

YOUNG TAIWANESE IMMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA: THE CHALLENGES OF ADAPTATION, SELF IDENTITY AND RETURNING

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ABSTRACT

Research on Taiwanese migrants has primarily been conducted in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada, but much less in non-English speaking countries such as Argentina. The literature on Taiwanese immigrants has also tended to overlook young people, whether born in Taiwan or in destination countries. The present research tries to fill in this gap by focusing on the family ties of young Taiwanese migrants in Argentina, and the role they play in their adaptation to Argentina and return-migration decisions. The objective of this research is to depict the situation of young people of Taiwanese origin in Argentina. The guiding question is, how do these young people view their family and national identity? The method of study is first a literature review mainly based on statistics, surveys and other secondary sources. Moreover, to get a snapshot of young return migrants from Argentina, 18 interviews with semi-structured questionnaires were conducted in Taiwan between 2008 and 2009. Cultural norms between Taiwan and Argentina are quite different, as manifested by the concepts of savings, intercultural marriages and filial piety which have not been eroded by being abroad at a young age. Young immigrants tend to follow the social norms of intergenerational relations at the places of origin, and seem less

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affected by those of Argentina. At the same time, the transnational traits exhibited by the younger generation are shown by their bilingual ability, friendship with Argentineans, getting employment and participation in various social activities. The term "sandwich generation" may best describe the younger generation of Taiwanese living in Argentina or that has returned to Taiwan, referring to how they are squeezed between fulfilling responsibilities to elderly parents and their own children.

Keywords: Transnational family, Taiwanese migration, diasporic Taiwanese, family networks, 1.5 return migrants

INTRODUCTION

Research on Taiwanese migrants has primarily been conducted in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Canada (Wong 2005; Chiang and Hsu 2006; Chiang 2008; Chiang and Liao 2008; Chiang and Yang 2008). Only recently has there been an interest in Taiwanese migration to other countries such as Guam (Stephenson et al. 2010) and Argentina (Chen et al. 2010; Ho 2010). Research on young Taiwanese migrants has been published in English only with regards to Australia and Canada (Chiang and Liao 2008; Chiang and Yang 2008; Chiang 2011b). There is, however, a line of research on young Taiwanese migrants in Argentina (Zuzek 2004; Bretal 2005) but this research has only been available in Spanish. The present research tries to fill in the gap of research in English on young Taiwanese migrants by making this other line of research visible, comparing it to studies done in English-speaking countries, and adding data from our own empirical research on return migrants to Taiwan.

The structure of the paper is as follows: First, a review of research on Taiwanese migration helps place the objectives of the present paper in perspective. Second, immigration to Argentina is synthesised in terms of history, politics, economy, demography and society. Third, the situation of young Taiwanese immigrants in Argentina is explained. Lastly, the findings on young Taiwanese return migrants are presented.

TAIWANESE AND THE "NEW ASIAN MIGRATION"

In the 1990s the term "new Asian immigration" was conceived to describe the middle-class professionals and entrepreneurs who were arriving in large numbers to the United States, in contrast to the older Asian migration of working class labourers (Wong 2005). Similarly, the term "new migration" in Argentina refers to Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese and Koreans, among other arrivals. This term was coined to differentiate it from the migration wave of the second half of the 19th century, mainly involving migrants from Europe (Carruitero 2007).

Taiwanese participate in a global immigration marketplace where there is competition primarily among Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and to a lesser extent, the United States. This is reflected in these countries' respective business migration policies, which are receptive and welcoming; the commodity offered by these countries is their respective "visa," which reflects the right of immigration to their country and perhaps an eventual citizenship (Wong 2003, 2005).

In Taiwan, immigration consultants are important players in this process, since they facilitate the migration of wealthy business immigrants to these traditional destination countries, as well as to increasingly popular options such as Belize and Costa Rica. The family dynamics of these entrepreneurs often lead to migration decisions with consideration of factors such as educational opportunities for their children and their established social capital in terms of family and friendship networks (Wong 2005).

A transnational family is different from a conventional immigrant family that makes a linear movement pattern and settles; the defining factor is not the act of cross-border movement of the family, but the dispersion of the family, nuclear or extended, across international borders, where different family members spend time in one or the other country depending on various factors, as has been well-studied by Bryceson and Vuorela (2002), Kavakli Birdal (2005), Yeoh et al. (2005) and Sun (2009).

The "astronaut strategy" has been adopted by many Taiwanese immigrant families; typically, men return to work in their country of origin but their wives remain abroad where the children complete their education (Chiang 2008; Ley and Kobayashi 2005). As children's education came foremost in the families' decision to emigrate from Taiwan, the completion of tertiary education is a critical time for parents who return to their base in Taiwan, although some choose to stay in the destination countries (Chiang 2011a). While parents re-unite and live in the same country, the younger

generation disperses over more than one country (Ho and Bedford 2008). Because of high levels of uncertainty and insecurity about future employment prospects among this generation of immigrants, many are prepared to leave the destination country and come back to their country of birth, or even re-emigrate to countries where they could find work (Chiang and Liao 2008; Ley 2010). The so-called "astronaut strategy" results in transnational arrangements that sustain social fields in both the origin and destination countries, a phenomenon which is quite different from the early immigration in the 1960s and 1970s (Chiang and Huang 2009). Studies have shown that while migration and the transnational arrangement have made some wives more dependent on husbands for economic support, it has also provided the opportunity for them to become the heads of households and to exercise autonomy and authority (Chiang 2008).

Transnationalism invokes a social form that spans borders and involves structures or systems of relationships best described as networks. The transnationalism paradigm is relatively new, but it has gone through substantial development since the early 1990s (Wong 2005). Transnational family networks constitute a form of "capital"; Taiwanese use family ties to expand business connections in different countries and develop spatial division of labour. Wong (2005) explains that Taiwanese use three common transnational business models: 1) Asian production and North American distribution; 2) opening branches of retail chains in other countries; and 3) importing/exporting.

In contrast, research by Fong et al. (2008, 2010) claims that only a small percentage of Chinese immigrants in Canada maintain intensive and extensive transnational contact, mostly in the initial stage of the migration process. Further research is needed to determine whether the same situation happens for Taiwanese migrants.

As stated by Hugo (2008), it is well known that return migration has been a longstanding feature of migration systems, particularly older migrants who return home at the completion of their working lives. What seems to be different in the contemporary era is that return migration often occurs at a much earlier stage in the career and life cycles. Return migration to East Asian countries has been understudied, but it seems that strong economic development in these countries has led to the rapid growth of young return migrants in the last decade. For example, Salaff et al. (2008) reports that emigrants from Hong Kong have recently shown a strong tendency of return migration due to the economic prosperity there.

In order to fill in this gap, there is a recent line of research on the 1.5 generation of Taiwanese return migrants (Chiang and Liao 2008; Chen et al.

2010; Chiang 2011b). Their work has focused on understanding the reasons, usually of their parents, for moving, their adaptation in the host country, and the re-adjustment of return migrants. To differentiate them from subjects in earlier migration studies, the 1.5 generation of return migrants is defined as those who immigrated with their parents when they were young, and after completing their education have returned to Taiwan where they have now lived for over one year. Their findings indicate that young Taiwanese returnees from Canada, Australia and New Zealand came back mainly to look for better career opportunities. Nonetheless, the chance of reunion with their families in Taiwan, the search for potential spouses and their affection towards Taiwan are also important social and cultural factors leading to reverse migration.

As for those who have continued to live in their host countries, a study by Ip and Hsu (2006) found that the 1.5 generation immigrants who remained in Australia not only asserted their identities as Taiwanese, but also subscribed to values that were characteristically traditional, and frequently followed well-accepted Chinese gender lines. Despite receiving multi-cultural education and having different world views from those of their parents, they still submitted to their parent's wishes by marrying Taiwanese or somebody that "at least spoke Mandarin." Similarly, Chiang and Yang (2008) found that families of young immigrants had an influence on their choice of friends and therefore also on their identity. Families also influenced the young immigrants' choice of a university major, which in turn influenced their careers after graduation.

The present research continues in the line of research on new Asian migration, and more specifically, on the 1.5 generation of Taiwanese migrants while covering a new geographic area: Latin America. Since these young migrants have lived in a transnational context in terms of family ties and location, the guiding question is, how do these young people view their family and national identity? The objective of this research is to depict the situation of young people of Taiwanese origin in Argentina focusing on their family ties, and the role they play in their adaptation to Argentina and return-migration decisions. The method of study is first a literature review based on statistics, surveys, qualitative studies and other secondary sources. Additionally, and to get a further snapshot of young return migrants from Argentina, 18 interviews with semi-structured questionnaires were conducted in Taiwan.

IMMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA

In order to place Taiwanese migration to Argentina in context, this section covers immigration to Argentina from a historical and a demographical perspective. Argentina is the country that has received the largest amount of immigrants in Latin America (Rocha 2004). Historically, this has been due to low population density and welcoming immigration policies (Panecca and Courtis 2008).

In the period between the war between China and Japan (1894) and the Chinese Civil War (1949), the magnitude of Chinese immigration increased gradually. This first period of Chinese migration was not significant in terms of numbers. They were mostly lone men that came primarily from coastal provinces of Southern Mainland China, who arrived at the country with little capital (Sassone and Mera, 2006). The first Chinese immigrant to Argentina, Mr. Lee Yu-Tan, arrived in 1910 from Peru. He lived for more than 100 years and his offspring married local people and were integrated into the local society. Other ethnic Chinese immigrants from Lima (Peru), Chintien, Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Shandong followed, but these immigrants had difficulties in obtaining admission and residence. Some of them used the personal identification documents of deceased people and took their identity, while others stayed in the country intermittently, and the rest—especially those coming from neighbouring countries or those who escaped from ships—were able to obtain residence in one of several amnesties (Zuzek 2004).

A second period came with the Chinese Civil War³ and its subsequent emigration of political refugees. In 1952, the priest Kao Ze-Chien arrived at Argentina together with more than 300 people who belonged to more than 100 families. This group consisted of qualified workers from Chinese society, including Chang Ta-Chien, a grand master of Chinese art. As Mr. Kao fervently improvised ways to legalise their migratory process, he was imprisoned but later freed from his detention by Eva Peron (a famous political figure in Argentina), due partly to his religious contacts. This incident produced movement of Chinese immigrants to neighbouring countries, especially Brazil, where they were able to establish themselves and move on to privileged social strata. In general terms, and considering the above-mentioned incident, the rise of Chinese immigration in Argentina was slow during the first half of the twentieth century. Extra-official

³ During the Chinese Civil War between the Communists and the Nationalists, the Communists took over the mainland region of China and the Nationalists were pushed out to Taiwan.

accounts tell of 600 to 700 Chinese immigrants in Argentina in the 1950s (Sassone and Mera 2006), and 1,500 people in 1960–1965 (Zuzek 2004).

In 1972, another organised group, this time led by the priest Chao Yapó, arrived at Argentina with ten families. They entered the country as tourists, but due to close relations between Chao and the authorities at the time, they were successful in obtaining legal residence. With the help of Chao and earlier migrants, a massive immigration of Chinese escaping from the communist regime to Argentina began (Zuzek 2004).

Between the decades of the 1970s and 1990s there was a Taiwanese immigration "wave" (Bretal 2005). Immigrants commonly arrived with their whole family and had capital to establish commercial business in Argentina. Reasons for emigration included fear of a communist invasion to Taiwan (Sassone and Mera 2006).

The General Immigration Law (number 22.439) has been under effect since 1981 without substantial adaptation to the current dynamics of international migration. In 1987, the National Migration Office put into effect a more selective law (numbered 2.478), which gave foreigners permission to arrive or reside in a permanent or temporary manner if they owned enough capital to develop an industrial, commercial, mining, agricultural or fishing activity (Bretal 2005). Starting in that year, the immigrants coming from the People's Republic of China (PRC) or Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan⁴ generally brought their own capital with which to develop small businesses (Bretal 2005). In 1994, a new criterion for admission was established (Regulatory Decree number 1.023); one of the requisites for processing a residence is to obtain a work permit certified with signatures. In 1998, the Decree number 1.117 established a payment of 200 pesos for the admission form and did not allow the change of category for immigrants with "transitory," "student temporary" or "hired temporary worker" status (Bretal 2005).

In 2001, the total foreign population registered in the country that came from Asia was 29,672 (2 percent of the total foreigner population), of which 3,511 came from Taiwan. However, the Taipei Commercial and Cultural Office in Buenos Aires provided statistics which show that the maximum quantity of Taiwanese that has been in the country was 30,000 persons; but it went down to 20,000 after the Argentinean economic crisis in 2001 (Bretal 2005; Sui Lee 1999 cited by Zuzek 2004).

⁴ ROC and PRC refer to sovereign states, *Taiwan* and *Mainland China* refer to territories, and *Chinese* refers to an ethnic or supra-ethnic grouping. There is a large variety of Chinese located in different countries, such as Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, Southeast Asian countries, Latin America, South Africa and Europe. The political issues regarding these concepts are beyond the scope of this paper.

There is, however, no unanimous data on the precise number of Taiwanese immigrants in Argentina (Zuzek 2004). The 2001 Census in Argentina indicated that there were 3,511 Taiwanese immigrants, of which 29 percent were below the age of 24, 49.4 percent were between the ages of 25 to 49, and 21.6 percent were aged 50 or above (INDEC 2004).

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND COMMERCE BETWEEN TAIWAN AND ARGENTINA

International politics and commerce are factors that may foster migration. This section explains political and economic relations between Taiwan and Argentina that may facilitate or affect migratory processes.

Diplomatic relations between Argentina and ROC on Taiwan commenced in 1945, but were interrupted in 1972 when the Argentinean government recognised the PRC. As a consequence, the ROC embassy in Buenos Aires closed its doors and the Taiwan Commercial Office was established in its place. In 1995, this office changed its name to Taipei Commercial and Cultural Office. In response, the Argentinean government established the Argentinean Cultural and Commercial Office in Taipei during 1992. In 1997, the Friends of Taiwan Parliamentary Group was created in the National Argentinean Legislative Chamber (OCCTA 2008a). Taiwan's International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF) started technical training programs for Argentina in 1991. Up to 2008, 82 government employees from Argentina had received scholarships from this organisation, mainly employees from institutions dependent on the Ministry of Economy and Production. Workshop topics included policies for assistance to small and medium enterprises, promotion of international commerce and support for the textile industry (OCCTA 2008b). In sum, a historical account of Taiwanese-Argentinean diplomatic relations shows that, despite lack of recognition of the ROC in international circles, formal relations between the two countries have been maintained.

As for economic relations, the commercial interchange between Argentina and Taiwan has been less than 1 percent of the total for both countries. Before 1987, the total amount of annual bilateral commerce was about US\$ 50 million. In 1991, following a more liberal economic policy by the Menem⁵ government, imports of industrial products from Taiwan increased. Exports of consumption goods from Argentina to Taiwan also

⁵ Carlos Menem was the Argentinean president from 1989 to 1999.

increased, but in the presence of a monetary policy of free convertibility, Argentinean products lost competitive edge in the international market, resulting in a decrease of exports to Taiwan. From that moment and until the devaluation of the Argentinean Peso in 2002, the bilateral commercial balance was in favour of Taiwan (OCCTA 2008b).

After the first half of 1996, the Argentinean economy recovered and the import of capital and intermediary goods increased dramatically. Exports of petroleum, leather and agricultural products to Taiwan increased considerably, and in that year, international commerce increased to US\$ 502.88 million. In 1997, exports to Taiwan surpassed US\$ 300 million. In 1999, the economic crisis in Brazil affected the Argentinean economy, causing a reduction of exports by 3.8 percent. In the year 2000, the Argentinean economy experienced the worst crisis of the previous 10 years attributable to several reasons (OCCTA 2008b).

Starting in 2002, devaluation of the local currency (the *Peso*) was followed by two phenomena. On one hand, exports started to increase because Argentinean products gained competitive edge in the international market. On the other hand, imports showed a notable decrease (See Table 1, OCCTA 2008b). From 2004 onward, Argentinean exports to Taiwan showed a variable tendency while Argentinean imports from Taiwan grew continuously (See Table 1, OCCTA 2011).

Table 1: Immigrants in Argentina, 2001. Source: INDEC (2004).

Place of birth	Total	Sex and age groups											
		Men						Women					
		Total	0–14	15–24	25–49	50–64	65 or more	Total	0–14	15–24	25–49	50–64	65 or more
Total Population	36,260,130												
Immigrants	1,531,940	699,555	37,465	61,864	252,584	175,985	171,657	832,385	36,953	74,916	306,729	187,675	226,112
AMERICA	1,041,117	477,985	31,596	55,624	227,990	105,958	56,817	563,132	31,384	68,734	282,342	113,407	67,265
EUROPE	432,349	194,238	3,212	2,692	13,511	64,827	109,996	238,111	3,037	2,672	13,014	68,509	150,879
ASIA	29,672	15,192	879	1,713	6,449	3,301	2,850	14,480	819	1,458	5,945	2,860	3,398
China	4,184	2,365	84	330	1,512	342	97	1,819	96	252	1,123	266	82
Korea	8,205	4,143	190	476	2,169	995	313	4,062	162	447	2,198	948	307
Japan	4,753	2,331	150	55	399	858	869	2,422	122	40	445	700	1,115
Lebanon	1,619	806	6	17	137	188	458	813	1	8	97	187	520
Syria	2,350	1,200	9	27	262	210	692	1,150	9	21	173	170	777
Taiwan	3,511	1,786	179	356	848	341	62	1,725	168	316	886	304	51
Rest of Asia	5,050	2,561	261	452	1,122	367	359	2,489	261	374	1,023	285	546
AFRICA	1,883	1,028	64	65	458	247	194	855	44	68	245	259	239
OCEANIA	747	380	66	132	138	30	14	367	84	112	135	19	17
Unknown	26,172	10,732	1,648	1,638	4,038	1,622	1,786	15,440	1,585	1,872	5,048	2,621	4,314

The main imports from Argentina to Taiwan included leather, oils, cheese, fish meal, chocolate, wine, onion, yarn, wood, fresh and dried grapes, fabric and tobacco (OCCTA 2008b). The main exports from Taiwan to Argentina included electronic equipment, integrated circuits, machinery, steel products, computer parts and chemical products (OCCTA 2008b).

In sum, commerce between Taiwan and Argentina is not substantial but has increased over the years despite being affected by several economic crises in Argentina. Exports from Argentina to Taiwan were mostly commodities and food while Argentina imported mostly high-technology products.

PROFILE OF TAIWANESE IN ARGENTINA

A great part of the cultural and social life of Chinese immigrants in the capital city of Buenos Aires, Argentina takes place in Chinatown ("Barrio Chino"; literally, Chinese neighbourhood). It is not really a neighbourhood, but two blocks and nearby streets in the Belgrano neighbourhood where there are Chinese restaurants, supermarkets, video clubs, schools, a Chinese herbalist shop, an eyeglass store, a barber shop, a Buddhist temple and a Presbyterian church. Traditional Chinese food ingredients, vegetables and dishes can be found; some businesses specialise in soybean-based products. There are also five Chinese newspapers.⁶ The official webpage of the Belgrano neighbourhood (<http://www.mibelgrano.com.ar/barriochino.htm>) indicates that it receives 15,000 visitors per weekend, while the Chinese New Year is its major celebration. Its main community organisations include the Cultural Institute of Languages of the Sin-Heng Presbyterian Evangelical Church, established in 1982, and the Chong Kuan Buddhist temple. The first ethnic group to establish themselves there was the Taiwanese, and it was once called "Taiwan Street." Then Mainland Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Thai and Vietnamese also established businesses. As of now, Mainland Chinese dominate in numbers (Zuzek 2004; Sassone and Mera 2006; Buenos Aires City Government 2010).

In the urban center of the city of La Plata, Bretal (2005) identified at least 50 businesses that belonged to Asian immigrants. The "Chinese supermarkets" (about 30) are the most common. Immigrants from Taiwan that live in La Plata have mainly installed businesses related to photograph

⁶ The names in Spanish of these newspapers are: Horizonte Asiático, Noticias Mundiales, Semanario Chino, Semanario de Taiwán and Semanario Tai-Ar (Zuzek 2004).

developing.⁷ There are additional businesses in the neighbourhoods outside the urban centre (Bretal 2005).

As for why Taiwanese dedicate themselves to photo developing, Carruitero (2007) presents the following account from a young Taiwanese female immigrant in Buenos Aires:

"Most Taiwanese parents that emigrated to Argentina work on photography; most have photo developing, supermarkets and laundry businesses, as these demand less use of language but more of numbers. That is my hypothesis; most people that come to work here do that... they have resources, but do not master the language, and so they hire someone to deal with that."

Carruitero's study shows how the language barrier limits labour possibilities for Taiwanese immigrants in Argentina and reduces them to those activities that do not require extensive use of the local language.

According to the Taipei Commercial and Cultural Office, there are about 60 social organisations among Taiwanese immigrants (Zuzek 2004). This is not a surprise, as Taiwanese organisations proliferate in countries of immigration such as Canada (Wickberg 2007) and Australia. Appendix 1 presents a classification of these organisations; these include 16 religious, 9 political, 8 professional, 7 youth and 6 ethnic organisations. The large number and wide array of organisations show the depth of the social fabric among Taiwanese migrants in Argentina, especially given the relatively small population of Taiwanese in Argentina. The oldest one is the Civil Association of Free Chinese in Argentina, with 26 years of existence.

Due to lack of language abilities, Taiwanese choose to rely on family ties to migrate, as shown in the account of a young Taiwanese female:

"My parents came to work as merchants, let's say. My grandfather was already here, and his brother too, that came about 40 years ago from Taiwan. [...] My grandfather had arrived earlier; he came because he wanted to work, to improve his economic standing. [...] My mother worked in supermarket (sic); she was a cashier in my grandfather's business" (Carruitero 2007).

⁷ Rocha (2004) wrote the anecdote that, in "Fénix" Photographic studio, Taiwanese like to take their pictures with traditional clothing, backgrounds and hairstyles. They like to send these pictures to their relatives in Taiwan.

Parents, friends and country mates who went earlier generated migration chains, as newcomers depend on immigrants who were established. Here is another example from a young Taiwanese female immigrant:

"My family had migrated from Taiwan to Bolivia. And from Bolivia they came here [to Argentina]. Just yesterday my mother was telling me this story because a friend of hers who also lived in Bolivia migrated here; my mother came to visit her and saw that there was more variety in food; there was more meat and it was more tasty; there was chocolate that was not abundant there; and so she liked it and told my father about it; and moved here with my brothers. My uncles also came, and lived first in Saavedra [a neighborhood in Buenos Aires]. Later on, another friend of my mother had the supermarket that we then bought from her" (Carruitero 2007).

There is a paucity of demographic data or population studies on Taiwanese immigrants in Argentina. Sui Lee did a survey of Taiwanese in Argentina in 1998 for a Master's thesis at the University of Buenos Aires⁸ (cited by Zuzek 2004). Table 2 presents a synthesis of the results.

Table 2: Bilateral Commerce between Argentina and Taiwan (Unit: millions of US\$). Source: OCCTA (2011).

Year	From Argentina to Taiwan	From Taiwan to Argentina	Total
2000	71,52	221,34	292,87
2001	36,47	161,22	197,69
2002	118,24	45,66	163,90
2003	150,09	116,08	266,18
2004	124,13	152,82	276,96
2005	142,88	180,94	323,83
2006	98,15	214,05	312,20
2007	111,25	256,31	367,56
2008	133,09	306,36	439,15

⁸ This document is cited in two ways: A) Kuo Wei Sui Lee, "Los inmigrantes chinos en Argentina" (Master's thesis in International Migration Policy, Center of Advanced Studies, University of Buenos Aires, 1999); B) Kuo Wei Sui Lee, "La migración china y taiwanesa en la Argentina" (Master's program in International Migration, University of Buenos Aires, 22 November 1999).

YOUNG TAIWANESE IMMIGRANTS RESIDING IN ARGENTINA

This section reviews research on young Taiwanese immigrants who reside in Argentina with the purpose of understanding the challenges of adaptation and self-identity. There are two recent exploratory studies on young Taiwanese residing in the Argentinean cities of Buenos Aires (Zuzek 2004) and La Plata (Bretal 2005).

In terms of the self-identity of young Taiwanese in Buenos Aires, answers in Zuzek's study (2004) were varied. The wide range of answers included the following: "Taiwanese," "more Taiwanese than Argentinean," "half Argentinean/half Taiwanese," "more Argentinean than Taiwanese" and "Argentinean with Taiwanese origin." There was one person who identified herself as "nothing" (Zuzek 2004). The wide range of answers in the first study suggests that young Taiwanese immigrants deal with self-identity in terms of their own individual values, perceptions and the specific events that have occurred in their lives.

Conversely in Bretal's study (2005), the interviewees identified themselves as Taiwanese who were accustomed to the Argentinean way of life. None of them saw themselves as "more Taiwanese than Argentinean" nor "more Argentinean than any other national category," and certainly not as "an Argentinean with a Taiwanese origin." Nonetheless, they had grown accustomed to local ways of life because of the number of years they have lived in the country and because they arrived in the country at an early age. It is not clear whether the divergence with the previous study may be due to the order and nature of the questions asked, or if Taiwanese in the smaller city of La Plata have more traditional values. Bretal (2005) concluded that young immigrants of Taiwanese families living in La Plata tend to maintain Taiwanese cultural values in their family lives.

An overarching theme that emerged as a difference between Taiwanese immigrants and locals was Chinese⁹ filial piety or "respect for elders" (Zuzek 2004), as elaborated by one informant:

"We have to respect our elders. We never call them by their first names; we have to say *Aunt* or *Uncle* first... (...). Here, my classmates call their parents 'old man' (in Spanish, *viejo*). In our country, this is never done. We would say 'mother' or

⁹ Here, we refer to Chinese in terms of a culture with a relatively common set of values that spans beyond the territory of Taiwan.

'father,' instead of calling them by their first names" (Bretal 2005: 14).

Another interviewee expressed:

"Here sometimes people talk to their parents with no respect, but in Taiwan you cannot do that. This is because when you are young, your parents buy things for you and help you a lot. Then when we become adults, we have to *respect* them. The biggest difference is that when we get married, or when we are adults, we don't live away from our parents. Instead, we live together [or close by]. Here, it is different; the parents live alone, and their sons and daughters live alone. Over there, this is never done. When parents are very old, at least one of us would undoubtedly live with them and take care of them. If they are very old and weak, we go and take care of them." (Bretal 2005: 14–15).

In its core, "respect for elders" entails that offspring will take care of their parents during old age. Being independent is not regarded as a positive aspect, so "taking care" of parents most often means that they will live with one of their children after marriage. This practice is unusual in Argentinean culture, especially in the middle and high strata of society in Buenos Aires. This difference in customs may cause conflicts if there is a formal relationship between an immigrant Taiwanese and a local Argentinean.

A second theme that emerged as a difference between Taiwanese immigrants and local Argentineans was the parent-child relationship (Zuzek 2004). In Chinese culture, the intergenerational relations show a certain distance. Parents of Taiwanese were seen as "strict" and "distant." Disrespect for parents is badly regarded, as it is believed that children are a reflection of their parents. In contrast, parents of Argentineans were found to be "open" and "warm" in the eyes of immigrant Taiwanese. From their perception, the parent-child relation is that of peers or friends, i.e., there is enough trust to allow a profound dialogue between the two parts. From an early age, the role of the son is different from one culture to another. According to interviewees (Zuzek 2004), being a good child is "having respect for parents," which means pleasing the latter's desires without showing disobedience. In case there is resistance, it is socially accepted to discipline children physically. Inappropriate child behaviour is believed to stem from improper education received from their family. If young

immigrant Taiwanese want to adopt a particular Argentinean custom that differs from what their parents expect, conflict may arise; Zuzek (2004) believes that the selection of one practice over another would go against either their own desires or their family mandates.

A third theme that marked a difference between Taiwanese immigrants and local Argentineans was education (Zuzek 2004). Most young Taiwanese in Argentina complete high school studies and therefore learn the Spanish language well (Bretal 2005). In Chinese culture, parents push their children to be good students and go out of their way to create favourable conditions for studying. Since parents work very hard, they expect their children to be dedicated students. Taiwanese immigrant parents want their children to follow traditional careers, especially medicine, which can guarantee good income and prestige, and ultimately a good spouse. In the view of young interviewees (Zuzek 2004), parents directly or indirectly choose the field of study for their children. On the contrary, there is more freedom among Argentinean families for choosing a career path. These findings are similar to the 1.5 generation of Taiwanese immigrants who were studied in Australia (Ip and Hsu 2006; Chiang and Yang 2008).

A fourth theme that emerged was socialising. A friendly and warm relation between acquaintances is seen as a distinctive characteristic of being Argentinean. This is manifested in various ways; during infancy, it involves going to birthday parties to which all classmates are invited, staying over to sleep at a friend's house and doing homework with a classmate. In later years, it entails going out late at night and coming back in the early morning. These are customs that are unacceptable to many oriental parents. As a result, people may face problems for mixing with groups of Argentinean young people. Conversely, Chinese parents establish early curfews for their children to get back home. They also pay special attention to their children's friends and inquire about their family background (Zuzek, 2004). Bretal's study (2005) reported that subjects had few Argentinean friends, and that they met these friends in elementary or high school.

A fifth emerging theme was marriage. Chinese parents want their children's boyfriends and girlfriends to come from a "good family." Chinese parents would not expect their children to have a formal relationship until they finish their studies; and once they do have a relationship, the parents expect intentions of marriage. In more traditional families, parents intervene actively in this regard (Zuzek 2004; See Ip and Hsu for similar results in Australia). In Bretal's study (2005), subjects expressed that they wanted to find a Taiwanese for a partner, because of their different cultural traditions.

In the case of Chinese women, they are taught to be submissive to their husbands. Argentinean women, in contrast, appear as independent and holding their own opinions. A local Argentinean woman is not expected to be a housewife if she gives birth and can pursue a professional career if she desires (Zuzek 2004).

One more cultural difference between local Argentineans and Taiwanese immigrants is the way they view free time. Interviewees mentioned that in Chinese culture there is "no time for enjoyment" compared to the "Argentinean way of life." In a positive sense, being Argentinean is associated with warmth, sympathy and friendliness. On the contrary, being Taiwanese is associated with diligence, discipline and sincerity. In a negative sense, Argentineans are seen as working too little, and Chinese as being overly authoritarian, egocentric and unable to enjoy their free time (Zuzek 2004).

In sum, Taiwanese immigrants have differences when compared to locals in terms of the way they view filial piety, parent-child relationship, education, socialising and marriage. These differences represent a challenge for young people when trying to adapt to the local culture.

One factor that affects the level of adaptation to local culture is family expectations. A more flexible family environment is characterised by the adoption of typically Argentinean routines in terms of food, social life and values. Conversely, a more traditional family environment is characterised by adhering to Taiwanese ways in terms of language, relations between elders and young people, and traditional celebrations. When subjects had a primary socialisation process in an environment that was more open to local customs, they adopted a self-identity that was more Argentinean when compared to those that had a more traditional upbringing (Zuzek 2004). Therefore, family expectations are important for self-identity and adaptation because readiness to adopt local customs aids in establishing relationships with local people.

The relation between family expectations and self-identity works both ways, as national identity in turn affected the way subjects perceive family expectations. Those that tended to feel more Argentinean adopted a critical attitude towards certain values of Chinese culture. Those that felt they were both Taiwanese and Argentinean had a more "objective" vision, i.e., they recognised the positive and negative aspects of both cultures. Finally, those that felt more Taiwanese tended to retain more traditional family values (Zuzek 2004).

Primary socialisation also affects the process of secondary socialisation among young Taiwanese. For example, subjects that came

from "open" or moderately traditional families had a rich informal life, tended to create strong affective ties and belonged to groups of friends. These subjects had a critical attitude towards certain characteristics of Chinese culture. On the contrary, those that had a stronger Taiwanese identity had a poor social experience with local people. As a result, there was no development of strong affective ties, although some weak affective ties existed (Zuzek 2004).

Despite cultural differences, young Taiwanese in Argentina have thrived and have adapted to the local environment. They felt that their experiences in the Argentinean environment were positive and reported that both teachers and classmates treated them well (Zuzek 2004, Bretal 2005). In contrast, the older generation of Taiwanese made friends only within their own ethnic group (Bretal 2005). This seems to be true of most Taiwanese that the second author has studied in Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Chiang and Hsu 2006, 2008, 2011a, 2011b). It is harder for most of them to leave their comfort zone and try to speak a different language.

The six subjects in Bretal's study (2005) expressed day-to-day situations of discrimination and stated that all Taiwanese immigrants suffered from similar situations. As noted by one of them:

"...there is a lot of injustice; young people have thrown trash and soda cans at us, or have spat at us; a lot of things like these. [...] Two days ago, I was crossing the street [...] and there were two guys sitting down that started to laugh and insult me. Why? I didn't even know them! And suddenly, I asked them in a firm voice: 'why are you laughing, stupid?' 'Wow, this Chinese talks in Spanish,' the men answered, and they kept quiet; you see? They didn't say anything else. [...] After this experience, I am not afraid of anything. Now I know the language well. " (Bretal 2005: 12–13)

The sense of being regarded as different was also reported in Chen et al. (2010), as they interviewed a young lady who immigrated at the age of 11 with her younger sister:

"Our classmates were very curious about our black straight hair. Every day, someone would touch our hair. [...] I believe that they didn't mean anything bad."

In Bretal's study (2005), some aspects of Taiwanese culture are dominant, such as food. Their families prepared typical Taiwanese food and only occasionally ate local dishes. Nonetheless, other cultural aspects have been affected by migration. For example, young Taiwanese did not show much interest in traditional Taiwanese celebrations and did not know much about them. They explained that they were too young when they came to Argentina and that they were not taught by their parents about them. Others argued that they have grown accustomed to Argentinean culture, so that as long as they live in Argentina they will take part in local traditional celebrations. If they go back to Taiwan, however, they will celebrate Taiwanese festivities. Interviewees expressed that they would educate their Children according to Taiwanese values, although half of them pointed out that they would mix in some Argentinean values without specifying which ones.

Bretal (2005) pointed out the contrast between the socialisation of these young interviewees with the older generation of Taiwanese, on one hand, and what happens in primary and secondary schools on the other. This parallel process of socialisation has allowed them both to learn the Spanish language while maintaining affective and cultural ties with members of their ethnic group. This selective adaptation to local culture, however, does not occur without personal and interpersonal conflict. This may be a generalised tendency in many destination countries for young Taiwanese abroad. To state an example written in the view of a Swedish sociologist about Chinese in Singapore, Göransson (2010) noted that despite rapid societal change in Singapore, Chinese family values such as filial piety are unlikely to change. *Mutatis mutandis*, it would be surprising that growing up in Argentina would mean an instant transformation among the 1.5 generation of Taiwanese immigrants, especially in a culture with deeply rooted family values.

YOUNG TAIWANESE RETURN MIGRANTS FROM ARGENTINA

To get a snapshot of the 1.5 generational returnees who immigrated to Argentina after 1970, Chen et al. (2010) presented the results of in-depth interviews and surveys by semi structured questionnaires of 18 returnees from Argentina between September 2008 and January 2009. Their main research themes include: factors affecting migration decisions, adaptation process after returning to Taiwan, self-identities and future plans. The term "1.5 generation" refers to people who immigrate to a new country at a

young age. They earn the label of "1.5 generation" because they bring with them characteristics from their home country but continue their assimilation and socialisation in the new country.

Table 3 shows the profile of interviewees. Most of them emigrated while studying in primary schools during the 1980s. At the time of the interviews, their ages ranged from 24 to 39. They were employed as professionals in finance, commerce, computer sciences, information technology, biological engineering, research and teaching, or dentistry. In addition to high educational achievements, they all spoke Spanish, English and Mandarin well. Two of them also spoke an additional western language, German and Russian. While staying in Argentina or other countries, all returnees had worked part-time. Eight interviewees got their diplomas (including one doctor's degree) in Argentina; six got their degrees (four B.A., one M.A. and one Ph.D.) in Taiwan; while two migrants obtained their Master's degrees from the United States.

Table 3: Profile and Details of Respondents.

No.	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Education and present profession	Age of emigration /return	Reason for returning to Taiwan	Self-identities
A1	F	35	Married	PhD. Asst., Professor	10/19	6, 7	Taiwanese
A2	F	32	Single	B.A. Dentist	12/28	1, 2	Taiwanese
A3	M	33	Single	B.A. Clerk	14/31	2, 5	Taiwanese; Global
A4	F	34	Married	B.A. Clerk	6/20	4, 7, 6	Neither Taiwanese nor Argentine
A5	F	33	Single	M.A. Manager	11/19	7, 9	Taiwanese
A6	F	34	Single	M.A. Clerk	10/30	2, 6, 8	Taiwanese; Argentine
A7	M	36	Single	B.A. Dentist	10/28	2	Taiwanese; Argentine; Global
A8	M	34	Single	M.A.	13/28	5, 2	Taiwanese
A9	F	29	Married	B.A. Engineer	7/24	1, 6	Taiwanese; Argentine

A10	M	34	Married	B.A. Dentist	10/29	1, 3	Taiwanese; Argentine
A11	F	30	Married	B.A. Dentist	13/20	7, 4	Taiwanese
A12	F	37	Married	B.A. Dentist	10/28	2, 6	Taiwanese
A13	F	36	Single	PhD. Researcher	10/33	2,3	Taiwanese; Taiwanese Argentine
A14	F	39	Married	M.A. Asst. Professor	11/23	6, 4, 7, 9	Taiwanese
A15	M	24	Single	B.A. Student	10/18	7	Taiwanese
A16	M	34	Married	B.A. Engineer	7/19	7	Taiwanese
A17	F	36	Married	PhD. Asst. Professor	12/32	2,5	Taiwanese
A18	M	36	Married	M.A. Urban Planner	13/36	9	Taiwanese, Global

* Reasons for returning: 1. Economic recession in Argentina; 2. Work or look for better jobs; 3. Move back with family; 4. Parent's decision; 5. Care for elderly parents; 6. Marry or look for spouse; 7. Further studies or learn Chinese 8. Friends' suggestions; 9. Other reasons.

A lapse of 8 to 23 years have occurred between initial emigration and their return to Taiwan, meaning that most of them spent their formative years in Argentina; they got used to the culture, met friends in school and work, built their social network, accumulated social capital, and have kept memories of their school days. Interestingly, only five out of the 18 interviewees stated a dual identity of being Taiwanese and Argentine at the same time.

We found that the reasons for returning are multiple, complex and even difficult for some. Among them, family and economic reasons come first, as elaborated by narratives below.

REASONS FOR RETURN: FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

As said earlier, Taiwanese families who have immigrated abroad have kept similar family values as those in Taiwan, such as filial piety towards parents, family obligations as children, choice of fields of study,

occupation, and even choice of marriage partners (Chiang and Yang 2008; Chiang and Liao 2008; Ip and Hsu 2006). This has resulted in distancing of the younger generation from youths of similar ages in Argentina. In the case of young return migrants, family reasons predominate in their reasons for returning. As Table 3 shows, the three reasons for returning are related to families ("Move back with family," "Parent's decision" and "Care for elderly parents") accounting for one-fifth (8 out of 41) of total responses. The same proportion of respondents is found among those who "return for work or look for better jobs" among the 18 interviewees.

This is similar to the second author's findings (Chiang and Liao 2008) that young Taiwanese returnees from Australia came back mainly to seek better career opportunities. However, the chance of reunion with their families in Taiwan, the search for potential spouses, and their affection towards Taiwan are also important social and cultural factors leading to their reverse migration.

Returning with the whole family forms one type of return migration, sometimes with the parents returning before the children. In the case of A8, whose parents were transnationals at one time but have decided to settle permanently in Taiwan, his option of returning to Taiwan depends a lot on his parents' presence in Taiwan, in combination with availability of work:

"Since I immigrated at the age of 13, and lived by myself most of the time, I am not that close to my parents. However, since my parents had returned to Taiwan before I did, I tried to find work in Taiwan. I do think it is good to come back, so that I can spend more time with them."

Similarly, A5 moved back with the rest of the family, because of his father's illness:

"My father returned first because he can get better medication in Taiwan. As we do not want him to live by himself, the rest of us decided to come back."

The second type consists of those who return due to the wish of their parents, even though the latter chose to remain in Argentina. In this case, parents hope that their children can obtain postgraduate education or an occupation in Taiwan, while returning to a place where they still have relatives and friends who may take care of them if they have special needs. This is especially so in the case of young female returnees, who follow the

wish of their parents to marry Taiwanese instead of Argentines. This is true of A4, A5, A11, A15, and A16, while A1 vividly told us about the situation:

"My parents do not want me to marry Argentines, as their customs are different from ours. Some of my classmates put their property on mortgage, and spent their money in traveling... They do not save money like us... and their marriage is complicated, in our view. If I marry an Argentine, he may have children from his previous marriage, and our children and his children may not get along. This is the reason why my father [who emigrated 25 years ago] was keen to see me come back so that I get married to a Taiwanese; and I did."

It is believed that Argentineans do not value savings like the Taiwanese—they spend what they should have saved, and their attitude towards marriage is much more "open" compared to that of Chinese.

REASONS FOR RETURN: BETTER WORKING OPPORTUNITIES IN TAIWAN

Compared to Taiwan, Argentina offered Taiwanese limited working opportunities and lower salaries. Taiwanese immigrants tend to be engaged in ethnic businesses or self-employment, even for the younger generation. There is also a tendency for the government, banks, or corporations to employ local people. Thus, getting employment or promotion is perceived as harder by the young Taiwanese immigrants, as exemplified by A1:

"The so-called good jobs are those that pay well and offer high status and security, like those offered by big corporations, banks and the government. It is not easy to get into such positions, unless you are better than the locals. From the employer's view, why would they employ someone like you, unless you are doing better than the locals? I do not call this practice discrimination."

Growing up in Argentina, young immigrants accepted the fact that "working harder is the way for the outsider to succeed." In the words of A3:

"Local people are hired first, then people from neighbouring

countries, and then people like us from outside."

In a recent study on the 1.5 generation returnees from Canada and New Zealand, Chiang (2011b) found that, apart from family reasons that influence decisions of the 1.5 generation in returning, economic restructuring in Canada and New Zealand has led to limited opportunities for young people to enter the job market. From these previous studies of young return migrants, one would expect this cohort to have an advantage when seeking a job in Taiwan, due to their global education, multi-lingual ability, and adaptability. They have a noticeable advantage for being employed, as Taiwan's private sector and educational institutions are aware of the need to recruit global talents to increase competitiveness.

ADAPTATION IN TAIWAN

Although not total strangers in Taiwan, young return migrants still need to "start anew" in their adaptation period. They unanimously stated that it takes longer to adapt in Taiwan than when they first arrived to Argentina. The time taken to achieve this ranges from six months to four years, depending on their age, personality, past experiences and language proficiency.

There are several aspects of life in Taiwan that they find hard to adapt to, the first one being the living environment, which includes the hot and humid climate, heavy traffic and big crowds in the city. A6 noticed that some Taiwanese do not line up properly when they were queuing for buses, and men do not treat women the way they do in Argentina. For some it was hard to be understood well in Chinese, because they did not speak with the "correct" accent or did not use vogue terms like other young people. A4 told us that she was very frustrated in her encounter with Taiwanese:

"When I first came back, I was not good enough in Chinese language although I looked Taiwanese. When I was using Spanish or English, people thought that I was showing off. [...] I was told off one time for not speaking Mandarin [...] and I was often in an argument with people whom I thought did not respect me [...]."

A11 still remembered how she felt at school when she immigrated at the age of 20:

"When I came back to study at the university, I found that both classmates and teachers were unfriendly towards students from overseas. I was therefore quite unhappy and missed Argentina very much. I guess this is quite normal for returnees like us - we missed Taiwan when we were in Argentina, and miss Argentina when we are in Taiwan."

Quite a few of our interviewees felt that it is sometimes hard to understand another Taiwanese, because they do not express themselves directly, as remarked by A6, who went to Argentina at the age of 10 and stayed until she was 31:

"As a whole, Taiwanese seldom express themselves directly; they speak in circles, and it takes them a long time to tell you what they mean. Sometimes, I do not understand what people mean, although I hear what they say. I found this to be true at the place of work. I am afraid that I have offended my colleagues without realising this at first."

The work culture is vastly different and was once a source of frustration for A4, who made the following observations after returning to Taiwan from Argentina after 14 years:

"Getting along with peers is more important than one's performance at the place of work, if you do not want to be isolated or want to be promoted. Taiwanese are workaholics; working overtime is common and well-regarded. Taiwanese are class-conscious: your title is important and your boss is always right."

A faster pace of life is something hard to adapt to:

"When I was working in Argentina, we had tea breaks for people to enjoy and to get acquainted with one another. You can still do this with people who come back from Argentina, but not with the locals who would not sit and chat for long."
(A10)

Similarly, this was noticed by an interviewee in Liu's study (2009):

"The pace of life is slower here [in Argentina]. When I return to Taiwan, everything moves so quickly and there is too much pressure at work." She moved to Buenos Aires when she was in high school (the specific year is not mentioned in the article). "I couldn't handle it so I came back." To her and many others, Taiwan is no longer home. She explains that her parents would be unable to adjust to life there. Taiwan has changed and so have they, she says, describing her family's many adopted customs, such as having weekend *asados* (barbecues) with the family.

To conclude, since they had lived in Argentina from five to fifteen years before returning to Taiwan, they were returning to an unfamiliar environment, particularly because Taiwan had gone through significant cultural, political and economics changes during their absence.

CONCLUSION

In the age of globalisation, the patterns of transnational migration have become more complex, and may take circular rather than unidirectional forms portrayed by neo-classical theories of migration. Moreover, the latter emphasise economic factors at origin and destination, especially for people to remain. This study emphasised the social and cultural aspects of immigrant adaptation, using existing literature written at the destination country, surveys and narratives derived from in-depth interviews in Taiwan. Even at their young age, immigrants tend to follow the social norms of family relationships at the places of origin, and seem less affected by those of Argentina. Cultural norms between Taiwan and Argentina are quite different, as manifested by the concepts of savings, intercultural marriages and filial piety which have not been eroded by being abroad at a young age. If this is the case, one can imagine that integration takes a slow process, even with the younger generation who arrived at Argentina at a young age. At the same time, the transnational traits as exhibited by the younger generation are shown by their bilingual ability, friendship with Argentines, getting employment, and participation in various social activities.

Due to the concentration in large cities such as Buenos Aires, and the large number of Taiwanese immigrants at one time, their culture is still embedded in Chinese traditions and norms. The term "sandwich generation" may best describe the younger generation of Taiwanese living in Argentina or that has returned, referring to how they are squeezed between fulfilling responsibilities to elderly parents and their own children. Being exposed to Argentinean and Taiwanese education and culture at the same time, they

might as well embrace the best of the two worlds, and may as a result compete well in a globalised world, whether in Taiwan, or East Asia when they come back. Much more knowledge is required in order to fill in the literature on returnees and transnationals who are different from the first generation of immigrants, who has been better studied.

Chiang (2011b) coined the term "floating population" to describe the 1.5 generation, a highly mobile group, since they may not be settling permanently as their parents who returned. A hypothesis awaits testing: return migration or re-emigration to a third country does not necessarily mean permanent relocation to a particular country. It has been shown by studies of the 1.5 generation elsewhere that they prefer to move around the world and work for variable lengths of time in different locations (Ho and Bedford 2008).

Compared to returnees from Anglophone countries, their adaptation problems sound similar. Observation of the environment as being hot and humid, the wide use of motorcycles, crowded living space are all the same regardless of where they come back from. A big challenge is the work culture, expressed in terms of "faster pace of life," "overtime work," "lack of work-life balance," emphasis on seniority, importance of *Guanxi* (human relations) and authority of the boss. Further studies may focus on how these and other factors (e.g., language/dialect usage) may pose difficulties for them to adapt and remain in Taiwan a long time.

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APPENDIX

A. Taiwanese Organisations in Argentina.

Type	Name of organisation
Political	Chung Sam Institute of Academic Studies
	League for Chinese Unification by Three Principles of the People
	Center for the Support of the DPP
	Association of the Taiwanese
	Association in Favor of Human Rights in Taiwan
	Taiwan Federation
	Argentinean Federation of the Taiwanese Independence Party (FAPA)
	FAPA Women's Association
Association of the Taiwanese Independence Party	
Student	Association of Chinese Students in UADE (Argentinean Business University)
	Association of Chinese Students in the Faculties of Medicine and Dentistry at University of Buenos Aires
	Association of Chinese Students at Kennedy University
Alumni	Association of Graduated Students from National Taiwan University (or Alumni Association of National Taiwan University)
	Association of Graduated students from the Chinese High School (a dependency of the Civil Association of Free Chinese in Argentina)
Cultural	Association of Immigrant Chinese Artists in Argentina
	Institute of Confucian Studies
Ethnic	Association of Compatriots from Hu-Nan and Hu-Pei
	Association of Compatriots from Long Kan
	Hakka Association in Argentina
	Cultural Hakka Association in Argentina
	Association of Compatriots from Fuken in Argentina
	League of Compatriots from Fuken in Argentina
Youth	Youth Organization of Free Chinese in Argentina
	Chung Hwa Youth Organization
	Tzu-Chi Youth Charity Organization

	<p>Chinese Buddhist Association Friendship Association of Youth Participants in Seminars Friendship Association of Young Chinese of the Christian Church in Argentina Hakka Youth Association in Argentina</p>
Sports	<p>Golf Friendship Association South American Association of Chinese Martial Arts Association of Zen Martial Arts Argentinean Association of Martial Arts</p>
Professional	<p>Civil Association of Acupuncture and Traditional Chinese Sciences Acupuncture Association Friendship Association of Chinese Merchants Association of Chinese Gastronomic Entrepreneurs Commerce Association of Chinese Immigrants Association of Chinese Owners of Self-services and Supermarkets Argentinean-Chinese Commerce Association South American Association of Taiwanese Commerce</p>
Religious	<p>Chinese Buddhist Association – Chung Kuan Temple^a Tzu-Chi Buddhist Charity Foundation Chung Hwa Cultural Association Association of the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius Center for the Studies of Oriental Culture Friendship Association of Catholic Chinese Chinese Christian Church in Argentina Taiwanese Presbyterian Church in Argentina Long-Kuan Christian Church Sin-Hsing Taiwanese Presbyterian Church Fu-Ying Taiwanese Presbyterian Church Men-Lo Taiwanese Christian Church in Argentina Po-The-Li Christian Church Mu-Yi Taiwanese Presbyterian Church Meeting Room of the Chinese Christians Jehovah's Church.</p>
Other	<p>Hong-Men Association Friendship Association of Chinese Immigrants Charity Foundation Asian-Argentinean Culture "Justicialist" (an Argentinean political party) Association</p>

^a This association, created in 1985, follows the Chan line with some practices of Theravada Buddhism. Master Pu Hsien came in 1988 and funded the Tzon Kuan Temple in Chinatown (Carini 2005). Source: Zuzek (2004).