewees (manager, health specialist, educator, insurance agent, government worker, special education advisor, language teacher, company secretary, university administrator, kindergarten administrator, banking officer, accountant, real estate agent, equity research analyst, sale and marketing manager, etc.). As marriage constitutes the reason for immigration, patrilocal residence (嫁雞隨雞) after marriage is the norm regardless of generational differences among this group of Taiwanese women who obtained visas to immigrate to Hong Kong as dependents (受養人) from the Immigration Department of Hong Kong. As years of residence is important in understanding cultural adaptation, our sample in this study consist of married Taiwanese women who has lived in Hong

⁶ There is one exception, no. 33, who went to Hong Kong in 1996 at the age of 12 with her parents who went to do business in Mainland China. She married a Hong Konger recommended by her brother.

Kong for over ten years. Our sample also include 14 women who were less than 50 years old at the time of interview, to allow comparison between generations.

After interviewing, we find that the way that Taiwanese women met their husbands can be broken down into five categories, as shown in Table 1:

- A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS (僑生) (11)
- A2. Met husband abroad while studying, working or traveling (5)
- A3. Met husband who worked or traveled in Taiwan (7)
- A4. Met husband who was working/traveling in Hong Kong (5)
- A5. Introduced by friends or family member (5)

Our findings therefore support the notion that as young people travel more and more as tourists, students, and working overseas, it may lead to cross-border marriages. The assistance of professional matchmakers to find a spouse, as in the migration of intercultural marriage in Taiwan (Chen & Luo, 2014) has not been found in our study.

Adapting to Hong Kong Culture

We find that adapting to Hong Kong culture forms an essential part of immigrant's livelihood despite similarities in race and culture between Hong Kong and Taiwan. This is also true of Hong Kongers adapting to Taiwan culture over a long period of time (Chiang, 2018). Only through narratives would the researcher derive a nuanced understanding of the reality of lived experiences of immigrants, an opportunity to give

voice to a social group who has not been covered in our earlier review of pertinent literature. The issues of adaptation would be discussed as follows:

Learning Cantonese Quickly

As Cantonese is spoken by over 90% of the population in Hong Kong, it is the living language within which to conduct business and fulfil daily needs. The subjects in this study started speaking Cantonese within a year, not without difficulty, as demonstrated by a few examples:

I learned Cantonese by watching “outdated Cantonese soap operas” (粵語殘片), speaking with my mother-in-law and my husband’s friends. I also learned from my clients, while working as a cashier as my first job in Hong Kong in the late seventies.

In order to learn Cantonese, I spent 1.5 hours one way by public transport to North Point to attend a gathering every week. I was happy to meet many Taiwanese women this way.

If you do not speak Cantonese in Hong Kong, people will be ill-mannered (態度不好) and laugh at you (會被人笑). When the Hong Kongers I met at work found out later that I am easy-going, sincere, and did not gossip, we became good friends.

As I live in the mid-level (半山區) and do not get my grocery in the wet market, I have fewer opportunities to learn Cantonese. As my children attended the Singapore International School, I met Chinese Singaporeans who spoke Chinese. However, it is difficult to make friends because they come and go frequently.

My mom did not pick up Cantonese when she came to Hong Kong at the age of 45. She noticed people's unfriendly attitude easily in the wet market. One time, the vendors charged her a higher price when she was buying chicken. The Hong Kongers are more polite in Central, where one meets people who are more educated, and more international.

When I went to the Immigration Department to pick up my HK ID, I did not recognize my name even though they called it several times in Cantonese.

Different life-styles and condescending attitudes of Hong Kongers

Even to this day, Taiwanese people are not used to the rapid pace of life in Hong Kong, the small space at home, and the crowded streets. They find that Hong Kongers often display discriminatory attitudes towards non-Cantonese speakers:

In the 1970s, we didn't dare say we were from Taiwan; we said that we were from Fujian.

Some Hong Kongers who visited Taiwan in the 1970s found that Taiwan was quite poor. They thought that Taiwan women like to marry Hong Kong men. Taiwan women were called “Taiwan Mei” (臺灣妹), around 1970 to 1980.

They called me “Shanghainese” (上海妹 · 上海婆). When I switched to English, they sounded more polite.

As British subjects, some of the Hong Kongers were haughty in their manners. You can only get their attention and respect if you speak English.

As I spoke Mandarin, they thought that I am from Mainland China and sounded condescending; when I switch to Japanese, they are better.

In the 1970s, Hong Kongers looked down on Mainland Chinese whom they regarded as poor relatives (窮親戚) from the countryside. The order of their rating of people was Hong Kongers, Taiwanese and Chinese Mainlanders. It is now reversed.

In sum, Hong Kongers had a condescending attitude toward Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese in the early days; but as Taiwan became the leader among the four Asian Dragons, Hong Kongers changed their attitudes. As tourists from Taiwan increased in the early 1990's, Hong Kong sales persons started to speak the *Minnan*

dialect. Nowadays, many speak *Putonghua* to do business with Chinese Mainlanders. Hong Kongers seldom pick on accents of Taiwanese who speaks Cantonese in Hong Kong; but Taiwanese are always picky of Hong Konger's accents when they speak Mandarin in Taiwan (Chiang and Lin, 2018).

Lack of rénqíngwèi (人情味) in the Hong Kong Culture

Our respondents gave examples and explanations of how it is like to relate to Hong Kongers:

Even though we have learned to speak Cantonese over the years, most of our friends are from Taiwan. It is hard to make friends in Hong Kong, as they are in general lacking in human warmth (人情味淡薄), and do not want to waste their time speaking to strangers.

Hong Kongers do not chit-chat with strangers like we do in Taiwan. When I first came to Hong Kong, my husband corrected me by suggesting that I should not talk to strangers. If you appear friendly to them they think that you may be doing it with a purpose.

Hong Kongers seldom invite people home, and neighbors are like strangers even after many years. Most Hong Kongers live in a small space, this may be the reason for them not to acknowledge their neighbors. They always look cold and

*distanced from strangers.*⁷

On the other hand, *Rénqíngwèi* (Human feelings 人情味) is regarded a significant cultural trait in Taiwan. In a study of early Hong Kongers in Taiwan, Chiang (2018) found that her Hong Kong respondents frequently describe Taiwan people as enthusiastic and polite (熱情有禮) (particularly shopkeepers, when compared to those in Hong Kong), kind (善良), helpful (樂於助人), and simple (純樸 *chún pǔ*). Even for young Taiwanese people who went to work in Hong Kong, they found *rénqíngwèi* missing in the work place and neighborhood they live (Chiang, Wong & Huang, 2016). Wong (1999), a sociologist in Hong Kong, wrote that Hong Kongers are mobile, flexible, pragmatic and situational. Sussnan (2011), a psychologist, noted that “the survival of Hong Kong’s residents is due to their persistence, hard work, shrewdness, and cooperation.” Crowding, small living space, the high cost of living, and focus on doing business and efficiency in Hong Kong may have produced an environment with less human feelings.

Women’s Role in the Family

A woman in Hong Kong has a higher status in the family than the Taiwan woman at home. As stated by one respondent whom the first author interviewed in 2017:

In our family, we believe in women’s rights (女權至上). We speak Mandarin at home.

⁷ Born-and-bred Hong Konger M. Fitzpatrick (2015) wrote about her landlady as stoney-faced, and Hong Kongers as indifferent, like wearing a mask, while living in the most densely populated societies on Earth.

Taiwanese men are more chauvinistic than Hong Kong men, as viewed by some respondents in a study of early Hong Kongers in Taiwan (Chiang 2018). Relations with family members, especially elderly in-laws tend to be easier in Hong Kong than in Taiwan:

My father-in-law thinks that I am very capable. Relationships between married women and their mothers-in-law are seldom tense here.

I learn how to make Cantonese soup from my mother-in-law who thinks that I am making broth. I remember cleaning the kerosene stove for boiling soup, and got my finger nails very dirty. My father-in-law owns several restaurants, and never comes home for dinner. During the Chinese New Year, he asked me to kill chickens. I brought them to the poultry vendor to do it. My mother-in-law is not good in cooking, so she thinks my cooking is OK. I don't remember her ever criticizing me.

My mother-in-law supports me in my work. I greatly appreciate it when she reminds me to give money to my parents.

I lived with my husband's parents and my sister-in-law for some years. There were minor skirmishes until my sister-in-law got married and moved out.

In a focus group interview conducted by the first author in a family with three other Taiwanese women attending in early 2018, the views towards women's roles in

Hong Kong and Taiwan were vividly expressed:

1. *Hong Kong flats are so small that two generations in a family usually do not live together* (香港地方小，兩代人較不會住在一起). *Here in Hong Kong, they say that “It is easy to live together, but hard to get along”* (相處容易同住難；久了容易產生磨擦). *On the other hand, Taiwanese elders expect to live with their children who get married, sometimes for face.*。(台灣的長輩期望和晚輩住一起。)

2. *The Hong Kong mother-in-law is more modern than the Taiwan mother-in-law and plays her role “properly”* (會做人, or “識 Do” in the Cantonese dialect). *She won’t bother to oppress her daughter-in-law.* (香港的婆婆比較現代化；即，不會去欺負媳婦)。*On the other hand, the Taiwanese mother-in-law habitually find fault with her daughter-in-law, and expects her to do housework for the extended family. Some do this because they were poorly treated by their mothers-in-law.* (台灣婆婆喜歡管媳婦及挑剔媳婦的不是。如果自己受過婆婆的氣，有些人會繼續用這裡行為模式對待媳婦，不給她好臉色看。)

3. *Taiwanese mothers-in-law do a lot for their children, and have strong boy preference. They are jealous of their daughters-in-law when their sons get married.* (台灣婆婆為子女付出多，又重男輕女。兒子娶了太太，便覺得媳婦搶走了兒子。)

entertain her sisters-in-law and stay until dinner is over. If her natal home is far away, she would visit her natal home the next day (年初三).

Our focus group discussion concluded with the statement:

It does not matter whom or where (Taiwan or Hong Kong) you are married to. The family that you are married to matters most. We think that women enjoy higher social status than those in Taiwan because Hong Kong was a colony of the U.K. with Queen Elizabeth II as the head of the State of the British Monarchy!

Where is Home?

We asked our respondents their frequency of returning to Taiwan, where they consider their home, and whether they intend to return to Taiwan. We find that two-thirds of them visited Taiwan 1-3 times a year (Table 1).

The notion of home is well thought of and expressed, as shown by the following narratives:

a. My Home is in Hong Kong:

Hong Kong is my home because I am married to a Hong Konger. (嫁到香港，香港便是自己的家。)

Hong Kong is my home because my children and grandchildren are here.

All my three children were born and raised in Hong Kong. I don't have any sense of belonging to Taiwan because my mother passed away when I was very young.

Hong Kong is my home because my family is here; Taiwan is also my home because I was born there, and all of my brothers and sisters are there. (因家人都在香港，所以香港是「家」。台灣是我的出生地，回台灣時住兄弟姐妹家。)

b. Notion of home changes over time and depend on circumstances:

When my mother was living, Taiwan is more like my home. Hong Kong becomes more and more like "home" since my mother passed away in Taiwan. (過去母親在，覺得台灣比較像是自己的家，但自從母親去世後，香港就越來越像家了。)

Home is where one has family members. My home is in Hong Kong because my husband and children are there; my home is also in Taiwan because my family members are there. (有家人的地方就是家，香港有先生和小孩，台灣有自己家人在。)

c. Both Hong Kong and Taiwan are homes (港台兩邊都是「家」) :

Hong Kong is my home as I am familiar with the place, and my children are here. Taiwan is also my home because I am Taiwanese. I would like to go back to Taiwan to retire, as the Medicare system is much better..... In Hong Kong, I can only visit the public hospital where one needs to wait, and seeing the doctor is an upsetting

experience. It is more convenient for me to find the right doctors in Taiwan.

香港是「家」，因為已經很熟，小孩在此。台灣也是家，因為自己是台灣人，未來想回台灣養老，因為有健保制度，而且台灣有家人。在香港看醫生是在公立醫院，要等，看醫生會生一肚子氣，台灣方便多了。

I have a flat in Hong Kong, but not anymore in Taiwan. However, I have Medicare in Taiwan; my mom, brothers and sisters are all there. Taiwan is my home too.

因為在香港有房子，而台灣沒有，回台還有年金及健保，所以台灣也還是家，因為母親、兄弟姐妹都在。

I was born and raised in Taiwan where I have a strong sense of belonging. I got married in Hong Kong where I have lived for 23 years. I have deep affection for Hong Kong. (台灣是我出生，長大的地方，有強烈歸屬感；香港是我結婚組成家庭，定居23年的地方，深厚情感。)

Returning to one's homeland is a subject that needs more research in future. Respondents' intentions to return to Taiwan came up spontaneously by using the term *luo ye gui gen* 落葉歸根, A falling leaf finds its way to its roots) showing their strong sense of belonging to Taiwan. Connections maintained with their Taiwan homeland has enabled them to be aware of developments, and trans-local linkages with their parents and relatives in Taiwan may have triggered their desire to return. Close to two-thirds of our respondents visited Taiwan more than three times a year. Some came back to

Taiwan to give birth to their children, so that they can get help from their mothers in “sitting the month.” (坐月子), with a different menu for the new mother!

Those who would not return gave good reasons for not doing so, as in the case of Belinda (no. 34), who summed up her stories of being an immigrant to Hong Kong since 1985. First, her two great gains in coming to Hong Kong is to be married to her husband at the age of 30 when she was too old to find a husband. Second, she never felt picked on by the family members of her husband, and got along well with her father-in-law who lives with them to this day, while her mother-in-law has emigrated from Hong Kong to Canada and stayed with her children. Third, she became a devout Buddhist who received moral support from the Buddhist Organization, which originated from China, and diffused to Taiwan and Hong Kong. The venerated Master Hsin Yun 星雲大師, who is the same age of her father, has guided her spiritually by his writings and meetings 法會, enabling her to overcome her loneliness, challenges and difficulties in her 33 years of immigrant life in Hong Kong. Fourth, she likes Hong Kong much better than Taiwan, and will not return. She will only return every two months to visit her elderly mother who has hearing impairment. Fifth, she felt offended when she was called a Hong Konger when she visited her relatives in Taiwan, while loaded with gifts from Hong Kong. On the other hand, she is often regarded as a Taiwanese in Hong Kong, even though she has lived in Hong Kong since 1985, and has a lot of Hong Kong friends. Finally, she repeatedly mentioned during the interview that she wishes to have her ashes buried in the grounds of the Buddha Light Mountain 佛光山 in Kaohsiung in future.

In sum, despite successful efforts in planting new roots/becoming Hong Kongers

over the last few decades, close to two-thirds of our respondents in this study (22 out of 38, 58 percent) stated their intention to return/retire in Taiwan in future. Incidentally, none of them mentioned the political changes in the last two decades in HKSAR as reasons to leave Hong Kong. Some wish to return to pursue a rural life style in their hometown. As is often the case, support comes from their Hong Kong husbands who agree to come back to live in Taiwan, due to respect toward their wives in an egalitarian relationship. Those who returned to visit their parents (回娘家) for the lunar new year brought along their husbands and children with them.

Conclusions

As background to this research, our project has compared Hong Kong and Taiwan in GDP, development, cosmopolitanism, professionalism, efficiency, to suggest that “South-North” migration applies to the case of immigration of Taiwanese to Hong Kong, including Taiwanese women married to Hong Kong men. The criteria used to scrutinize cultural adaptation of married women to Hong Kongers in this paper include: Learning to speak Cantonese, women’s role in the family, developing careers and contributing to the society through voluntary organizations. We continued to look into issues of home, identity, sense of belonging, and returning. We learn from the 38 cases in our sample that they have established their Hong Kong homes without stress from their gender and familial roles. Most of them have also developed their careers successfully with the support of their husbands and their family. Over the decades, they have forged strong friendship networks with other Taiwanese, especially among

women, and have friends both from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In short, they are for the most part happy strangers (快樂的異鄉人).

Between Taiwanese in Hong Kong and Hong Kongers in Taiwan, a major difference exists in the social construction of their homelands. Hong Kongers are mobile, flexible and well-connected with the rest of the world, and returning to a home where one's wife belongs is a pragmatic decision, not governed by the notion of patriarchy. Taiwanese women in Hong Kong live in a home away from home, even though patriarchal residence is expected of them. As space is such a rare commodity in Hong Kong, getting back to Taiwan for settlement is an acceptable option for the family. Hence, we repeatedly hear that Taiwanese married women are keen to return when their spouse from Hong Kong retire, to support the idea of *luo ye gui gen* 落葉歸根, a term that was used in ancient Chinese history. Our findings therefore contradict the paradox of a patriarchal residence pattern (嫁雞隨雞) that determine women's role in Chinese families in the past. Even though Hong Kong may constitute the desired destination of "South-North" migration, Taiwan is still their ultimate homeland.

Coupled with the lower cost of living, affordable housing, warm human relations, a good quality of life, a hospitable environment, and a good Medicare system, it is highly likely for them to return in future. This research therefore suggest the impermanent side of patrilocal residence, in the modern and rapidly changing society of Hong Kong. On the other hand, Hong Kong women who have married Taiwanese men in Taiwan may not have the option of returning to live in Hong Kong, as the latter's family members and friends may have emigrated to other countries, and living in Hong Kong is simply not affordable. On top of all, their Taiwan husbands and families who

adhere strongly to traditional values of patriarchy, would not expect a married man to follow his wife to move to the her homeland.

In this study, we implemented an effective research instrument to seek candid answers from a long period of fieldwork to do qualitative research. Face to face interviews from 2014 to 2018 enable us to produce a nuanced feminist understanding of the situation to give voice to Taiwanese women who frequently face challenges of patriarchal values and practices in marriage. We believe that a large sample survey is needed to address generational differences in trans-border marriages, which is increasing in Asia with globalization. We suggest that the social and cultural capital that Taiwanese immigrants have brought to Hong Kong over the years be given more weight in our study apart from conventional measures such as the GDP. The culture of cross-border marriage may also change over the years, in the context of socio-political aspects in both Taiwan and Hong Kong in the next few decades.

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Table 1. Profile of Taiwanese Women Married to Hong Kongers

Case No. (Pseudonym)	Age# Year of Migration to Hong Kong	Education	Major Occupations in Hong Kong	Previous Occupation in TW (Country other than TW)	Main Reasons for Moving to Hong Kong	Remarks A. How did you meet your husband? (Notes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 0) B. Return to Taiwan or not? YES/NO C. Frequency of visiting Taiwan > 3 times a year; 1-3 times
1. Gail	51 1997	BSc (TW) PhD (US)	Preventive Medicine	Cancer research, Gene therapy (US)	Employment Marriage	A2. Met husband abroad while studying -1 B. YES-1 (for retirement) C. > 3 times a year -1
2. Mary	63 1976	BA (TW) MS(China)	Children Literature sales, Children Education	Junior High Teacher	Marriage (Married to OCS)-1	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS (僑生) B. Not sure-1 (YES first and NO now) C. > 3 times a year-2
3. Alice	57 1980	Vocational School (TW)	Housewife	Textile Design, Part-time art teacher (US)	Marriage (Married to OCS)-2	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. Not sure-2 C. 1-3 times-1
4. Karen	50-1 1993	Vocational School (TW)	Sales and Marketing Housewife	Art Publishing, Interior design, Video shopkeeper	Employment	A4. Met husband while working in Hong Kong-1 B. YES -2 (□ □ , family members are in TW, better medicare) C. 1-3 times-2
5. Minna	53 1985	Vocational School (TW) (HK)	School Secretary Kindergarten teacher, Chinese teacher	School Secretary, Part-time kindergarten teacher	Marriage	A3. Husband traveled in TW-1 B. YES-3 C. 1-3 times-3
6. Lynne	65 1971	Vocational School (TW) BA (HK)	Insurance	Jewelry company	Marriage	A3. Husband worked in Taiwan-2 B. NO-1 C. 1-3 times-4
7. Joy	40-2 2005	Vocational School (TW)	Taiwan government office	Department Store cashier and broadcaster	Marriage (Married to OCS-3	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-4 C. 1-3 times-5
8. Juanita	75 1973	BA (TW)	Part-time German and <i>Putonghua</i> teacher in CUHK, retired	Supplementar y School □ □ □ , Airline Company ground staff, Chinese teacher in Univ. (Germany)	Marriage	A2. Met husband while teaching Chinese in Germany (Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS earlier.)-2 B. NO-2 Too old to move C. 1-3 times-6
9. Rose	49-3 2002	BA (TW)	Taiwan government office	Elementary school teacher	Marriage	No. information B. YES-5 C. 1-3 times-7

10. Alison	37-4 2012	B.A. M.A. (ID Industrial Design) (TW)	Project Manager Jewelry Design and Sales	Project Manager Graphic Design	Marriage	A3. Husband worked in Taiwan-3 B. YES-6 (Returned to TW with husband) C. 1-3 times-8
11. Sally	45-5 2006	High school in US BA in Economics (US)	Housewife + own business	(Worked in US 2 yrs.) Motorola	Marriage	A5. Introduced by friends in US-1 B. YES-7, I was born and raised in Taiwan C. 1-3 times-9
12. Beth	52 1990	Vocational School (TW) B.A. (TW) MSc (HK)	Special education (since 1994)	Tutor in church, Research assistant, Tutor in vocational school	Marriage (Married to OCS)-4	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-8 C. 1-3 times-10
13. Winnie	57 1997	BA (TW)	Secretary of Cultural Center, Foundation for Cultural Exchange	None	Marriage (Married to OCS)-5	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-9 C. 1-3 times-11
14. Eva	64 1975	BA (TW) MA (HK)/	Chinese Teacher, Administration in Language	Marketing	Marriage	A3. Husband worked in Taiwan-4 B. YES-10 C. > 3 times a year-3
15. Lillian	65 1973	BA (NTU/TW)	University staff	University staff	Marriage Married to OCS)-6	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-11 C. Other: Once in several years-1
16. Yvonne	55 1992	BA (TW)	Company Secretary	Company Administrator	Marriage	A2. Met husband abroad while traveling-3 B. YES-12 C. Other: Once every two years-2
17. Lucilla	57 1977	Vocational School (TW)	Housewife	Housewife	Marriage	A5. Introduced by parents-2 B. NO-3 C. 1-3 times-12
18. Edith	74 1965	Vocational School (TW)	Kindergarten superintendent + music (retired)	Kindergarten teacher (music and dance)	Marriage	A5. Introduced by brother-3 B. NO-4 C. 1-3 times-13
19. Iris	49-6 1995	BA (Japan)	Assistant to Personnel Manager in I/E company	Import/Expor t company	Marriage	A2. Met husband abroad while traveling-4 B. YES-13 C. 1-3 times-14
20. Rowena	49-7 1990	BA (TW)	Director of Chinese Culture Association	Nurse	Marriage (Married to OCS)-7	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-14 C. 1-3 times-15
21. Pamela	51-8 1993	Vocational School (TW)	Senior Banking Officer	Accountant	Marriage (Married to OCS)-8	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-15 C. 1-3 times-16

22. Fiona	60 1985	Vocational School (TW)	Accountant Housewife	Accountant in husband's family	Marriage	A3. Husband worked in TW-5 B. YES-16 C. > 3 times a year-4
23. Jane	67 1973	Vocational School (TW)	Gift shop sales, Realty	Clerk in Trading Company	Marriage	A3. Husband worked in TW-6 B. NO-5 (children and grandchildren here; already assimilated, convenient transportation and enjoy freedom in Hong Kong. C. No reply-3; mother came to visit
24. Eunice	60 1992	Vocational School (TW)	Manager of own Company	Manager of own Company	Marriage	A3. Husband worked in TW-7 B. YES -17 (husband also has TW ID) (Not sure; depends on where son lives) C. > 3 times a year-5
25. Clarissa	34-9 2006	BA (TW) MBA (UK) Equity	Standard Chartered Bank (7 years), Asian Equity Research-- Head of Transport and Infrastructure	Student	Employment	A4. Met husband while working in HK-2 B. YES-18 (If she finds work in TW; better living environment) C. No. reply-4
26. Cynthia	44-10 2000	BA (TW) MA (HK)	Regional Sales Manager; Mandarin Teacher	Assistant to professor, Software designer, Primary school teacher	Marriage (Married to OCS)-9	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-19 (good answers) C. 1-3 times-17
27. Jeanne	34-11 2005	BA (TW) MA (UK), MA (the Netherland s)	Manager of own Company	None	Marriage	A2. Met husband abroad while traveling-5 B. NO-6 C. 1-3 times a year-18
28. Susan	34-12 2005	BA (TW)	Equity Research Analyst, Housewife and volunteer	Equity research at bank	Employment (2005)	A4. Met husband while (she is) working in HK-3 B. NO-7 (Much higher pay in Hong Kong than Taiwan; prefer HK education for children) C. 1-3 times a year-19
29. Rose	32-13 2011	BA (TW) MBA (HK)	Relationship Manager of International Personal Banking at Citibank	Financial consultant at Citibank	Student Employment	A4. Met husband while (she is) working in HK-4 B. NO-8 (good reasons) C. > 3 times a year-6
30. Tanny	50-14 1993	Vocational School (TW)	Director of Sales and Marketing	Secretary	Marriage (Married to OCS)-10	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-20 (Parents getting older; TW is my homeland) C. 1-3 years-20

31. Jade	65 1989	BA (TW)	Wealth Manager, (Insurance agent)	Secretary of I/E Company	Marriage (Married to OCS)-11	A1. Husband studied in Taiwan as OCS B. YES-21 (It also depends where my son lives in future) C. 1-3 times a year-21
32. Zoe	41-15 2002	BA (TW)	ING LIFE agent	Researcher in animal husbandry, Insurance agent	Marriage	A0 B. YES-22 □ □ □ □ ; husband willing to return when he retires. C. > 3 times a year-7
33. Amy	36-16 1996 (12 years old)	Certificate, Academy of Performing Art (HK)	Piano Teacher (Work at Home)	N.A.	Family reunion with parents	A5. Introduced by brother-3 B. Depends; leave it to God-3. C. 1-3 times a year-22 (close to two-thirds, 61%)
34. Belinda	62 1985	Medical College	Housewife □ □ □ □	Medical Technician	Marriage	A5. Introduced by friends in TW-4 B. NO-9, I like Hong Kong; but part of my ashes will be buried in Taiwan. C. > 3 times a year
35. Lita	59 1996	Vocational School (TW)	Export business (Home office)	Manager of own business	Marriage	A5. Introduced to husband by friend while traveling in Hong Kong-5 B. NO-10; Business is here. C. > 3 times a year (stay up to 2 weeks at the most. Mostly stay one week)
36. Fanny	63 1998	Vocational School (TW)	Housewife	Accountant	Family	A4. Met husband while traveling in HK-5 B. NO-11, after parents passed away. I like Hong Kong. C. > 3 times a year
37. Abby	33-17 2012	Vocational School (TW) (Design)	Housewife	Sales Manager	Marriage	A3. Husband tourist, introduced by friend. B. YES-23; Husband likes TW, worked for one year before C. 1-3 times a year-23 (gave birth to kids)
38. Ellen	35-18 2013	B.A. (TW) (Drama)	Housewife	Performing Art	Marriage	A2. Met husband in Adelaide on Working Holiday B. Depends C. 1-3 times a year-24 (gave birth to kids)

Notes: Column 2: # Age at the time of interview
Age of respondents: 50 or below=18; > 50=20
Column 7: Where did respondent meet her husband? (A1-A5)
A1. Husband studied In Taiwan as OCS (□ □) --11
A2. Met husband abroad while studying, working or traveling--5
A3. Husband worked or traveled in Taiwan--8
A4. Met husband while working/traveling in Hong Kong--5
A5. Introduced by friend or family member--5
A0. No reply--3
Column 7: Frequency of visiting Taiwan:
> 3 times a year--7
1-3 times a year--22 (close to two-thirds, 61%)
No information--7
Column 7: Return to Taiwan or not?
YES--23 NO--11 Not sure, depends--4

Appendix. GDP per capita for Hong Kong and Taiwan, US\$

Year	Hong Kong	Taiwan
1951	280	154
1960	429	163
1970	960	397
1980	5,700	2,389
1990	13,486	8,216
2000	25,757	14,941
2010	32,550	19,278
2014	40,247	22,668
2015	42,351	22,400
2016	43,681	22,561

Sources: Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (2017);
Hong Kong Economic Information & Agency (1981:1, 113); The World Bank (2017).