

SCHOOL PERFORMANCE OF SECOND GENERATION SOUTHEAST ASIAN  
TAIWANESE  
STIGMATIZED AND UNDISCOVERED POTENTIALS IN GLOBALIZATION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN  
SOCIOLOGY

JUNE 2016

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## ABSTRACT

Why Taiwanese children born from Southeast Asian immigrant mothers had been perceived by the mainstream society as low-quality population with worse school performance? The author adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods to answer this research question. First, the author adopted a dataset from a three-year panel study conducted during 2005-2007 on school performance of elementary school students of both Southeast Asian immigrant non-immigrant Taiwanese families. Setting parental socioeconomic status, cultural and social capital, the author proceeded regression analyses to illustrate that, controlled father's SES and cultural capital, mother's immigrant status had insignificant impact on student's Chinese literature and mathematic performances. In other words, the perceived worse performance of Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students was more resulted from the lower SES and the lack of cultural of their Taiwanese fathers, not Southeast Asian mothers.

Second, the author conducted the follow-up interviews in 2015, when the elementary-school interviewees in the original panel survey had grown up and entered colleges. The author found that most interviewees' mothers, although many with college degrees, were married to Taiwanese men with relative low SES; besides, the biased and discriminative perception from mainstream society also stigmatized second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese, making these youngsters neither willing to recognize their maternal cultural tie nor speak mother's first language, thus losing their innate cultural capital and advantageous potential in a highly globalized world. Since father's SES cannot be changed *post hoc*, the author suggests the policy makers to destigmatize immigrant families in order to regain the advantage in cultural capital that second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese deserve to possess.

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# **1. Introduction: Emerging Southeast Asian Immigrants in Taiwan**

Since the late 1970s, the world we live has witnessed the emergence of neoliberalism, of which the main thesis is deregulation, especially the deregulation of governmental restrictions in the financial sector (Harvey, 2005). Taiwan is not an exception. In 1979, the government of Taiwan removed the restriction on Taiwanese citizens traveling abroad for tourism, a prelude to abolishing Martial Law, turning itself into a neoliberal ruling regime, and increasing outward contact between Taiwanese society and the international community. Later, accompanying the booming of its export-oriented economy, Taiwan became one of the newly industrialized countries (NICs) of East Asia, and formally entered the stage of globalization. As argued by Sassen (2007), one of the most prominent characteristics of globalization is rising international migration, a trend that changed Taiwan from an immigrant-sending to immigrant-receiving country.

Thus, the world we live today is an era of immigration, and the growing number of female immigrants is an irreversible trend. In 2010, the total number of international migrants worldwide was estimated at 214 million, up from 178 million in 2000, implying that more people are living outside of their countries of origin than at any time in history (Henning & Hovy, 2011, p. 980). At the same time, women have outnumbered men in most migration streams since the mid-twentieth century (Pessar & Mahler, 2003, p. 822), as argued as early as two centuries ago – “woman is a greater migrant than man (Ravenstein, 1885, p. 196).”

Taiwan, an East Asian society, is not an exception. The past two decades witnessed the transition of Taiwan from an immigrant-sending to receiving country, and a considerable portion of new immigrants, mainly women from Southeast Asia, is coming to the island through marriages to male, native-born Taiwanese citizens. In 2015, the number of immigrant spouses from Southeast Asian has reached 164,182 (MOI, 2015). As of 2013, the number of Taiwanese children with Southeast Asian parents enrolled in elementary and middle schools has reached 225,932 (MOE, 2013). Excluding their native-born Taiwanese husbands, Southeast Asian spouses and their children together constitute a population of four hundred thousand in Taiwan. In other words, these families with Southeast Asian background have outnumbered the

aboriginal Taiwanese citizens (*Yuanzhumin*, 原住民) and have become the largest non-Chinese ethnic group in Taiwan.

### **1.1 Discrimination against Southeast Asian Marriage Immigrants**

Accompanying an increasing number of immigrant spouses was a biased attitude toward Southeast Asian women. Since most female immigrant spouses married to Taiwanese men are younger and better looking than their native-born husbands, the majority of the Taiwanese media kept portraying the image of foreign spouses marrying Taiwanese men for material resources. The media and academia presented these female immigrant spouses as “poor girls getting married for economic purpose, not for love, and thus the materialistic marriages are doomed to fail (H. Z. Wang, 2007, p. 708).”

The media and academic portrayals also influenced the immigration policy of the Taiwanese state apparatus. When questioning the Minister of Internal Affairs, a female member of the Taiwanese parliament stated:

...more and more Taiwanese men marry foreign spouses, making Taiwanese women unable to marry and becoming *sheng-nu* (redundant women). Taiwanese men like to marry foreign women because they [Southeast Asian women] are easier to control, more obedient and mostly silent when being beaten by their husbands (Guan, 2012).

Another member of the parliament also made a public remark about how many children in Vietnam were disabled as a result of chemical substance abuse by their fathers, who were U.S. GIs during the Vietnam War. He even suggested the Taiwanese government to investigate whether Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan were among “those disabled children and if carried any defective genes (Lan, 2008; Tsai, 2011).”

## 1.2 The Perception of Low Quality and Ill-Performing Children

As shown above in the parliamentary members' remarks, discrimination against immigrant spouses is prevalent, and may extend to the next generation, resulting in the suspicion on the *quality* of Taiwanese children given birth and raised by Southeast Asian mothers. As early as in the 1990s, the media in Taiwan raised concerns about the impact of new immigrants, particularly the quality of childcare among immigrant mothers (Lan, 2005, p. 212). At the same time, the media and academia reflect the perception of immigrant children by mainstream Taiwanese society as “belonging to the national families and having a paternal national blood, but their socialization might be jeopardized due to the inadequacy or limited capacities of their biological foreign mothers (Bélanger, Lee, & Wang, 2010, p. 1125).” For a Han (漢) Chinese-based society like Taiwan—in which the discrimination against people of Austronesian origin has continued for centuries—Southeast Asian immigrants are mainly regarded as “having limited human and social capital so they and their children should be carefully monitored (H.-Z. Wang & Belanger, 2011).”

The quality concern on immigrant children was reflected in the policies of Taiwanese state. For example, a general survey conducted by the Taiwanese government in 2003 stated that immigrant women's “fertility and health problem affect the population quality [of Taiwan]” and that “low education problems make it harder to cultivate children (MOI, 2004).” Another survey conducted by the Ministry of Interior labeled children of immigrant spouses as being ‘different’ due to their mother's Southeast Asian origin (Bélanger et al., 2010, p. 1122), and argued, “children of foreign mothers are flagged as potentially problematic and of low quality and should therefore be strictly monitored (H.-Z. Wang, 2011, pp. 182-183).” Moreover, a high-ranking official in the Ministry of Education flagrantly stated that “the quality of the Taiwanese would be *compromised* by Third-World spouses having children with Taiwanese men (Bélanger et al., 2010, p. 1115).”

Alongside a discriminatory stance by the state came a biased perception from civil society. Without providing concrete evidence or investigation, one of the most elite-oriented magazines in Taiwan, *CommonWealth* (*TianxiaZazhi*; 天下雜誌), asserted,

The lack of appropriate assistance and educational resources makes the next generation of immigrants unfortunate losers. They may face discrimination and marginalization in schools, and be more inclined to become drop-outs and thus, causing social problems (A.-L. Yang, 2003, p. 97).

When hosting a fundraising event for Taiwanese children with Vietnamese mothers, Eden Social Welfare Foundation, a famous and well-established NGO in Taiwan, argued that immigrant families were: “poor and disadvantaged”, “without resources to educate their children” and, therefore, their children are in need of support and help from the Taiwanese society to “find a job in the factory when they grow up (H.-z. Wang & Bélanger, 2008, p. 101).” Just as the majority of the Taiwanese society does, the NGO assumed that these children with Southeast Asian backgrounds—regardless of their own life experiences and preferences—are doomed to work in working-class jobs in their future.

### **1.3 A Contrast to the Immigrant Paradox**

The above statements illustrate that the Taiwanese society perceives that Southeast Asian immigrant women possess limited human and social capital, and that this low “quality” may be passed onto the next generation of children, resulting in potentially inferior school performances. The negative image held by the Taiwanese society, however, is worthy of further discussion because it is contradicting the *immigrant paradox* observed in many immigrant-receiving societies according to the immigration literature.

The immigrant paradox is a phenomenon best-known in the United States, where immigrant children, despite barriers in language and cultural practices, often outperform non-immigrant students in academic activities. The same goes for second- and third-generation immigrant children (Schott, 2010). This phenomenon constitutes a paradox particularly if such outperformance is observed in the presence of adverse life circumstances. We can assume that these children are disadvantaged in terms of cultural adaptation and language proficiency, and also face other economic and social obstacles due to their family and ethnic backgrounds, such as

lower income levels or lower social statuses of their immigrant parents in an ethnically stratified society.

Despite their disadvantaged background, “children of immigrants in general work harder and have higher grades in school, have higher math test scores, have more positive academic attitudes, and are less likely to drop out than their peers.” In addition to such academic performances, immigrant children are also less inclined to commit juvenile delinquency than their native-born counterparts. “The rate of use of marijuana and alcohol has been found to be higher in U.S.-borns than immigrant adolescents of comparable races/ethnicities (C. T. G. Coll & Marks, 2009, pp. 31-32).”

Researchers, however, need more caution in making any conclusive generalizations when comparing immigrant and native students. The types of resources to which the two groups have access may vary, which requires considering various types of resources simultaneously. Not thoroughly controlling for the conditions of their family backgrounds, including parents’ socioeconomic status and social/cultural capital, may lead to misleading comparisons between the two groups. This is true whether a researcher argues for either “immigrant inferiority” or the “immigrant paradox.”

The explanations for the cause of the immigrant paradox are various. Some argue that the higher socioeconomic status (SES) of immigrant parents helps reproduce the next generation’s higher educational achievement (Feliciano, 2005). Others argue that some immigrant groups possess a higher degree of cultural capital, which facilitates children’s educational achievement. Still, others argue that the social capital within the immigrant community brings about an upward-mobility aspiration and incentivizes children to study harder (Levels, Dronkers, & Kraaykamp, 2008).

In the following chapters, we will discuss and examine the impacts of these three factors, *socioeconomic status* (SES), *cultural capital* and *social capital*, on immigrant and native students’ academic achievements. This dissertation focuses on the following two questions: Do immigrant children really perform worse than their non-immigrant peers? What factor(s) affects the academic achievement of immigrant children? The study is inspired by the idea that the widespread negative views of immigrants and their children in Taiwan “should be informed and

challenged by the mounting data available in the social sciences literature and *not simply by ideological impulses*” (C. G. Coll & Marks, 2012, p. 5). Coll and Marks (2012) also argue, “the view that immigrant students are bad students, prone to risky behavior, and uninterested in doing well is wildly *inaccurate*.” This notion, throughout the study, inspires us to examine the questions as rigorously as possible.

## 2. Literature Review

Various factors may affect the educational achievement of immigrant children. Of course, since immigrants are defined as habitants migrating from one country to another, the first thing that comes to mind when exploring their educational achievement is the difference between the home and host countries, especially in terms of their different levels of socioeconomic development.

### 2.1 Socioeconomic Contexts of Origin and Destination Societies and Individuals' Positions within Them

Concerning an immigrant's country of origin, Feliciano (2005) focused her research on immigrants' socioeconomic status (SES) in the origin society and how it affects the educational achievement of immigrant children in the host country. She used published sources that contain international data—U.S. Census and Current Population Survey Data, a dataset of immigrants from 32 countries of origin—and examined the effect of *immigrant selectivity* (p. 842). The concept of positive immigrant selectivity refers to the finding that the averaged educational level of immigrants in a particular host country (e.g., Vietnamese Americans) is higher than the averaged educational attainment among their non-immigrant counterparts in the origin country (e.g., national average education level of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam).

Feliciano's finding is analogous to the arguments of previous studies on *class reproduction* (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997; Baker, Goesling, & LeTendre, 2002; Coleman et al., 1966; White, 1982). Her findings confirmed that immigrants' relative educational status in the origin country is reproduced in their children's relative educational attainment in the host country. In other words, the relative socioeconomic status brought by immigrants from their home countries is transmitted to their children (p. 864). In America, a positive selection of Asian immigrants (that is, the higher educational level of Asian immigrants in the U.S. versus the educational level of Asian populations in general) helps explain their children's higher college attendance rates as

compared to the second generations of European, Afro-Caribbean or Latino immigrants. Her finding suggests that the disparities among immigrants in their relative pre-migration socioeconomic status in the origin countries are often reproduced among their children in the host country (2005, p. 841).

This explains why Indian Americans among all the ethnic groups in the United States show the highest percentage of obtained college degrees, and why their children excel in school. Despite being a less-developed country with relatively low literacy, India has been sending her best talents to the United States. The percentage of college-degree holders among Indian immigrants in the U.S. is 85.9%. This extremely high figure implies that the immigrants were at the top level of socioeconomic strata in India; they have brought their high socioeconomic status to the United States and maintained their mechanisms or lifestyles of class reproduction—as did they in India.

At the same time, the negative selectivity of immigrants from Italy (of which only 25.8% holds a college degree) and Portugal (only 23.1%), two highly developed European countries with high literacy, implies that these immigrants in the U.S. were mostly from working class in Italy and Portugal. As predicted by class reproduction theory, immigrants of working-class background reproduce the lifestyles of their lower class status in the host country; accordingly, their children do not acquire high levels of academic skills, and perform rather poorly in school compared to children of other immigrant groups with middle-class backgrounds.

We may apply the Feliciano's hypothesis on educational selectivity (emphasizing the importance of the relative socioeconomic status in the origin country) to the case of immigrant families in Taiwan. Taiwanese society has the perception that immigrant spouses are those with lower socioeconomic status because they originated from less-developed Southeast Asian countries. However, some of the female immigrants (e.g., those from the Philippines) possess rather high level of educational attainment; in the follow-up interviews conducted for this research, I have found several Southeast Asian immigrant wives who obtained college degrees before immigrating to Taiwan. In contrast, many local-born Taiwanese husbands possessed lower educational attainment than their Southeast Asian spouses do. Wang (2011) reports,

“The averaged education level of [male] Taiwanese spouses marrying foreign wives is junior or senior high school...Their educational attainment is not high, averaging less than the nine years of compulsory education [of other Taiwanese males] (H.-Z. Wang, 2011, pp. 186-187).”

Therefore, in the following chapters, I will examine the effects of the Taiwanese couples' socioeconomic status. In the multivariate analysis in Chapter 3, I will examine the effects of parental SES, especially their educational attainment, on children's academic performances. Through in-depth interviews in Chapter 4, I will investigate how the educational attainment and income levels of immigrant and native mothers affect the family lifestyles and the children's attitudes toward school performances and future careers.

## **2.2 Social Capital within Immigrant Communities**

Although Feliciano (2005) started with a macro, cross-national comparison, her finding was profound with micro-level implications. Indeed, there were several studies adopting more family- or community-based micro-level perspectives focusing on family members' possession of social capital in order explain the educational achievements of immigrant children.

### **2.2.1 Origin and Definition of Social Capital**

The concept of social capital was first introduced by economist Glenn Lour (1971) to describe a set of intangible resources in families and communities that help to promote the social development of young people. The broader relevance of the concept, however, was not illuminated until the publication of “The Forms of Capital”, a prestigious study by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in 1986 (Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa, & Spittel, 2001, p. 1263). Bourdieu defined social capital as:

the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, or to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned...credential, which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the world (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51).

This definition shows that, as a European sociologist, Bourdieu defined social capital more on its network pattern and mutual (or collective) ownership. Later, when being applied to the American context, social capital became defined as a kind of *resource* that can be beneficial to the owner within various kinds of transaction. For example, Alejandro Portes, drawing especially on James Coleman (2004), defines social capital as:

the capacity...to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures.... the resources themselves are not social capital; the concept refers instead to the *individual's ability* to mobilize them on demand (1962, p. 12).

Although the above definition describes social capital as a capacity possessed by individuals, it is worth noting that this capacity is meaningful only when existing in, and being drawn from, a person's *web of relationships* (Vertovec, 2003, p. 648). This is especially true when adopting the concept of social capital in an approach to examining behavioral patterns of immigrants, as shown in the work of Zhou (2008), who studied children's education in the Chinese immigrant community of Los Angeles.

### **2.2.2 Adopting the Concept in Immigration Study**

A considerable number of studies over the last three decades in one way or another have been using the social capital concept to study international migration. Among these works, the historical overview of Charles Tilly (2004) on immigration into the United States has pointed out the significance of social capital and networks: "the effective units of migration were (and are)

neither individuals nor households but *sets of people* linked by acquaintance, kinship, and work experience” (2004, p. 84). At the same time, Granovetter’s work illuminated how the identity of “coming from the same hometown” helped Japanese and Chinese immigrants to the United States before WWII to concentrate on and thus dominate certain business sectors (1995, p. 140-143).

Portes and Bach further argued that migration itself can be conceptualized as a process of building social capital or social networks that “reinforces social relationships across space” (1998, p. 10). Moreover, Vertovec described migration as “a process that both depends on, and creates, social networks” (2003, p. 650). For these scholars, immigration is all about a circulating process to (re)build, maintain, and utilize social capital and social networks.

### **2.2.3 Advantages Brought by Social Capital**

Why do immigrants want to (or have to) use social capital when arriving in their host country? Usually, the first and foremost reason is for economic purposes, as it is necessary to settle down and seek employment when first arriving in the host country. Immigrants are newcomers in the host society.

With skills learned in home country devalued in the receiving labor market and a generally poor command of the receiving country's language, immigrants’ economic destinies depend heavily on the structures in which they become incorporated and, in particular, on the character of their own communities (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1322).

Therefore, most new immigrants (especially those who are poorly skilled) first try to access their kinship ties or townsmen organizations in the locale in order to get the latest information on job opportunities. For example, Wilson’s work on Mexican immigrants examined the way new immigrants obtained valuable social capital, and how it helped in getting jobs through the networks constituted of the people from the same hometown in Mexico (Wilson, 1998). Asian immigrants in Los Angeles also rely on informal social ties; job seekers consult their more

experienced and better-connected friends, relatives, and acquaintances, and ask them to serve as intermediaries. These networks provide group-based resources that assist immigrants in making headway in their new society (Sanders, Nee, & Sernau, 2002, p. 281).

It is widely believed that better economic performances of certain immigrant groups (for instance, Jews in the United States or Chinese in Southeast Asia) over others are related to their *investment in a relationship*, which can “save transaction costs and stimulate trade” (Granovetter, 1995, p. 130). Another example is Bruno Riccio’s (1986) research on Senegalese Mouride traders in Europe, which showed how a kind of *enforceable trust* exists in these networks, collectively promoting business advantages (Vertovec, 2003, p. 651). Indeed, this kind of *trust within the community* is crucial for immigrants to do business in the host country, where the native majority in society distrusts immigrant groups. As argued by Robert Putnam, virtually every commercial transaction has within itself an element of trust; in the absence of trust, there can be no certainty in commercial contracts (1993, p. 170). As a result, *trusting your own people* became a reasonable option for immigrant business people (Inglehart, 1997, p. 171):

[Immigrants] use preexisting social connections between individuals to help circumvent problems of imperfect information...available to those who have no access to ordinary credit markets...Social capital is leveraged to expand the credit facilities available in these communities and to improve the efficiency with which markets operate there (Inglehart, 1997, p. 169).

#### **2.2.4 The Potential Impacts of Social Capital on Immigrant Students**

So far, we have discussed the positive impact of social capital on immigrant communities. However, we must not ignore the potential negative impact brought by social networks, especially among immigrant children and youngsters who may be involved in juvenile delinquency (e.g., drug abusing, gang fighting) or other kinds of maleficent or harmful subcultures circulating through informal forms of social contacts. For example, Zhou (1997) focused her study on adversarial subcultures frequently seen in US inner-city ghettos and how it

exerts peer pressure onto immigrant children for being “cool to be bad” (pp. 989-990). The adversarial subculture preaches that positive academic attitude will not translate into upward mobility and thus encourages youngsters, mostly from immigrant families of racial minority, not to perform well in school, in order to show one’s loyalty to the peer group and to be recognized as “one of our bros” in the street. In this regard, stronger family ties protect immigrant children from such adversarial peer-group subcultures, and make students less inclined to drop out from school.

At the same time, with the proper supervision of the parents<sup>1</sup>, stronger ties within ethnic communities may bring positive effects since “the conformity to family values and behavioral standards requires a high level of family integration in communities that reinforced these values and standards” (p. 996). In the case of Vietnamese Americans, for example, being part of a Vietnamese network offers a better route to upward mobility than being Americanized into an underprivileged ghetto environment or into native-born, mainstream youth subcultures (Zhou, 1997). Thus, immigrant communities or ethnic-based neighborhoods, as a type of social capital, may bring positive or negative impacts on immigrant children; the key usually rests on the socioeconomic status, or the immigrant selectivity of the community.

There is no geographically defined, immigrant-concentrated, and lower-class ghetto in Taiwan; there is also noupper-class “ethnoburb” as described by Zhou (2008, p. 236) in the United States. Thus, the exposure of immigrant children in the island country to the risk of negative ethnic/immigrant subculture is limited. At the same time, however, the lack of geographic concentration may reduce the chance of immigrant families experiencing positive social capital, such as upward mobility brought by ethnicity-based peer groups or information and resources circulated within immigrant neighborhoods. Therefore, one may wonder if social capital still plays a role among immigrant families in Taiwan, and thus affecting the school achievement of children from these families.

The answer seems to be “yes.” Based on the fact that immigrant neighborhoods do not exist in Taiwan, children from immigrant families may not be affected by adversarial subculture brought by peer groups in the neighborhood. Instead, what would be crucial for a child’s education is the

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<sup>1</sup> In the next section, we will further discuss the parenting effect in the cultivation of children’s cultural capital.

immigrant mother's possession of social ties, by which immigrant families could get newer information and access to resources. Therefore, in Chapters 3 and 4 when examining the social capital of immigrant families, we will focus on the social connections of immigrant mothers, and examine how they interact with members in their neighborhood, in the school that their children attend, and in the mainstream non-immigrant society as a whole.

### **2.3 Bourdieu's Three Forms of Cultural Capital**

Here, we have to make an introduction to the concept of cultural capital by Bourdieu. The concept of cultural capital has its origin from Pierre Bourdieu's research in the 1970s. For him, cultural capital refers to cultural knowledge as a resource of power used by individuals and social groups to improve their position within the social class structure (Joppke, 1986, p. 57). It instrumentally appropriates "symbolic wealth [which is] socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed (DiMaggio, 1982, p. 190)."

According to Bourdieu's theory, cultural capital could exist in three forms or states (1986, p. 47). The first is *embodied cultural capital*, a form of cultural capital for long-lasting *dispositions* of the mind and body. The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state implies a process of inculcation and assimilation (Bourdieu, 1986), consisting of both the consciously acquired and the passively inherited properties of one's self over time. Thus, "cultural capital in this sense is the incorporation of symbolic, cognitive and aesthetic competence via implicit learning processes, mainly within the *family socialization* (Joppke, 1986, p. 57). This learning process "costs time [that] must be invested personally by the investor (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 48)", and "a given individual can prolong his acquisition process depending on the length of time for which his family can provide him, i.e. time free from economic necessity (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 49-50).

A well-known example of the acquisition of embodied cultural capital is parents' cultivation of a child's *habitus*, "a system of durably acquired schemes of perception, thought and action that link objective conditions...with concrete individual and collective practices (Joppke, 1986, p.

61)”, particularly *language skills*. Thus, for one’s embodied cultural capital, through the more or less visible marks they leave (such as the pronunciations characteristic of a class or region), its distinctive value is determined (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 49-50).”

Therefore, the cultivation of children’s embodied cultural capital is highly related to the parenting strategies, especially within immigrant families. For example, Kao (2004) argued that more intimate parent-child relations influences the school achievement of immigrant children. Despite their relative disadvantage, first-generation and second-generation young Americans outperform their third-generation, native-born (white or non-white) counterparts; this holds true even after taking other factors into account (pp. 434-435, 443). Kao further argued that the better performance of first-generation immigrant children is due to the strategy of practicing closer parent-child relations. Compared to native students, first-generation immigrant children are less familiar with the American school system, have fewer local contacts and friends, and are less acculturated into the mainstream society. Therefore, for immigrant families, parenting strategies play a significant role in cultivating children’s embodied cultural capital. This is how immigrant selectivity is transmitted to the next generation. The lifestyles of the immigrant parents, including their parenting strategies, have a crucial impact on their children’s achievements.

Bourdieu’s second form of cultural capital is *objectified* capital, which consists of physical objects owned by individuals or organizations, and exists mainly in the form of cultural goods, such as books, paintings, musical instruments and exotic cuisines. This form of cultural capital is “transmissible in their materiality (1986, p. 50)”, meaning that they can be acquired by economic capital. However, one needs to possess a certain *habitus* or distinctive tastes to judge and appreciate these cultural goods. Bourdieu argued,

Taste is the practical operator of the transmutation of things into distinct and distinctive signs...it raises the differences inscribed in the physical order of bodies to the symbolic order of significant distinctions. It transforms *objectively* classified practices...Taste is thus the source of the system of distinctive features which cannot fail to be perceived as a systematic expression of...a distinctive life-style (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 296).

It is worthwhile noting that the possession of embodied cultural capital is the precondition of consuming objectified cultural capital but not *vice versa*. To appropriate objectified cultural capital, one needs embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Dumais, 2002). Thus, one may buy, collect and sell art, such as paintings and sculptures, no matter the degree of cultural capital that she/he possesses; but only when possessing certain degrees of embodied cultural capital can she/he judge and taste such art-related physical objects as objectified cultural capital.

The third form is *institutionalized cultural capital*, which refers to educational qualifications or certificates that guarantee the original properties of an individual. Thus, one's diploma is indeed "institutional recognition of the cultural capital possessed by any given agent (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51)." Besides, according to Bourdieu, one's academic performance or acquisition of educational qualification is affected by her/his family background: "From the very beginning, a definition of human capital...does not move beyond economism and ignore the fact that the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 48)."

The subjects of our empirical study are immigrant children in elementary school, who possess no meaningful credentials; we have defined the parents' educational attainment as a component of parental socioeconomic status. Thus, in the remaining part of this dissertation, especially the next chapter, the cultural capital that we discuss will be restricted to *embodied* or objectified types of cultural capital.

## **2.4 Cultural Approach in the Study of Immigrants and Discrimination**

After introducing Bourdieu's concept, we should further turn to two path-breaking empirical studies on cultural capital in order to build up the analytic framework for studying children's education.

Using a large data set of high school students in the United States (PROJECT TALENT), DiMaggio (1982) assessed the relationships among parental socioeconomic status, family possession of cultural capital, and students' high school grades. He picked up 17 indicators of the

students' self-reports of involvement in art, music and literature, encompassing the following three dimensions: (1) attitude (asking the students to rate their interest in specified artistic activities and occupations on a scale from one to five), (2) activities (asking the frequency of creating visual arts, performing publicly, attending arts events, or reading literature), and (3) information (measured by tests of information about literature, music and art) (p. 191). Then, DiMaggio used factor analysis to aggregate these indicators into four factors (and thus, four variables in the later stage of regression analysis): (1) Cultural Interest (e.g., music and poem composing), (2) Cultural Information (e.g., English literature and art knowledge), (3) Cultural Capital<sup>2</sup> (e.g., symphony concerts and art performing), and (4) Middlebrow Activity (e.g., drawing and photography) (p. 193). Next, the author adopted Factors (1), (3) and (4) as independent variables<sup>3</sup>, added two intervening variables—gender (male or female student) and the father's educational attainment (non-high school graduate, high school graduate, or college graduate), to proceed a multivariate regression analysis of the student's school grades, which was set as a dependent variable.

The regression results confirmed that the cultural capital-related variables positively correlated with high school grades. At the same time, however, the impact of the father's educational attainment (or, using Bourdieu's terminology, the father's institutionalized cultural capital) on the student's school grades was limited when the model included cultural capital variables (p. 194). Thus, the relationship among parental socioeconomic status, accumulation of cultural capital, and the student's school performance can be illustrated as follow:

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**2** It is unclear why the author chose to label this factor as *cultural capital*, which is confusing with other cultural capital-related factors. I would suggest labeling this factor as *cultural ability* to avoid confusion.

**3** The high collinearity (over .800) of Factor 2 means that it measures almost the same thing as student's grades; thus, it should be deleted to avoid repetition.

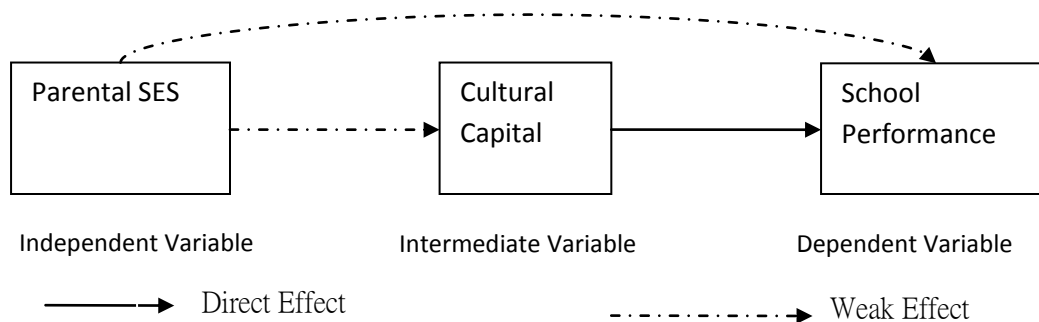


Figure 2-1 DiMaggio's Model: Cultural Capital as an Independent or Intermediate Variable

This illustrates that parents' socioeconomic status *per se* does not directly benefit children's school grades or academic success. This is consistent with the findings in Lareau's classic *Unequal Childhood* (2003), in which middle-class parents spent money (economic capital) and time in arranging hectic schedules for their children's extracurricular activities (cultural capital)<sup>4</sup>. These middle-class parents knew that their socio-economic status alone would not reproduce the middle class status for the next generation; they had to utilize their socioeconomic advantage to help the children accumulate more cultural capital. In this way, the next generation would be more competitive and successful in school work or in their future career.

DiMaggio also found that female students have more interests and greater participation rates in highbrow cultural activities. Moreover, for female students, the positive impact of cultural capital on school grades was greatest when a girl's father is a college-graduate and least when the father is a non-high school graduate. This is consistent with Bourdieu's *cultural reproduction* model. In contrast, for male students, the positive impact of cultural capital on school grades can be seen only when a student's father obtained high school or lower education. Among male students with college-graduate fathers, there was no significant impact of cultural capital on school grades (pp. 196-198). This contradicts Bourdieu's argument, and DiMaggio believed that this was evidence of what he called the *cultural mobility* model (p. 196) for male students.

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<sup>4</sup> In *Unequal Childhood*, we also witnessed the case of the Williams, a Black middle-class family, of which the parents cultivated the children by transferring their advantage in socioeconomic status into children's language skill.

In short, the findings of DiMaggio (1982) can be summarized as follows: (1) The correlation between parental SES and student's cultural capital is relatively low (p. 198), and (2) The impact of cultural capital on school grades is significant but gender-specific. For female students, this impact is positively correlated with the parent's educational level; for male students, however, this impact exists only when the father's educational level is relatively low. However, this model seems to over-simplify the cultural process by postulating cultural capital as the sole factor affecting the student's academic performance. Other factors should be included to build a more complete research framework.

Like DiMaggio's study (1982), the path-breaking study of Dumais (2002) also focused on the relationship between cultural capital and education. She investigated the effects of cultural capital on the educational success of students, and examined how (1) socioeconomic status (SES), (2) gender, and (3) *habitus* of the students affect the relationship between cultural capital and educational success as intervening variables. She used the data from the survey of National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) in the United States to analyze the cultural participation of eighth-grade boys and girls. The cultural capital variables were constructed by asking the parents questions, such as "Does your eight grader take part in any of the following activities?" Thus, cultural capital was operationalized as the number of activities (including art-related events and sports) that the students participated in, ranging from zero (no participation) to six (participating in all activities) (p. 50).

The results of her analysis showed that females and higher-SES students were more likely to participate in cultural activities. In addition, in both standard ordinary least squares and fixed school-effects models, cultural capital had a positive significant effect on the grades of female students, both with and without controlling for Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*. For male students, the effect was weaker. Thus, the author concluded that "cultural capital does affect educational outcomes, but in a limited way (Dumais, 2002, p. 59)." The author also compared the influences of the family's socioeconomic status (SES) and gender on cultural capital: "the SES gap was greater than the gender gap for cultural participation. For example, high-SES boys and girls were more than twice as likely to visit art museums than were their low-SES counterparts (p. 53)."

This implied that, as an independent variable, SES had stronger impact on the possession of cultural capital than gender.

In summary, combining Dumais' findings, we may modify DiMaggio's model into the pattern illustrated below:

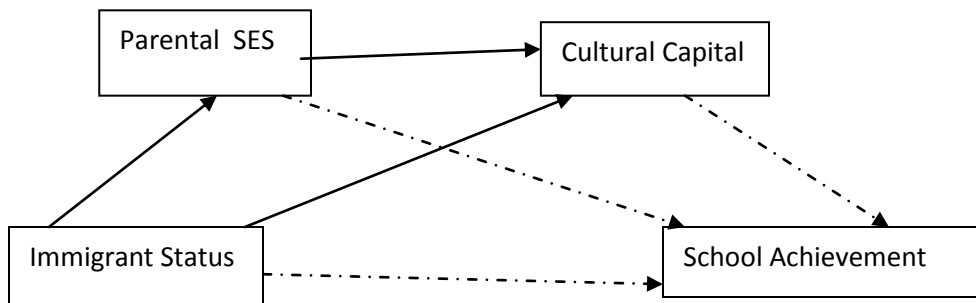


Figure 2-2 Combined Model of Dumais (2002) and DiMaggio (1982)

Based on this conceptual framework, we will, in the next chapter, find the proper dataset for analysis and then set up our research hypotheses.

## 2.5 Research Questions and Research Design

Of course, before examining the possible effect of parental socioeconomic status, cultural capital, and social capital, the first and foremost research question that we must ask is: *Do immigrant children really perform worse than their non-immigrant peers?* If we find that there is no difference between the performance of students from immigrant and non-immigrant families, then we may confirm that the poor performance perception of immigrant students are due to the Taiwanese mainstream society's bias and the discriminative perception against Southeast Asian immigrant families.

If Southeast Asian immigrant students do perform worse than their non-immigrant peers, then we should find out *what causes this disparity?* Is the poor performance caused by factors related to their *immigrant mothers* or their *native-born Taiwanese fathers*? Remember, the so-called “immigrant student” in the Taiwanese context, indeed, are the ethnically mixed generation given birth by Southeast Asian mothers and native Taiwanese fathers; they are second-generation Southeast-Asian Taiwanese children, inheriting family characteristics from both sides of their Taiwanese father and Southeast Asian mother. Therefore, in the next chapter, we will separately examine the impact of socioeconomic statuses from the father and mother’s side, respectively. If the poor performance is more related to the lower socioeconomic status of Taiwanese fathers rather than Southeast Asian mothers, then mainstream society should correct their discriminative perception and stop blaming female immigrant spouses for producing poor quality next-generation Taiwanese children.

If parental socioeconomic statuses (either from the father or mother’s side) do have impact, we should further investigate *whether the parental SES directly affects children’s academic performances, or indirectly affects them through the intermediate impact of other factors, such as cultural and social capital.* Indeed, Bourdieu defined both cultural capital and social capital as the “accumulation of labor” (1986, p. 241), which can be mutually transferred or converted from one’s possession of economic capital (Joppke, 1986, p. 57). In other words, the real causality may be that *the lower parental SES results in the lower degree of cultural and social capital possessed by immigrant families. The lower possession of cultural and social capital further brings negative impact on the school performances of Southeast Asian Taiwanese students.*

Therefore, in the regression analysis next chapter, when examining the impact of parental SES, we will also consider cultural and social capital-related variables, and further explore whether intervening cultural and social capital makes any difference on the impact of parental SES, thus indirectly affecting students’ academic performances.

### 3. Multivariate Regression Analysis

In order to examine whether Southeast Asian Taiwanese children are performing worse than their native counterparts, I adopted the dataset from “The Children of Southeast Asian Female Immigrants: a Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Investigation on the Teacher-Parent Interaction, Student’s Self-Efficacy and School Life” (東南亞裔新移民女性的親師互動及其子女自我效能與學校生活之橫斷與縱貫探究, hereafter referred to as the Panel Survey), conducted by the National Science Council of Taiwan (國家科學委員會) during 2006-2008 and released to the public in 2010. Since a longitudinal research design is instrumental for studying the academic performances of second- or third-generation immigrant children (C. G. Coll & Marks, 2012, p. 9; see also Palacios, 2012), I adopted this three-year-long panel study with a sample size of 1,554 students, which contains data on school performances of Southeast-Asian Taiwanese and non-immigrant Taiwanese children.

In each of the three urban areas (New Taipei, Taoyuan and Taichung) and rural counties (Penghu, Yunlin and Pingtung), the Panel Survey randomly sampled 5 to 6 elementary schools; and then from those schools, randomly selected a total of around 150 students (from grade 1 to grade 6, of 7 to 12 years old children) whose mothers immigrated from Southeast Asia. For each sampled Southeast Asian Taiwanese student, the survey sampled a native<sup>5</sup> Taiwanese student from the same classroom whose mother and father were native-born, but had similar socioeconomic characteristics as the student of the immigrant mother for the purposes of comparison. As a result, the survey sampled 777 Southeast Asian Taiwanese students and 777 native Taiwanese students from non-immigrant families, bringing the survey total to 1,554 cases of elementary school students<sup>6</sup>. The researchers’ intention was to achieve a one-to-one match between immigrant and native students with identical backgrounds except for the mother’s

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<sup>5</sup> The term *native* here is defined as “a student’s mother and father as well as the student her/himself are non-naturalized citizens possessing the citizenship of Taiwan at birth.”

<sup>6</sup> Since this is a three-year panel study, it is worth noting that sixth and fifth graders in the first wave became junior high school students in the second wave (grade 6) and the third year (grade 5), respectively.

immigration status. However, the teachers selected the matching students in a rather arbitrary manner within the limitations of the classroom, and our simple preliminary analysis showed no consistent match between the parental and familial characteristics of the two students. Thus, the analysis in this research does not assume any one-to-one matching.

The national origins of immigrant mothers in the Panel Survey are listed below.

Table 3-1 Distribution of Immigrant Mother's National Origin in Panel Survey

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Indonesia	404	52.33
Vietnam	177	22.93
Myanmar	71	9.20
Thailand	56	7.25
Philippines	52	6.74
Malaysia	12	1.55
Missing value	5	0.64
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>777</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The table above shows that, among our sampled children from immigrant families born during 1994 to 1999, the majority had mothers from Indonesia. The number of mothers from Vietnam ranked second. This reflects the fact that, in the early 1990s, most immigrant spouses in Taiwan were female Indonesians who were outnumbered by their Vietnamese counterparts only after the late 1990s (H. Z. Wang & Chang, 2002, p. 96).

After the sampling, the Panel Survey sent questionnaires to (1) mothers, (2) fathers, (3) school teachers, and (4) the students themselves each year over the three-year period in Wave 1, Wave 2 and Wave 3. In the questionnaire answered by each sampled case, there were a total of 1,548 questions regarding the student's study attitudes and outcomes, parent's socioeconomic status, as well as the family's access to cultural and social capital.

### 3.1 Defining and Operationalizing Dependent Variables

Alongside the answers from parents and teachers, the survey data also included the student's grades in Chinese literature and mathematics, two subjects most widely recognized as indicators to evaluate an elementary-school student's academic performance.<sup>7</sup> The student's performance was measured in three different scales, absolute grade (ranged from 0 to 100), and ranking (in the student's class, ranging from 1 to maximum 40). One may consider that a student's relative ranking in academic subjects better reflects her/his academic capability than absolute scores. But it is worthwhile noting that the number of students in an elementary school classroom ranges from 19 to 38, depending on the population density of the surrounding neighborhood. A student ranked 18th in a classroom of 19 or a classroom of 38 have completely different implications. In order to interpret a student's performance in different classroom settings, we standardized their grades, converting the student's class ranking (an ordinal variable) into a percentile scale, i.e. relative position in the classroom with the higher value representing better performance (an interval variable) using the equation:

$$\text{Relative position} = [1 - (\text{ranking}/\text{number of students in the class})] * 100.$$

As a result, we have two *standardized indicators* for the student's performance, one in Chinese literature and one in mathematics. The value of these two variables range from 97.44 to 0.00, with a mean of 47.54 of Chinese literature and 45.58 of mathematics across all three surveyed years. The higher standardized score means that the student was performing better in the subject, and *vice versa*.

Next, we briefly compared the average performances of Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students (hereafter SEA-TW students) and their non-immigrant counterparts (hereafter NATIVE students) in terms of grade, ranking and standardized score. The results are shown in the table below.

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<sup>7</sup> English might be another important indicator of academic performance. Unfortunately, it is taught only in middle school and high school in Taiwan.

Table 3-2 Descriptive Statistics for Student Performances<sup>8</sup>

	SEA-TW						NATIVE					
	W1		W2		W3		W1		W2		W3	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Grade</b>												
<i>Chinese</i>	86.66	12.64			83.67	14.20	89.74	8.68			86.19	11.42
<i>Math</i>	84.23	13.76			76.23	17.97	87.89	10.04			79.04	17.22
<b>Ranking</b>												
<i>Chinese</i>	16.36	9.65	16.20	9.41	16.15	9.67	13.83	8.79	14.40	9.14	15.06	9.20
<i>Math</i>	16.85	9.67	15.31	9.42	16.84	9.40	14.51	8.71	14.72	9.18	15.62	9.17
<b>Standardized Score</b>												
<i>Chinese</i>	43.43%	29.78%	46.79%	28.89%	43.77%	29.11%	52.79%	27.87	50.80%	28.38%	48.03%	28.36%
<i>Math</i>	42.02%	29.29%	43.85%	28.50%	41.41%	28.12%	50.53%	27.21%	49.83%	27.90%	46.20%	27.74%

<sup>8</sup> The students' grades for Wave 2 were missing in the original data; only their rankings in Chinese literature and mathematics were listed.

Do immigrant students perform differently from native students? Do students with Southeast Asian immigrant mothers perform worse in Chinese literature and mathematics than their native peers? Before standardizing their grades, Southeast Asian Taiwanese students, at first glance, seemed to be 3 to 4 points lower (in score) or about 2.34 places behind (in ranking) than native students in mathematics. For Chinese literature, the gap between Southeast Asian and non-immigrant Taiwanese students displayed a similar pattern: the former scored about 4 points lower or 2.53 places behind their native counterparts.

For the standardized scores in Wave 1, while Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students' average Chinese literature score marked in the 43.43 percentile, the native students' score was 52.79, implying that native students performed better than immigrant students in Chinese literature by 9.6 points. For mathematics, the native students' score of 50.53 percentile was better than that of the Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students' 42.02 by 8.51 points. In these descriptive statistics, not controlling for any other variables, Southeast Asian students were performing worse in both Chinese literature and mathematics compared to their native counterparts.

When we turn to the standardized scores in Wave 2 (second year), the performance of Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students in Chinese literature seemed to improve to the 46.79 percentile, compared to that of the 50.80 percentile among their native peers; the gap between two groups narrowed to 4.01. For mathematics, although native students were still outperforming (49.83) their Southeast Asian peers (43.85), the gap between the two groups narrowed down to only 5.98. For both Chinese literature and mathematics, Southeast Asian Taiwanese students displayed a trend of catching-up to their native peers.

Finally, for their standardized scores in Wave 3, native Taiwanese students were performing in the 48.03 percentile in Chinese literature, 4.26 ahead of Southeast Asian Taiwanese students' 43.77. At the same time, when comparing the mathematic performance of native Taiwanese students (46.20) with the performance of their Southeast-Asian counterparts (41.41), the gap was narrowed to only 4.79.

In sum, even though immigrant students performed worse in both Chinese literature and mathematics than native students, the former gradually caught up with the latter in the following

two years. Then, what factor(s) caused the difference between Southeast-Asian and native Taiwanese students? We are going to examine these potential factors in the next section.

### **3.2 Operationalizing the Independent Variables**

Based on the dataset from the Panel Survey, I operationalized all the respondent's characteristics into the variables. These *independent* variables have been classified into six categories: demographic characteristics, parents' socioeconomic characteristics, cultural capital variables, social capital variables, school- and teacher-related characteristics as well as student's study habit and attitude. After intensive preliminary analysis with all these variables, only a selected set was used in the final multivariate regression models.

#### **3.2.1 Demographic Variables**

These variables first included those related to the students *per se*, such as the students' gender and grade levels at school (ranged from 1<sup>st</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> grade). Information about their parents and families were also included, such as the mother's country of origin<sup>9</sup>, the number of years the parents had been living in Taiwan, the number of children in the family, and the region they lived in.

For the analysis, I also constructed composite measures for some variables by incorporating information from any or all three waves, waves 1, 2 and/or 3. These are for those variables (1) whose values should remain the same across three waves, such as the student's gender, and (2) whose values are assumed to be relatively stable across the waves but were missing in certain waves, such as the number of children in the family (of which the data in Wave 3 is missing).

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<sup>9</sup> Father's country of origin, in the Panel Survey, was all assumed to be Taiwan.

Table 3-3 Descriptive Statistics on Demographic Variables

	SEA-TW				NATIVE			
	W1	W2	W3	Composite Wave	W1	W2	W3	Composite Wave
<b>Student's Gender</b>								
Male				54.4				53.5
Female				45.6				46.5
<b>Student's Grade</b>								
1st grade	27.8	0.00	0.0	27.8	27.8	0.0	0.0	27.8
2nd grade	24.5	27.80	0.0	24.5	24.5	27.8	0.0	24.5
3rd grade	20.1	24.45	27.8	20.1	20.1	24.5	27.8	20.1
4th grade	14.4	20.08	24.5	14.4	14.4	20.1	24.5	14.4
5th grade	8.2	14.41	20.1	8.2	8.2	14.4	20.1	8.2
6th grade	5.0	8.24	14.4	5.0	5.0	8.2	14.4	5.0
7th grade	0.0	5.02	8.2	0.0	0.0	5.0	8.2	0.0
8th grade	0.0	0.00	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Mother's Country of Origin</b>								
Taiwan				0.0				100.0
Vietnam				22.9				0.0
Indonesia				52.3				0.0
Thailand				7.3				0.0
Malaysia				1.6				0.0
Philippines				6.7				0.0
Myanmar				9.2				0.0
Total				100.0				100.0
<b>Mother's Year living in Taiwan</b>								
	22.9	13.4			36.5	36.2		
	(17.1)	(6.7)			(8.5)	(9.2)		
Valid cases	360	450			367	457		
<b>Number of Children in Family</b>								
	2.3	2.4			2.6	2.7		
Valid cases	375	447			398	494		
<b>Region They Live</b>								

New Taipei	15.4	15.4
Taoyuan	15.7	15.7
Taichung	16.6	16.6
Yunlin	20.7	20.7
Pintung	13.1	13.1
Penghu	18.4	18.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Urban	47.8	47.8
Rural	52.3	52.3
Total	100.0	100.0
N	777	777

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Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations (SDs)

### 3.2.2 Socioeconomic Status (SES) for the Parents

These variables include parents' educational attainment and income levels. I classified the **mother and father's educational attainment** into four categories: (1) *less than middle school graduation* (including illiterate and elementary school graduated), (2) *middle school graduation*, (3) *high school graduation*, and *junior college or above* (including college-graduates and graduate school-educated). In the descriptive statistics table (Table 3.3), the mean refers to the proportion (percentage) of each of these categories. I also created a continuous variable of the *years of schooling* by assigning numbers from zero (no schooling) to 18 (graduate school graduated) for parents who joined the Panel Survey.

For **parental income level**, I created four-category variables for the mother and father's monthly income: (1) NT\$ 10,000 or lower<sup>10</sup>, (2) greater than NT\$ 10,000 up to NT \$30,000, (3) greater than NT\$ 30,000 up to NT \$40,000, (4) greater than NT\$ 40,000. Missing values comprised a separate category. I also constructed another variable representing mothers with/without a job based on the income-level information.

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<sup>10</sup> As of January 2006, one US dollar approximately equaled 30 New Taiwan Dollar (NTD).

Table 3-4 Descriptive statistics on parental SES variables

	SEA-TW				NATIVE			
	W1	W2	W3	Composite Wave	W1	W2	W3	Composite Wave
<b>Mother's Education</b>								
less than middle school	37.3	45.2		35.9	13.9	17.5		15.2
middle school	29.5	24.1		28.9	31.6	28.0		27.8
high school	24.5	21.7		25.0	47.1	46.9		49.0
junior college or more	8.7	9.0		10.1	7.4	7.7		8.0
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Year of Schooling	8.6	8.2		8.8	10.3	10.2		10.4
	(3.9)	(4.1)		(3.9)	(2.8)	(2.8)		(2.7)
Valid cases	413	489		615	418	510		625
<b>Father's Education</b>								
less than middle school	36.6	32.1		36.3	1.9	18.9		23.0
middle school	29.5	34.7		23.0	41.2	38.3		29.8
high school	24.9	24.7		25.8	31.7	32.7		32.1
junior college or more	9.0	8.6		14.9	8.0	10.1		15.2
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
Year of Schooling	8.6	9.1		9.5	9.7	10.0		10.1
	(3.8)	(3.3)		(3.7)	(2.8)	(2.7)		(3.2)
Valid cases	366	499		771	398	507		739
<b>Mother's Monthly Income</b>								
NTD 10,000 or lower	33.4	46.4	39.3	40.2	33.7	42.3	33.1	37.6
NTD 10,000-30000	51.3	45.8	57.7	52.6	40.6	40.8	48.3	43.4
NTD 30,000-40,000	8.6	5.0	1.5	4.1	14.7	10.8	11.6	12.7
NTD 40000 or higher	6.7	2.7	1.5	3.2	11.0	6.1	7.0	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
having a job	78.5	67.0	72.5	71.7	77.0	68.3	76.2	72.7
Valid cases	386	476	407	665	409	508	516	680
Average amount of income	18795	12689	13034	14271	21051	16437	18886	17728
	(20819)	(16499)	(14322)	(17393)	(20769)	(18661)	(20028)	(19450)
Valid cases	386	476	407	665	409	508	516	680
<b>Father's Monthly Income</b>								

NTD 10,000 or lower	25.0	19.9	20.2	19.8	16.3	10.9	11.4	12.0
NTD 10,000-30,000	47.3	43.0	44.1	43.3	37.3	28.3	33.9	33.6
NTD 30,000-40,000	16.1	22.8	22.5	22.8	24.2	31.2	29.5	29.4
NTD 40,000 or higher	11.6	14.3	13.2	14.2	22.3	29.7	25.2	25.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average amount of income	24271	27326	26611	27292	32690	37223	36183	35760
	(22537)	(22751)	(20576)	(21294)	(26968)	(25344)	(26595)	(26188)
N	336	488	599	698	381	488	579	684

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations (SDs).

### 3.2.3 Cultural Capital Variables

Based on the answers from mothers and fathers in the Panel Survey, I set up variables related to cultural capital through a rather complicated process. I chose answers related to the cultivation of the children's *embodied cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1986), and classified them into two aspects. The first aspect was **parenting efforts**. These were indicators of what parents had done to cultivate their child's *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984). In Wave 1 and 2 of the Panel Survey, these included questions of (1) *go with the child to bookstore/fair/exhibition* and (2) *go with the child to concert/art performance*. The response options were "rarely", "occasionally", "sometimes", and "frequently", which I ranked and gave values of 2.5, 5.0, 7.5 and 10, respectively. In Wave 3, the questions were replaced by (3) *go with the child for a fieldtrip*, (4) *go with the child to library*, (5) *read together with the child*, (6) *watch TV and discuss the content together with the child*, and (7) *monitor the child doing homework*. The response options included "rarely", "occasionally", "sometimes", "frequently", and "always" to which I gave values of 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10, respectively. This made the values of indicators across W1, W2 and W3 consistently range from 2 to 10.

The second aspect was **extracurricular activities**. As we have seen in Lareau (2003), middle-class parents were frenetic in their efforts to manage their children with hectic schedules of activities, such as attending a piano class or joining a baseball team, in order to cultivate their *habitus*. Similarly, there was a series of either-or questions in

the Panel Survey, asking parents whether the child was participating in any of the following extracurricular activities: (1) *music/instrument playing*, (2) *chess/abacus/mental arithmetic*, (3) *drawing/painting*, (4) *dance/gymnastic*, and (5) *others*. In the descriptive statistics table below, the student's participation in each of these activities is shown in percentages. We also created a continuous variable for participation in extracurricular activities simply by adding the answers from the questions above ("Yes" for 1 and "No" for 0) and multiplying by two. This arrangement made the variable range from zero to ten, allowing for comparisons with the variable of parenting efforts above.

At the same time, we should not forget that either mother or father cultivated both two aspects of student's cultural capital. Thus, I listed the variables into two tables, variables of cultural capital shown by mother and father, respectively.

Table 3-5 Variables of Cultural Capital Shown by Mother

	SEA-TW			NATIVE		
	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
<b>Cultural Capital</b>						
bookstore/fair/exhibition	5.5	5.7		5.6	5.8	
	(2.3)	(2.4)		(2.1)	(2.1)	
Valid cases	431	497		414	518	
concert/art performance	4.5	4.5		4.2	4.1	
	(2.3)	(2.2)		(2.0)	(1.9)	
Valid cases	426	496		411	517	
music/instrument playing	8.6	0.1		11.8	11.6	
chess/abacus/mental arithmetic	5.8	6.9		12.0	7.8	
drawing/painting	10.9	9.4		9.6	10.4	
dance/gymnastics	8.4	7.1		3.1	3.1	
others	13.1	12.7		19.8	21.3	
participation in extracurricular activity	93.2	92.2		113.3	108.2	
	(1.4)	(1.4)		(1.4)	(1.4)	
Valid cases	429	490		413	510	
<b>Extracurricular Activity</b>						
field trip/sea-life park			4.9			5.7
			(2.7)			(2.6)
Valid cases			417.0			530.0
Library			3.9			4.3
			(2.4)			(2.3)
Valid cases			416.0			530.0
read together with child			4.0			5.0
			(2.3)			(2.4)
Valid cases			416.0			529.0
watch and discuss TV content			5.4			6.2
			(2.7)			(2.4)
Valid cases			414.0			532.0
monitor the child doing homework			2.7			3.7
			(1.5)			(1.3)
N			417			536

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations (SDs). Percentages are based on valid cases only

Table 3-6 Variables of Cultural Capital Shown by Father

	SEA-TW			NATIVE		
	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
<b>Cultural Capital</b>						
bookstore/fair/exhibition	5.2	4.9		5.3	5.0	
	(2.2)	(2.1)		(2.1)	(2.1)	
Valid cases	375	519		399	519	
concert/art performance	4.3	3.9		4.1	3.9	
	(2.1)	(1.9)		(2.0)	(1.9)	
Valid cases	371.0	511.0		399.0	521.0	
music/instrument playing	7.9	9.8		11.6	11.3	
chess/abacus/mental arithmetic	6.5	6.2		11.1	6.6	
drawing/painting	8.9	6.5		9.4	8.8	
dance/gymnastics	3.4	4.9		3.5	3.1	
others	14.2	12.7		18.6	22.4	
participation in extracurricular activity	81.2	79.6		109.2	104.5	
	(1.3)	(1.3)		(1.4)	(1.3)	
Valid cases	377	510		403	513	
<b>Extracurricular Activity</b>						
field trip/sea-life park			4.8			5.3
			(2.4)			(2.5)
Valid cases			622			585
library			3.6			3.6
			(2.2)			(2.1)
Valid cases			614			586
read together with child			4.2			4.0
			(2.4)			(2.4)
Valid cases			619			583
watch and discuss TV content			5.2			5.4
			(2.6)			(2.4)
Valid cases			615			582
monitor the child doing homework			3.0			3.1
			(1.9)			(3.1)
N			626			591

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations (SDs).

### 3.2.4 Social-Capital Variables

Social capital variables were classified into four aspects. The first was parental **social participation**, of which the Panel Survey across three waves asked whether the mothers and fathers were currently joining in any (1) *skill learning course*, (2) *sports or leisure activity*, (3) *volunteering group*, and (4) *others*, with respondents answering either “yes” or “no” for each question.

The second aspect was the mother and father’s **social skills**, of which I chose seven indicators to present the parents’ skills in their daily social lives: (1) *usually drive a car*, (2) *visit a friend or relative*, (3) *go to a class or course*, (4) *shop in department stores*, (5) *shop in department stores with friends*, (6) *grocery shop with friends*, and (7) *go to a bank to deposit or withdraw money*, with respondents answering either “yes” or “no” for each question. I expect that, compared to their native counterparts, immigrant mothers from Southeast Asia would face more difficulties getting a driver’s license to drive a car or going to a bank to deal with the tellers due to the language barrier. Moreover, by adding the values (answering no for 0 and yes for 1) of the above indicators, I also created a continuous variable ranging from zero to 10 for evaluating parental social skills as a whole.

The third aspect of social capital is the mother and father’s **interaction with the child’s schoolteacher**, extracted from the questions asked only in Wave 3. I believe that parental interaction with the schoolteacher is the most important kind of social connection for a child’s cultivation. Thus, based on the answers from the mothers and fathers, respectively, I chose four indicators to evaluate the degree of interaction with the child’s class teacher.

Table 3-7 Variables of Social Capital Shown by Mother

	SEA-TW			NATIVE		
	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
<b>Social Participation</b>						
not at all	64.3	71.2	72.2	63.3	65.8	68.3
skill learning or other course	14.8	17.5	22.2	14.6	14.5	12.7
sports or leisure activity	3.4	6.8	9.0	9.2	10.0	12.5
volunteering group	8.2	9.0	8.1	15.3	12.9	15.3
others	6.0	3.6	1.5	4.5	6.6	3.8
<b>Social Skill</b>						
driving a car	22.8	16.2	15.8	45.2	37.2	37.6
visiting friend/relative	90.4	85.0	89.7	95.2	94.0	96.3
going to class/course	88.2	83.8	39.0	90.9	88.1	64.0
shopping in department store	86.9	84.9	69.8	89.1	85.6	88.5
dep't store shopping with friend	20.1	25.0	11.5	25.7	26.8	28.8
grocery shopping with friend	7.9	9.8	3.2	8.6	11.6	10.0
dealing with bank teller	91.1	89.6	89.2	95.9	95.8	98.8
mother's overall social skill	516.4	504.1	407.9	584.6	570.8	549.3
	(158.6)	(169.6)	(158.7)	(158.3)	(157.6)	(167.2)
Valid cases	373	398	403	384	443	446
<b>Interaction with Teacher</b>						
Mother-teacher work together			6.4			7.8
			(2.3)			(1.3)
Valid cases			415			534
Mother-teacher information			4.3			5.9
			(2.0)			(2.2)
Valid cases			417			503
Mother-teacher contact			1.6			2.3
			(2.2)			(2.8)
Valid cases			408			520
Self-evaluation in school education			7.5			7.8
			(1.6)			(1.2)
Valid cases			409			531
Mother's educational activities			3.0			3.6
			(1.5)			(1.8)
Valid cases			487			431
Participation in school education			6.4			6.8
			(1.9)			(1.8)
N			640			581

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations (SDs). Percentages are based on valid cases only.

Table 3-8 Variables of Social Capital Shown by Father

	SEA-TW			NATIVE		
	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
<b>Social Participation</b>						
not at all	67.0	80.2	81.0	67.8	74.8	75.1
skill learning or other course	10.9	6.1	6.1	8.7	5.7	8.1
sports or leisure activity	3.3	6.1	7.0	6.9	6.3	7.2
volunteering group	9.4	8.4	11.2	13.1	10.7	9.9
others	5.3	7.3	6.8	6.6	7.8	6.8
<b>Social Skill</b>						
driving a car	34.6	40.6	43.1	59.7	67.8	65.1
visiting friend/relative	89.3	87.0	90.1	93.7	93.5	94.2
going to class/course	86.9	78.9	52.1	88.2	89.1	55.2
shopping in department store	80.0	75.1	73.1	78.8	78.8	73.9
dep't store shopping with friend	13.4	10.3	8.3	13.6	15.6	9.8
grocery shopping with friend	4.1	4.1	2.8	4.6	5.1	2.3
dealing with bank teller	95.1	93.1	90.6	93.6	89.7	89.2
father's overall social skill	516.5	493.8	459.4	559.2	563.1	494.9
	(160.7)	(167.9)	(170.3)	(155.7)	(163.9)	(173.1)
Valid cases	334	421	486	359	438	493
<b>Interaction with Teacher</b>						
Father-teacher work together			7.6			7.6
			(1.5)			(1.3)
Valid cases			622			586
Father-teacher Information			5.3			5.2
			(2.4)			(2.3)
Valid cases			599			577
Father-teacher contact			2.2			1.5
			(2.9)			(2.6)
Valid cases			587			565
Self-evaluation in school education			7.7			7.6
			(1.4)			(1.4)
N			603			578

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations (SDs). Percentages are based on valid cases only

The indicator of *Mother-teacher (Father-teacher) work together* was based on the survey question that asked both the mother and father, "I work together efficiently with

the teacher for her/his instruction”. The response options included “strongly disagree”, “disagree”, “neutral”, “agree”, and “strongly agree”, to which I gave the values of 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10, respectively. *Mother-teacher (Father-teacher) information* was based on the statements, “The teacher tells me what my child has learned from the class”, “The teacher tells me the scope of the assignments”, “The teacher tells me how assignments are evaluated”, and “The teacher suggests to me how to help my child study.” These questions were adopted in the Panel Survey regarding the kinds and degrees of information that parents received from the child’s teacher. The response options were five-scale, and included “seldom”, “occasionally”, “sometimes”, “usually”, and “always”, to which I gave the values of 0.5, 1.0, 1.5, 2.0, and 2.5, respectively. I combined the answers of the four questions to compose this indicator, making its values range from 2.0 (minimum) to 10.0 (maximum).

Third, *Mother-teacher (Father-teacher) contact* was an indicator based on two questions: “In this academic year, the frequency of the teacher actively contacting me regarding my child’s academic performance”, and “In this academic year, the frequency of the teacher actively contacting me regarding my child’s adaptability and conduct issues”. The six response options were “never”, “once”, “twice”, “three times”, “four times”, and “five times or more”, to which I assigned values of 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. Combining answers from the two questions, we have an indicator with possible values ranging from zero (minimum) to 10 (maximum). Lastly, the indicator of *Mother’s (Father’s) participation in the child’s school education* was based on the survey question, “I evaluate my emphasis on the child’s school education in general”, with the response options of “strongly dissatisfied”, “dissatisfied”, “satisfied” and “strongly satisfied”. I gave values of 2.5, 5.0, 7.5, and 10.0 to each of these answers, making the indicator with possible values ranging from 2.5 (minimum) to 10.0 (maximum).

Finally, the fourth aspect of social capital was the *teacher’s evaluation of the mother’s efforts*. This aspect includes two indicators constructed based on questions asked only in Wave 3 and limited to the class teacher’s opinion on mothers—either native or Southeast Asian immigrant ones. First, *teacher evaluates mother’s educational activity*, included an assessment on the mother’s (1) attendance in parents association, (2) bringing the child to extracurricular and field activities, (3) attendance in Parents Day in school, (4)

participation in parenting courses and speeches, and (5) volunteering in the child's school. The teacher's evaluation on this indicator ranged from 2 (the lowest appraisal) to 10 (the highest). Second, *teacher evaluates mother's participation in the child's school education*, where the teacher simply ranked the mother's overall efforts in her child's school education. The response options included "very low", "rather low", "rather high", and "very high", to which I gave the values of 2.5, 5.0, 7.5 and 10, respectively.

### 3.2.5 School- and Teacher-Related Characteristics

The fifth category of independent variables is the traits of the child's class teacher and the school that she/he attended. These included some basic demographic data, such as the size of the school, to which I categorized into small (less than 6 classes), medium (7-24 classes), and large (more than 25 classes). The teacher's gender and educational attainment, as well as *years of teaching* and *semesters contacting students from immigrant families*, were also included.

We included variables on the way and extent that the teacher and school *actively* contacted and interacted with the parents. We adopted the mothers', the fathers', and the class teachers' perspectives to evaluate whether the class teacher was actively: (1) meeting the parents, (2) contacting them about their child's academic performance, and (3) contacting them about for their child's conduct issues. At the same time, both the parents and teachers were asked whether the school authority emphasized parental participation in the child's education.

Furthermore, I adopted an indicator of the *teacher giving information to mother*, composed of the questions of "I [the teacher) inform the mother about her child's adaptability, conduct issues, and health conditions in school" and "I [the teacher) inform the mother about her child's academic performance in school". The teacher's response options were "seldom", "occasionally", "sometimes", "usually" and "always", to which I gave values of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. Combining the answers from the two questions, the indicator with the value varies from 2 to 10, and measures whether the

school teacher *selectively* offered different information between non-immigrant native mothers and their Southeast Asian immigrant counterparts<sup>11</sup>.

Table 3-9 Variables Related to School/Teacher Characteristics

	SEA-TW				NATI			
	W1	W2	W3	Composite Wave	W1	W2	W3	Composite Wave
<b>Scale of School</b>								
Small(< 6 classes)	11.1	11.1		11.1	11.1	11.1		11.1
Medium (7-24 classes)	23.9	23.9		23.9	23.9	23.9		23.9
Large (> 25 classes)	65.0	65.0		65.0	65.0	65.0		65.0
Total	100	100		100	100	100		100
<b>Class Teacher's Gender</b>								
Male			43.3				40.4	
Female			56.7				59.6	
Valid cases			653				597	
<b>Teacher's education attainment</b>								
Junior college			1.9				1.7	
Teacher's college			58.5				57.7	
University			26.3				26.9	
Grad School			13.4				13.8	
Total			100				100	
Years of teaching			9.4				9.7	
			(6.6)				(6.7)	
Valid cases			652				595	
<b>Semesters contacting SEA-TW students</b>								
			4.8				4.5	
			(3.5)				(3.2)	
Valid cases			648				582	
<b>Mother's perception on school/teacher</b>								
Teacher contact for academic	1.3	0.9	0.9		1.3	1.3	1.2	

<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, in the later stages of regression analyses, most of the variables related to the traits of school and teacher turned out to be insignificant or had very low coefficients; thus, I omitted most of them in the latter part of this chapter.

performance	(1.7)	(1.5)	(1.3)	(1.8)	(1.7)	(1.6)
Valid cases	407	491	408	406	505	524
Teacher actively contact for conduct issues	1.2	0.8	0.7	1.1	1.2	1.1
	(1.6)	(1.4)	(1.1)	(1.5)	(1.7)	(1.5)
Valid cases	408	488	409	407	502	525
Teacher actively meet with parents	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.3	0.9
	(1.3)	(1.3)	(1.0)	(1.3)	(1.2)	(1.0)
Valid cases	403	472	408	402	496	520
School's emphasis on parental participation			72.2			74.2
			(12.7)			(12.2)
Valid cases			409			524

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Table 3-10 Variables Related to School/Teacher Characteristics (Continued)

	SEA-TW			NATIVE		
	W1	W2	W3	W1	W2	W3
<b>Father's perception on school/teacher</b>						
Teacher contact for academic performance	1.5	0.9	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.8
	(1.8)	(1.5)	(1.6)	(1.6)	(1.5)	(1.4)
Valid cases	355	491	594	388	506	570
Teacher actively contact for conduct issues	1.3	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7
	(1.7)	(1.4)	(1.5)	(1.4)	(1.5)	(1.4)
Valid cases	358	492	599	389	505	575
Teacher actively meet with parents	1.4	1.1	0.7	1.1	1.1	0.7
	(1.4)	(1.2)	(1.0)	(1.2)	(1.2)	(1.0)
Valid cases	359	488	600	387	494	569
School's emphasis on parental participation			75.8			72.2
			-13.0			-13.4
Valid cases			597			567
<b>Teacher's (self-)evaluation on teacher/school</b>						
Teacher actively contact for academic performance			1.6			1.7
			(1.7)			(1.7)
Valid cases			644			599
Teacher actively contact for conduct issues			1.2			1.3
			(1.5)			(1.5)
Valid cases			646			600
Teacher actively meet with parents			1.3			1.3
			(1.0)			(0.9)
Valid cases			645			600
School's emphasis on parental participation			70.1			70.2
			(13.6)			(13.0)
Valid cases			637			580
Teacher gives information to mother			5.6			6.2
			(2.1)			(2.0)
N			659			601

### **3.2.6 Student Habit and Attitudes**

At the same time, we also need to explore the results of parental cultivation, of which the achievement could be estimated through the student's self-discipline as well as habit and attitude towards academics. As we known, student habit and attitudes represent children's self-efficacy, and they may mediate the effects of all the independent variables related to family backgrounds, including SES, cultural capital, and social capital.

Therefore, I added the variables related to the child's study habit and attitude based on twenty-four questions directed at the students in Wave 1, 2 and 3 of the Panel Survey. I rearranged them into six indicators measuring the student's study attitude: (1) review the homework, (2) review what the teacher had taught in school today, (3) think about the content again to memorize it after studying, (4) believe that studying is useful, (5) believe that studying is fun and (6) work harder than others to get better grades. The response options were "rarely", "occasionally", "sometimes", and "frequently", which I ranked and gave values of 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively. I also summed up all the answers and constructed a continuous variable, with a maximum value of 24 to measure the child's overall study habit and attitude at home.

Table 3-11 Student's Efficacy: Study habit and Attitude

	SEA-TW				NATIVE			
	W1	W2	W3	Composite Wave	W1	W2	W3	Composite Wave
review the homework	2.2	2.0	2.0		2.2	2.2	2.2	
	1.0	0.9	0.9		1.0	0.9	1.0	
Valid cases	323	377	654		313	372	613	
review what the teacher taught	2.2	2.1	2.0		2.3	2.2	2.1	
	1.1	0.9	0.9		0.9	0.9	0.9	
Valid cases	319	389	652		312	381	612	
rethink and memorize after study	2.2	2.1	2.0		2.3	2.1	2.1	
	1.1	0.9	1.0		1.0	0.9	0.9	
Valid cases	317	387	652		311	380	612	
believe the study is useful	3.1	2.7	2.7		3.1	2.7	2.7	
	1.0	1.1	1.1		1.0	1.1	1.0	
Valid cases	320	382	657		314	384	611	
believe that study is happy	2.9	3.0	2.9		2.9	3.0	3.0	
	1.1	1.0	1.0		1.1	1.0	1.0	
Valid cases	319	388	659		313	385	614	
work harder to get better grades	2.7	2.7	2.6		2.7	2.8	2.7	
	1.0	1.0	1.0		1.0	1.0	1.0	
Valid cases	320	385	662		314	383	615	
Overall study habit and attitude				15.0				15.4
				4.5				4.4
N				1,984				1,907

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations (SDs). Percentages are based on valid cases only.

It is worth noting that, in the tables, we also listed the differences between immigrant and non-immigrant families regarding the s categories of independent variables. In the next stage, we conducted the preliminary analysis with the independent variables listed. We chose those variables with some degree of significance and discarded those with very small coefficient or with no significance. The dependent variables are standardized scores of students' performance in Chinese literature and mathematics throughout the analysis.

### **3.3 Conducting Single-Level Regression Analysis**

For this part of the analysis, I first conducted single-level regression analyses of students' performance, starting with their standardized score in mathematics without utilizing the features of longitudinal data.

Table 3-12 Single-level regression analysis on students' standardized score in mathematics

Mathematics	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4					
	Coef.	T	Coef.	T	Coef.	t	Coef.	t				
<b>Southeast Asian immigrant mother</b>	-.0646	***	-6.78	-.0375	***	-3.94	-.0314	**	-3.21	-.0298	*	-3.08
<b>Father's Education Attainment</b>												
Middle school graduation				.0357	**	2.79	.0252	*	1.99	.0221		1.77
High school graduation				.0892	***	7.02	.0674	***	5.37	.0585	***	4.71
Junior college or above				.1401	***	9.17	.1089	***	7.16	.1024	***	6.83
<b>Mother has a job with income</b>				.0042		0.39	-.0001		-0.01	-.0030		-0.29
<b>Father's income level</b>												
NTD 10,000-30000				.0442	**	3.15	.0313	*	2.28	.0267	*	1.97
NTD 30,000-40,000				.0758	***	4.96	.0528	***	3.52	.0595	***	4.01
NTD 40000 or higher				.1278	***	7.59	.0969	***	5.84	.0920	***	5.62
<b>Cultural and social capital</b>												
Mother and child to bookstore/exhibition/concert							.0005		0.40	-.0004		-0.26
Mother's monitoring on child doing homework							.0058		1.35	.0036		0.85
Father's monitoring on child doing homework							.0122	**	3.03	.0099	*	2.49
Mother's participation in skill learning courses							.0318	*	2.33	.0356	**	2.65
Mother's participation in sports leisure activities							.0529	**	2.63	.0398	*	2.00
Mother's visiting a friend or relative							.0044		0.24	.0063		0.35
Mother's participation in parents' day							.0053		1.39	.0052		1.37

Mother's participation in child's school education						.0319 ***	10.96	.0285 ***	9.89
<b>The child's study habit and attitude</b>								.0106 ***	10.14
<b>_cons</b>	.4882 ***	71.53	.3590 ***	21.53	.0963 **	3.02	-.0186		-0.56
<b>Adjusted R-squared</b>		0.013		0.081		0.136			0.161
<b>N</b>		3,506		3,506		3,506			3,506

\*  $p < .050$ , \*\*  $p < .010$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

In the basic model, Model 1, the coefficient for the mother's immigrant status had a significant effect with a coefficient of  $-.0646$ , which means that the percentile positions in mathematics for students of Southeast Asian immigrant mothers, on average, were lower than students with native Taiwanese mothers by  $.0646$ . When the factors of the father and mother's socioeconomic status were taken into account in Model 2, the coefficient of the mother's immigrant status changed to only  $-.0375$ , about one half of the gap shown in Model 1. At the same time, the father's educational attainment, of which "less than middle school graduated" was taken as the reference category, had significant effects. A child with a high school-graduated father would be 8.92 points ahead in mathematics than those with a father of less than middle school-graduated; for a child with a father of junior college graduated or above, the gap in the student's mathematic performance jumped to 14.01 points. In contrast, the mother's educational attainment had no significant effect on the student's grades in mathematics; thus, it was omitted from Model 2<sup>12</sup>.

Parental effects of income level and job status also displayed rather different patterns on the mother and father's sides. The mother's income level had no effect on the child's mathematic performance; even the mother's job status (having income or not) only had a meager coefficient of  $.0042$  with no significance. The meager coefficient, however, was not the case for the father's income levels. Compared to the child of a father earning less than NT\$ 10,000 per month, a student whose father earned NT\$30,000-40,000 would perform 7.58 more points in mathematics. For those students with fathers earning more than NT\$ 40,000 a month, their performance in mathematics were 12.78 points ahead of peers with fathers earning less than NT\$10,000 a month.

When we turned to Model 3, in which factors of cultural and social capital were taken into account, the absolute magnitude of the coefficient of the mother's immigrant status decreased, again, to  $-.0314$ . The significance of the mother's immigrant status also declined, from a strong significance ( $p < .001$ ) in Models 1 and 2 to a weaker significant level ( $p < .010$ ) in Model 3. Meanwhile, the effects of the father's educational attainment also decreased. The effect of the father's high school graduation decreased from  $.0892$

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<sup>12</sup> Actually, variables of mother's educational attainment were all omitted in the next models due to their extremely low impact.

to .0674 while the father's education attainment of junior college graduation or above reduced from .1401 to .1089. At the same time, the effect of the father's income level decreased, but was still strongly significant. A student with a father earning between NT\$ 30,000 to 40,000 per month performed only 5.28 points better than their peers with fathers earning less than NT\$ 10,000 per month, compared to 7.58 points in Model 2. For fathers earning more than NT\$ 40,000 per month, their children, on average, performed 9.69 points ahead in mathematics than peers from low-income families, compared to 12.78 points in Model 2. Therefore, the inclusion of cultural- and social-capital factors in Model 3 reduced the impact of the father's socioeconomic status on the student's mathematic performance. This suggests that a substantial portion of the effects of parents' socioeconomic status on children's academic performance (in mathematics) is mediated by their access to cultural and social capital resources.

For the part of cultural capital, the coefficient of "mother going with child to bookstore/exhibition/concert" was as low as .0005 and had no significance. This is contradicting to our assumption that cultivating embodied cultural capital benefits children's academic performances. At the same time, parenting seemed more beneficial compared to the cultivation of cultural capital. For the parenting effort, interestingly, the father's role was more important and significant than the mother's role in monitoring the child doing his or her homework. Instead, the mother's role, with some significance, benefited the child's mathematic performance through participation in skill-learning courses, and sport or leisure activities, with coefficients of .0318 and .0529, respectively. However, among all the social capital-related variables related to the mother's involvement, the mother's overall participation in the child's school education had the most significant impact with a coefficient of .0319. Indeed, a mother actively participating in social activities, especially activities related to school education and knowledge acquiring, benefited the child's learning in mathematics.

Finally, in the complete model, Model 4, after taking into account the student's study habit and attitude, the coefficient of the mother's immigrant status further decreased to -.0298 and with only meager significance. The student's study habit and attitude displayed a strong significance on their mathematic performance, with a coefficient of .0090. This which implies that with one unit increase in attitude scale increasing their percentile

position by .009, an increase of 10 units, from the poorest to the most positive attitudes would increase the position by 9 points. At the same time, while study habit and attitude showed a significant impact, factors of the mother's participation in school education and, more importantly, the father's socioeconomic status remained significant for the children's mathematic performance in the complete model.

In sum, we found that for the student's mathematic performance, the *mother's immigrant status* explains far less than the *father's socioeconomic status*. Fathers who possessed educational attainment higher than a junior college degree and earned more than NT\$40,000 per month had strong boosting effects. When some significant variables related to cultural and social capital were included, the father's higher educational attainment and income level still had a strong explanatory power; this could be understood that a family with a father of higher SES usually possesses higher degrees of cultural and social capital, however, their effects remain significant even after controlling for those variables.

When turning to a student's performance in Chinese literature, in the basic model, Model 1, the coefficient for the mother's immigrant status, similar to the results in the mathematic models, had a significant effect with a coefficient of -.0602. This means that, when other factors are not considered, students of Southeast Asian immigrant mothers were performing 6.02 points worse than students with native Taiwanese mothers. But when the father's SES were taken into account in Model 2, the absolute magnitude of the coefficient for the mother's immigrant status decreased to only -.0353, about one half of that of Model 1. Here, the impact of the father's education attainment displayed a similar pattern to that of our mathematical Model 2. A child with a high school-graduate father would be 8.59 points ahead in their performance of Chinese literature than those with a father with less than middle school-graduation; for a child with a father of junior college degree or above, the gap in the child's Chinese literature performance increased to 14.01 points. Unsurprisingly, the mother's educational attainment and income level (or job status) had no significant effects on the student's grades in Chinese literature, just like what was shown in our mathematical models.

It is worth noting that, although still with strong significance, the coefficients of the father's income levels on the student's Chinese literature were slightly lower than those

in mathematical Model 2. The coefficient of the father earning NT\$ 30,000-40,000 per month decreased from .0758 in the mathematic model to .0641 in the Chinese literature model, and the coefficient of earning more than NT\$ 40,000 decreased from .1278 to .0967. This makes sense if we assume that, compared to proficiency in Chinese literature, capabilities in mathematics (such as expertise in risk management and calculation) should be more relevant to income earning.

Table 3-13 Single-Level Regression Analysis on students' standardized score in Chinese literature

Chinese Literature	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4								
	Coef.	t	Coef.	t	Coef.	t	Coef.	t							
<b>Southeast Asian immigrant mother</b>	-.0602	***	-.617		-.0353	***	-3.60		-.0262	**	-2.64		-.0238	*	-2.47
<b>Father's Education Attainment</b>															
Middle school graduation					.0449	**	3.42		.0301	*	2.35		.0256	*	2.06
High school graduation					.0859	***	6.57		.0570	***	4.47		.0439	***	3.54
Junior college or above					.1552	***	9.87		.1171	***	7.58		.1073	***	7.16
<b>Mother has a job with income</b>					-.0025		-0.22		-.0081		-0.76		-.0125		-1.20
<b>Father's income level</b>															
NTD 10,000-30000					.0379	**	2.62		.0204		1.46		.0134		0.99
NTD 30,000-40,000					.0641	***	4.08		.0334	*	2.19		.0433	**	2.92
NTD 40000 or higher					.0967	***	5.58		.0581	**	3.45		.0509	**	3.12
<b>Cultural and social capital</b>															
Mother and child to bookstore/exhibition/concert									.0028	*	2.03		.0015		1.10
Mother's monitoring on child doing homework									.0065		1.50		.0033		0.77
Father's monitoring on child doing homework									.0142	**	3.48		.0109	**	2.74
Mother's participation in skill learning courses									.0124		0.90		.0181		1.35
Mother's participation in sports or leisure activities									.0413	*	2.02		.0219		1.10
Mother's visiting a friend or relative									.0248		1.34		.0276		1.54
Mother's participation in parents' day									.0085	*	2.18		.0083	*	2.22
Mother's participation in child's school education									.0387	***	13.13		.0339	***	11.76
<b>The child's study habit and attitude</b>													.0158	***	15.06

<b>_cons</b>	.5058	***	72.29	.3916	***	22.83	.0441	1.36	-.1266	***	-3.80
<b>Adjusted R-squared</b>			0.011			0.072		0.151			0.203
<b>N</b>			3,505			3,505		3,505			3,505

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\*  $p < .050$ , \*\*  $p < .010$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

When we turned to Model 3, after adding factors related to socioeconomic status as well as cultural and social capital, the effect of the mother's immigrant status on the child's Chinese literature score became less significant. Meanwhile, the impact of the father's educational attainment was still significant—although decreased in the coefficients. This further confirmed that the father's socioeconomic status is more important than the mother's immigrant status on the child's school performance.

The impact of social capital in Model 3 of Chinese literature analysis displayed a slightly different pattern than the one shown in the case of mathematics. With a strong significance, the mother's participation in the child's school education had a coefficient of .0387 in Chinese literature, even higher than that of .0283 for mathematics. The impact of the mother's participation in Parents Day at school increased from a low coefficient of .0032 with no significance in mathematics to a coefficient of .0085 with some significance. It is understandable that mastery in Chinese proficiency could be highly correlated with the mother's active participation in social events, especially when it is necessary to communicate with well-educated schoolteachers. In other words, the mother's active participation in school activities may reflect her good command of the Chinese language.

In the category of cultural-capital variables, the mother's monitoring of the child's homework doing, again, had no significance, compared to the moderate significance of the father monitoring (coefficient = .0142). Compared to the low coefficient of .0005 with no significance in Model 3 on mathematic performance, the mother going with her child to a bookstore/exhibition/concert had some impact on the child's performance in Chinese literature. In other words, cultivating habits in reading books or attending art-related events may benefit a child's language proficiency—but not skills in other subjects such as mathematics.

Finally, when adding the factor of study habit and attitude to Model 4, the impact of the mother's immigrant status further decreased to a coefficient as low as -.0238 with a meager significance. At the same time, in this complete model, while the student's study habit and attitude had a positive and significant impact with a coefficient of .0146, other factors, such as the father's educational attainment and monitoring of homework doing, continued to significantly affect the student's performance of Chinese literature, as in the

case of mathematics. In short, we may conclude that controlling the father's SES, the mother's participation in school education as well as the student's study habit and attitude, the mother's Southeast-Asian immigrant status does not make much difference on the child's Chinese literature performance.

### **3.4 Comparison of Southeast Asian and Native Taiwanese Students**

To further explore the student performances of the two groups relating to the mother's immigration status, we examined the impacts of parental socioeconomic status, cultural and social capital on mathematic and Chinese literature performances separately for native Taiwanese and Southeast Asian Taiwanese students. This is to examine whether there are any important differences between the two groups in the effects of the independent variables. It is worth noting that in the preliminary analysis, I added the mother's country of origin (Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and Myanmar) as independent variables but the results were not meaningful. In other words, there was no evidence in our cases proving the theory of *immigrant selectivity* (Feliciano, 2005). Thus, I excluded the immigrant mother's country of origin in the main comparison below.

Table 3-14 Comparison on Southeast-Asian and native Taiwanese students on mathematic performance

Mathematics	SEA-TW students		Native students			
	Coef.	t	Coef.	t		
<b>Father's education attainment</b>						
Middle school graduation	.0354	*	2.00	.0137	0.75	
High school graduation	.0368	*	2.10	.0813	***	4.47
Junior college or above	.1003	***	4.86	.1077	***	4.84
<b>Mother has a job with income</b>	.0230		1.53	-.0341	*	-2.36
<b>Father's income level</b>						
NTD 10,000-30,000	.0063		0.36	.0586	**	2.74
NTD 30,000-40,000	.0451	*	2.19	.0862	***	3.93
NTD 40000 or higher	.0753	**	3.08	.1203	***	5.17
<b>Cultural and social capital</b>						
Mother going with child to bookstore/exhibition/concert	-.0001		-0.08	-.0006		-0.29
Mother's monitoring on child doing homework	.0060		1.04	.0009		0.14
Father's monitoring on child doing homework	.0110		1.91	.0121	*	2.15
Mother's participation in skill learning or other courses	.0037		0.19	.0679	***	3.59
Mother's participation in sports or leisure activities	.0431		1.26	.0318		1.31
Mother's visiting a friend or relative	.0338		1.44	-.0301		-1.04
Mother's participation in parents' day	.0080		1.38	.0028		0.57
Mother's participation in the child's school education	.0260	***	6.26	.0302	***	7.46
<b>The child's study habit and attitude</b>	.0126	***	8.39	.0080	***	5.40
<b>_cons</b>	-.1028	*	-2.30	.0470		0.96
<b>Adjusted R-square</b>			0.135			0.176
<b>N</b>			1,801			1,705

\*  $p < .050$ , \*\*  $p < .010$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

From the table above, we see that the father's different levels of educational attainment displayed a slightly different pattern on mathematic performances of the two student groups. Only for students from Southeast Asian immigrant families did the father's middle school graduation had some effect with weak significance on mathematic performance. In contrast, the father's high school degree had a strong significant impact on non-immigrant students, but only a weak impact on Southeast Asian Taiwanese student's mathematic performance. As for the effect of fathers with a junior college degree or more, the significances on the two groups were similarly strong.

At the same time, the father's income level played a more significant role for students from non-immigrant families than their Southeast Asian Taiwanese counterparts. The fathers' earnings between NT\$ 30,000-40,000 per month had a weak significance for Southeast Asian Taiwanese families (with a coefficient of .0451) but a strong significance for native families (coefficient = .0862). Similarly, fathers earning more than NT\$ 40,000 per month had a medium significance for Southeast Asian Taiwanese students (coefficient = .0753) but a strong significance for their native peers (coefficient = .1203). Moreover, while fathers of native families earning less than NT\$ 30,000 per month had a medium-level significant effect, the comparable income level fathers of Southeast Asian Taiwanese families had no significant impact on their children's mathematic performances. In short, the father's income level had a stronger increasing effect on the mathematic performance of native Taiwanese students than on their Southeast Asian Taiwanese peers.

The disparities between Southeast Asian Taiwanese and non-immigrant students also held true for the effects of cultural and social capital-related variables. We saw similar strong significances for the mother's participation in the child's school education on students from immigrant (coefficient = .0260) and native (coefficient = .0302) families. However, for the mother's participation in skill learning courses, while native mothers showed a strong significant effect with a high coefficient of .0679, Southeast Asian immigrant mothers had only a low coefficient of .0037 with no significance at all. This begs the question, why did the skill-learning of Southeast Asian immigrant mothers have no significant impact on the children's mathematic performance? The most plausible answers are the language barriers and the lack of local social connections; these

deficiencies may be related to the reduced overall possession of the family's cultural capital as a whole among immigrant families.

Finally, the child's study habit and attitude had a significant impact on the mathematic performances of both groups of students, although the Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students had a higher coefficient (.0126) than their non-immigrant peers (.0080). This implies that study habit and attitude matters more for students from immigrant families due to their cultural background and teacher's attitude toward them. This is issue that will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Next, we will compare the effects of the independent variables between native and Southeast Asian Taiwanese students on their performance in Chinese literature.

Table 3-15 Comparison on Southeast-Asian and native Taiwanese students on Chinese literature performance

Chinese literature	SEA-TW students		Native students			
	Coef.	t	Coef.	t		
<b>Father's education attainment</b>						
Middle school graduation	.0427	*	2.46	.0142	0.76	
High school graduation	.0216		1.26	.0641	**	3.46
Junior college or above	.1148	***	5.66	.1013	***	4.46
<b>Mother has a job with income</b>	.0021		0.14	-.0292	*	-1.99
<b>Father's income level</b>						
NTD 10,000-30000	.0032		0.18	.0277		1.28
NTD 30,000-40,000	.0298		1.47	.0630	**	2.82
NTD 40000 or higher	.0397		1.66	.0675	**	2.85
<b>Cultural and social capital</b>						
Mother going with child to bookstore/exhibition/concert	.0017		0.95	.0008		0.37
Mother's monitoring on child doing homework	.0084		1.49	-.0008		-0.12
Father's monitoring on child doing homework	.0136	*	2.41	.0115	*	2.01
Mother's participation in skill learning or other courses	-.0267		1.41	.0626	**	3.26
Mother's participation in sports or leisure activities	.0282		0.84	.0137		0.55
Mother's visiting a friend or relative	.0437		1.90	.0156		0.53
Mother's participation in parents' day	.0146	*	2.55	.0025		0.50
Mother's participation in the child's school education	.0349	***	8.57	.0324	***	7.89
<b>The child's study habit and attitude</b>	.0163	***	11.09	.0145	***	9.61
<b>_cons</b>	-.2050	***	-4.67	-.0667		-1.34
<b>Adjusted R-squared</b>			0.205			0.190
<b>N</b>			1,801			1,704

\*  $p < .050$ , \*\*  $p < .010$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

For the children's performance in Chinese literature, the father's educational attainment somehow displayed a different pattern from that in the previous mathematical model. Among different levels of educational attainment, only the father's junior college degree or more had a high coefficient of .1148 with a strong significance on Southeast Asian Taiwanese students. In contrast, both the father's high school degree (coefficient = .0641) and junior college degree or more (coefficient = .1013) had medium to strong effects on native students Chinese literature performance. In other words, the threshold that makes a significant difference in children's Chinese scores is the father's educational attainment: high school degree for the native students, and junior college degree for the immigrant students. Meanwhile, the mother's socioeconomic status (having a job with income) only had an effect on Chinese literature performances of non-immigrant students, and with a meager significance (coefficient = -.0292)

Interestingly, controlling for the father's education attainment as well as the family's possession of cultural and social capital, the father's income level had only a medium impact on Chinese literature performance for non-immigrant students, and no impact for Southeast Asian Taiwanese students, which is different from the effects of the father's income levels in the mathematical models. This is understandable that, as a kind of economic capital, the father's income can be spent on mathematics cram school or other courses to hone the child's arithmetic capability, thus enhancing his or her school performance in mathematics (although some cram school variables were controlled in the model, there may have been more such opportunities beyond what was measure in the survey). For Chinese literature, however, there are few cram-school courses at the elementary school stage. Instead, the enhancement of Chinese literature requires abundant readings at-home, not external cram school enrollment. Thus, it should be more related to parenting strategy, which usually can be performed better by well-educated (not high-income) parents.

Now, we turn to other non-SES variables to examine their effects relative to those of the father's socioeconomic status. Again, in both groups of Southeast Asian and native Taiwanese students, "mother's participation in the child's school education" (coefficients = .0349 and .0324, respectively) and the child's study habit and attitude (coefficients = .0163 and .0145, respectively) both displayed strong significances. Meanwhile, only a

few cultural or social capital variables had positive impacts on the student's performance in Chinese literature. The father monitoring the child doing homework had meager effects on both Southeast Asian Taiwanese (coefficient = .0136) and non-immigrant (coefficient = .0115) students. For native Taiwanese mothers, participation in skill-learning and other courses had a medium-level significant effect with a coefficient of .0626, while for immigrant mothers, participating in Parents Day (coefficient = .0146) had a weak impact. In short, we may conclude that a socially active mother, no matter a native or immigrant one, is benefiting the child's study in Chinese literature. Most importantly, the effects of parents' socioeconomic status or social and cultural capital factors are similar in the two groups of students—no matter what their mother's immigration status were. In other words, we confirmed the findings in the previous analysis (Table 3.8) that differential access to these resources are responsible for the major portion of the gap between the two groups in their academic performance.

### **3.5 Conducting Multi-Level Analysis**

It is worth noting that the Panel Survey conducted three consecutive waves (Wave 1, Wave 2 and Wave 3) in 2006, 2007 and 2008, respectively. Thus, each student contributed three observations and, obviously, observations in the three waves were *not independent* of each other (Twisk, 2006). A student's Chinese literature and mathematic performances (dependent variables) as well as family-related conditions (independent variables) may systematically change due to the difference in timing. Therefore, we need to further conduct *multilevel regression analyses*, setting observations in a two-level, hierarchical data structure to control the potential effects brought by the difference in the survey waves (Bickel, 2007; Twisk, 2006).

First, we set person-wave as a unit of analysis and replaced t-value by z-value, in which each student contributed three observations (Wave 1, 2 and 3), then conducted multilevel analysis on the student's mathematic performance. The result of the analysis is illustrated in the table below.

Table 3-16 Multilevel-level regression analysis on students' standardized score in mathematics

Mathematics	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Coef.		z	Coef.		z	Coef.		z	Coef.		z
<b>_cons</b>	.4861	***	50.51	.3575	***	15.22	.0960	*	2.13	-.0151		-0.32
<b>Southeast Asian immigrant mother</b>	-.0630	***	-4.68	-.0361	**	-2.73	-.0315	*	-2.30	-.0298	*	-2.21
<b>Father's education attainment</b>												
Middle school graduation				.0384	*	2.15	.0272		1.53	.0248		1.42
High school graduation				.0919	***	5.18	.0705	***	4.02	.0621	***	3.60
Junior college or above				.1437	***	6.72	.1115	***	5.23	.1057	***	5.03
<b>Mother has a job with income</b>				-.0001		-0.01	-.0038		-0.26	-.0059		-0.40
<b>Father's income level</b>												
NTD 10,000-30000				.0457	*	2.30	.0320		1.65	.0275		1.44
NTD 30,000-40,000				.0775	***	3.58	.0555	**	2.62	.0604	**	2.89
NTD 40000 or higher				.1308	***	5.50	.1008	***	4.31	.0961	***	4.17
<b>Cultural and social capital</b>												
Mother going with child to bookstore/exhibition/concert							.0004		0.20	-.0004		-0.23
Mother's monitoring on child doing homework							.0031		0.51	.0011		0.19
Father's monitoring on child doing homework							.0126	*	2.20	.0102		1.80
Mother's participation in skill learning or other courses							.0294		1.52	.0330		1.74
Mother's participation in sports or leisure activities							.0412		1.44	.0281		1.00
Mother's visiting a friend or relative							.0128		0.50	.0144		0.57
Mother's participation in parents' day							.0069		1.27	.0066		1.24
Mother's participation in the child's school education							.0315	***	7.54	.0283	***	6.85
<b>The child's study habit and attitude</b>										.0103	***	7.00
<b>Sigma_u</b>			.2306			.2184			.2097			.2054
<b>Sigma_e</b>			.1635			.1635			.1635			.1635

<b>Rho</b>	.6655	.6410	.6220	.6121
<b>R-square</b>				
Within	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Between	0.014	0.103	0.168	0.194
Overall	0.013	0.084	0.142	0.163
<b>N</b>				
of observation	3,506	3,506	3,506	3,506
of groups	1,431	1,431	1,431	1,431

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\*  $p < .050$ , \*\*  $p < .010$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

From the table above, we see that in the basic Model 1, the coefficient for the mother's immigrant status had a significant effect on the student's mathematic performance with a negative coefficient of .0630, slightly lower than that of -.0646 in the previous single-level regression model. Then in the reduced Model 2, when controlling for parental SES (father's education attainment and income level plus mother's job status), the coefficient of the mother's immigrant status reduced to -.0361, almost tantamount to that of -.0357 in the Model 2 of single-level regression analysis. In the Model 2 of multilevel analysis, the effect of the mother's job status nearly disappeared to the degree of a -.0001 coefficient with no significance at all—although in the single-level Model 2, the coefficient of the mother's job status was already as low as .0042 with no significance.

Moreover, when we looked at the impact of the father's educational attainment, of which "less than middle school graduated" was taken as a reference category, the coefficients of "middle school graduation", "high school graduation" and "junior college or above" for Model 2 of multilevel regression were .0384, .0919, and .1437, with the latter two having a strong significance. This is almost the same as the single-level mathematical Model 2, of which the coefficients of the categories above were .0357, .0892, and .1401, along with a similar distribution of significances. Meanwhile, the coefficient distributions of the father's per-month income levels in the multilevel Model 2 were .0457 for "earning NT\$10,000-30,000", .0775 for "earning NT\$30,000-40,000", and .1308 for "earning NT\$ 40,000 or more". This is also similar to the distribution of .0442, .0758 and .1278 in the previous single-level analysis on the student's mathematic performance. In short, in terms of the mother's immigrant status and the father's SES, adopting either single-level or multilevel analysis made little difference for the results of Model 2.

When we adopted multilevel analysis for Model 3, in which factors of cultural and social capital were taken into account, the effects of the mother's immigrant status reduced considerably to only a meager significance with a decreasing coefficient of -.0315. The mother's job status, again, was not significant at all. In short, both the mother's immigrant and SES status, compared to the father-related factors, had little impact on the student's mathematic performance. Furthermore, compared to the previous

single-level Model 3 on the student's mathematic performance, in the multilevel version of Model 3, the impact of the father's SES, either in terms of education attainment or income level, had slightly decreased in significance.

More interesting changes in Model 3 were illustrated in the effects of cultural and social capital. Compared to the single-level analysis on mathematic performance, in the multilevel version of Model 3, only the mother's participation in school education continued its impact with strong significance for both Southeast-Asian Taiwanese (coefficient = .0315) and non-immigrant (coefficient = .0283) students. The father's monitoring of the child doing homework remained meagerly significant on only the group of students from immigrant families.

Finally, in Model 4, we included the child's study habit and attitude, which illustrated a strong significance with a coefficient of .0283 – the impact of the father's monitoring of the child doing homework just disappeared. We may assume that when a child has a good study habit and attitude, the father's monitoring became unnecessary and thus had no impact on the child's performance in mathematics. At the same time, in this complete model, while the father's SES and mother's participation in school education kept their significance, the impact of the mother's immigrant status further reduced its coefficient to -.0298 with only a weak significant level.

In sum, there seemed to be no huge difference between the single-level and multilevel models on student's mathematic performance—except the variables of the father's monitoring of the child doing homework as well as the mother's participation in skill learning courses and sports/leisure activities; those disappeared in their significance. What about the models on the student's performance in Chinese literature?

Table 3-17 Multilevel-level regression analysis on students' standardized score in Chinese literature

Chinese literature	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4								
	Coef.	z	Coef.	z	Coef.	z	Coef.	z							
<b>_cons</b>	.5033	***	50.30		.3945	***	16.04		.0507	1.09	-.1209	*	-2.53		
<b>Southeast Asian immigrant mother</b>	-.0612	***	-4.37		-.0370	**	-2.65		-.0290	*	-2.05		-.0265	-1.94	
<b>Father's education attainment</b>															
Middle school graduation					.0440	*	2.35		.0293		1.60		.0259	1.47	
High school graduation					.0867	***	4.67		.0589	**	3.25		.0467	**	2.67
Junior college or above					.1562	***	6.96		.1184	***	5.37		.1090	***	5.13
<b>Mother has a job with income</b>					-.0068		-0.43		-.0117		-0.76		-.0150	-1.01	
<b>Father's income level</b>															
NTD 10,000-30000					.0378		1.81		.0199		0.99		.0127	0.66	
NTD 30,000-40,000					.0640	**	2.83		.0352		1.61		.0426	*	2.02
NTD 40000 or higher					.0947	***	3.80		.0577	*	2.38		.0505	*	2.16
<b>Cultural and social capital</b>															
Mother going with child to bookstore/exhibition/concert									.0027		1.36		.0014	0.75	
Mother's monitoring on child doing homework									.0044		0.70		.0013	0.21	
Father's monitoring on child doing homework									.0143	*	2.41		.0106	1.86	
Mother's participation in skill learning or other courses									.0086		0.43		.0141	0.73	
Mother's participation in sports or leisure activities									.0352		1.19		.0149	0.53	
Mother's visiting a friend or relative									.0299		1.12		.0325	1.27	
Mother's participation in parents' day									.0091		1.61		.0088	1.62	
Mother's participation in the child's school education									.0382	***	8.85		.0334	***	8.00
<b>The child's study habit and attitude</b>													.0158	***	10.57
<b>Sigma_u</b>			.2436				.2335				.2210			.2110	
<b>Sigma_e</b>			.1550				.1550				.1550			.1550	
<b>Rho</b>			.7119				.6942				.6704			.6497	

<b>R-square</b>				
within	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
between	0.013	0.087	0.176	0.236
overall	0.011	0.074	0.157	0.209
<b>N</b>				
of observation	3,505	3,505	3,505	3,505
of groups	1,430	1,430	1,430	1,430

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\*  $p < .050$ , \*\*  $p < .010$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

The coefficient for the mother's immigrant status in the multilevel Model 1 and Model 2 were  $-.0612$  and  $-.0370$ , respectively, which are slightly higher than that of  $-.0602$  and  $-.0353$  in the single-level regression analysis on the student's Chinese literature performance. The coefficients of the father's SES variables (education attainment and income level) in the multilevel Model 2 almost remained the same as their single level-counterparts; the only exception was the category of fathers earning between NT\$10,000-30,000 per month, of which the impact changed from rather significant to no insignificant. Meanwhile, as in the previous single-level and multilevel models, the mother's SES-related variables (including job status) remained insignificant.

When turning to the multilevel Model 3 on student's performance in Chinese literature, after adding factors related to cultural and social capital, the impact of the mother's immigrant status, again, decreased to only a weak significant level—as it did in the single-level Model 3. In contrast, the similar insignificance was showed by variables related to the mother's SES, such as the mother's job status in both the single- and multilevel models. Compared to the cases in single-level analysis, the father's graduation of middle school decreased its coefficient from  $.0310$  to  $.0293$  and became insignificant. At the same time, the impact of high-school graduation changed from strong significance (coefficient =  $.0570$ ) in single-level model to medium significance (coefficient =  $.0589$ ) in multilevel analysis, while the effect of father's junior college graduation kept its significance (with the coefficient slightly changing from  $.1171$  to  $.1184$ ). Moreover, all the categories of the father's income level had only weak or even no significance when adopting multilevel analysis—be it for the Chinese literature performances of Southeast Asian Taiwanese students or their native, non-immigrant peers. Overall, in multilevel regression Model 3, the explanatory power of the father's SES seemed to be weakened.

We also witnessed a similar pattern among cultural and social capital-related variables in Model 3. From single- to multilevel models, the significance of the father monitoring his child doing homework changed from medium to weak—although the coefficient remained almost unchanged from  $.0142$  to  $.0143$ . There was also a disappearance of impact significance on the mother's participation in sport/leisure activities as well as in Parents Day. Nevertheless, the mother's participation in the child's

school education remained significant, with the coefficient slightly decreased from .0387 to .0382.

Finally, in Model 4, when adding the variable of the student's study habit and attitude alongside the father's socioeconomic status and the mother's school participation, the mother's immigrant status had an insignificant impact on the student's Chinese literature performance. Meanwhile, from single- to multilevel Model 4, the coefficient of the student's study habit and attitude remained unchanged at the level of .0158, with strong significant impact on the student's Chinese literature performance. In short, in this complete model, when the father's SES and the mother's school participation was controlled, the mother's immigrant status had no influence on the student's performance in Chinese literature.

### **3.6 Findings**

From the descriptive statistics data shown in the former part of this chapter, we have seen that native Taiwanese and Southeast Asian immigrant mothers displayed different patterns in the possession of social capital; that is, Southeast Asian mothers in the Panel Survey had fewer social connections and networks with access to mainstream Taiwanese society. We assumed this was mainly due to the language barriers and their identity as newcomers in the society. The difference, however, did not really influence the school performances of native Taiwanese or Southeast Asian Taiwanese children—except the mother's participation in the child's school education. Nevertheless, regarding this exceptional social-capital variable in the analyses, both the categories of Southeast Asian immigrant and native Taiwanese mothers displayed high coefficients with strong significances. In other words, Southeast Asian mothers cared and emphasized their child's school education just as much as their native counterparts.

Moreover, the mothers' socioeconomic status (including education attainment, income level, and job status) did not matter to their children's academic performance—similar to most of the social-capital variables. Thus, we assumed that if the students from immigrant families are performing worse than the native students, as perceived by mainstream Taiwanese society, the cause of the poorer performance would come from

the Taiwanese father's side, *not because of their Southeast Asian immigrant mothers*. Indeed, the perceived poorer performance of second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese highly correlated with the relative low socioeconomic status of their Taiwanese fathers. At the same time, the father's lower SES may negatively influence the possession of the family's cultural capital, which indirectly forcing the Southeast Asian Taiwanese students to compete with their native peers at a disadvantaged starting point.

Therefore, the impact of the father's SES decreased after adding cultural-capital variables into our models. This implies that a portion of the negative effect of low SES fathers may result from their lower degree of cultural-capital possession. It is difficult to change the low socioeconomic status of a father—whether or not he married a native Taiwanese or a Southeast Asian. Nevertheless, with some institutional arrangements, such as government-sponsored extra-curricular courses or activities, it is possible to enhance the cultural capital of the students of immigrant mothers and the low SES, thus enabling these Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students to fairly compete with their native peers in academics.

In sum, the result of the regression analyses in this chapter confirmed that, in general, the father's SES played a positive and rather significant role on the student's performance in Chinese literature and mathematics, but a substantial portion of the effects of the parents' socioeconomic status on the children's academic performances (in mathematics) is mediated by their access to cultural and social capital resources. Therefore, when controlling for the father's educational attainment and the possession of the family's cultural capital, *there was no significant difference between the academic performances of native and Southeast Asian Taiwanese students*, at least in the stage of elementary school.

## 4. Follow-Up Interviews

The three-year-long Panel Survey began in 2006, when the elementary-school respondents were 7 to 12 years old. In 2015, they grew up, with their ages ranging from 17 to 22; in other words, many of them have become college students. Therefore, how are these students from immigrant and non-immigrant families doing? Do students from immigrant families enjoy lower college attendance rates, and are they performing worse in higher education as well as being less competitive in the job market? Are there important differences in the ways parents have raised and educated their children between the two groups? To answer these questions, I contacted a small number of the survey respondents and conducted in-depth interviews for further information.

### 4.1 Designing the Interviews

First, to conduct follow-up interviews for the Panel Survey, I contacted the survey conductor, Dr. Wu Yuh-Yin (吳毓瑩), a PhD in Statistics from the University of Maryland and now Dean of the College of Education at National Taipei University of Education. She generously released all the contact information of the student respondents, including the student's names, the schools and, classes they attended, as well as their home addresses and phone numbers, in the 2005-2007 Panel Survey.

Therefore, from the survey, I chose to interview 3<sup>rd</sup>- and 4<sup>th</sup>- graders (who were 9 to 10 years old in 2005 and 19 to 20 years old in 2015, respectively), and randomly selected a sample from the urban cities of New Taipei, Taoyuan and Taichung,. I contacted both the mothers and students. Nevertheless, parts of the information regarding these respondents (such as landline phone numbers) were incomplete, missing, or out-of-date. Thus, I used several ways interchangeably to contact these respondents:

1. If a phone number was on record, I called them to invite both the student and the mother to join the follow-up interview.

2. Some of respondents' phone numbers were missing or had changed. Based on the student's name, the school that she/he attended and the neighborhood that she/he lived, I searched on Google for her/his contact information. In several cases, I was able to find the student respondent's Facebook page and sent an interview invitation through Facebook's messaging function. Several of them replied to me and confirmed that they were the one who joined the Panel Survey ten years ago.
3. For the respondents with no phone numbers and no result on Google search, if there was a home address in the original contact information, I went to her/ his place to knock on the door and invited them for the follow-up interview.

Through the methods above, I contacted around 50 respondents from the original Panel Survey and made 21 successful follow-up interviews/questionnaire surveys. Both face-to-face interviews and self-administered surveys were based on questions in a standardized, semi-structured questionnaire. The table below is the background information of the interviewees:

Table 4-1 Background Information of Interviewees

<b>Case Number</b>	<b>Student or Mother?</b>	<b>(Mother's) Country of Origin</b>	<b>Region They Live</b>	<b>Student in College</b>	<b>Means of Data Collection</b>
189-1	Student	Vietnam	Taichung	Yes	Recording
212-1	Mother	Malaysia	Taichung	No	Recording
215-1	Student	Indonesia	Taichung	Yes	Recording
342-1	Student	Philippines	N. Taipei	Yes	Recording
342-1	Mother	Philippines	N. Taipei	Yes	Recording
430-1	Student	Philippines	N. Taipei	Yes	Mailing Questionnaire
430-1	Mothers	Philippines	N. Taipei	Yes	Mailing Questionnaire
445-2	Student	Taiwan	N. Taipei	Yes	Recording
448-1	Student	Indonesia	N. Taipei	Yes	Self-Administered Surveys
448-1	Mother	Indonesia	N. Taipei	Yes	Self-Administered Surveys
448-2	Student	Taiwan	N. Taipei	Yes	Mailing Questionnaire
448-2	Mother	Taiwan	N. Taipei	Yes	Mailing Questionnaire
451-1	Student	Indonesia	N. Taipei	Yes	Recording
451-1	Mother	Indonesia	N. Taipei	Yes	Recording
1010-2	Student	Taiwan	N. Taipei	Yes	Mailing Questionnaire
1010-2	Mother	Taiwan	N. Taipei	Yes	Mailing Questionnaire
1113-1	Student	Indonesia	Taoyuan	Yes	Recording
1113-1	Mother	Indonesia	Taoyuan	Yes	Recording
1119-1	Student	Indonesia	Taoyuan	Yes	Self-Administered Surveys
1127-2	Student	Taiwan	Taoyuan	Yes	Self-Administered Surveys
1127-2	Mother	Taiwan	Taoyuan	Yes	Self-Administered Surveys

Ten of them were interviewed face-to-face; they agreed to an audio recording. Another five refused to do interviews but answered the questionnaires by themselves while I was present. For the remaining six interviewees, I post-mailed the questionnaires,

and they mailed their responses back to me. For those respondents who used the self-administrated or mailed questionnaires, if I found that they did not understand some of the questions or provided incomplete answers, I further asked in person or via phone calls to complete the answers and information. The table below compares the methods chosen by respondents from native Taiwanese families and from Southeast Asian immigrant families, respectively.

Table 4-2 Chosen methods of participation: immigrant and non-immigrant families

Method	Student		Sum (left two columns)	Mother		Sum (left two columns)	Total
	Native	S.E. Asia		Native	S.E. Asia		
<b>Recording</b>	1 (25%)	5 (62.5%)	<b>6</b>	0 (0%)	4 (66.6%)	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Mailing questionnaire</b>	2 (50%)	1 (12.5%)	<b>3</b>	2 (66.6%)	1 (33.3%)	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Self Administrated survey</b>	1 (25%)	2 (25%)	<b>3</b>	1 (33.3%)	1 (16.7%)	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Sum (upper three rows)</b>	4 (100%)	8 (100%)	<b>12</b>	3 (100%)	6 (100%)	<b>9</b>	<b>21</b>

The original Panel Survey equally sampled two sets of 777 native Taiwanese and Southeast Asian immigrant families. But the table above reveals that Southeast Asian Taiwanese, in general, cared more about the issue of this dissertation research; that is, they cared more about whether Southeast Asian Taiwanese students are perceived by mainstream society as having poor academic performance and insufficient Chinese proficiency. For the Southeast Asian Taiwanese students who wanted to join the follow-up interviews, 62.5% of them agreed to an audio recording, and 25% agreed to a self-administrated questionnaire survey while I was present.

## 4.2 Interviews with Native and Southeast-Asian Taiwanese Students

The twenty-one interviews and self-administrated surveys were conducted with the mother and child interviewees from New Taipei City, Taoyuan City and Taichung City. All three are rather urbanized suburban areas, making the results not confounded by the potential effects brought by urban-rural disparities. For the purposes of confidentiality, in the table below, I will only list their unique identifying numbers and their (or their mothers') countries of origin. The complete questions and answers of the questionnaires are listed in Appendix A and Appendix B.

First, we explored the high school and college life of our student interviewees as they were elementary-school children during the Panel Survey from 2005-2007. The findings of the follow-up interviews on these students were not impressive, except for the experiences of discrimination and Southeast-Asian language proficiency of a few immigrant students. Generally, there were more *commonalities*, rather than differences, between the eight Southeast Asian Taiwanese students and their four peers from non-immigrant families.

Nevertheless, during the follow-up interviews, I noticed that Southeast Asian Taiwanese students, just like their native Taiwanese counterparts, spoke fluent Mandarin Chinese with no discernable accent. In the previous chapter, we have proven that, after controlling for factors of the father's socioeconomic status and the family's possession of cultural capital, the mother's immigrant status had no impact on the student's performance in Chinese literature. Therefore, even if the perception in mainstream society that "second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese have problems in Chinese proficiency" is true, it may be due to the confounding effects of the low socioeconomic status of immigrant families (which may lead to a lower possession of cultural capital), rather than directly resulting from the mother's immigrant status and Chinese proficiency level.

Table 4-3 Introducing the cases of student interviewees

No.	1127-2	448-2	1010-2	445-2	430-1	342-1	1119-1	448-1	215-1	451-1	1113-1	189-1
<b>Mother's Country of Origin</b>	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan	Philippines	Philippines	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Vietnam
<b>Area</b>	Taoyuan	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	Taoyuan	New Taipei	Taichung	New Taipei	Taoyuan	Taichung
<b>Gender</b>	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female
<b>Age</b>	21	20	20	20	19	20	19	20	19	20	19	20
<b>Grade in Wave 1</b>	G4	G4	G4	G4	G3	G4	G3	G4	G3	G4	G3	G4
<b>School Performance when in Wave 1</b>	Low	High	High	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium	High	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium
<b>College Ranking (1st=highest, 5th=lowest)</b>	4th	3rd	2nd	5th	3rd	4th	5th	4th	5 <sup>th</sup>	3rd	5th	5th
<b>College Major</b>	Information Management	Finance	Earth Science	Nursery	International Trade	English Literature	Culinary	Architecture	Information Engineering	Information Management	Information Engineering	Tourism

#### **4.2.1 High School and College Attendance**

In terms of academic performance ten years later (except a girl who suffers from Down syndrome, thus I have omitted her from all the discussions hereafter), there were no apparent differences between native Taiwanese and Southeast Asian Taiwanese among the interviewees. All four native Taiwanese and eight Southeast Asian Taiwanese students had enrolled in college. All of them advanced to college immediately after graduating from high school, whether they were coming from immigrant or non-immigrant families.

I classified the colleges and universities in Taiwan into five rankings, and compared the ranking of the college/university that each student was attending with their elementary school and high school grades, which I classified into three rankings.

Table 4-4 Elementary school, high school and college performances of interviewed students

<b>No.</b>	<b>Mother's Country of Origin</b>	<b>School Performance in Elementary School</b>	<b>First-year performance in high school</b>	<b>Second-year performance in high school</b>	<b>Third-year performance in high school</b>	<b>College Ranking (1st=highest, 5th=lowest)</b>	<b>College Major</b>	<b>Current GPA in College</b>
1127-2	Taiwan	Low	Medium	Low	Medium	4th	Information Management	Medium
448-2	Taiwan	High	High	High	High	3rd	Finance	
1010-2	Taiwan	High	Medium	Medium	High	2nd	Earth Science	High
445-2	Taiwan	Medium	High	High	High	5th	Nursery	
430-1	Philippines	Medium	High	High	High	3rd	International Trade	High
342-1	Philippines	Low	High	Low	Middle	4th	English Literature	High
1119-1	Indonesia	Medium	Low	Medium	High	5th	Culinary	
448-1	Indonesia	High	High	Medium	Medium	4th	Architecture	High
215-1	Indonesia	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	5th	Information Engineering	
451-1	Indonesia	Medium	Medium	Medium	High	3rd	Information Management	Medium
1113-1	Indonesia	Low	Low	Low	Low	5th	Information Engineering	Medium
189-1	Vietnam	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	5th	Tourism	Medium

Among all the 12 students that I interviewed, none of them went to a first level, top-ranking national university (such as National Taiwan University). There was only one student (no.1010-2 from a native Taiwanese family) attending a second-rank national university. The third-, fourth- and fifth-rank colleges and universities are all private. There were one native Taiwanese student (no.445-2) and four Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students (no. 189-1, 215-1, 1113-1 and 1119-1) attending fifth-ranking colleges.

Among the three low-performing students in elementary school, two went to fourth-rank colleges and one went to a fifth ranked one; for the six medium-performing students, two went to third-ranked colleges and four went to fifth-ranked ones. The only student that went to a second-ranked college (the highest among all the students I interviewed) was a high-performing student in elementary school. Thus, it seems like elementary-school performance has a *weak correlation* with the ranking of the college that a student attends. However, I did not find apparent differences between native Taiwanese and Southeast Asian Taiwanese student groups in terms of this correlation pattern. In addition, there was only a very weak association between high school performance, on the one hand, and elementary school grades and college attendance, on the other.

At first glance, the native-Taiwanese student interviewees were a little better than their Southeast Asian Taiwanese counterparts in terms of college attendance, but the trend was not that apparent. In the regression analyses in Chapter 3, we found that native students were doing slightly better than their Southeast Asian cohorts. The weak association between the elementary school grades and the ranking of the attended colleges seems to be due to factors such as parental socioeconomic status, not due to their immigrant or non-immigrant family backgrounds.

#### **4.2.2 Cultural and Social Life: Clubs and Extracurricular Activities**

None of the interviewed students participated in any outside-school extracurricular activity but they all joined at least one student's club in their high schools. It appears that there was no difference between native and Southeast-Asian Taiwanese interviewees in their cultural and social life in high school stage. However, we should notice the student 430-1 who has a Filipino immigrant mother. Although never studied abroad, the student

has been very interested in international affairs; she joined the club of Model United Nations in high school and was extremely satisfied with the activities of the club; at the college stage, she selected International Trade as her college major. There may be some kind of relationship between a student's immigrant-family background and her international and globalized perspective.

#### **4.2.3 Family SES and Part-Time Job**

In our interviewees' families, the only father with a college degree was that of a native Taiwanese student (1010-2), while the two fathers with only elementary school graduation were from immigrant families (451-1 and 1113-1). Understandably, the lower educational attainment of fathers is supposed to be associated with the worse economic condition of immigrant families: Only one native Taiwanese student (445-2) applied for a student loan to pay college tuition while as many as four Southeast Asian students did. Furthermore, while three native students and seven Southeast Asian students have had part-time jobs since attending college, the latter group has spent much more hours per week for their jobs due to their families' economic hardship. In short, comparing the native Taiwanese and Southeast-Asian Taiwanese student interviewees, many of the latter are from less well-off families with fathers of lower educational attainments—a finding which is consistent with what we have found in the analytic results in previous chapter.

#### **4.2.4 Academic Incentive and Career Planning**

Concerning the incentives to go to college, most of my interviewees answered that they decided to go to college by themselves. The exceptions were a native Taiwanese student (445-2) and a Southeast-Asian Taiwanese student (189-1); both of them were asked by their parents to go to college. Interestingly, both these two students were the medium-level performing students in elementary school but finally attend only the fifth-rank colleges. Apparently, the lack in incentive and determination brought negative impact on academic performance and thus on the ranking of college attended of our interviewees.

Meanwhile, among all the twelve interviewees, three (342-1, 448-1 and 1119-1) were highly dissatisfied with the college major and the college they attended and all of them were with Southeast Asian immigrant family background. Among these three students, two (342-1 and 1119-1) said that they have “no plan for future career” and one (342-1) claimed that she had seriously been *discriminated* during middle-school stage.

#### **4.2.5 Self-Identity, Self-Esteem and Discrimination**

Finally, I asked these students a series of questions related to their life satisfaction, including their self-identity and experience of being discriminated. When asking each student “whether you feel yourself look different from your classmates and friends around you”, as I expected, all the four native Taiwanese students answered “no”. In contrast, two Southeast Asian Taiwanese students (189-1 and 342-1) responded that they feel they look different from others—but in quite divergent ways. Besides, when asking “whether your high school teacher treated you differently due to your mother’s country of origin”, only these two girls answered “yes”—but, again, with quite divergent implications.

The Filipino Taiwanese girl of case 342 told me her experience of being discriminated:

I did not think I am different, but my classmates did think so...When I was in middle school, I think it was 2009 or 2010, there was a series of TV commercial presenting the image of foreign migrant workers. The Taiwanese actor in the TV commercial was mimicking Filipino accent when speaking Chinese. After that, my classmates, mostly boys, started calling me *Fei-Yong* (菲傭; Filipino housemaid), laughing at my darker skin and mocking migrant worker’s Filipino accent in front of me.

The girl told me that, on average, eight out of ten of her middle school classmates had ever called her a Filipino housemaid, and five out of ten of her classmates had ever laughing at her mother's Filipino origin. Thus, I further asked her the feeling of being called a Filipino housemaid.

What do you think? If you were I, you would not be happy with being called a foreign housemaid, right? Let alone I am a girl! Thereafter, I started wondering why I should come to this world.

Whether in terms of language or blood tie, the girl's Filipino family background had frequently brought her frustrated feelings. One illustration is that her elementary school teacher had known her mother's country of origin and started treated her differently. The teacher told her mother and her not to speak Filipino at home, "in case that my Chinese will get worse."

On the contrary, the Vietnamese Taiwanese girl (189-1) believed that she looks different from her schoolmates—but in an opposite way from her Filipino counterpart.

They [friends and classmates] said that I look like a *Huen-Xie-Er* , (混血兒, mix-blooded child), look different from them. But when they heard me speaking Chinese, they always questioned me: "How come you are a *foreigner* [emphasis added by the author]?" By the way, my English grade was rather good in high school. My friends always said: "Your English is good because you are a mix-blooded", "It is cool to be a mix-blooded like you!"

At the same time, she told me that her high school teacher treated her differently in the way that "She cared about me more than other classmates. I think she tried to protect me from being discriminated."

In short, the way that classmates and schoolteachers treated her "differently" had helped the girl building self-esteem. Besides, I was impressed by her answer when asking about her Vietnamese origin:

I speak Vietnamese because my mom did not speak much Chinese when I was young. Sometimes I had to translate for her. I think that is cool for me to be able to speak Vietnamese... Yes, I think I am proud to be a Southeast-Asian Taiwanese.

It is worthwhile noting that the student 189-1 was one of the only two Southeast-Asian Taiwanese respondents who do understand their mother's native language. The other was student 430-1, a daughter of Filipino mother, who does understand but barely speaks Tagalog. The proficiency in speaking mother's native language and its relationship with building the self-identity and self-esteem will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

### **4.3 Interviews with Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Mothers**

Next, we will examine the answers from the mothers (both immigrant and non-immigrant). As we will see later, several of the negative perceptions about students from immigrant families, indeed, resulted from people's stereotypes about, and discrimination against, their Southeast Asian mothers. Thus, it is necessary to explore how immigrant and non-immigrant mothers interacted with the larger society in general and how these interactions affected people's perceptions on their children's school performance.

Table 4-5 Introducing the cases of mother interviewees

<b>No.</b>	<b>1127-2</b>	<b>448-2</b>	<b>1010-2</b>	<b>342-1</b>	<b>430-1</b>	<b>212-1</b>	<b>451-1</b>	<b>1113-1</b>	<b>448-1</b>
<b>Country of Origin</b>	<b>Taiwan</b>	<b>Taiwan</b>	<b>Taiwan</b>	<b>Philippines</b>	<b>Philippines</b>	<b>Malaysia</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>
<b>Area</b>	Taoyuan	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	Taichung	New Taipei	Taoyuan	New Taipei
<b>Interview Format</b>	Paper in-person	Paper mailed	Paper mailed	Voice-recorded	Paper mailed	Voice-recorded	Voice-recorded	Voice-recorded	Paper in-person
<b>Age</b>	53	52	50	55	53	49	63	45	42
<b>In TW since when</b>				1987	1990	1986	1969	1994	1991
<b>How many years in Taiwan</b>				28	25	29	45	21	24
<b>How many years in this city/county?</b>	53	26		28	17	28	40	21	
<b>Ranking of college that the child attends (1st=highest, 5th=lowest)</b>	4th	3rd	2nd	4th	3 <sup>rd</sup>		3rd	5th	4th
<b>Child's major</b>	Information Management	Finance	Earth Science	English Literature	International Trade		Information Management	Information Engineering	Architecture

### **4.3.1 Cram School and Extracurricular Activities**

Most of the mothers I interviewed did not send their children to cram schools. Among all the nine mothers, only one native mother (448-2) had sent her child to a cram school while in high school, and one immigrant mother (342-1), while in middle school. Both of their children went to cram schools for mathematics. The son of the Taiwanese mother attended a cram school recommended by his classmate, while the Filipino mother chose the cram school recommended by her Taiwanese sister-in-law. Interestingly, the reason for the Taiwanese mother sending her child to a cram school was just “to supplement what the school teaching was lacking,” and the means to persuade the child to go to cram school was “telling him its importance to get a better job in the future.” In contrast, the Filipino mother was the one who made the decision for her daughter to go to a cram school because

...it was good for her education, so I spent almost all the salary that I earned from my part-time job at that time to pay her cram-school tuition. As a mother, I think that is my responsibility to make such a decision.

Furthermore, there was only one mother, the Filipino mother of 342-1, sending her child for the extracurricular activities, including abacus, arithmetic and taekwondo. This is contradicting to the mainstream society’s perception, which assumes Southeast Asian mothers care less about the cultivation of cultural capital.

### **4.3.2 Mother’s Perception on the Child’s College Education**

Most of our interviewees were satisfied with and respecting their children’s selection of college majors. There was only one mother, college-graduated Taiwanese of 1010-2, dissatisfied with the child’s college and major (Earth Science; which the mother thought “difficult to find a job”). At the same time, the only mother who tried to intervene her daughter’s college major was 342-1 from the Philippines. Both of them are college-

graduated. In terms of the perception on college education, the mother's own educational attainment seemed to matter more than her ethnic background.

### 4.3.3 Interaction with School Teachers

Most of the mothers (two Taiwanese and four immigrants) agreed that the high school teachers did understand their children, and four mothers (two Taiwanese and two immigrants) believed that the teachers satisfied their demands and solved the problems for students; meanwhile, almost all the mothers agreed that the high school teachers were trustworthy and educated their children properly. In short, our mother interviewees' overall perceptions on schoolteachers were very positive. However, the groups of native and immigrant mothers displayed rather different patterns in *active interaction* with teachers and school. Among three native Taiwanese mothers, two actively contacted their children's high school teachers (one of them even contacted more than ten times per year); in contrast, none of the six immigrant mothers actively contacted their children's high school teachers or school authorities. At the same time, two native Taiwanese mothers responded that the high school teachers were actively contacting them while only one immigrant mother said so.

We may take the family of 451-1 as the example. When preparing for college entrance exam, the student of 451-1 preferred studying at home rather than going to school and being monitored in the classroom by his high-school teacher; the response of his Indonesian mother to his decision was:

My son told me that his class teacher did not allow him to study at home without going to school and being monitored by the teacher. I think the teacher knew my son; she knew that he is in-nature a good and hardworking student. But I don't really know the education system in Taiwan; I don't know how to tell and what to say to the teacher regarding this affair. After all, my Chinese is not that good.

Another example was the participation in high school's Parents Days. Among all the nine interviewees, two Taiwanese and three immigrant mothers had ever joined Parents

Days but the frequency of attending Parents Days was higher among native mothers than their immigrant counterparts. Besides, the Filipino mother of 342-1 had attended Parents Day only once, and the reason that she never attend when her daughter was in 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades was simply “my daughter said no need to go.”

Therefore, the difference between two groups of mothers may be due to the language barrier common to the immigrants and their unfamiliarity with the Taiwanese education system; the disadvantage may have made our immigrant mothers reluctant, even afraid, to contact the teachers and school authorities, thus preventing them from further understanding the school life of their children. In short, it was most likely the language barrier or the lack in connection to the school authority, not the immigrant mothers’ socioeconomic status, that prevented them from further participate in their children’s school education.

#### **4.3.4 Social Participation and social networks**

Interestingly, our immigrant interviewees seemed more eager to participate in social activities than their native counterparts did. Among all the nine interviewees, two immigrant mothers (1113-1 from Indonesia and 342-1 from the Philippines) had attended skill-learning courses (1113-1 for culinary and 342-1 for handicraft and Chinese). In addition, the two immigrant mothers regularly spent time in sport and leisure activities (1113-1 for jogging and 342-1 for folk dance) while only one Taiwanese did (1010-2 for hiking). The eagerness of our immigrant interviewees in social participation might be resulted from recognizing the fact that, as new comers in Taiwanese society, they need to broaden their social networks and get more access to the mainstream Taiwanese society.

Furthermore, the groups of native and immigrant mothers displayed different patterns of their daily social networks. Native mothers visited more frequently their own family members or in-laws; in contrast, immigrant mothers mostly visited their cohorts from the same country and seldom visited their husbands’ family members. Meanwhile, native mothers visited a greater number of persons with shorter visiting periods while immigrant spouses visited fewer people with shorter visiting time. Moreover, when visiting friends and relatives, Taiwanese mothers talked more about social issues in Taiwan while

immigrant mothers usually talked about personal issues and family affairs. In short, our immigrant mothers seemed more embedded in a few *strong ties* while native mothers enjoyed broader and more various *weak ties* (Granovetter, 1973). Thus, it is quite possible that *immigrant mothers have fewer accesses to information*, which resulted in limited resources that they contributed to children's cultivation and education.

#### 4.3.5 Socioeconomic Status

Among all our mother interviewees, one Taiwanese (1010-2) and two Southeast Asian mothers (342-1 and 430-1) were college-graduated. One Taiwanese mother had a job of accountant (448-2) and the other two Taiwanese mothers were full-time housewives (1010-2 and 1127-2); in contrast, all the six Southeast Asian immigrant mothers were currently having or ever had jobs. For the income level, Taiwanese mother of 448-2 earned a relative high income of NTD 35,000 per month while her Southeast Asian counterparts earned only monthly salaries from NTD 10,000 (451-1) to NTD 22,000 (448-1 and 1131-1). It is worthwhile noting, however, that one Indonesian mother (1131-1) and one Filipino mother (342-1) were involved in multilevel-sales business, which implies that they might have had some social connections and some extra income from informal sector not listed in their answers. It appears that, in terms of mother's own SES, Southeast Asian mothers that I interviewed were not much worse than their native-born Taiwanese counterparts were.

The devil was in the circumstances of husbands, however. Taiwanese mothers married husbands with comparable educational attainment; in contrast, one middle school-educated (451-1) and one high school-educated (1113-1) Indonesian mothers married to elementary school-educated males, and one college-educated Filipino mother (342-1) married a middle school-educated Taiwanese husband. Besides, the husbands of immigrant mothers were holding low-status jobs, such as logistic deliverer (342-1), security guard (451-1) or part-time factory worker (1113-1), and earning meager salaries. In short, Southeast Asian spouses, compared to their Taiwanese counterparts, tended to marry Taiwanese males with lower SES. Besides, the higher employment rate of these immigrant females might be due to the hardship of their Taiwanese husbands in

the job market. To supplement the insufficient family income, they were supposed to work harder than were their native-born peers married to the husbands of higher SES.

#### **4.3.6 Experience of Being Discriminated**

Three out of nine mothers that I interviewed ever had the experience of being discriminated; understandably, they were all immigrant spouses (342-1, 430-1 and 451-1). Usually, the discrimination happened in the neighborhood they lived and related to their appearance and accent, such as described by the mother 342-1:

From the beginning, they [the neighbors] just didn't like me because I look different. They think I am weird....They treated me better only after they realized that I am a good mother and my kids are good and polite.

Alongside the neighbors, some of the immigrant mothers were discriminated by the husband's family members; in such cases, their country of origin and the foreign blood tie become the target to blame.

My mother-in-law treated another daughter-in-law (a native-born Taiwanese) much better than me—even though I have done more housework than my sister-in-law has. Besides, whenever we disagree on something, my mother-in-law often threatened me, saying that she wants to "kick me out from the family and from Taiwan (respondent 342-1).

Unfortunately, it seems that the mainstream society's discrimination against Southeast Asian mothers would pass onto their children, second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese students. One immigrant mother (451-1) worried that the discrimination on Southeast Asian female immigrants will result in the stereotyping of "worse performance" by their children:

Being discriminated? Yes, by my neighbors. Besides, a few of my colleagues in the place I worked, Taiwanese colleagues, also discriminated me...but just some of them...I don't know much about the education system in Taiwan but I think my son was doing good in school work, and he attends a rather good college and chose the major he likes. They (her neighbors) were surprised that an Indonesian mother can have a son going to a rather good college.

In addition, immigrant mother 451-1 said that she was able to tolerate those discriminating utterances but what she could not understand was “why they [other Taiwanese] don't believe that my son can be a good-performing student?”—even though her son is “also a *native-born* Taiwanese citizen and attends the same kind of school that other Taiwanese children do.”

#### **4.3.7 Language to Speak**

Alongside neighbors and colleagues, were immigrant mothers discriminated by other parents or even by the teachers of the schools that they children attended? Among all the nine mothers that I interviewed, none of them perceived ever being discriminated by their children's schoolteachers. Nevertheless, one of the immigrant mothers (342-1) had been told by her daughter's class teacher not to speak English, Tagalog, or any of the mother's native language to her daughter, and thus to “speak only Chinese at home.” Indeed, among all the six immigrant mothers that I interviewed, only one (430-1) has been insisting to speak her native language to the child. Why most of these Southeast Asian mothers were reluctant to speak their first language to their children?

Alongside the “no-foreign-language” request from school teachers, another reason for not speaking the native language might be the experience of being discriminated, which may have made the immigrant mothers hiding their Southeast Asian identity and trying to be “as much Chinese” or “as much Taiwanese” as other ordinary Taiwanese are. As expressed by immigrant mother 1113-1:

I speak good Chinese and I am with a very Chinese looking... so I am also a Chinese and a Taiwanese. I am just like all of you, an ordinary Taiwanese. So, I don't need to speak Indonesian, because that is a *foreign* language.

Actually, my interview of mother 1113-1 was conducted mostly in Indonesian. As an interviewer and a native speaker of Chinese, I do not think she was speaking “good Chinese” as she perceived. Her Chinese was not fluent, with strong Indonesian accent and she was lacking in Chinese proficiency in using technical terms. Possibly, for this mother, using “only Chinese” seemed more like a tool to hide her foreign identity— rather than wholeheartedly recognized herself as a citizen, or a *Xin Zhumin* (新住民, literally means “new resident”) of Taiwan.

#### 4.3.8 Findings

We may briefly summarize the findings from interviews of these immigrant and non-immigrant mothers. First, contrary to the perception of the mainstream society, we found that Southeast-Asian mother interviewees were not less committed to their children's education; that is, they were dedicated to cultivating children's *cultural capital* as much as were their native-born Taiwanese counterparts. The Filipino mother (342-1) that I interviewed was a good example. Among all the mothers that I interviewed, she was the only one who spent money for her daughter's extracurricular activities, including abacus, mental arithmetic calculation and taekwondo. This kind of *hectic schedules* is one of the main traits of children from *middle-class* families, of which the parents adopt *concerted cultivation* as their strategy of parenting (Lareau, 2003). The parenting strategy of concerted cultivation is rather different from the parenting ideals of ordinary Taiwanese parents, who generally concern mainly about the performance of academic subjects, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry as well as English—rather than the cultivation of high-scale cultural taste or *embodiment* cultural capital.

It is worthwhile noting that both our two Filipino interviewees were college-graduated, the factor that might have made them emphasize the children's school performance. In other words, it may not be *ethnicity* that matters; what has more impact

on parental emphasis on children's school performance may be the educational attainment or *class* background of the family regardless of her country of origin, as the analysis of children's academic performance showed in the previous chapter.

Second, regarding the social networks or the possession of social capital, we have only seen minor difference between the native-born Taiwanese and Southeast Asian immigrant mothers. For example, there was one native Taiwanese mother (1127-2) and one Southeast Asian immigrant mother (451-1) that did not know any other parent of their children's classmates. Besides, an Indonesian mother (1113-1) had even known twenty parents in her child's high school, showing her high level of social engagement and broad social network. Immigrant mothers do not seem to have lower levels of social skills and social capital than do their native-born counterparts; the two groups just displayed different patterns in social networks. While native mothers enjoyed broader and more various access of weak ties, immigrant mothers were more embedded in their social networks constituted of a few *strong ties* (Granovetter, 1973).

Finally, what seemed to be a real problem to immigrant mothers (and to some extent, immigrant families in general) was the discrimination based on their country of origin as well as on their Chinese language proficiency. This kind of stereotyping of Southeast Asian mothers may lead to racial-profiling of children from immigrant families, giving people an impression that children of immigrant mothers are worse performing students, which can hurt their self-esteem. We will further discuss this effect of *self-fulfilling prophecy* (Merton, 1968, pp. 475-490) in the following sections.

#### **4.4 Discussion: the Deeply-Rooted Reasons Avoiding Speaking Southeast Asian Languages**

An unexpected finding from the follow-up interviews was: *many second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese were unable to speak and even unable to understand the mother's native language*. Among the eight second-generation Southeast Asian students that I interviewed, only one (189-1) was able to speak her mother's native language (Vietnamese), another (342-1) was able to understand the language (Tagalog), and the

remaining six could not speak or understand their mothers' native language (Indonesian or Tagalog).

Actually, both the mothers of case 451-1 and 1113-1 are native Indonesian speakers and barely spoke Mandarin Chinese or Hokkien Chinese before coming to Taiwan. Even though my interviews with them were conducted in Indonesian, they kept emphasizing that they could conduct the interview in Chinese as well—even after I have confirmed that their Chinese are not better than my Indonesian is.

Based on this observation during the interviews, I conclude that the first and foremost reason for these second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese losing their language proficiency was that their mothers never speak the native languages to them. For example, the mother of case 451 only speaks Mandarin Chinese at home—although her native language is Indonesian. When I asked why she never tries to speak her mother tongue to the child, she responded:

“My father is also sort of *Hua-Qiao* (華僑, literally means “Chinese compatriot”), so I am also a Chinese...I don't need to speak a *foreign* language.”

Apparently, for this mother, using only Mandarin Chinese is a means to emphasize her Chinese or Taiwanese identity and to hide her Indonesian or Southeast Asian identity. Speaking Mandarin Chinese and hiding their identity are included in a set of “cultural tool-kit” (Alexander & Smith, 2002; Swidler, 1986) widely adopted in Southeast Asia, helping Southeast Asians of diverse ethnic backgrounds “switching” their identities for their best interest (Gosling, 1983). Now, they adopt it in Taiwan to avoid compromising their own interest.

At the same time, there might be another, more in-depth factor impeding them from speaking the mother tongue; *they are discriminated due to their ethnic origins*. The case 342 is an example. The mother was multilingual, speaking Tagalog, English and Visayan language of Cebu, the Philippines. After coming to Taiwan, she also speaks Mandarin Chinese. Through the process of interview, which was conducted in both Mandarin Chinese and English, I found that the mother speaks English much more fluently than she

speaks Chinese. When speaking in Chinese, the lack of vocabulary and unclearness of pronunciation made her Mandarin difficult to understand; when speaking in English, in contrast, I faced no difficulty in understanding her expression, mostly due to the college education that she received in the Philippines.

Thus, it would be better for the mother 342-1 to speak (and thus teach) her near-perfect English in order to enhance her daughters' language proficiency, thus cultivate her *cultural capital*, than using her poor Mandarin Chinese. Nevertheless, she mostly speaks Mandarin Chinese to her daughters because

I don't want to bother my daughters by speaking other language than Chinese. I remember when she was in middle school, every day after coming back home, she told me that she was too tired to talk in English, and listen to Tagalog...I think her elementary school teacher was right! I better not to speak foreign language to her; I had better only speak Mandarin Chinese to my daughters.

The experience of mother 342-1 made me surprised. From the linguistic perspective, the concern of that elementary school teacher may be overbearing because a bilingual family surrounding can enhance, not weaken, a child's language proficiency as a whole by making two language systems mutually inspiring, thus positively affect a child's brain development. I thought this should be a commonsense, thus did not expect that schoolteachers would discourage bilingual family surroundings for their students.

Apparently, the problem was not family- or school-specific; there seemed to be some broader, *social contextual factors* refraining the second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese from learning their mother's native language. What is that factor? Probably we need to adopt historical and political perspectives, in order to explore the hidden, stereotyped and discriminatory perception on Southeast Asians deeply rooted in the mainstream Taiwanese society.

Based on several anthropologist studies, a portion of Southeast Asians' ancestors were Austronesians originated from the island of Taiwan. Beginning 5,200 years ago, aboriginal Taiwanese people migrated to archipelagoes now known as Indonesia, the Philippines and Polynesia by sailing (Zhang & Lin, 2009). The theory that "maritime

Southeast Asians originated from Taiwan Island” has been confirmed by several archeologists in both Indonesia and Taiwan (Nusantaratur, 2012; She & Tain, 2009). Thus, Southeast Asia’s outgoing cultural practices, such as that of *merantau* culture (Arifin & Ananta, 2009) in Sumatra, Indonesia, could be traced to the migration spirit of their ancestors.

The Han (漢) Chinese in Taiwan in the present time, however, did not cherish the Austronesian origin and their Southeast-Asian connections. Instead, Sino-centric worldview and Confucian ideology have been deeply rooted in the mindset of Han-Chinese residents, resulting in the century-long discrimination on the culture and the blood-tie of Austronesians, including both aboriginal Taiwanese and, later, their Southeast Asian fellow people. As a result, since four hundred years ago, the Confucian dichotomy of “treat barbarians adopting Chinese culture as Chinese; treat Chinese adopting barbarian culture as barbarians” (夷狄入於華夏者，華夏之；華夏入於夷狄者，夷狄之) (Yu, 1973; Zuo, 2015) has been the rule of thumb for the Han settlers building their colony—as ancient China did when expanding its territory in the past (W. Wang, 2011; Z. Yang, 2012). The ideological-based strategy had successfully facilitated Han-Chinese settlers marginalize the Austronesian aborigines on the island. Thus, the victory of the Sino-centric mainstream society has left their descendants a lesson: establishing the legitimacy of Han-Chinese identity and Confucian ideology while stigmatizing the Austronesian culture and marginalizing the aboriginal “mountain people” is a strategy for gaining and maintaining a control over the society. This is how discriminatory perception on Austronesians has been deeply rooted in the mainstream Taiwanese society until today.

The distinction between *native* Han Taiwanese and barbarian-like Austronesian aborigines, between *we-group* and *they-group*, has been catalyzed by the formation of ethnic nationalism in Taiwan (Tsai, 2011). The Han-Chinese Taiwanese are united as a whole under the umbrella of Confucian culture against the coexistence with racial/ethnic others (Lan, 2008, p. 836), marginalizing the less-than-two-percent aboriginal people of Austronesian origin. Besides, after decades of campaign by social activists, Taiwanese aborigines gradually secured the new official label of *yuanzhumin* (原住民; literally means “original inhabitant”). Their demand for equal rights in the 1990s went hand-in-

hand with Taiwan's democratization process and nation-building project against the backdrop of its sovereignty dispute with the People's Republic of China (Lan, 2008, p. 837). Although the old ethnic others now have been recognized as legitimate citizens, there was still the need of a *they-group* to contrast with *we group*—either for the ruling KMT (Chinese Kuomintang; 中國國民黨) who supports the Sino-Centric ideology or the opposite DPP (Democratic Progressive Party; 民主進步黨) who beholds Taiwan independence and Taiwanese national identity. To some extent, those immigrants from Southeast Asia who share the Austronesian origin became potential candidates of new *they-group* to be marginalized. Furthermore, discriminating the economically less developed Southeast-Asian immigrants served a function of boosting the superiority of Taiwanese people, who enjoyed their unforeseen heyday in economic development until the mid-2000s.

Therefore, either the ethnic nationalism of the ruling KMT or the opposite DPP, indeed, had been very Sino-centric—no matter what slogans they were claim. On the one hand, the pro-China, Pan-Blue (泛藍) camp led by KMT had emphasized the Chinese (炎黃子孫) as the sole cultural identity on the island, stressing “people from both sides of Taiwan Strait are one family” (兩岸一家親). The role of non-Chinese Austronesian culture has been ignored in their historic perspective. On the other hand, the anti-China, Pan-Green (泛綠) social force led by DPP had been insisting on using Hokkien dialect as the symbol of Taiwanese consolidation and extolling the so-called four-hundred-year history of Taiwan (四百年台灣史). Indeed, Hokkien dialect is not endemic in Taiwan; it originated from Fujian Province in China and still widely spoken presently in the Southern part of the province and in some ethnic-Chinese enclaves in Southeast Asia. Besides, the perspective of four-hundred-years of history in Taiwan neglects the fact that Austronesian aborigines have existed on the island for thousands of years; the last four hundred years of Taiwan was just a small segment of history, filled with the events of Han Chinese arriving and killing aborigines, seizing their lands and marginalizing them. In other words, both the Hokkien dialect and the four-hundred-year historical perspective are very Sino-centric and used as means for suppressing and marginalizing the Austronesian minority.

This also explains why after arriving Taiwan, most Southeast Asian female immigrants stress that they are not purely Southeast Asian but are partly ethnic-Chinese or the so-called *Hua-Qiao* (華僑; literally means “Chinese compatriot”). By sharing the same blood tie with their Taiwanese husbands, they were able to please the Taiwanese mother-in-law and thus proving their loyalty to the Taiwanese society although this endangers their own Southeast Asian identity:

The fact that immigrant spouses do not have any identity of their own as immigrants is strongly tied to the *imagined nationhood* based on the principle of patriarchal *jus sanguinis*...The content and wording locate these female immigrants in the social space of the family, working as domestics, caring for the elderly and minding the children (H.-z. Wang & Bélanger, 2008, p. 98).

The emphasis on the Chinese blood-tie and *Hua-Qiao* identity is not something foreign and extraordinary to most Southeast Asians living in Taiwan, including my own family members. Indeed, it was a good strategy that my mother has used to protect her from further humiliation since I was young. Born and raised in Indonesia, my mother had a native-born Betawi (a local ethnic group in Jakarta) mother and an immigrant father from Fujian province of China. Because my grandfather passed away when my mother was very young, she hardly can speak any Hokkien dialect or Mandarin Chinese. As a result, my grandmother and her Betawi crony, whom my mother treated as her godmother<sup>13</sup>, raised my mother. That made her culturally much more a native Betawi than an ethnic Chinese. After marrying a Taiwanese man and moved to Taiwan, the lack in Chinese proficiency and cultural shock that she experienced made her unwilling to contact most Taiwanese people and thus socially isolated. Therefore, speaking only Indonesian to her only son became the only thing that she could do to maintain her Indonesian identity.

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**13** My mother has eight siblings. Each of them has her or his own godmother or foster mother. *Betawi* people are known for “having too many children” in Indonesia; Thus, most of them have to take care of each other’s child in shift, a practice very common within *kampung* (neighborhood) in Jakarta and rural areas of Java island since the Dutch colonial era.

Even though I had already known since I was very young that my mother was not a Taiwanese and “not that Chinese”, she had kept telling my father and me that she is a *Hua-Qiao* with her poor Mandarin Chinese. Emphasizing her Chinese tie was a necessity, especially whenever she had quarrels with my Taiwanese father, when my father kept saying, “you are not a Chinese like us! You are a Barbarian-like Southeast Asian. We have totally different mindsets. That’s why we always have quarrels.” Usually, my mother replied by crying out: “I am a *Hua-Qiao*! I am also one of you, also a Chinese, nothing different!”

As I was growing up, I gradually realized the importance of *Hua-Qiao* identity to my mother or to a second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese like me. In my elementary or middle school, when I mentioned that my mother was from Indonesia, others—including my father’s friends—often replied, “Really? But your color of skin is not dark! Why you look so pale?” Usually, the easiest way for me was telling them that my mother is a *Hua-Qiao* and getting their positive responses such as “No wonder,” “So you don’t look like an Indonesian,” or “That’s why you are not that dark!”

The identity of *Hua-Qiao* is even more important when the best-performing student’s mother was from Southeast Asia. When in my fourth grade, I got the highest average GPA, including my Chinese writing composition, among all the fourth graders in my elementary school. My class teacher was so happy to announce it as her achievement, taking credit for my good Chinese composition. After announcing the news in the class, a female classmate raised her hand and said, “Kim-Yung is doing very good for the subject of National Language (國語; refers to Mandarin Chinese), and I know Kim-Yung and his mother are from Indonesia.” The class teacher replied, “No, his mother is not an Indonesian. Kim-Yung and his mother are *Hua-Qiao*; they are Chinese. That’s why Kim-Yung is doing well for Chinese composition.”

Indeed, before 1995, most female migrant partners in Taiwan were from Indonesia, and many of these female migrant partners were ethnic Hakka Chinese (H. Z. Wang & Chang, 2002, p. 101). My mother is not a Hakka, however, and she is not even an ethnic Chinese to some extent. I am sure that my class teacher never asked my mother or me whether we are Hakka or Betawi, or ethnic Chinese or *purely* Indonesian. She just assumed that since the student can compose good Chinese articles, he must be a

Chinese—even though with an Indonesian immigrant mother. As a result, my mother is not that *Hua* (華; Chinese) and I am not a *Qiao* (僑; compatriot), but we have to accept the identity of *Hua-Qiao* for gaining the *jus sanguinis* legitimacy. In other words, in a Sino-centric education system, there was no room for a best performing non-Chinese ethnic Southeast Asian student.

My interview case of no. 1113-1 also reveals the importance of *Hua-Qiao* identity. The mother of the case came from a rather well-off family in Medan, Indonesia, with Indonesian (rather than Hokien Chinese or Hakka Chinese) as their first language. She never cooked at home in Medan because there was a housemaid in the house. After coming to Taiwan, however, she has been working as a cook in the cafeteria of an elementary school in her neighborhood. In other words, she belonged to the upper echelon of the Indonesian social stratified system, but has her class status descended after moving to Taiwan. This is common among Southeast Asian female immigrant spouses, and most of these cases are due to *the lower socioeconomic status of their Taiwanese husbands*.

When asking why she never speaks Indonesian to her son and how she felt about her son not being able to speak and understand Indonesian at all, she promptly replied,

“I don’t have to speak Indonesian. I am a *Hua-Qiao*. I am also a Chinese thus automatically become a *normal* Taiwanese. Why I need to speak a *foreign language* to my son?”

Even though speaking poor Mandarin Chinese, the mother of no. 1113-1 still insisted that Indonesian, her first language, is foreign to her due to the perception that she is a *Hua-Qiao*. She did not want to be labeled as a Southeast Asian foreigner by other Taiwanese.

Indeed, many female immigrants coming to Taiwan before 1995 are Southeast Asians with sort of ethnic Chinese ties; under the shelter of *Hua-Qiao* identity they may have been able to protect themselves from racial discrimination. The majority of female immigrants after 1995, however, are Vietnamese without an ethnic Chinese background. Aihwa Ong argued that, in the case of the United States, a differentiation between subject

and citizen operates through racial bipolarism that situates immigrants in a white to black spectrum (Kuwado, 2014). In Taiwan, Vietnamese immigrant spouses without ethnic Chinese background belong to a racial minority while non-immigrant ethnic Chinese comprise the mainstream society; in this respect, female Vietnamese migrants are more constrained and confined by the race, class and gender ideologies (H.-z. Wang & Bélanger, 2008, p. 103). Compared to their counterparts with some (self-claimed) *Hua-Qiao* ties, Vietnamese, Filipino and non-ethnic Chinese Indonesians coming after 1995 experienced racial discrimination more directly, face to face without the protection of *jus sanguinis* legitimacy brought by *Hua-Qiao* identity.

In sum, the Sino-centric mainstream society had perceived non-*Hua-Qiao* Southeast Asians as culturally degraded and less civilized. Like other discriminatory regimes around the world, the racial discriminatory force in Taiwan interacts with and mutually enhancing gender and social-class discriminations, demonstrating the *intersectionality* of social hierarchy (Collins, 1990; McCall, 2005; Shields, 2008). The mutual enforcement of these discriminatory ideologies made the Southeast Asian immigrant women the victims of such intersectionality.

#### **4.5 Discussion: Is There an Effect of Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?**

The discussion above has showed how the Sino-centric perspective and the ideology of *Hua-Qiao* had suppressed the status of non-Chinese immigrants, thus deteriorating the discrimination on Southeast-Asian Taiwanese families. Besides, our statistical analysis in previous chapter shows that it is the educational attainment of *Taiwanese father*, not Southeast Asian mother, that really matters for the school performance of second-generation Southeast-Asian Taiwanese children. A mother's immigrant status should not be the scapegoat of a worse academic performance; therefore, it should not be a problem for a Southeast Asian Taiwanese child to identify to her/his mother's ethnicity.

Actually, a recent research on second-generation Southeast-Asian Taiwanese middle-school students (seventh, eighth and ninth graders) has showed that the student's identification to mother's ethnicity (e.g. accepting the fact that she/he belongs to a minority group in Taiwan) has a positive effect on their daily-life adjustment. Besides,

the perceived discrimination on their family's immigrant background will compromise the self-esteem of these adolescences, thus *negatively* affecting their academic performance. Moreover, the results of quantitative analysis revealed that, *controlling for the perceived discrimination, there is no difference between the school performance of native and Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students* (Chen, 2010).

These previous studies suggest that, if the discrimination on their minority identity and their mother's native language comes from the schoolteachers, it would considerably compromise student's self-esteem, thus hurting their academic performance in school. Further, if the teacher expects the student's poor performance due to her/his family's immigrant background and the student has perceived the bias from the teacher, it will unavoidably result in the self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1968, pp. 475-490). That is, the student may perform in the same level as expected by the teacher—and an immigrant student performs worse than others just because the teacher expect her/him to do so!

Therefore, to prevent the happening of negative self-fulfilling prophecy, avoiding the compromise on self-esteem thus their academic performance, both Taiwanese government and civil society should adopt some arrangements, helping Southeast Asian Taiwanese to be proud of their mothers' immigrant background, thus constructing their own self-identity as an ethnic group of Taiwan. Fortunately, the recent trend in Taiwan seems develop toward this direction, of which we will further discuss in next chapter.

## **5. The Life of Immigrant Families and the School Performance of Second-Generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese**

In the past three decades, we have witnessed the expansion of globalization, which has brought the world we live into an era of international immigration (Sassen, 2007). Taiwan is not an exception to this unstoppable trend; the female immigrants from Southeast Asia and their offspring become a segment of the Taiwanese population that can not be ignored. Nevertheless, the mindset of the mainstream society seemed not catching up with the trend, still perceiving the second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese as endowed with poorer human capital and showing worse school performance compared to native Taiwanese students. Accordingly, second-generation Southeast Asians have been less welcomed in the job market—until very recently.

This study compared academic achievements of children of immigrant mothers and those of native parents and attempted to explain the observed differences using the characteristics of the mother, father, teacher-parent interactions, and children. The analysis used both quantitative data from a national longitudinal survey (The Children of Southeast Asian Female Immigrants: a Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Investigation on the Teacher-Parent Interaction, Student's Self-Efficacy and School Life; 東南亞裔新移民女性的親師互動及其子女自我效能與學校生活之橫斷與縱貫探究) and qualitative data from follow-up, in-depth interviews of a small number of cases selected from the original survey sample. In the first section, we summarize the findings, and then the social implications of the findings are discussed. This chapter also discusses the future prospect for the social and economic status of second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese, the contemplation of which was the ultimate purpose of this study.

## **5.1 Summary of the Findings: Father's SES and Family's Possession of Social and Cultural Capital**

As we have seen in the regression analyses, elementary school students with Southeast Asian immigrant mothers appeared to perform more poorly in mathematics and Chinese literature than students from non-immigrant families. However, after the factors of father's socioeconomic status, mainly educational attainment and income level, were taken into concern, the academic performance gap between native Taiwanese and Southeast Asian Taiwanese students had been considerably narrowed.

Besides, after further adding cultural capital-related variables—especially student's study habit and attitude at home, father's monitoring of homework doing as well as mother's participation in school education—into our regression models, the effect of mother's immigrant status mostly disappeared. In other words, *controlling the father's SES and the family's level of cultural capital, there is virtually no difference in the academic performance between native Taiwanese and second-generation Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students*. Moreover, since a considerable amount of a family's cultural capital is (and can be) transformed from father's economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), we assume that the lesser possession of cultural capital in many immigrant families are due to the economic disadvantage of their Taiwanese fathers. If fathers in immigrant families were granted more resources, they would be able to invest more in the cultivation of children's cultural capital, thus practically eliminating the disparity between native and immigrant students.

## **5.2 Sociological and Policy Implications of the Findings**

Our analyses had illustrated that father's socioeconomic status matters far more than mother's SES on student's school performance. Therefore, it is simply wrong to blame immigrant mothers for causing “the poor quality of next-generation Taiwanese children”—as we had seen and heard from the Taiwanese media coverage and public opinion. Indeed, the racial profiling of Southeast-Asian mothers has further caused negative impact on their children; that is, even though they are born and educated in Taiwan, presuming their poor performance would discourage children of immigrant

parents. This may have brought about the vicious circle of self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1968, pp. 475-490). The Taiwanese society presume that second-generation immigrant students are ill-performing and endowed with low quality talent, and the immigrant students perceived the biased perspective and had low expectations on them, thus losing their self esteem and confidence. As a result, inconfident students with self-doubts will stagnate in their performances—as predicted by the mistaken perceptions.

If the low SES of fathers and the low expectation for students are two main causes for the disadvantage of second-generation Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students, then how do we correct this disadvantaged situation? It is difficult to improve the SES of fathers in immigrant families since, in most cases, their low educational attainments and income levels had been determined before marrying their Southeast Asian wives. Therefore, what we can do is enhancing the cultural capital possessed by these second-generation immigrant students. However, this raises another question: What kind of cultural capital that we should enhance and how can we do enhance it? If there are any cultural resources that these Southeast-Asian Taiwanese students were born with but had lost due to the discrimination from the society, then *restoring* such resources/capability should be the highest priority, than is making efforts to seek the cultural resources they are completely lacking.

As we have seen through the follow-up interviews in Chapter 4, most second-generation immigrant students are losing their proficiency in speaking their mother's Southeast Asian native languages. Indeed, language skills, especially the skills to speak a foreign language could be an advantage of these students with bilingual family background. Nevertheless, the discrimination from the mainstream society as well as the schoolteachers' improper instruction prohibit these potential bilinguals from speaking their mothers' native languages, resulting in losing their potentially prominent advantage in this era of globalization.

Therefore, to restore the multicultural, highly competitive traits of second-generation Taiwanese, the first and foremost goal should be to restore the positive perspectives about their cultural heritage, which would be possible only in the social context free from prejudice against people and culture of the minority population, including Southeast Asians. Such environment will reconstruct their bilingual proficiency and thus cultivating

their cultural capital as a whole. Fortunately, this is what recently the Taiwanese government and civil society has started to do—due to some economic and political reasons that we will introduce and discuss in next section.

### **5.3 The Prospect for the Social Status of Second Generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese in the Era of Globalization**

The year 2014 seem to be an important milestone for the rising status of immigrant families and the second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese. There were two important events happening in that year, one economic event and one political event, where both were the results of a combination of internal and external factors. The events had changed the Taiwanese identity related to their Chinese characteristics, and changed how Taiwan locates itself in a highly globalized world economy or more specifically in the region of Asia.

#### **5.3.1 Economic Factor: The Need of Overseas Taiwanese SMEs**

The first event was the riot against Chinese investors in Vietnam. In early 2014, China planned to deploy an oil rig in a disputed region of the South China Sea, an act that Vietnamese government considered an aggressive provocation. Thus, on May 11, anti-China protests started across Vietnam, including major metropolitan and industrial regions such as Hanoi, Da Nang and Ho Chi Minh City. The protests developed into worker riots that smashed and burnt Chinese and Taiwanese factories; at least two were killed in a Taiwanese factory (Fang, 2014).

The reaction of the Taiwanese society to the riot was twofold. On the one hand, the public opinion criticized the administration of President Ma Ying-Jeou for its pro-China stance, especially the acceptance of One-China Policy, which implies that Taiwan is a part of China. As in the *status quo* recognized by international society, China refers to only People's Republic of China. The opponents of One-China Policy object to the policy affirming Taiwanese being citizens of P.R. China, which in fact made Taiwanese companies become the target of anti-China riots in Vietnam. As a response, the

Taiwanese government printed stickers written, “We are Taiwanese; we love Vietnam” and circulated them through Taiwanese Representative Offices in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City to factories in several provinces in Vietnam. Taiwanese companies also produced banners hanging in the main entrance of factories, stating that “we are from Taiwan, not China”, in order to emphasize they are different from those companies from P.R. China (Fang, 2014; H.-Z. Wang, 2014a). The news about these reactions from the public and private sectors that had been circulated through the Internet had implicitly strengthened Taiwanese people’s self-identity as Taiwanese and raised their eagerness to separate themselves from Chinese.

On the other hand, the Taiwanese business sector started realizing their deficiency in their knowledge of Southeast Asian culture and languages. Almost all these companies were lacking those Taiwanese employees who were able to speak Vietnamese. Therefore, they had to hire local translators, who mainly were Vietnamese with certain degree of ethnic Chinese background or so-called Vietnamese Hua-Qiao (越南華僑), however they are defined in a strict sense. These translators had the advantage in their access to *cultural capital* with their ability to speak both Chinese and local language; at the same time, they also had access to rich *social capital* in that they took the critical position of middleman or became the *structural hole* (Burt, 2004) who monopolizes the communication between Taiwanese managers and Vietnamese workers in the hierarchical factory system. Both the Taiwanese management and Vietnamese workers trusted these middlemen. The Taiwanese management trusted them because they *believed* they are Hua-Qiao who are the ethnic-Chinese fellow people; Vietnamese workers trusted them because they are *bona fide* Vietnamese citizens (H.-Z. Wang, 2014b).

For most of the time, those bilingual middle-level cadres took advantages of both sides; they were able to transmit their workloads asked by the Taiwanese management to the lower-level Vietnamese workers who do not speak Mandarin Chinese. As such the lack of direct communication between the two sides made the local workers were increasingly more dissatisfied with Taiwanese managers. When the anti-China riots happened, the workers just took the chance to revenge or release their dissatisfaction, although they have known the management was not from P.R. China. At the same time, the bilingual Vietnamese translators or middle-level cadres were siding with local

workers, simply because they are Vietnamese nationals, not Taiwanese or Chinese. As a result, Taiwanese managers had no one to rely on at this critical juncture; they had no choice but fled back to Taiwan, leaving all the assets for mobs to rob (H.-Z. Wang, 2014a).

Indeed, not just in Vietnam but also in Indonesia, Cambodia and Thailand, overseas Taiwanese companies were over-relying on the so-called Hua-Qiao, thus neglecting to train Taiwanese employees to speak local languages. It turned out that, relying on Hua-Qiao is not a good model for the Taiwanese overseas business sector.

Then, why have Taiwanese companies in Southeast Asia kept using Hua-Qiao, instead of training their own Taiwanese employees? Alongside superstitious trust on Chinese ethnicities of Hua-Qiao, there were two other structural factors. First, the practice of hiring Hua-Qiao might be copied from the Taiwanese embassies or representative offices in Southeast Asia. Most Taiwanese diplomats in Southeast Asian were not trained to speak the local languages, thus they got to rely on the local Hua-Qiao for translation. Some of these locally hired “temporary” employees worked in the same embassy for more than ten years, building up sufficient social capital and *de facto* control over the daily operation of embassy. For example, locally hired employees in the Taiwanese embassy in Jakarta control the export business of Indonesian labor workers to Taiwan; there was even a corruption scandal in the Taiwanese embassy in Ho Chi Minh City (AppleDaily, 2014). To some extent, Taiwanese investors in Southeast Asia were just copying this Hua-Qiao hiring model.

Second, the knowledge deficiency of Taiwanese investors in Southeast Asia was related to the structural problem of higher education in Taiwan. Other major East Asian economies, mainly Korea, Japan and People’s Republic of China, have Southeast Asian languages programs in their higher education institutions, notably Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Korea and School of Foreign Languages in Peking University in China. In contrast, by 2014 in Taiwan, there had been no college department specializing in any Southeast Asian language (S. Lin & He, 2015). There existed Graduate Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in National Chi Nan University, the only higher education institute focused on Southeast Asian regional studies, but as of Spring 2016, it had no

faculty member who is able to speak specific Southeast Asian language, such as Vietnamese, Thai, Indonesian or Khmer.

In sum, after the riot in Vietnam, the Taiwanese overseas business sector started appealing to the government and higher-education institutes to select and train students for Southeast Asian languages, recommending especially to select students with immigrant family background and some Vietnamese, Indonesian or Thai skills. These frontier overseas entrepreneurs prefer second-generation Southeast-Asian Taiwanese for two reasons (Liu, 2016). First, second-generation Southeast-Asian Taiwanese enjoy their advantage in *cultural capital*. As Taiwanese, they are able to speak Mandarin Chinese and are familiar with the Taiwanese business culture, just as their non-immigrant Taiwanese cohorts. At the same time, they already possess some level of Southeast Asian language proficiency from the beginning. Besides, being familiar with my mother's lifestyles, these second generation Taiwanese are familiar with the culture their mothers' origin societies.

The other reason is for their social ties to the local societies in Southeast Asia. As a newly industrialized country (NIC) in East Asia, Taiwan has been facing the problem of low birthrate and population aging; but, this is not the case in Southeast Asian countries. Thus, most Southeast Asian immigrant spouses have many siblings in the home country, which means their second-generation Southeast Asian children may have many relatives (uncles, aunties and cousins); these kinship ties form an intensive social network for the newly coming Southeast Asian Taiwanese, providing helpful networks. In other words, hiring second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese lowers the risk for Taiwanese businesses in entering Southeast Asian market with relatively low *transaction cost* (Williamson, 1981).

### **5.3.2 Political Factor: the de-Sinicization Trend of Taiwan**

On March 18 of 2014, in an unprecedented protest against a trade deal with China, a group of college students occupied Taiwan's parliament. Later, half a million Taiwanese citizens thronged the streets of Taipei (Smith, 2015), supporting the students' occupation of the parliament for 23 days until April 10, 2014. This is the so-called *Sunflower Student*

*Movement*, which emphasized resisting the economic hegemony of China. The movement not only faltered the efforts by President Ma Ying-Jeou's administration to liberalize its trade with China, but also began to change the island's political chemistry (Economist, 2015). Inspired by this movement against Chinese economic hegemony, the younger generation Taiwanese have experience a dramatic turn in their national identity (Smith, 2015).

On the one hand, the number of Taiwanese citizens identifying themselves as Chinese, either in terms of nationality or cultural identity, has significantly decreased. According to the poll results issued by Election Study Center, National Chengchi University of Taiwan, the percentage of respondents identifying themselves as "only Taiwanese" or "both Taiwanese and Chinese" were at parity 43.7 percent and 44.7 percent in 2008, respectively. After the anti-China Sunflower Student Movement in 2014, however, the response of "only Taiwanese" (60.6 percent) was nearly double the choice of "both Taiwanese and Chinese" (32.5 percent). Moreover, the minority that identified as "only Chinese" had dropped from 4.5 percent in 2008 to 3.5 percent in 2014 (ElectionStudyCenter, 2014; Smith, 2015).

On the other hand, the Taiwanese society began emphasizing its close ties with other Asian countries, mainly Southeast Asian nations that share some Austronesian origin with Taiwan. Although considered pro-China ideologically, the ruling Kuomintang (KMT) had noticed the changing perception of the society. Thus, Ma Ying-Jeou's administration appropriated an amount of NTD 1 billion (equivalent to USD 33 million as of 2015) to establish New Resident Development Fund (新住民發展基金) and declared that the fund would be supplemented by the same amount annually and be used to empower and develop the well-being of immigrant spouses and their children (Dai, 2015; NationalImmigrationAgency, 2015a). The ruling KMT also nominated a Cambodian-born immigrant woman as a director-general of newly established Association of Development and Communication for New Immigrants (新移民發展與交流協會), Lin Li-Chan (林麗蟬), the first Southeast-Asian Taiwanese to run for the parliament election (Y. Li, 2016; Yuan, 2016).

However, the endeavor of the KMT administration seemed a boondoggle for its electoral campaign. Instead, Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the opposition party

supporting Taiwan's sovereignty and widely considered anti-China, won by landslides both presidential and legislative elections in January 2016. During the electoral campaign, DPP-nominated presidential candidate, Tsai Ing-Wen, had deliberately organized female supporters with Southeast Asian backgrounds (J. Huang, 2015). Furthermore, to counter the possible blockade from China, president-elected Tsai claimed to put into practice the New Southward Policy (新南向政策) proposed during her electoral campaign (J. Lin, 2015).

Promoted by the former President Lee Teng-Hui in the early 1990s, the *old* Southward Policy was focused on economically investing on Southeast Asian countries for their abundant natural resources and cheaper labor forces (Contributors, 2015; Thinktank, 2013). In contrast, the *New* Southward Policy proposed by the forthcoming DPP administration will not only try to economically incorporate Taiwan into the Asia-Pacific region, by such tools as joining the US-led Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) (He, 2016), but also “enhance Taiwan's connections and building partnership with Southeast Asia in terms of culture, education, academics and interactions within civil societies (Y.-Y. Huang, 2016), all for the purpose of further separating Taiwan from China. Next, I will introduce what the public sector, media and civil society of Taiwan have done (and are doing) recently in an effort to promote the rights and wellbeing of first and second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese.

### **5.3.3 Policies and Newly Adopted Arrangements for Southeast Asian Immigrant Spouses and Their Taiwanese Children**

The political and economic factors mentioned above have forced Taiwan to further identifies itself as an immigrant-receiving, multiracial society. Besides, to avoid being marginalized in the Globalization, Taiwan has tried to play a more important role in the growing ASEAN market by utilizing the transnational connections of its considerable Southeast Asian population, including the second-generation youngsters from immigrant families. Indeed, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), mass media and public sectors have caught up the trend and done several activities and arrangements to restore the bilingual proficiency and multicultural adaptedness of second-generation Southeast-

Asian Taiwanese. As a social activist, I have been actively participated in many of these arrangements and activities, especially those organized by Taiwanese and international NGOs.

In addition, a few second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese have led the literary circles. With the support of a prominent NGO called Brilliant Time: Southeast Asia-Themed Bookstore (燦爛時光：東南亞主題書店), they hold Second Generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese Literature Workshop (新二代文學工作坊) where they invite writers and journalists to teach and assist youth with Southeast-Asian backgrounds to write down their immigrant family's stories, in order to cultivate the cultural capital of these second-generation Taiwanese. At the same time, the voice of second generation Southeast-Asian Taiwanese gradually becomes sounding in entertainment industry, literati and mass media in Taiwan as well.

Currently, many other social actions are taken in several fronts. For instance, National Immigration Agency implemented the Dreams-Come-True Project for New-Resident Families (新住民家庭築夢計畫), subsidizing members of immigrant families to develop their own social plans or design to improve their cultural status and living conditions (NationalImmigrationAgency, 2015b). Ministry of Culture carried out the Project of Cultural New Residents for Community Building (文化新住民社區同齊行), encouraging immigrants and their children participating in local community building (Culture, 2015). Meanwhile, there are also government policies specifically targeting second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese. For example, Ministry of Internal Affairs has annual budget for the project of "Grandma's Bridge" (外婆橋計畫), which subsidizes immigrant mothers, second-generation children and their school teachers visiting the immigrant mother's home country, assisting the second generation Southeast Taiwanese adolescence to understand their cultural ties and recognize their own origin identities (Z.-A. Li, 2015). Also, starting the Spring of 2016, the National Library System of Taiwan collaborates with the local governments to offer free Indonesian and Vietnamese language courses for second-generation immigrant children, in an effort to restore the immigrants' skills of mother tongues (Library, 2016).

All the endeavors about seems related to the construction of self-esteem and identity, as well as restore and further cultivate the cultural capital of second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese. In sum, not only the status of Southeast Asian families is improving; but also the mainstream Taiwanese society is removing its stereotyping, worse-performing perception on youngsters with immigrant-family backgrounds, making the country more compatible with the fact that it is an immigrant-receiving, multiethnic society, doomed to utilize to cultural and social ties of second-generation Southeast Asian Taiwanese in order to compete in a highly globalized world today.

## Appendix A: Mothers' Responses in Follow-Up Interviews

No.	1127-2	448-2	1010-2	342-1	430-1	212-1	451-1	1113-1	448-1
<b>Country of Origin</b>	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan	Philippines	Philippines	Malaysia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia
<b>Area</b>	Taoyuan	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	Taichung	New Taipei	Taoyuan	New Taipei
<b>Interview Format</b>	Paper in-person	Paper mailed	Paper mailed	Voice-recorded	Paper mailed	Voice-recorded	Voice-recorded	Voice-recorded	Paper in-person
<b>Age</b>	53	52	50	55	53	49	63	45	42
<b>In TW since when</b>				1987	1990	1986	1969	1994	1991
<b>How many years in Taiwan</b>				28	25	29	45	21	24
<b>How long many years in this city/country?</b>	53	26		28	17	28	40	21	
<b>Ranking of college that the child attends (1st=highest, 5th=lowest)</b>	4th	3rd	2nd	4th	3rd		3rd	5th	4th
<b>Child's major</b>	Information Management	Finance	Earth Science	English Literature	International Trade		Information Management	Information Engineering	Architecture
<b>Mother's mother tongue</b>	Mandarin	Hokien	Hokien	Tagalog/English/Visayan	Tagalog/Hokien	Hokien/Mandarin	Indonesian	Hokien/Indonesian	Indonesian/Hokien
<b>Language speak to her spouse</b>	Mandarin/Hokien	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Mandarin	Tagalog/Mandarin/English	Mandarin/Hokien	Indonesian	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin
<b>Language that the spouse speak to her</b>	Mandarin/Hokien	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Mandarin	Tagalog/Mandarin/English	Mandarin	Indonesian	Mandarin/Hokien	Mandarin
<b>Language speak</b>	Mandarin/Hokien	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Mandarin/English	Mandarin/English/	Mandarin	Mandarin	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin

<b>to the child</b>		n			Tagalog				
<b>language that the child speaks to her</b>	Mandarin/Hokien	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien		Mandarin/English	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin
<b>Reason to use the language</b>				School teacher ask me to speak only Mandarin at home. Thus, I don't want to use English and Tagalog bothering and tiring my children.					I am a Hua-Qiao, thus also a Chinese. I don't need to speak the foreign Indonesian language.
<b>The child went to cram school when in high/middle school</b>	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
<b>note about cram school</b>		when in high school		when in middle school					
<b>cram subject</b>		Mathematics		Mathematics					
<b>Means to find cram school</b>		recommended by student's classmate		recommended by husband's younger sister					
<b>cram hour(s) per week</b>		24		10					
<b>How many semester(s) for cram school?</b>		2.5		12					
<b>Cram school</b>		150000		The mother					

spent total during high/middle school				spent all of her part-time job salary for the child's cram school					
Who decided to go for cram school?		the Child		the Mother					
reason for going cram school		To supplement what the school teaching was lacking		It is mother's responsibility. Good for the child's education.					
means to persuade the child go to cram school		Tell him that he has to work hard now to get a better job in the future		Force her to go					
Hire a tutor for the child during high/middle school	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Child extracurricular High school	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Note				When the child was in elementary					
extracurricular subject				abacus/mental arithmetic /taekwondo					
Means to find extracurricular				The mother searched					

<b>ricular</b>				by herself; She wants do this BY HERSELF)					
<b>extracurricular hour per week</b>				4					
<b>extracurricular semester</b>				2					
<b>extracurricular spent total</b>				20000					
<b>Who wants go extracurricular?</b>				Mother					
<b>reason to go extracurricular</b>				To enhance child's mathematics					
<b>means to persuade child go extracurricular</b>		Told him that he is going to know new friends							
<b>Have known other parents in the child's high school</b>	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<b>Have known how many parents in the child's high school</b>	0	5	3	2	2	3	0	20	
<b>The frequency to contact other</b>		Only when there is an event in school	Three times a year	Only occasionally meet in the market	Not often	Not often		Often contact in the local market	

parents									
Exchange information about child's study with other parents		Yes	Sometimes	No	No	No	No	No	
Recommend cram school/tutor/extra-curricular class to other parents?		Yes	No	Yes	No			No	
Accept the recommendation of cram school/tutor/extra-curricular class from other parents?		Yes	No	No	No			No	
Any subgroup among parents?		No	No	No	No	No		No	
The mother cared about the child's college entrance	No	Yes	Yes		Yes	No			Yes
How cared the mother was/is about the child's college entrance (5=most, 1=least)		3	4		4				4
Satisfied with college that the	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes

<b>child attends</b>									
<b>How satisfied/dissatisfied with the child's college (5=very satisfied, 1=very dissatisfied)</b>	5			4	4		4	4	5
<b>Satisfied with child's major</b>	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>How satisfied/dissatisfied with the child's major (5=very satisfied, 1=very dissatisfied)</b>		2			5		5	4	5
<b>Ever try to intervene the child's major</b>	No	No	No	Yes	No		No	No	No
<b>The reason (not) to intervene the child's major</b>		Respecting his own choice	Respecting her own choice	Ask her to take English major because English is useful anyway	Respecting her own choice		The mother doesn't know much about the higher education in Taiwan	The mother thinks that it is father's responsibility	Respecting her own choice
<b>The best thing the mother had done for the child's education</b>	Actively contacted with school	Make him honest and disciplined	Make her responsible and reading-loving	Let the daughter go to college and graduate	Encouragement and support	Following the school authority	Trust him	Ask him to study hard as other kids	Trust and respect
<b>The reason it</b>		Morality is more	Responsibility		This is the way		He is a good boy		

<b>is best for the child's education</b>		important than academic performance	makes her able to arrange study; reading brings her own way of thinking		to express the recognition of her hard work and achievement, hence help motivate her to reach the goal.		in nature		
<b>The worst thing the mother had done for the child's education</b>	No	No	Not stopping her from burning midnight oil	No	Worry about her school performance too much	No	No	No	
<b>The reason it is worst for the child's education</b>			Bad for her health		Making her having less time to hanging out with the family				
<b>What would the mother do for the child's education if she could turn back time</b>	No	Enhance his social ability	To have enough time to take a rest after reading	Many. Such as hiring a tutor and letting her go for ballet course.	No	Ask her to learn instrument	No	No	
<b>Why would the mother want to do that?</b>		Everyone needs someone important to help in the future job market	Reading without taking a rest brought her nearsighted problem	To let her release the stress					
<b>The child's high</b>	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No		No	No	No

<b>school teacher actively contact you</b>									
<b>The contact frequency from the high school teacher (per year)</b>	10	4		1	0		1	1	
<b>The high school teacher understand the child</b>	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	
<b>Why</b>		The teacher's three-year experience in teaching my son		The teacher actively contacted and would tell the mother if the child had any problem			The teacher asked the student not to do the learning-at-home without going to school even though she knew that he was a good and hardworking student	The teacher liked to talk and communicate with students	
<b>The mother actively contact the teacher and school</b>	Yes	Yes	No	No	No		No	No	No
<b>Why</b>				No need. Because as a high school student, she is not a child				No need	

				anymore					
<b>The contact frequency of mother to teacher/school per year</b>	10	4						0	
<b>Teacher solved mother's demand/problem</b>	Yes	Yes		Yes				Yes	
<b>Ever joined Parent's Day during the child's high school time</b>	No	Yes	Yes		Yes		No	Yes	Yes
<b>Why</b>			Actively join Parent's Days because the mother can get sufficient information about child-rearing from the teacher and other parents	The child told the mother "no need to go" when in 11 and 12th grade	To know what to expect on her study and to exchange information with the teacher			The mother loved the ceremony of "students washing feet for parents"; the mother felt it was important to make the child a good one	The mother was reluctant to go because nothing important
<b>Frequency of joining Parent's Day during the high school time</b>		4	6	1	6			3	1
<b>difficult to contact school</b>	No	No	No	No	No		Yes	No	No

<b>teacher</b>									
<b>difficult to communicate with school teacher</b>	No	No	No	No	No		No	No	No
<b>Why</b>							The mother thinks herself insufficient in Chinese speaking		
<b>The high school teacher educated the child properly</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>The high school was trustworthy</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>The mother attended a college in her country of origin</b>			Yes	Yes	Yes		No	No	No
<b>The mother attended a high school in the country of origin</b>			Yes	Yes	Yes		No	Yes	No
<b>Education attainment when arriving TW</b>		High school	College	College	College		Middle school	High school	Elementary school
<b>Note for education attainment</b>				Totally only 14 years of education because there are only 4 years in	Totally only 14 years of education because there are only 4 years in				

				total for middle + high school	total for middle + high school				
<b>Education attainment in 2007 when the Panel Survey had done</b>		High school	College	College (major in education )	College		Middle school	High school	Elementary school
<b>The mother seeking diploma during 2007-2015</b>			No	No			No	No	Yes
<b>current education attainment in 2015</b>	High school	High school	College	College			Middle school	high school	Elementary school
<b>Note for current education attainment</b>									Too busy to finish the program in Taiwan
<b>The spouse's education attainment in 2007 when the Panel Survey had done</b>		Middle school	College	Middle school	College (not graduated )		Elementary school	Elementary school	High school
<b>The spouse seeking diploma during 2007-2015</b>	No		No	No			No	No	No
<b>The spouse's current education</b>	High school	Middle school	College	Middle school			Elementary school	Elementary school	High school

attainment in 2015									
The mother participated in skill learning course when the child in high school	No	No	No	Yes	No		No	Yes	No
List the name of course(s)				Handicraft/Chinese				Culinary (certificate program)	
Note for the course(s)								A one month course; then taking culinary certificate exam	
Have difficulty in skill learning course	No	No		Yes				No	
Note for difficulty in course taking				Too expensive /cannot find the related (governmental) website				Never cook in Indonesia (she was from a middle-class family)	
The mother participated in sport or leisure activity when the child in high school	No	No	Yes	Yes	No		No	Yes	No
List the name of leisure or sport activities			Hiking/Taichi	Dancing				Jogging	

<b>Hour spending per week in sport/leisure activity</b>			10					3	
<b>Times joining sport activities per year</b>			550						
<b>Have difficulty in sport or leisure activity</b>	No		No	No				No	
<b>Note for difficulty in sport/leisure activities</b>								No difficulty. Instead, the Indonesian mother has been jogging with around ten Taiwanese friends every time	
<b>The mother volunteering group when child high school</b>	No	No	Yes	Yes	No		Yes	No	No
<b>List the name of volunteering group(s)</b>			Charity foundation	TransAsia Sisters Association Taiwan; TASAT (南洋姐妹會)			Chinese Church		
<b>Hour spending per week in volunteering</b>			15						

<b>Times joining volunteering per year</b>			900						
<b>Have difficulty in volunteering group</b>	No		No	No			Yes		
<b>Note for difficulty in volunteering group(s)</b>							Unable to read Chinese bible		
<b>Feeling the activities and groups above benefiting to child's education</b>	No	No	Yes	Yes			Yes	No	No
<b>How it was benefiting the child's education?</b>			Sharing information regarding child-rearing process				The Sunday School of church made the child a better one		
<b>friends knowing from activities above offers info for child education</b>	No	No	Yes	No			No	No	
<b>Number of friends and relatives that you visit during the child's high</b>		10	4				0		

<b>school years</b>									
<b>The friend or relative meet first most frequently during the child high school</b>	Cousin	Mother's family members	Younger sister	A Filipino Friend			Younger sister	Four Indonesian friends	Younger sister
<b>Note for the friend/relative</b>		mother's parents and sisters		Also marrying to Taiwan				Working together in an elementary school's cafeteria	
<b>The topic to talk about</b>		Social issue/health/traveling	Child rearing/social issue	Family affairs			Working situation among siblings	Work/child rearing and education	
<b>hours spend in each meeting</b>		8	2				12	3 (work together)	
<b>The frequency of meeting in the past three years</b>	Very often	70	Many times	At least once a week			Very often	Almost daily	
<b>The friend or relative meet second most frequently during the child high school</b>	Elder cousin from the father side	Parents in law	Classmate	A Filipino spouse			Older brother	An Indonesian spouse	
<b>Note for the friend/relative</b>	Close with this cousin							Aunty (mother's sister)	
<b>Topics to talk about</b>		Social issue/health	Child-rearing/Social issue				Working situation among siblings		
<b>Hours spending</b>		4	2				10		

<b>in each meeting</b>									
<b>The frequency of meeting in the past three years</b>	Very often	150	Many times				Very often		
<b>The friend or relative meet third most frequently during the child high school</b>	Younger cousin from the mother side	Mother's younger sister	Neighbor	Taiwanese ex-colleagues			Younger brother	Neighbor (An Indonesian woman)	
<b>The topic to talk about</b>		Child-rearing/social issue	Child-rearing/leisure activities					Child-rearing and education	
<b>Hours spending in each meeting</b>		3	2				10		
<b>The frequency of meeting in the past three years</b>	10	60	Many times				Very frequent	Very frequent	
<b>Other friends to visit</b>			Mothers of child's classmates (talking about child-rearing)					Many Indonesian friends in Guayin District of the same county she lives	
<b>Having more friends and relatives in the past 10 years (2005-</b>	No	Yes	Yes	Yes			No	Yes	No

2015)									
Number of friends and relatives meeting in year 2005	10	20	20				5	20	
Number of friends and relatives meet in the past one year	10	20	40				5	25	
Visiting more friends and relatives in the past 10 years (05-15)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes			No	Yes	
Frequency of friends and relatives visiting in year 2005	10	12	2				0	15	
Frequency of friends and relatives visiting in the past one year	10	20	4				0	20	
Friends and relatives knowing in the past 10 years benefiting the child's education	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes		No		
Why (not) and		They change	Offer suggestio		They show		Usually not to talk	Related to her	

how benefiting the child's education?		my way of thinking	ns and information		their support and encouragement		about education	multilevel-selling business	
Getting child-rearing information from the friends knowing in the past 10 years	No	Yes	Yes	No	No		No	No	No
The child-rearing and education information from all these friends and relatives are helpful	No	Yes	Yes	No			No	No	No
Why (not) and how helpful?		My knowledge is limited; now I am able to get answers from others' perspective	They recommend good books and readings for the child and for the mother						
Neighbors discriminating due to the mother's birth place (0=never, 1=seldom, 2=sometimes,	0	1	0	2	1		2	0	0

3=often, 4=always )									
<b>Example of being discriminated</b>				From the beginning they just don't like me because I look different. The longer the better, because they realized that I am a good mother and my kids are good and polite.			They were surprised about "an Indonesian mother can have a son going to a rather good college"		
spouse's family members discriminating due to the mother's birth place (0=never, 1=seldom, 2=sometimes, 3=often, 4=always)	0	0	0	3	0		0	0	0
<b>Example of being discriminated</b>				My mother-in-law treated another daughter-in-law (a native-born Taiwanese) much better even though I have done					

				more than my sister-in-law; besides, the mother-in-law often threatened her to "kick her out from our family and from Taiwan"					
<b>Child's school teacher discriminating due to the mother's birth place</b>	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
<b>Ever feel discriminated by Taiwanese?</b>			Never				Only by some colleagues in the place that I worked.	Never, Because "I speak good Mandarin /Hokien and with a rather Chinese looking"	
<b>The mother worked during 2005-07 when Panel Survey conducted</b>	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>What kind of job?</b>	Housewife	Accountant		Factory Worker	Secretary		Handcraft worker	Cook in school cafeteria	Factory Worker
<b>Monthly income during 2005-07 (in NTD)</b>		30000		20000			10000	18000	22000
<b>The mother</b>	No	Yes	No	No			Yes	Yes	Yes

<b>work currently in 2015</b>									
<b>What kind of job?</b>	Housewife	Accountant		Housewife			Handcraft worker	Cook in school cafeteria	Factory worker
<b>Monthly income currently (in NTD)</b>		35000		0			10000	22000	22000
<b>The spouse worked during 2005-07 when Panel Survey conducted</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>What kind of job?</b>	Self-employed (decoration)	Restaurant manager	Engineer	Logistic deliverer	Secretary		Security guard	Labor worker	Factory worker
<b>Monthly income during 2005-07 (in NTD)</b>	40000	40000		23000			20000	40000	22000
<b>The spouse work currently in 2015</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	No	No
<b>What kind of job?</b>	Self-employed (decoration)	restaurant manager	Engineer	logistic deliverer	Airport manager		Security guard	Unemployed	Unemployed
<b>Monthly income currently in 2015 (in NTD)</b>	40000	60000	Doesn't want to tell	25000			30000		0
<b>Comment from the interviewee</b>								Just like her son, she thinks that she is just an ordinary Taiwanese, not an Indonesian	

								anymore- -even though still speaking Indonesia n througho ut the interview	
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## Appendix B: Students' Responses in Follow-Up Interviews

No.	1127-2	448-2	1010-2	445-2	430-1	342-1	1119-1	448-1	215-1	451-1	1113-1	189-1
<b>Mother's Country of Origin</b>	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan	Taiwan	Philippines	Philippines	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	Vietnam
<b>Area</b>	Taoyuan	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	New Taipei	Taoyuan	New Taipei	Taichung	New Taipei	Taoyuan	Taichung
<b>Gender</b>	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female
<b>Age</b>	21	20	20	20	19	20	19	20	19	20	19	20
<b>Grade in Wave 1</b>	G4	G4	G4	G4	G3	G4	G3	G4	G3	G4	G3	G4
<b>School Performance when in Wave 1</b>	Low	High	High	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium	High	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium
<b>Language speak to mother</b>	Mandarin	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Vietnamese/Mandarin/Hokien
<b>Language that mother speaks to</b>	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin/English/Tagalog	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Mandarin	Hokien/Mandarin	Vietnamese/Mandarin/Hokien
<b>Language speak to father</b>	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Hokien/Mandarin
<b>Language that father speaks to</b>	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Hokien/Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin	Mandarin/Hokien	Mandarin	Hokien/Mandarin	Hokien/Mandarin
<b>Language note</b>									Mother learn Chinese after coming to Taiwan	Both mother and father were from Indonesia		Mother was not fluent in Mandarin
<b>College Ranking (1st=highest, 5th=lowest)</b>	4th	3rd	2nd	5th	3rd	4th	5th	4th	5th	3rd	5th	5th
<b>College Major</b>	Information Management	Finance	Earth Science	Nursery	International Trade	English Literature	Culinary	Architecture	Information Engineering	Information Management	Information Engineering	Tourism

<b>College drop-off?</b>				No		No	Yes		Yes	No	No	Yes
<b>Who decide to go college?</b>	Self	Self	Self	Parents	Self	Self	Self	Self		Self	Self	Father /Self
<b>Reason going to college (or dropping off)?</b>				Want to have a college degree		For fun				Want to have a college degree	Want to have a college degree	(drop-off for) economic concern
<b>Endeavor to go to college</b>										Study hard by himself	Get a computer-skill certificate	Study hard at school since the last year in high school
<b>Public or private high school</b>	Private	Public	Public	Private	Private	Private	Private	Private	Private	Public	Private	Private
<b>High school tuition (NTD per semester)</b>		10000		40000	60000	25000	10000	30000		5000	30000	20000
<b>Studying abroad before?</b>	No	No	No	No		Yes	No			No	No	No
<b>Where to study abroad?</b>						the Philippines						
<b>When study abroad?</b>						2nd grade in elementary school						
<b>Study abroad for how long?</b>						1.5 year						
<b>Went to cram school when in high school?</b>	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
<b>Cram school spent total during high school</b>		150000		330000								
<b>Cram subject</b>		Mathematics/Physics/Chemistry		English/Nursery								
<b>cram hour per week</b>		24		15								
<b>How many</b>		5		2								

<b>semester(s) for cram school?</b>													
<b>How do you like the cram school? (5=most, 1=least)</b>		4		2								3	
<b>Hire a tutoring high school?</b>	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
<b>Who manage your high school study?</b>	School	Self	Self	Self	Self	Self	Self	Self		Self	Self	Self	Self
<b>Has your mother ever intervene your decision in college major?</b>	Not at all	rarely	rarely	Not at all	Not at all	Sometimes	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Sometimes
<b>Has your father ever intervene your decision in college major?</b>	Not at all	Sometimes	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Sometimes	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all	Not at all
<b>attending extracurricular activity(-ies) during high school</b>	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
<b>Joining any club in high school</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>What club you joined in high school?</b>	Computer	Guitar	Natural Science	Guitar/Korean/Chorus	Model United Nations	Charity	Cooking	Chess	Honor guard	Movie/Honor guard	Honor guard	Bartending	
<b>Hours spending on high school club per week</b>	7	2	5.5	2	1	2	3	2	14	8	3	20	
<b>How many semester(s) joining club in high school?</b>	5	3	2	4	6	3	1	4	6	4	6	6	
<b>How do you like the club in high school? (5=most, 1=least)</b>	5	4	4	4	5	3	4	3	4	5	5	5	
<b>First-year academic performance in high school</b>	Medium	High	Medium	High	High	High	Low	High	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium	
<b>Second-year academic performance in high school</b>	Low	High	Medium	High	High	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium	
<b>Third-year academic performance in high school</b>	Medium	High	High	High	High	Middle	High	Medium	Medium	High	Low	Medium	

<b>School grade ever drop during the three years</b>	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes
<b>School grade ever rise during the three years</b>	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
<b>Reason of high school grades fluctuation</b>						too much time on social life			too much involvement in student club	too much involvement in student club			health reason
<b>What else to contribute to enter a college</b>													Reading many application materials
<b>Plan to go to graduate school?</b>	No		Maybe	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
<b>Where to attend graduate school</b>						Go study abroad		Nat'l Cheng kung Univ. in Taiwan					
<b>Future career</b>	Computer engineer	Finance	Engineer	Nurse	No plan	No plan	No plan	architect	No plan	IT designer/engineering	IT designer/engineering	Bartender/self-employed	
<b>Future career confidence</b>	Little confidence		No confidence	Much confidence		Much confidence		Some confidence		Some confidence	Much confidence	Much confidence	
<b>Parents intervening future career</b>	No	No	No	No	No	No	Sometimes	No	No	No	No	No	Often
<b>College life satisfaction (5=most, 1=least)</b>	5	4	4	5	3	2	3	2		5	3	4	
<b>Why satisfied/dissatisfied with college life?</b>						didn't join any college club	economic concern: have no money to play	a terrible school		both academic performance and social life are			meet many friends who helped me

											improving		
<b>Joining any club in college</b>	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no			no	yes	no
<b>What club to join in college</b>			College Volleyball		Student Association		Baseball					Symphony/Charity Society	
<b>Hours spending on college club per week</b>			12		4							3	
<b>How many semester(s) joining club in college?</b>			4		2		2					2	
<b>How do you like the club in college? (5=most, 1=least)</b>	3	4	4		2		4					4	
<b>Have a part-time job as a college student</b>	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>What kind of part-time job?</b>	clerk	waiter		clerk		waiter	waiter	clerk	Gas Station	Clerk	clerk	Waiter	
<b>Part-time job hours per week</b>	8	21		32		32	30	25	40	30	23	15	
<b>income as a college student (NTD per month)</b>	15000	10000		14500		16800	7500	14000	15500	15000	10000		
<b>Stipend from parents (NTD per month)</b>	1000		8000	5000	4800	0	0	0		5000	3000	7000	
<b>Do you think you have enough money to use as a college student?</b>	Yes		More than enough	Enough	Yes	No				Enough	Enough	Enough	
<b>Who pays your college tuition?</b>		parents	parents	student loan	parents	student loan	student loan	parents	parents	student loan	student loan	parents	
<b>College tuition charged (NTD per semester)</b>	49000	55000	25000	50000	40000	20000	50000	50000	30000	50000	54000	50000	
<b>College major satisfaction (5=most, 1=least)</b>	5	4	3	3	4	2	3	3		5	4	4	
<b>Why satisfied/dissatisfied?</b>			Like the major		A practical	My mother is too				Big data is trendy	I have decided my	I have decided my	

			but feel it hard to find a job		major	demanding				and is what I am major in; course selection is all based on this job market	major since high school	major since high school
<b>Collage GPA</b>	Medium		High		High	High		High		Medium	Medium	Medium
<b>Took college entrance exam</b>	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>entrance exam Chinese</b>			14	Medium	11					72/100		Medium
<b>entrance exam English</b>			12	Low	14					74/100		High
<b>entrance exam math</b>			9		9					24/100		Low
<b>entrance exam nature</b>			13	Low	10					88/100		
<b>entrance exam social</b>			15	High	13					88/100		
<b>entrance exam total</b>			63	Medium	57					70/100		
<b>Father's job</b>	Self-employed	Service sector	Engineer	Retired	Airport manager	Labor worker	Unemployed	Unemployed	Farmer	Security	Labor worker	Labor worker
<b>Father's income (NTD per year)</b>		700000		550000						240000		
<b>Father holds the same job as when Panel Survey was conducted</b>	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes		Yes
<b>Father's education attainment</b>	high school	middle school	college	middle school	high school	middle school	middle school		middle school	Elementary	Elementary	middle school
<b>Father educated year</b>		9		9	10	9	9		9	6	6	9
<b>Father healthy?</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	OK	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<b>Father's interaction with the child</b>	Father actively communicate	Good interaction	Like a teacher and a friend	Good	OK	Very strict; like subordinate to superv	Good	Normal	Intimate	Normal	Normal	Good and caring

	with the child when available		treated equally, mutual trust			isor							
<b>Father care study/job</b>	No	No	No	Rarely	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
<b>Mother's job</b>	Housewife	Service	Housewife	Worker	Secretary		Self-employed	factory worker	Worker	Housewife	cook in school cafeteria	Not sure (mom is divorced and move away)	
<b>Mother's income (NTD per year)</b>		600000	0	450000				330000			22000		
<b>Mother holds the same job as when Panel Survey was conducted</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No (was a street food vendor when the Survey conducted)	
<b>Mother's education attainment</b>	high school	high school	college	Elementary	college	College	Elementary	Elementary	Elementary	Middle School	high school	Elementary not graduated	
<b>Mother educated year</b>		12		6	14	16	6	2	6	9	12	3	
<b>Mother healthy?</b>	Yes	Yes	No	No	OK	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
<b>Mother's interaction with the child</b>		Good interaction; cares much	Good; treat the child like a friend	Good	OK	Better than with the father	Disharmony	Normal	Stricter than father	Intimate	Good	Good but careles	
<b>Mother care study/job</b>	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No (Mother believes that having a good job is more important)	

													than getting a diploma)
<b>Do you feel you look different from your friends?</b>	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
<b>How you are different/not different?</b>						I didn't think I am different but my classmates did think so.							They said that "I look like a mixed-blooded"
<b>Elementary school mates discriminating</b>						In average, 8 out of 10 of my classmates called me a Filipino maid.							No
<b>middle school friends discriminating</b>						In average, 5 out of 10 of my classmates discriminated me for my mother's Filipino origin.							Yes
<b>High school teacher knows the mother's birth place</b>	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

<b>High school teacher treats differently</b>	No			No	No	Yes	No		No	No	No	Yes
<b>How the teacher treated you differently?</b>						Suggested me and my mother not to speak Filipino at home						Care about me more, avoiding me from discrimination
<b>High school friends know my mother birth place</b>	0	3	0	2	3	4	2	0	1	1	1	4
<b>High school friends treat me differently</b>				No		No	No	No	No	No	No	No
<b>College friends know my mother's birth place</b>	0	3	0	1	3	5	0	2	1	1	1	2
<b>College friends treat me differently</b>				No		No		No	No	No	No	No
<b>Comment 1</b>						The TV commercial highlighting "Malia" (nickname for Filipino maids) during my middle school hurting me so much; I don't feel good about			Mother was discriminated at the beginning but is OK now	Having no difficulty making friends with other Taiwanese students	Just like my mother, I don't think I am a Southeast Asian; neither does she think she is an Southeast Asian but just an ordinary Taiwanese.	Friends don't believe I am a "foreigner". I am proud of being a Southeast Asian Taiwanese

						Taiwan because the eyesight from others.						
<b>Comment 2</b>						High school and college friends are different from those in elementary and middle school for that the former are not discriminating. Besides, there was a Filipino teaching assistant in my department (of English Literature) and I am close with her;						

						this made me have better percep tion for my mothe r's countr y of origin.						
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