

Views and Perceptions of Indonesia among the Second-Generation of Taiwanese-Indonesians after the New Southbound Policy (NSP)

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Abstract

Taiwan is a multicultural country. In addition to its diverse local communities, Taiwan is home to many migrants, including intermarriage migrants between Taiwanese men and Southeast Asian women. The intermarriage and second generation, which are children born from intermarriage families, created some social integration issues in Taiwanese society. This is because many Taiwanese have a prejudice against people from Southeast Asia, as most of them initially worked in Taiwan as migrant workers. The implementation of Taiwan's New Southbound Policy (NSP) offers some opportunities for migrants to be noticeable. The second generation from this intermarriage also has the opportunity and privilege under the NSP policy. This research is based on a study of the views of the second generation of Taiwanese-Indonesian intermarriage families, particularly on their mothers' culture after the implementation of NSP. This paper argues that the second generation, particularly from Taiwanese-Indonesian intermarriage families, experience a struggle to comprehend their identities within Taiwanese society and their perceptions of the implementation of NSP. The interview method was conducted to delve into the feelings of the Taiwanese-Indonesian second-generation children.

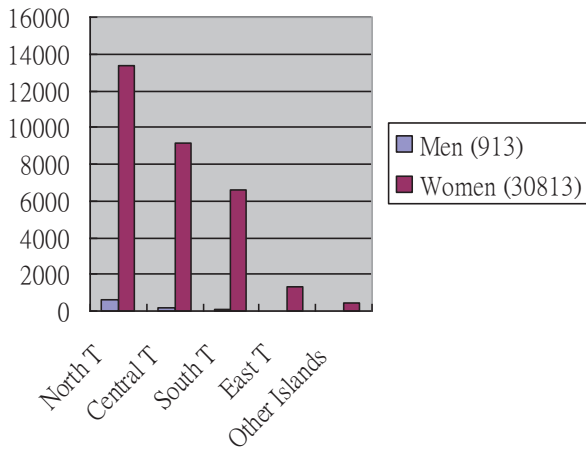
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1. Introduction

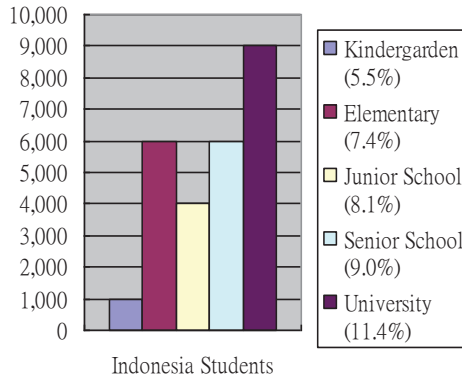
Taiwan has welcomed many new residents from Indonesia for nearly four decades. Those new residents are spouses who are married to Taiwanese people. Approximately 98 per cent of them are Indonesian women married to Taiwanese men, and 2.8 per cent are Indonesian men married to Taiwanese men. The Ministry of the Interior National Immigration Agency in the Republic of China (Taiwan) reports that around thirty thousand Indonesian-Taiwanese intermarriage couples live in Taiwan from January 1987 to August 2023 (Figure 1). This report also shows that for more than three decades, most of the intermarriage is mostly between Indonesian women and Taiwanese men. Figure 2 shows the numbers of the children of Indonesian-Taiwanese intermarriage distributed based on their schools in 2022. Both figures show that in terms of number, Indonesian-Taiwanese families are significant in Taiwanese society as well as in Taiwan’s education sector.

Figure 1. Number of Indonesians-Taiwanese Intermarriage Couples in Taiwan, January 1987 - August 2023



Source: Author’s compilation from Ministry of Interior’s National Immigration Agency, Republic of China (Taiwan) Data.

Figure 2. Number of Indonesians-Taiwaneses Intermarriages Students in Taiwan



Source: Author's translation from the Graphic in Ministry of Education Annual 2022 Report

Being the second generation also provides them with more job opportunities. With many Taiwanese investments in Southeast Asia and local Taiwanese companies that trade with Southeast Asian countries, particularly Indonesia, second-generation children have the potential to accelerate economic, social, cultural, and inter-community exchange. Furthermore, children born into intermarriage families have an advantage in terms of cultural diversity when compared to those born from single-culture marriages. They naturally receive and practice both of their parents' cultures.

However, not all intermarriage couples are formed through natural processes of family formation in general, such as dating, marrying, and having children. Most of the intermarriages between Taiwanese men and Southeast Asian countries women were set through arranged marriages or through marriage agency services, which triggers some problems. Because Taiwanese society considers women to be the wife they purchased, the host family believes they have power over the new family member (Sheu, 2007). Moreover, there is a growing stigma that the second generation was born with sins because of their physical appearance, and they have a different cultural experience than children born to Taiwanese parents in general (Yuanshan, 2022).

Some Taiwanese people still consider Southeast Asian countries to be underdeveloped. This perception affects the position of the new residents at the lower level in Taiwanese society. It is accompanied by the host family's

exclusivity towards the new family member's culture, creating specific stereotypes (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). The presence of status inequality in the family, as well as a culture of exclusivity, causes second-generation children to grow up only learning and practising monocultural, rather than multicultural, cognition of their mothers' culture. Taiwan's government is paying more attention to intermarriage families under the NSP. NSP's people-to-people dimension offers opportunities for the second generation to learn about their mother's culture.

Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-Wen launched the New Southbound Policy (NSP) in 2016. The policy aims to improve Taiwan's relations with Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, and Brunei. The principle of NSP is to build deep-rooted and long-term connections, create diverse development, and establish mutual benefit collaboration between Taiwan, Southeast Asia and South Asia regions. The core concept of the policy is intended to integrate the resources and strengths of various ministries, local governments, and private enterprises and groups from Taiwan and the targeted countries. The Economic and Trade Negotiation Office of the Executive Yuan of Taiwan assigns the policy's coordination, implementation, and promotion. NSP is implemented based on four pillars, including economic and trade cooperation, people-to-people exchanges, resource sharing, and regional links to create a new cooperation model of mutual benefits and establish an "economic community consciousness" with the Southbound Countries (CSIS, 2019).

In achieving its economic goal, NSP has an essential segment that is related to the region's socio-cultural exchange and development. People-to-people exchanges, one of the four NSP pillars, emphasize "people" as the core, deepen exchanges, cultivate bilateral young scholars, students, and industrial manpower, and promote complementarity and human resource sharing with partner countries. There are three programs promoted in NSP's people-to-people connectivity: education, industrial manpower, and empowerment for new residents.

The Education sector is one of the critical elements of the NSP. Taiwan's government provides Taiwan scholarships aiming to establish "Special Classes for Industry-University Cooperation" and

"Technical Training Classes for Foreign Youth" in Taiwan's domestic industries. These programs aim to provide employment chances to

graduating international students, encourage colleges and universities to open overseas branch campuses or special classes, offers bridging education courses, promote the learning of Southeast Asia countries' language in Taiwan primary and secondary schools, and encourage Taiwan's universities to strengthen the cultivation of Southeast Asian language and regional trade talents in higher education. The industrial manpower field evaluates foreign immigrant workers who perform specialized or technical work to extend work permits and encourage them to take technical vocational training and earn certificates. The government also conducts some regulations to strengthen two-way professional manpower exchange, develop more simple procedures to apply for work permits, strengthen matching the supply and demand for potential workers, and assist domestic enterprises in finding talent.

NSP also gives attention to new residents in Taiwan. It assists new residents in exploiting their language and culture to acquire relevant certificates and employment (such as teaching the mother tongue language, tourism and other sectors), encourages colleges and universities to set up southbound related departments/majors or courses, provides students with ability in southbound language advantages for admission opportunities and to encourage the second generation of new residents as Southbound talents. In the NSP, the Taiwanese government gives new residents and their children (second generation) more chances to express and practice their native culture. The Taiwanese government's recognition of immigrant culture may have boosted Southbound immigrants' self-confidence. The policy also provides job opportunities, particularly for those who are qualified to teach Southeast Asian languages, which were added to the elementary school curriculum in 2019 (Kasai & Lin, 2023) and taught in junior and high school as an extracurricular class. Under NSP implementation, some universities established Southeast Asian Studies Departments, and languages such as Vietnamese, Indonesian, and Thai became core courses in the curriculum (Ng, 2020). Aside from teaching their mother tongue languages, new residents can also work in language-related fields, such as tour guides, translators, and interpreters at a migrant worker service company.

In the case of Indonesia, NSP improves Taiwanese society's knowledge of Indonesian culture. Implementing Indonesian language learning at various levels of education in Taiwan strengthens the second generation's competitiveness. These programs also helped the second generation to

identify and recognize their identity as Indonesians. The teaching of their mother language then strengthens the meaning of the NSP policy for Taiwan to achieve the goal of “people-to-people” for mutual understanding between Taiwan and Indonesia. Most NSP research focuses on policy evaluation, whereas research on the second generation focuses on integration issues and the second generation’s identity crisis. The impact of NSP on the second generation’s identity is understudied. Therefore, this paper attempts to analyse the second generations of Taiwan-Indonesia inter-country marriage to understand their mother’s hometown, recognition of their identity, and their opinion about Taiwan’s NSP policies.

2. Identity and Policy

Identity recognition is crucial for both migrants and the host country. It affects the level of self-confidence and determines their success in work and study. According to M. Calderone, recognised immigrant students outperformed those whose cultures were not. (Lili, 2018). In other words, culture recognition is critical because, in addition to fostering harmony in society, it directly impacts the success of the entity that owns the culture, particularly in the case of intermarriage with a spouse who has flaws and stereotypes.

The rejection of immigrants and limitation of the origin cultural practices then put the second generation missing the opportunity to experience living in a multicultural community. The situation also affects the psychological well-being of the mothers and children. Most people or ethnicities or nations believe their ethnicities are the most superior (Bizumic, 2014) and tend to value other cultures as having a lower status. It is mainly applied or occurs between the majority and minorities, as well as how residents feel toward immigrants. This is evident in Taiwanese society, which has established stigmas and awareness of the insider and outsider among Taiwanese people as majority and minority migrants. Scholars argued that Southeast Asian women have differences in physical terms, as well as cultural and customs backgrounds are very different from Taiwanese society in general (referring to ethnic Han), and these differences can create an erosion of local superior culture such as eating by hand which is considered underdeveloped (Cheng, 2013; Ng, 2020). Most residents are concerned about how the number of immigrants will change the community or society structurally and culturally. According to residents, immigrant mothers from Southeast Asia in Taiwan are thought to threaten Taiwanese family habits.

Southeast Asian spouses' language, economic and language skills do not meet integration requirements (Charsley et al., 2017), which could threaten the country's security and host society development (Yeoh et al., 2021). However, the process of adaptation or assimilation to a new environment that Southeast Asian women immigrants go through is fraught with rejection or coercion. Therefore, Isabelle Cheng suggests government regulations to solve this issue (Cheng, 2013).

Identity is a judgmental boundary that distinguishes the presence of the personal self from other entities, not other people. Identity depends significantly on the extent to which a person feels "in" and "with" that identity. The appraisal of others cannot be used as a benchmark for measurement since it is almost subjective or even unconscious rejection, and there are even baseless comparisons by the person doing the evaluation (Lili, 2018). According to Marshall R. Singer, every person is a member of multiple identity groups and practices multiple identities at the same time, so no one is a part of the whole of a specific entity because they have values and beliefs about their entity (Singer, 1998). For the second generation, born in the intermarriage family causes they inherited a diverse cultural identity and naturally become a mixed-race person. Dan Rodríguez-García calls it the construction of race, which is formed from the multidimensional nature of identity (Rodríguez-García et al., 2019).

However, societal stigma developed unilaterally in forming identity by not obtaining the consent of the labelled group. It is exacerbated by some challenges in societal integration, such as discrimination and rejection from both cultures seeking to integrate into the host society. However, in many cases, the second generation may have an advantage in assigning an identity to be an asset to adapt to both cultures. They have advantages in understanding intercultural communication and opportunities for creative work, with all of the benefits of an intercultural family, including language usage, family mindset, and culture itself.

Southeast Asia is the largest immigrant community in Taiwan. According to the Ministry of Interior Taiwan, the total number of immigrants from Southeast Asia reached 784,000 thousand; 79.4 per cent were migrant workers, 8 and 4 per cent were new residents, including those who had or had not naturalized (Ministry of The Interior R.O.C (Taiwan), 2011). Although most of the Southeast Asian population in Taiwan are migrant workers, they remain in Taiwan for an extended period and constitute a stable group in

Taiwanese society. Apart from that, there are also people with Taiwanese citizenship who practice or have experience of Southeast Asian culture in their families; they are the second generation born from intermarriage between Taiwanese men and Southeast Asian women (Cheng, 2013).

New residents and the second generation are part of Taiwanese society as a minority group. The presence of these minority groups causes the government to feel compelled to develop policies that can include this group as part of the government's goal of promoting government capability and legitimacy (Aljunied, 2010). The NSP and its programs have created some positive opportunities for new residents and the second generation, both economically and socially. Furthermore, cultural and linguistic policymaking is influenced by the country's political and socioeconomic planning blueprint (Couture Gagnon & Saint-Pierre, 2020).

People-to-people relations serve Taiwan's interests with Southeast Asian countries in the context of the NSP, allowing for a long-term relationship and achieving maximum targets by maximising existing assets. Southeast Asian and second-generation migrants are expected to bridge Taiwan and Southeast Asia through cultural learning, particularly in language as a communication tool. This can increase its value and suit the people-to-people context in the NSP (Huang, 2021).

3. Methodology

Technological advancements enable high mobility in cross-border routines, and the transnational lifestyle has evolved to allow for the birth of intermarriage families. In Asia, international marriage has become a significant phenomenon in the region's societies. In some Asian countries, this type of marriage has even become a mechanism for forming families (Douglass, 2006) and developed significantly for specific reasons, as in Taiwan. With the development of society and the issue of gender equality, women who have brilliant careers prefer to remain single, abandoning the conservative concept of "a woman's fate to marry and give birth to children as a guarantee for old age". In contrast, well-educated Taiwanese with a modernised mindset of "why get married if married life won't be better" contributed to an increase in Taiwan's international marriage rate, particularly for Taiwanese men who are economically weak or disabled. As a result, intermarriage in Taiwan has been a societal phenomenon for a long time and is still occurring.

Meanwhile, the NSP, as one of the essential policies of the Tsai Ing-wen Administration, places Southeast Asia as a vital cooperation region for Taiwan, indirectly increasing the detailed visibility of Southeast Asia in general and Indonesia in Taiwanese society. This initiation marks the Taiwanese government's recognition of the region's economic and socio-cultural development and opens opportunities for the second generation to learn their mother's culture.

This paper applies a qualitative method using a case study approach and a literature study to discuss conducting descriptive analysis research with direct observation and analysis to examine the research topic in detail. The case study method allows in-depth research on a particular object to obtain conclusions referencing its general truth. Bennett and Elman argue that the case study method is the most widely used method for getting rigorous and detailed research results and can be used to study social phenomena and relationship behaviour to determine community members' motivations (Martyn, 2013)

This paper also uses a direct observation approach to collecting data. Direct observation can give advantages and flexibility to get more subjective research results because it directly participates in the research topic. A literature review can serve to develop a general understanding of information variables and knowledge related to topics. The literature study in this research focuses on collecting various data through online data and printed data such as books, research articles, newspapers and policies published by the government (Johnson et al., 1950).

This research interviewed twelve respondents who were the second generation in Taiwanese-Indonesian intermarriage families. These two respondents are college students. Of the twelve respondents, only one has formally studied Indonesian culture and language. This student studied in the Southeast Asian Research department at Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages in Kaohsiung City, Taiwan. Before entering the college, the respondents had never studied Indonesian, and the aim of studying in the Department of Southeast Asian Studies was because they wanted to understand and learn more about their mother's culture and the Indonesian language so that they would have the opportunity to work in Indonesia in the future or have greater job opportunities with their Indonesian language skills. Meanwhile, some of the other eleven respondents studied Indonesian informally but did not take Southeast Asian Studies in college.

Due to stigma, the second generation of intermarriage children are reluctant to identify as the second generation freely, making data collection difficult. This challenge led to the research limitation, which is that the respondents are children of Taiwanese fathers and Indonesian mothers. For future research, it is essential to find more respondents from the families of Taiwanese women who are married to Indonesian men. This research was conducted using the interview method. The interviewer asked questions about the respondents' knowledge of Indonesia, their views of their mother's hometown, and their perceptions about the NSP.

4. NSP and The Second-Generation Self-Identity Recognition

Since its initiation in 2016, the NSP programs have been running for seven years. As one of the Tsai Ing-wen government's mainstay policies, NSP has produced many development programs for Taiwan's second generation, a group with cultural affinities to Southeast Asia. (Ministry of Interior R.O.C (Taiwan), n.d.). The presence of NSP has positively impacted and changed Southeast Asian communities in Taiwan and vice versa. The NSP program provides opportunities for new residents to showcase their culture through cultural exchange activities, from community to national levels, as organised by the NGOs, educational institutions and government. This cultural activity increases the cultural visibility of new residents. In general, socialising with the culture of new residents can increase understanding of the culture of immigrants, thereby encouraging cultural exchange and motivating the second generation to know their mother's culture.

4.1. The Understanding of Their Mother's Hometown

As children born into intermarriage families, the second generation in Taiwan's understanding of Indonesia may be different and, to some extent, influenced by external and internal factors. External factors are affected by restrictions from the host or father's family and lack of learning opportunities, while internal factors come from the second generation itself – they are reluctant to learn their mother's country of origin as it is not an urgent need (for instance, they were not confident with their mother culture and hometown as well as undeveloped weak economy). Even though the second generation receives knowledgeable information about Indonesia, there are still accuracy problems from schools and the mass media. These

two sources of information also influence their opinions about their country of origin. Respondent's knowledge of their mother's hometown came from several different sources, including general knowledge from textbooks, conversations with friends and so on; mass media such as television news, online news, newspapers and so forth; and personal opinions based on personal experiences such as the experiences of visiting maternal grandparents' houses, taking study tours and the knowledge they gain from their mothers' stories.

4.1.1. Knowledge about Indonesia in Taiwan's Schools

Most respondents (eight out of twelve) said they received general knowledge about Indonesia at school. The knowledge includes that Indonesia is a country formed from a group of islands, is multicultural and has many tribes, religions, islands, and ethnic groups. Second, respondents said that Indonesia has much petroleum, has many Muslims, and is also the largest archipelagic country in the world. Third, Indonesians prioritize ethnic identity and respect each other's religious differences; Indonesians celebrate religious holidays, which are also commemorated with holidays; batik is Indonesia's national cloth; Indonesia's industrial sector is undergoing a rapid development phase, and many Taiwanese businessmen are investing in Indonesia. Fourth, Indonesia has a large population, with each tribe possessing its local language and culture, such as harvest traditions, cow races, weddings, etc. Not to mention, they also celebrate their traditions by dressing in traditional attire and eating traditional food. Fifth, Indonesia is perceived as a religious country with a pious society, and numerous praying sites (especially mosques for Muslims) are evident throughout the nation. Respondent L said she had studied the Indonesian language or Bahasa Indonesia at her school, and Indonesian language lessons at school made her want to know more about Indonesia. For her, Indonesia has a great history and is a colourful country with unique traditions. According to her, the Indonesian economy is also growing due to countless developments in Indonesia.

Regarding general knowledge, three respondents said they could not fluently describe Indonesia because they rarely got lectures about Indonesia at school. Respondent I even said that she never got an introduction about Indonesia from school or through textbooks in Taiwan. Respondent K said she knew Indonesia from foreign movies. Respondent I also noted that Taiwanese-style explanations by local Taiwanese and mass media need

more accurate information about Indonesia. These opinions demonstrate the knowledge deficit about immigrants in Taiwan and two factors cause this situation. First, there is a lack of sociocultural exchange between Taiwan and the country of origin of the immigrant. This situation creates limited information about Indonesia's social, economic, and cultural situation. Second, there is little social interaction between immigrants and Taiwanese society. The limited social interaction is caused by the limited introduction of Taiwanese culture to migrant workers before they arrive in Taiwan and the lack of knowledge of Indonesian culture by Taiwanese companies or families who hire Indonesian migrant workers (Tingchi, 2020).

Indonesian women who marry Taiwanese men experience relatively severe integration problems. In general, Indonesian women marry Taiwanese for economic reasons, so Indonesian spouses are expected to adapt to Taiwanese culture and even leave behind their home culture, which is reinforced by this intermarriage requiring them to settle in Taiwan (Yujie, 2016). Furthermore, the Taiwanese have a limited view of Indonesia based solely on their monoculture, resulting in a misunderstanding of Indonesian society and culture. On the one hand, the presence of Indonesian workers in Taiwan's industrial sector also exacerbates the growing stigma. The majority of information respondents obtained from knowledge at school had high accuracy with facts about Indonesia, although three respondents did not know about Indonesia. This was also due to external factors such as lack of explanations from teachers, little relevant learning materials and the influence of the social environment.

4.1.2. Knowledge of Indonesia from Mass Media

Mass media plays a significant role in introducing the second generation to their mother's hometown. Before the NSP policy was implemented, news in the mass media was about Indonesia's domestic social news and Taiwan's domestic news about Indonesian workers. Also, most of the reports were all about illegal migrant workers and crimes that brought a negative perception of Taiwanese society toward Indonesian citizens on the island.

Next are the respondents' responses about Indonesia's socioeconomics they read from mass media. Respondents A, C, I, J and K stipulated that Indonesia is an undeveloped country with many dirty roads, the economic conditions of the society are poor, many children do not go to school or must earn school fees by working as street musicians and parking attendants

and there is no health insurance in Indonesia. The respondents also said they received knowledge from the media that shows Indonesia is a country of corruption, suffering from frequent earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and floods. They also received Indonesian entertainment news from the media, such as BTS, a South Korean boyband, causing chaos when introducing a new McDonald's menu in Indonesia. Respondent E also said that Indonesia is a congested country with millions of populations, and poverty is rampant.

Respondents F and G said that the Taiwan media rarely reported news about Indonesia; the Taiwan mass media only provided information about Indonesian workers (TKI), such as runaway TKI and TKI who had legal problems. Respondents B, E, H, and L obtained a lot of culinary and tourism information, leading them to conclude that Indonesia is a beautiful country with many exciting tourist attractions. Respondent D then articulated that the news they received about Indonesia in the mass media was about the firmness of the Indonesian Coast Guard in dealing with foreign fishing vessels that are entering Indonesian waters without permission — showing that Indonesia is a country that upholds sovereignty. Thus, most Taiwanese mass media's coverage of Indonesia is relatively negative, especially socio-cultural. This one-sided reporting has harmed Indonesia's image in Taiwan and created a negative stigma for Indonesians living in Taiwan.

4.1.3. Knowledge about Indonesia from Their Mother

Mothers are the first creators of Indonesian knowledge for their children, the second generation of Taiwanese intermarriages. The understanding that respondents get from their mothers is more subjective based on the region and experiences experienced by each person. Because of their different backgrounds, their knowledge of Indonesia is also diverse. Their mothers introduced respondents to Indonesia, especially regarding socioeconomics, security, and education.

The social aspect was the knowledge most shared by respondents B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J and K. Respondents B and F were of the view that Indonesia was a friendly and nice country; Respondent C stated that her mother told her that life in Indonesia is different from the Taiwanese underdeveloped stereotypes since not all Indonesians profession are low-level migrant workers. In Indonesia, there are also companies, entrepreneurs, artists, professional workers, businesspeople and so forth; Respondent D's mother pointed out the vast wealth disparities between rich and poor

Indonesians. Collectively speaking, respondents C, E, D, G and F obtained knowledge from their mothers related to demographics in Indonesia, such as many islands, languages, food and unique things such as tradition, art and costumes. Respondent G cited that Indonesians practice their religion and beliefs diligently. G said that religion is essential in all Indonesians' lives and that Indonesians are not all Muslims but also Christians, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucians. Respondent H's mother said that Indonesia's economy was less advanced than Taiwan's. According to respondent, I's mother, most Indonesian men do not work, while for respondent J, most Indonesians have large families. Meanwhile, Respondent K's mother stated that she did not have much memory of her hometown, so there was nothing to share with her. In contrast, respondent L had a different experience as she often returned to her mother's country to visit her maternal grandparents.

In the educational aspect, respondent A was introduced by his mother to the idea that education in Indonesia prioritizes the learning process, has more active students, and does not focus on exams and memorization. In contrast, respondent C reported that his mother perceived Indonesian students' English ability higher than Taiwanese students. Three respondents gave opinions regarding security issues — with Respondent A viewing Indonesia's security as not good, respondent C's mother deeming Indonesia's politics unstable, and respondent F's mother believing the country had inter-ethnic strife and stereotypes accompanying cultural differences among ethnicities.

The realities of Indonesian society influence respondents' mothers' personal experiences in their country of origin. Students' mothers grew up in Indonesia during the New Order regime—a time with limited freedoms and an authoritarian regime that worsened inter-ethnic relations—therefore, their knowledge of Indonesia is limited to personal experiences and conditions at that time, even though conditions in all areas have changed since the 1998 reform. In addition, due to economic considerations, many second-generation mothers cannot return to their hometowns often, so their information regarding their country of origin remains solely based on past experiences.

4.1.4. Knowledge of Indonesia based on Self-Experiences

Eleven out of twelve respondents said that they had visited their mother's hometown. Apart from respondent E, other respondents visited Indonesia at least once and gave a positive view. Respondents A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J, K and L believe that Indonesia is not similar to what is reported by the

Taiwanese media reports. Respondents gave positive conclusions about Indonesian social life. Respondent B said she liked the Indonesian family's atmosphere in which family gatherings are the norm and members of families have a lively Chinese New Year celebration compared to Taiwan's. Respondent C said Indonesian people are amiable and fond of sharing food, and the trust in people is high. Respondent D, on the other hand, said the sound of a morning call to prayer frequently woke her up. She also described Muslims as very religious. Everyone in the village knows each other and is friendly. Both Respondent F and J like Indonesia, with Respondent F believing Indonesian neighbours, are friendly and kind and cook delicious food. Respondent I believes that life moves slowly in Indonesia, making it more relaxing and comfortable.

Respondents acknowledge Indonesia's economic problem but argue it is less severe than reported. The second impression of the respondents is the economic problem faced by Indonesia. Respondents A, C, G, H, K and L described the wealth gap between the poor and rich as huge, even though the Indonesian economy has developed very rapidly. They saw significant differences between urban and rural areas. They said urban regions had tall buildings, luxury cars, and paved roads, and life was very advanced and modern. In contrast, rural areas had little infrastructure, poor water quality and electric outages. However, Respondent A argues that Indonesia's economic development is similar to Taiwan's, making it worth exploring. H said she doesn't feel messy like people and the media say.

Apart from their experiences, internal and external factors limit the second generation of a Taiwanese-Indonesian intermarriage family's knowledge of their second hometown. Two aspects influence internal factors. The first aspect is their mother's knowledge of Indonesia, primarily determined by their concrete socio-environment, education, and life experiences before leaving Indonesia. Such an introduction to Indonesia given to their children will have limitations in accuracy and objectivity. Ethnocentrism reason is the second internal factor. Given Taiwanese families' strong recognition of their culture, they have pre-conceived attitudes and views in perceiving the culture of new residents, which limits new residents from imparting knowledge of their native culture to the second generation. External factors are influenced by knowledge about Indonesia obtained from school and news in the mass media. These factors limit the second generation's Indonesian language and culture learning.

4.2. Second-Generation Perceptions Towards Their Identity and NSP

In this research, most respondents viewed Indonesia as their second hometown. Respondents A, B, D, G, H, I and L believed that Indonesia is a better understood or known country than other countries outside Taiwan since Indonesia is their mother's home country. Respondent J even said that Indonesia was his second identity. Respondent E said he had never been to Indonesia but wanted to visit the country. The Indonesian food he ate in Taiwan was very delicious; eating them in their native country would be tastier and more authentic. The respondent also felt that if he visited Indonesia, he would be able to find many exciting stuffs that the respondent would like.

Meanwhile, respondent F said that Indonesia was a country that was both familiar and unfamiliar to him. Before visiting Indonesia, the respondent heard many positive and negative stories about it from her mother, which led to him having some stereotypes about it. Those stereotypes are, for example, Indonesia is not a safe place, and native Indonesians do not like Chinese Indonesians. But, after visiting Indonesia personally, he felt the opposite as the people are warmhearted and the neighbours frequently see each other. He mentioned that he did not have this kind of experience in Taiwan and did not even know who lived on the top floor of his apartment. Respondent F emphasized that the language barrier limits him from understanding his mother's country as his second hometown. Respondent F said he felt the warmth of Indonesian people even though he faced hurdles regarding the language. As second-generation immigrants born in Taiwan, not all of them had the opportunity to comprehend more about their mother's hometown. Thus, it makes sense that they have very little knowledge of Indonesia. Respondent K said that even though he had a mother who came from Indonesia, his mother did not share much information or stories about Indonesia with him. All he knew was information related to the Indonesian economy — such as the car assembly and food processing industries — as well as the country's socio-political news, the most notable being the Indonesian natives' discrimination against the local Chinese.

The research results show that most respondents stated that the NSP assists in building up a deeper relationship between Indonesia and Taiwan. Respondents also mentioned that the NSP has gradually improved relations between the two countries, which, in turn, could create opportunities for the young generation of both countries. Respondent C said that knowing

the history of other countries is beneficial for Taiwan's future development. Meanwhile, respondent D recognized that there is progress in bilateral relations, and this could help both countries understand each other, even though the benefits were still limited. Based on the observations during the research, although many Southeast Asian cultural promotion activities are organized by the government or NGOs in public spaces, the main participants remain Southeast Asian migrants. Taiwanese locals rarely involved themselves in these activities. Those Taiwanese who were present in the activities only came in as spectators and would not participate in the cultural performances.

Respondents argue that while some promotional and exchange activities under the NSP are improving knowledge about Southeast Asia, more effort is needed to raise awareness and acceptance of new residents' cultures in Taiwanese society. They argue that those activities seem to be ineffective and do not bring significant effects on the awareness and acceptance of the new residents' culture among the Taiwanese. Respondents E, F, G, and K agreed that NSP provided many opportunities for further cooperation and exchanges with Taiwanese and Indonesians. Since the NSP was launched, Southeast Asian students have been able to study in Taiwan. The Taiwan government has offered many scholarships for Southeast Asian students who seek to learn and undertake cultural exchanges in Taiwan. Respondent G gave an example that since her campus had many Indonesian students; she had the opportunity to make friends and have cultural exchanges with the Indonesians. Respondent K emphasised that cultural promotion activities have increased the visibility of Southeast Asian culture, but the communication channels between the two countries are still inadequate.

Four respondents said that the NSP did not positively influence improving relations between the two countries. Respondent B said he did not have much knowledge about NSP. Still, many Taiwanese perceived that Southeast Asian countries have a lower status than Taiwan in both cultural and economic terms. Respondent H emphasized that the news on television still often reports negative information about the NSP. For instance, the headlines often appeared in such form — "Taiwan NSP: Indonesian Students Came to Taiwan and End Up as Labourers" — and there is still a view that Southeast Asians are second-level citizens. Meanwhile, the conservative groups in Taiwan are still rejecting the presence of Southeast Asians in Taiwan. In Indonesia's case, the 1998 anti-Chinese riots brought a negative

image of Indonesia in Taiwan. Taiwanese still doubt whether Indonesians can accept or work with Taiwanese or Chinese.

Meanwhile, eight out of twelve respondents agreed that the NSP had positive effects and benefits for them as the second generation. The future economic advantages that are valuable for them include wider job opportunities, more considerable educational resources to learn their mother tongue and the establishment of Southeast Asian majors in the universities. Moreover, the NSP opened the gate for more opportunities to know more people and their second hometown. At the same time, it also expanded the market for Taiwanese business and investment sectors. Respondents K and E said that the NSP afforded many opportunities to know Indonesia, with the language barrier as an impediment to overcome. Although they have been recognised as a second generation in Taiwanese society, they should have been able to take more opportunities if they could learn more about their culture and mother tongue from an early age.

The results of this research show that new residents have been present in Taiwanese society for a long time, yet their presence has received little attention from the government. Even though Southeast Asian mother-tongue language learning has been compiled into the curriculum, it is far from simultaneous implementation on the ground. Based on the author's experiences, who is also an Indonesian language teacher, some schools in Taiwan do not open Indonesian language classes due to the shortage of relevant teachers.

5. Conclusion

The theoretical implications of this research show that the NSP, on the one hand, is an important foreign policy of President Tsai-Ing Wen's government. On the other hand, NSP also influences the dynamic in Taiwan's domestic space. As a foreign economic policy, it contributes to Taiwan's political and economic development and positively impacts Indonesian society. NSP offers some improvements for the long-term relations between Taiwan and Indonesia and affirms and strengthens the identity of Indonesians living in Taiwan regardless of their status.

Respondents expressed their expectations for the Taiwanese government to offer more knowledge about Indonesia's latest developments and the positive effects from the improvement of relations between Taiwan and Indonesia. The initiation of the NSP exemplifies the Taiwanese government's

recognition of the Southeast Asian region and increasing self-confidence in intermarriage families. These policy programs also intensify the visibility of Southeast Asian culture in Taiwan (especially the Indonesian culture) and improve the communication channels for both parties. A challenge in this dimension is that cultural exchange between new residents and local Taiwanese people has not yet been fully implemented. The new residents are still hesitant to display and practising their mix-race culture and identity in society.

That said, the NSP has certainly opened another door for Taiwan's relations with Southeast Asian countries. The Taiwanese government should take advantage of today's domestic social structure to build a mutual and sustainable socio-economic relationship with Southeast Asian countries. The Taiwanese government should further empower the potential of the second generation as a bridge for people-to-people relations in the future. There is no doubt that NSP serves as a platform for developing a long-term investment for Taiwan.

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