

Reading Marriage Immigration Issue in Taiwan: From the Perspective of Citizenship

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In the past two decades, the surging number of marriage immigrants has shaped Taiwan government's policy making, specifically the amendment of *Nationality Act* and *Immigration Act* as well as the redefining the social role of NGOs to be brought to the center stage of society. In Taiwan, although government has forbidden the "bride to order" advertisement since 2009, the images of mercenary marriage and labor in marriage are still vivid to the public. In this article, I would like to argue that Taiwan government's policy on marriage immigrants reconstructs the imbalanced power relationship and inequality between sexes, ethnic groups as well as stereotyping women as the appendant and the be-ruled of patriarchal domination in the family and society for the sake of maintaining the social classification and biological function. This article focuses on examining the transformation of marriage migration policy from the perspectives of citizenship and structural violence by means of investigating the official data and using the information gathered during the conducting of interviews with marriage immigrants in 2014 and with NGOs in 2015.

I. Historical Background and Global Context

According to the United Nation's report on migration, *International Migration Report 2013*, the number of international migration rose over 50 percent from 1990 to 2013 and a remarkable growth occurred between 2000 and 2010. Consistently, the number of marriage immigrants in Taiwan reached its peak in 2003 and most of them are from China and Southeast Asia, especially from Vietnam. The United Nation's report mainly focuses on the three categories of international migrants: refugees, migrant worker as well as smuggling and trafficking. It is noteworthy that the case of marriage immigrants is neglected

in the discussion of international migration.

In the era of globalization, marriage immigrants is a new way of linkage among countries. Marriage immigrants could be differentiated in many different types and mobilize in various ways. Previous researches of marriage immigrants are mainly focused on marriage immigrant couples who migrant in a family unit whose difficulties are the transformation of citizenship from equal to unequal within an intimate partnership. According to Lucy Williams' *Global Marriage: Cross-Border Marriage Migration in Global Context*:

“Migration is often an option for the less-privileged who, even if they never migrant themselves,..... The poor may now be the most frequent migrants across the world as well as within the boundaries, as in economically less developed and unstable parts of the world, governments as much as individuals recognize migration as a means of maximizing the economic value of people. Migration, in many parts of the world, has become a national as well as an individual strategy.” (p. 3)

It is quite different from the marriage immigrants from China and Southeast Asia in Taiwan. Surprisingly, although Taiwanese people are a combination of migrants since early 17th century, Taiwan society seems to be stricter than ever with the marriage immigrants from China and Southeast Asia, especially the examination of their loyalty toward marriage and moral value by means of taking interview on the nation border and later interviewing them again in domestic.

Undoubtedly, Taiwan is a migrant society; except the aboriginal whose activities could be dated back to 15,000 years ago, all the other ethnic groups are the immigrants who came to Taiwan mainly in 17th, 19th and early 20th century after World War II. In 1987, Taiwan opened the door to China by permitting the veterans to visit their relatives in China after the 38-year cold war between Kuomintang (KMT, the first political party founded in 1894 under the ruling of Qing dynasty) and China. Since the open of visiting China, many single veterans coming back with comparatively young Chinese females which is the early image of marriage immigrants in Taiwan.

On the other hand, with the sharp economic development and political transformation in the 1980s, Taiwan is one of the new destinations for foreign

labor from Southeast Asia. Since the early 1990s, numerous advertisements of transnational marriage merchandising/ matchmaking could easily be seen on the roadside in rural area and counties (as the illustrated photo). The advertisements were set up by the matchmaker who provides “warranty” for the bride’s virginity as well as “refundable policy” and “indemnifying measures” if the bride runs away from the marriage. Because of the stereotyped imagination toward Vietnamese lady, the extreme number of Vietnamese marriage immigrants from other countries is obvious to be noted; from 2005 to 2014, 65,549 marriage immigrants came from Vietnam to 10,221 marriage immigrants came from Indonesia which occupies the second place of the statistic. (Department of Household Registration, R.O.C (Taiwan), Jan 7th, 2015)



The complicated historical context constructs the incomparable circumstance and condition for marriage immigrants in the island. Due to Taiwan’s ambiguous relationship with China, the government established two different migration policies toward marriage immigrants from China and Southeast Asia as two separate groups. In previous research, not only the juridical realm but also academia in Taiwan used to examine groups separated as indicators for Taiwan and China who share the similar cultural context. As mentioned, the number of marriage immigrants from China and Southeast Asia reached its peak in 2003 and then the number has been decreasing since then. Based on the official data, we could date back the number of marriage immigrants from China to year of 1998; on the other side, the starting year of official data for from Southeast Asian’s could only be dated back to 2001. (Table 1.)

Table 1. Numbers of Newly-wed of the Years (Sorted by Nationality)

Numbers of Newly-wed of the Year, Sorted by Nationality															Unit: person		
Year	Newly-wed Male of the Year								Newly-wed Female of the Year								
	Total	Native Taiwanese	Mainland China, H.K and Macau			Foreigners			Total	Native Taiwanese	Mainland China, H.K and Macau			Foreigners			
			Total	Mainland China	H.K& Macau	Total	Southeast Asia	Others			Total	Mainland China	H.K& Macau	Total	Southeast Asia	Others	
1998	145,976	143,667	511	382	129	1,798			145,976	125,380	11,940	11,785	155	8,656			
1999	173,209	170,412	844	697	147	1,953			173,209	143,743	16,745	16,591	154	12,721			
2000	181,642	178,520	846	686	160	2,276			181,642	139,798	22,782	22,611	171	19,062			
2001	170,515	167,115	983	834	149	2,417	806	1,611	170,515	127,713	25,814	25,682	132	16,988	16,706	282	
2002	172,655	168,289	1,598	1,436	162	2,768	1,035	1,733	172,655	128,008	27,308	27,167	141	17,339	17,002	337	
2003	171,483	165,482	3,207	3,060	147	2,794	1,044	1,750	171,483	122,850	31,784	31,625	159	16,849	16,307	542	
2004	131,453	128,277	405	256	149	2,771	921	1,850	131,453	103,319	10,567	10,386	181	17,567	17,182	385	
2005	141,140	138,001	452	282	170	2,687	751	1,936	141,140	115,852	14,167	13,976	191	11,121	10,703	418	
2006	142,669	139,455	506	323	183	2,708	579	2,129	142,669	121,953	13,900	13,641	259	6,816	6,371	445	
2007	135,041	131,900	551	371	180	2,590	452	2,138	135,041	113,482	14,595	14,350	245	6,964	6,500	464	
2008	154,866	151,350	621	371	250	2,895	468	2,427	154,866	136,653	12,151	11,903	248	6,062	5,541	521	
2009	117,099	113,426	691	452	239	2,982	502	2,480	117,099	98,858	12,603	12,344	259	5,638	5,194	444	
2010	138,819	135,027	807	562	245	2,985	549	2,436	138,819	121,110	12,525	12,245	280	5,184	4,663	521	
2011	165,327	161,237	995	686	309	3,095	520	2,575	165,327	147,901	12,468	12,114	354	4,958	4,367	591	
2012	143,384	139,047	1,116	766	350	3,221	664	2,557	143,384	127,121	11,597	11,268	329	4,666	4,120	546	
2013	147,636	143,446	1,074	738	336	3,116	616	2,500	147,636	132,334	10,468	10,091	377	4,834	4,207	627	
2014	149,287	144,766	1,178	727	451	3,343	706	2,637	149,287	134,107	9,808	9,317	491	5,372	4,760	612	

Source: Department of Household Registration, R.O.C (Taiwan) Sep 12, 2015.

Referring to Table 1, it was obvious to note the great disparity between female and male non-native newly-wed in Taiwan since 1998. The main force of immigrants in Taiwan was the Asia-Asia immigration which is compatible with UN's report on international migration in the year of 2013: "During the period 2000-2010, the Asia-Asia corridor grew by an average of 1.5 million international migrants per year; a figure which fell to 0.8 million during the period 2010-2013". (*International Migrant Report*, p.3). In Taiwan's case, the rate of non-native male newly-wed was 1.58% and of non-native female newly-wed was 14.10% in 1998. In 2001, the first year of separated statistical data, the rate of non-native male newly-wed from Mainland China was 0.48% and from Southeast Asia was 0.47%. Regarding to the rate of non-native females in 2001, the number from Mainland China was 15.06% and reached its peak of 18.44% in 2003. On the other side, in 2001, the rate of non-native female newly-wed from Southeast Asia was 9.79% and it reached the peak of 13.07% in year 2004. The yearly percentage of newly-born second generation of Southeast Asian mother reached its peak in 2004, 7.97%, and 2.43% in 2014; on the other hand, the number of second generation of Chinese mother reached its peak in 2004 as 5.15% and decreased yearly to 3.79% in 2014. (Dept. of Household Registration, MOI. R.O.C Taiwan) The decrease represents Taiwan's economic situation and the changing of immigrant policy brought to the population.

It is noteworthy that marriage gradient is not a new story to the island. In 1960s and 1970s, the veterans who came to Taiwan in 1949 married the comparatively young aboriginal female for taking their steady financial condition as the advantage in the marriage market which was the typical representation in Taiwan society. Yet marriage immigrants as the main force of the migrant since late 1980s is the first time to Taiwan society after modernization; how our government and public tackles the issue is the new task to Taiwan.

II. Citizenship: Structural Exclusion

After the reissue of *Immigrant Act* in 2008, the former match makers which had registered as a company have been transformed into the welfare-based *NGO*. Among the regulations, Article 58 is the most decisive one which changed the way of match-making business in Taiwan. According to Article 58, “Transnational marriage match shall not be an operating item. Transnational marriage agencies shall not demand remunerations or contractual remunerations. No person shall disseminate, broadcast or publish advertisements of transnational marriage agencies through advertising, publication, broadcast, television, electronic signaling, internet or other means that can make the advertisements publicly known.” (*Immigrant Act* of R.O.C). Therefore, until Sept 1st, 2015, there are 42 legal welfare-based agencies who work under the regulation.

After reading Taiwan government’s policy on immigrant issue and discourse, there is sufficient evidence to reveal that “leave problems beyond the border” is Taiwan government’s principle for marriage immigrant issue undoubtedly. Many of researchers considered Taiwan government transformed their attitude from “exclusionary” to “inclusionary”; according to Hong-Zen Wang and Danièle Bélanger’s article, “Taiwanizing Female Immigrant Spouses and Materializing Differential Citizenship”, they write “The government is concerned with its ‘population quality’, but, due to increase social pressure, the Taiwanese government changed its exclusionary policy towards immigrant spouses to an official ‘inclusionary’ one after 2002 ” (Wang, p.94); moreover, in Pei-Chia Lan’s article, “Migrant Women’s Bodies as Boundary Marker: Reproductive Crisis and Sexual Control in the Ethnic Frontiers of Taiwan”, she explained how the inclusionary is somehow the exclusionary and manipulation by means of

controlling through system and regulation. She writes, “Facing an expanding foreign-born population, Taiwan’s government has shifted its policy agenda from border control and exclusion to inclusive governance by structuring citizenship and incorporation in a hierarchical way.”(Lan, p.838) In accordance with *Report of International Marriage Affair Management and Review in 2012* of The Control Yuan, the branch government which has the power to audit and correct other ministry,

“the interview and inspection on the nation border is a way to prevent crime in domestic..... for controlling the problem of trafficking and fake marriage but not to harm the marriage immigrants with the government’s visiting inspection at home, National Immigration Agency should cooperate with the New Immigrant Service Center and social workers to visit and inspect with flexibility; by means of the cooperative way of visit, it could not only give care to marriage immigrants but also inspect if there is any *fake* or illegal in fact.” (p.3)

Apparently, the justice turns out to be a superficial justice, a justice bubble. Taiwan government’s change on immigrant policy is nevertheless for the purpose of controlling. The controlling of filtering who is the ideal immigrant candidate to Taiwan and if they qualified to meet its picture of *real* marriage. In the same report by The Control Yuan, it declares in details of how the interview is conducted and the different standard for the interviewee with different property,

“Qualified applicant could conduct the simplified interview without investing recording in written way, tape and image video recording...first, raising natural children or the children who are adopted by the couple together. Second, both of the husband and wife are white collar; for the marriage immigrants has already registered household in Taiwan, then one of the couple is white collar would be qualified. Third, both of the couple lives in Taiwan for over two year and who have never violate the regulation before. Fourth, to prove living in the same place for over a year. Fifth, prove to live with family members for over a year. Sixth, marriage immigrants who passed the visiting inspection before. Seventh, clear in records for who arrived Taiwan in other status before marrying Taiwanese” (p. 51).

In name of protection and social security, Taiwanese government labels people with the enforcing imagination of happy marriage: middle class with capital and lives with family. It not only denies the value of equal but also breaks the formation of nuclear family. Marriage immigrant is therefore not only the accessory of the spouse but also the appendage of the family.

It is convincing that Taiwan government's attitude is still an exclusionary one. In recent years, Taiwan's government notices the Southeast Asia countries, such as Vietnam and Cambodia would be the new field for Taiwan's manufacture and mechanical industry; therefore the Taiwanese government have been carrying out a policy of nourishing the second generation whose mother language is the local language to be the future force in the industry. The government suddenly promotes and encourages the second generation should learn their mother language and one day they could be sent to those countries for Taiwan's own economy purpose. Obviously, the bodies of second generation then become the object and the excluded tool for manipulation and governance. Under the government policy, they are the permanent outsider in the visible future. For instance, on the website of Vocational Center of New Taipei City, the lessons provided for marriage immigrant and aborigine, the ethnic group which has been excluded, is the same, such as cook, care taker and couturier. The lessons are different from the other lessons, computer software, digital graphic and interior design, which provide for other groups as teenager and general population. We could read the message of Taiwan government from the instance above: marriage immigrants are categorized in the same with aborigines who is the cultural, political minority who has been culturally exploiting and excluded from Taiwan society for long. Under the manipulation of Taiwan government's immigrant policy, marriage immigrants and the second generations are the Other and the object to be excluded and played with structural violence.

Echoing Pei-cha Lan mentioned in the article, Taiwan's immigrant policy is "...the strategies of intervention conducted by the state in alliance with employers, brokers and husband's family." (p. 836) Taiwan government's policies reinforce and reconstruct its role as structural violence which resort to welfare-based NGOs, marriage immigrants and Taiwanese male who have the intention to get married by way of match-making comprehensively. As

the definition Johan Galtung made in his article, Violence, Peace and Peace Research in Journal of Peace Research, (Vol 6, No.3, 1969; p. 167-191), “Violence without the relation, subject violence to object, is the structural violence which built into structure” (Galtung p.171). Structural violence is the violence built with the structure, law system, and administrative system…etc. Among all the controlling and manipulation, *Nationality Act* represents the extreme domination of national mechanism. Therefore, the structural violence was constructed.

Nationality Act is the law for of Republic of China (R.O.C, Taiwan) firstly issued in 1929 before R.O.C’s moving to Taiwan in year of 1949 which was never amended until 2000. Moreover, *Immigration Act* is first issued in 1999 and amended for times. In the revised version 2013 of *Flowchart for the Application for Naturalization in Marriages between Foreign Nationals and R.O.C. Citizens and Household Registration*, marriage immigrants from China have to take at least six years which was shortened from eight years in 2009 and the other foreign marriage immigrants have to take at least four years to apply for being official citizen after fulfill all the requirement. For example, the other *foreign* marriage immigrants have to apply as the citizen candidate with more than three years of legal residence and at least 183 days per year from the day of application. Next, applicants have to reside for a certain period of time: for one year without departure from the day of naturalization; for two years and more than 270 days per year; for five years and more than 183 days per year to apply for permanent residency. Then after meeting all the requirement, the applicant is qualified to apply for National ID Card, a card which is recorded with the name, birth date, serial number, parents and spouse name, army services. On the other hand, in the case of Chinese marriage immigrants, in regardless of the limitation of application as 15,000 cases per year, the citizen candidate have to apply with more than 4 years of legal residence and at least 183 days per year from the day of application; then to apply for the permanent residency with two years and more than 183 days per year. In addition, Taiwan government adopts the protectionist policy toward the marriage immigrants from China with the case-applying limitation and more strict regulation than from other countries.

“In the first six months before I applied for the extension of stay, the police officer of our neighborhood came to visit to make sure you live in the place as recorded and the marriage is not a fake one...It’s the disadvantage for me that I didn’t give birth for my husband and

this was that they said to me during the interrogation for applying the ID. ”

—Mrs. L, from China. Age 43

“It’s not fair. Our law for Chinese marriage immigrants is the best presentation of violating human rights.”

—Mr. H, the spouse of Chinese immigrant. Age 47

Citizenship is the concept to protect the basic human rights and equality under the law, “Citizenship is commonly portrayed as the most desired of conditions: as the highest fulfillment of democratic and egalitarian aspiration” (Williams, p.127) According to the classics, *Citizenship and Social Class* and other Essays by T.H. Marshall,

“The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom—liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice...political element... the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body...By the social element, I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society.” (Marshall p.10-11)

According to Lucy Williams addressed in her book, *Global Marriage: Cross-border Marriage Migration in Global Context*, “Thus, cross-border marriage migrants experience a loss of formal citizenship status and restrictions on their rights in their country of settlement. Their status as a *spouse* and a *dependent* is their defining characteristic in the eyes of the states and their rights as individual are understood through their social status as wife, husband or partner.”(p.5-6) From the perspective of citizenship, marriage immigrants are unable to possess the full citizenship under governmental inspecting mechanism whenever their marriage is not qualified with the standard of *happily ever after marriage*.

III. Citizenship: Family and Cultural Identity

“I arrived Taiwan two years late after I got married. Because I didn’t pass the interview. My husband answered my brother’s name wrong.”

—Mrs. P, from Vietnam. Age 30

“It’s my eleventh year in Taiwan. My husband died within three years after I am in Taiwan. So I can’t apply for ID Card.”

—Mrs. C, from Vietnam. Age 38

Due to the regulation of *Immigration Act*, Mrs. C was unable to apply for ID card for her husband’s death within the first three year of their marriage; in other words, to Taiwan government, the time is too short to prove the authenticity of their marriage and their relationship. After her husband’s death, she was considered as the left appendage who is not qualified to obtain the right and to be protected by governmental with social citizenship. In Taiwan, women’s pregnancy then become her ticket to obtain the full citizenship. “Through child-bearing, a foreign spouse can win trust and by demonstrating her commitment to this marriage and permanent immigration (Hsiao 1999). The pressure for immigrant women to enter motherhood not only comes from the husband’s family but also emerges as a result of state regulations Childbearing can help them achieve residency or citizenship sooner.” (Lan p. 849) In this case, *Immigrant Act* is the discipline and punishment to the women whose marriage is not smooth going to enter motherhood as expected. Once they failed to satisfy the expectation of being a tame and reproductive, marriage immigrants are fail to obtain full citizenship, “As Antonia Chao (2004) has argued, women’s reproductive duty stipulated in the sexual contract of marriage becomes tied to the contract of citizenship governed by the politics of ethnonationalism.” (Lan p. 849)

Under the regulation of *Immigrant Act*, some families in demand to be supported by dual income were forced by Taiwanese government to be in the unsteady financial condition and even to be in poverty. In order to support the family, working illegally was one of the choices even taking the risk of being repatriated for them. Though the law was amended in 2009, but during the climax of urging increasing number of marriage immigrants, many families had

been suffering the injustice and violence from the society and government. The structural inequality forced marriage immigrants and the family to be trapped in the negative loop of poverty and the reproduction of social disadvantage. Therefore, though marriage immigrants' legal right of work after two year's residence in Taiwan had been abolished, it is convincing that Taiwan government's policy did emphasize the conservative forces in the society and family: male have to take the burden of earning the bread for family, giving birth is the proof of happy and real marriage as well as women could not decide the way of their marriage, they do not have the right to be different and *strange*.

According to Marshall's explanation, the equal right to have decent work and acceptable income for everyone are the basic understanding of social right; apparently, Taiwan government's policy on marriage immigrants brought out the reproduction of disadvantage and inequality of the families and individuals as the following mentioned. Among the 15 conducted interview with Chinese marriage immigrants, the complaining of the obstructive policy is never stop. Before the Act was amended in 2009, marriage immigrants were not allowed to work, including both Chinese marriage immigrants and those from others regions because government attempt to control and monitor. Reading the issue from the perspective of citizenship, marriage immigrants' demand of possessing the full citizenship in Taiwan is neglected and oppressed by Taiwan's law and migration policy.

Moreover, although the reissue of the Act might bring some change to marriage immigrants' limited citizenship; yet not only in the juridical aspect but also in the family aspect, the limited citizenship keeping treat them as the outsider of family. Based on the report on Vietnam's economy and investing environment published in Mar 2014 made by Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Ho Chi Minh City, "Taiwan and Vietnam's culture are similar, Taiwanese company could easily accept Vietnam's culture and custom, Vietnam's culture and custom are similar to Taiwan's; for example, they also celebrate Lunar New Year, Moon Festival as well as other festivals and holidays. Moreover, they also shares the same Chinese ideology, filial piety (孝道) toward parents and elders as well as the ideology of family value." (Part II, Sec. I, Line 7; p.6) The quotation from the official report may be the best explanation of why Vietnamese women are the prior object for Taiwan marriage market as Taiwanese people pass the stereotyped imagination, Vietnam and Taiwan share

the similar culture and the value of family. Besides, as the extension of family value, Vietnamese women are imagined as *good and tame*, the ideal character for traditional Taiwanese value and expectation toward women in marriage.

Under Taiwan's conservative idea of marriage, family tree is the tree of power hierarchy; being obedience is one of the required characteristic to carry out the mission of family. As Pei-Chia Lan declared in her article, *Migrant Women's Bodies as Boundary Markers: Reproductive Crisis and Sexual Control in the Ethic Frontier of Taiwan*, "The positions of foreign maids and foreign brides do bear similarity and affinity to each other on a structural level. Unpaid household labor and paid domestic work are not dichotomous categories but constitute structural continuities intimately tied to the feminization of reproductive labor across the public and private spheres."(p. 834) Marriage immigrants are then labeled as the reproductive force in the family for continuing the family name, which is similar to the foreign worker's reproductive work in the industry. Obviously, Taiwan government's blindly claiming of the imposed imagination and simplification of human character which is based on the economic and cultural arrogant are the causes of the problems in international marriage and conflicts in Taiwan society.

According to Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)'s report, The World Factbook, Taiwan takes the top ninth place of low birth rate in the world; crude birth rate as 9.10 per thousand people of Taiwan's population (Dept. of Household Registration Affairs, MOI. R.O.C (Taiwan) Jan 11th, 2016). The low fertility rate brings some impact to the country. The anxiety of welfare system and health insurance's breaking down is keeping occupy mass media; as Liberty Times' report on Mar 23rd, 2015: "According to Ministry of Health and Welfare, since 2016, because of the population of affordable insured who is afford to pay the insurance fee is decreasing, stagnated salary and aging population, the relatively increase of medical expenses is expected. As estimated, the finance of health insurance would be a negative growth within three year." Surprisingly, there is the claim that government official made, "We should thank for their effort to Taiwan's fertility rate"; on the other hand, one of the legislators claimed as "Marriage immigrants should give birth less, otherwise they will lower down the citizen quality"; these statements force us to review the basic question seriously: why do marriage and motherhood should be evaluated with adding value? How our government and public view this issue and marriage

immigrants?

Taiwan government amended and enacted the relative laws in 2008, apply in 2009 after its reaching peak in 2003; obviously, Taiwan government's policy is the representation and countermeasure toward the social issue. "Policy may set the tone and represent the official line on how migrant interact with wider society, but policy is always shaped by public attitudes and by how policies are operationalized within society."(Williams, p.163) The policy is the representation of how marriage was viewed through public's eye: the property of the family without individuality.

Though Taiwan is a democratic countries where the president is elected by every citizen, we are used to be tamed by the image of the candidate's slogan of CHANGE!; yet in Taiwan's circumstance, what we have to keep in mind is that Han ethnic group is the majority in population but every individual could be the minority in every issue unexpectedly. An all-powerful, totalitarian government would blind the public to ignore the injustice and social violence which exercise in society, community and family: "Structural violence is silent, it does not show— it is essentially static ...In a static society, personal violence will be registered, whereas structural violence may be seen as about as natural as the air around us." (Galtung p.173)

IV. Conclusion

Citizenship is a significant concept which helps to read migration issue and government's policy making in the globalization era especially. This article is the window to view the situation of marriage immigrants in Taiwan; certainly, through the lens of citizenship, it reveals the fact that marriage immigrants in Taiwan have been living under the oppression of national mechanism. Moreover, political and historical factors drive the boat to unknowns. For Taiwan's political tension with China, the ambiguity keeping effects government's attitude toward China government. Hence, Taiwan government adopts stricter way to inspect Chinese marriage immigrants, but also take the issue as the means of diplomacy to keep the relationship with Chinese government who manipulates Chinese ideology of marriage, *maiden home*, to influence Taiwan's policy making. Yet how about the Vietnam government? It is learned that *marriage gradient*, economy and power hierarchy are influential factors to Taiwan government's

attitude.

Marriage immigration is no more a news in Taiwan; yet it is the issue and the epitome of Taiwan society in the aspects of gender, social justice, welfare system, education, economy, ideology and government's role to individual. Though *Immigrant Act* seem to be the great move to social justice and gender equality, it is still long way to go for government and public to realize social justice and equality.

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Abstract

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According to United Nation's report on migration, International Migration Report 2013, the number of international migration rose over 50 percent from 1990 to 2013 and a remarkable growth occurred in the between of 2000 and 2010. Consistently, the number of marital immigrant in Taiwan reached its peak in 2003 and most of them are from China and Southeast Asia, especially from Vietnam. The UN's report mainly focuses on the three categories of international migrants: refugees, migrant worker as well as smuggling and trafficking. It's noteworthy that the case of marital immigrant is neglected in the discussion of international migration.

In Taiwan, though government had forbidden the "bride to order" advertisement since 2009, the images of mercenary marriage and labor in marriage are still vivid to the public. Because of the unique historical background, Taiwan government establishes two migration policy systems for marital immigrant from China and Southeast Asia separately. In the past two decades, the urging number of marital immigrant enforces government's policy making and the amendment of Nationality Act.

In this article, the focus would be examining the transformation of marital migration policy with the concept of citizenship. Hence, I would like to understand how the government sees the implications of international marriage for Taiwanese family and marriage ethics through investigating the official data and using the information gathered during the conducting of field study in 2014 and 2015.