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越南外籍配偶在台離婚後的適應

The Post-divorce Adjustment of Vietnamese Women in Taiwan

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摘要

以台灣現今社會來看，對於離婚的越南婦女有許多刻板印象，例如：她們不關心家庭、她們只在乎錢、她們拋棄自己的孩子及她們對婚姻的不忠...。因此，本論文的重點是探討在台灣已離婚的越南婦女之社會地位、離婚後所面臨的挑戰、且如何改善因越南婦女身份所承受的社會偏見。過去許多研究提及對於外籍配偶和離婚婦女的社會偏見。本文深入探索有關已離婚的越南婦女之相關議題，以及他們受傳統價值觀的束縛之解決方案。藉由深入探訪 13 名已離婚的越南婦女所蒐集的有效數據，從兩個觀點切入去探討已離婚越南婦女：挑戰/危機與轉機。從社會和文化資本的角度，來敘述越南婦女如何調適離婚後的生活，並改善社會對離婚女性的偏見。本文的結論是，雖然她們是離婚的身分，但並不表示她們不再與家人一起共同承擔責任，而是繼續扮演好稱職的媳婦和母親的角色。

關鍵字：越南在台離婚女性、污名、後離婚的社會挑戰與適應、越南女性的性別認同

ABSTRACT

From the Taiwanese society, there are many bad views about Vietnamese divorced women such as: “They do not care family”, “they only care money”, “they left their children”, “they are adultery”,... Therefore, it is important for this thesis to explore the adjustment of Vietnamese women after divorce in Taiwan, challenges after divorce, social supports and the relationship between adjustment and stigma, by focusing on the Vietnamese women’s identities alleviate the stigma of divorced women. Many previous studies mention about stigma of immigrant women and stigma of divorced women. This thesis extends underexplored aspects about Vietnamese divorced women who use traditional values to alleviate stigma from society. Drawing on qualitative data collected from in-depth interviews with 13 Vietnamese divorced women, I examine two aspects of Vietnamese divorced women: Challenges/stigmas and adjustment. From social and cultural capital perspectives resonating with identity concept are used to explain how the Vietnamese women adjust their life after divorce and alleviate stigmas about divorced women from society. This thesis concludes that although they are divorced women, it does not mean that they stop their responsibilities with family, they adjust their life which relies on their traditional roles of filial daughter and responsible mother.

Keywords: Vietnamese divorced women in Taiwan, stigma, post-divorce challenges and adjustment, Vietnamese women’s identity

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Chapter 1

Introduction

- 1.1 Background and motive
 - 1.2 Purpose of the research
 - 1.3 Research questions
 - 1.4 Structure of remaining chapters
-



1.1 Background and motive

From the early 1990s, there have been more and more foreign brides from Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Mainland China to Taiwan. More Vietnamese women also begun to marry foreign husbands. In 1994, there were only 4,899 immigrant wives in Taiwan (Hsieh and Wang 2008). Until December 2017, there were 530,512 immigrant brides in Taiwan including: 66,67% from Mainland China, 18,93% from Vietnam, 5,55% from Indonesia, 1,64% from Thailand, 1,71% from the Philippines, 0,81% from Cambodia, 0,9 % from Japan, 0,3 % from Korea and a 3,49% from other countries (National Immigration Agency, 2018).

According to Tsai et al. (2009), within just one year of an educational reform, Taiwan expanded to 150 new secondary schools. In the 1967-1968 school year, the students who came to school increased from 60 percent to 67 percent, and reached 90 percent in a decade. Taiwanese women had better education and integrated into the labor market more easily. They became financially independent and less reliant on marriage for security. For these reasons, Taiwanese men in the working-class are finding it difficult to find local wives. Of course, the men also don't want to marry women who have a higher education and financial independence (Kuo & Hsu, 2010). Since they experienced great difficulty finding local brides and resonated with the policy "Pushing South" in 1993, they started looking for foreign brides that come from South-East Asia (Hsia 2005, 2008).

Vietnam is a country which is still today impacted by Confucian ideology. Women are expected to stay at home and take care of their children, their husband, and even their husband's family. Vietnamese women must fully accept the values about quality of women. These traditional codes are "Tứ Đức (the Four Virtues: 1. *công*, to be adept in domestic work, 2. *dung*, to be modest and humble in appearance, 3. *ngôn*, to be gentle and moderate in speech, and 4. *hạnh*, to be faithful and chaste). And they must also embrace *Tam Tông* (the Three Obediences: to the father, husband, and son)." (Hoang, 2016: 893). This is the reason why many Taiwanese men come to Vietnam — to find an obedient wife.

Since Vietnamese wives have been coming to Taiwan to get married through a marriage broker, there have been many issues emerging in Taiwanese society including: domestic violence, lack of social networks, financial dependence, vulnerability, and language barriers (Yu, 2014). The common result of marriages through brokers is marital dissolution. Until 2015, there were 32,561 divorced women in Taiwan (Ministry of Interior, 2015). This

divorce rate is not a new phenomenon for Vietnamese wives, about 4,500 Taiwanese husbands divorce their foreign wives per year (Yu, 2014). In the past, in Eastern society, divorce was a bad thing and divorced women became bad wives and bad mothers. This action also affected children, appearances, and the honor of the family (Dommaraju & Jones, 2011).

From Taiwanese society, there are many bad views about Vietnamese divorced women such as: “They do not care family”, “they only care money”, “they left their children”, “they are adultery”,... I heard many these bad things from my pilot study. Although the Taiwanese had a more open view about immigrant women, especially Vietnamese wives. But the stigma about immigrant wives and also divorced women still exists in nowadays. Besides, the stigma of divorced women has been mentioned in many works of literature. Typically as in the study of Kontam, Karwin, Curran, Lyons & Celen-Demirtas (2016), the divorced women were viewed as “bitchy”, “flaky”, “crazy”, “uncommitted”, “irresponsible”, and “selfish” (p.179). Or the sexuality of divorced women is seen as uncontrolled and become a threat of the other women (Newton-Levinson, Winskell, Abdela, Rubardt & Stephenson, 2014).

Under such circumstances, it is important to study about the issues of Vietnamese divorced women in Taiwan. This study is expected to offer a greater understanding about their thinking, feelings, and adaptations taken in response to the huge change after divorce. When they first came to Taiwan, they were faced with many problems about culture and their identity in a new land. And when they divorced, they continued to face new problems with integration. How can they play their role in Taiwan society? How can they adjust in Taiwan after divorce? Significant reasons urged them to decide to divorce in “Đất khách quê người” (foreign land). From this research, I expect to offer clearer picture of the life of Vietnamese divorced women in Taiwan.

The literature about transnational marriage focuses on the first marriage, the problems between the foreign bride and the husband’s family, the reasons why they came to Taiwan, but the problem of divorce after they came to Taiwan seems to have been less studied by researchers. This thesis is expected to unveil a clear picture about the thoughts, aspirations, and life of Vietnamese divorced women in Taiwan society in particular, and the world in general.

1.2 Purpose of the research

Taiwan is a culturally diverse country. Over 98% of original population was Chinese before the 1950s, however, after the 1990s, a large number of immigrants arrived to Taiwan (Yu, 2015). Many of them came to Taiwan by marriage. These foreign brides are 66,67% from China and 18% from Vietnam; people from the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, and others account for the rest of the immigrants.

In 2005, there were 11,943 Vietnamese women who were married and 1,676 women who were divorced. But until 2015, there were 2,921 Vietnamese women who were married and 2,123 women who were divorced (Ministry of Interior, 2016). The rate of Vietnamese divorced women is two times more than Taiwanese women (59.4% Vietnamese and 39.5% Taiwanese).

Table 1 Divorced rate between Vietnamese and Taiwanese women

	總結婚登記	總離婚登記	未離婚	離婚率
越南	53,150	31,561	21,589	59.4%
台灣	3,075,674	1,213,564	1,862,110	39.5%

Source. Ministry of Interior, 2016

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the adjustment after the divorce of Vietnamese women in Taiwan. To understand clearly about this problem, we need to know the reasons why they decided to divorce, their divorce process, and whether they received any support from the government, organizations, or their friends. With the gender ideology about virtue of Vietnamese women when they divorce, they are under pressure from society, and even from their ex-husbands. They will experience that pressure and continue to live in Taiwan or they will go back Vietnam, so can they get rid of the pressure and continue life in foreign land.

As a result, the findings concerning the adjustment of Vietnamese divorced women in Taiwan will shed light on the difficulties of Vietnamese women in Taiwan after a divorce. This thesis aims to focus on the life of Vietnamese women after a divorce to engage them to government activities and integrate with society in Taiwan.

1.3 Research questions

1/ How do Vietnamese women adjust after divorce?

1.1/ What is divorced meaning to Vietnamese women?

1.2/ What challenges have Vietnamese women experienced after divorce?

1.3/ What kinds of support do Vietnamese divorced women receive?

1.4/ How does a Vietnamese women's identity alleviate the stigma after divorce?

1.4 Structure of remaining chapters

The remaining chapters in my thesis is structured in order: First, in the chapter 2, contained historical background of transnational marriage between Vietnam and Taiwan, the literature about divorce, challenges, stigma and adjustment that divorced women have to face after divorce. Besides, I also mention the key concepts that I use to analysis and discuss in the later chapter. Chapter 3, will talk an overview of methodology including research design, the process of data collection in 5 months of fieldwork, participants, and analysis. Chapter 4, introduces life stories of 13 Vietnamese women after divorce into 5 phases: (1) The divorce mean to Vietnamese divorced women; (2) Challenges that Vietnamese divorced women have experienced; (3) Supports for Vietnamese women after divorce; (4) how can they alleviate the stigma from society by Vietnamese women's identity; (5) their adjustment after divorce. In chapter 5, I will integrate my results with previous literature in the discussion. And chapter will end with conclusion of my research, limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature review

- 2.1 Introduction
 - 2.2 Transnational marriages between Vietnam and Taiwan
 - 2.3 Post-divorce
 - 2.3.1 Stigma
 - 2.3.2 Trauma
 - 2.3.3 Challenges
 - 2.3.4 Adjustment
 - 2.4 Identity
 - 2.4.1 Vietnamese women's identity
 - 2.4.2 Post-divorce identity
 - 2.5 Social and cultural capital
 - 2.6 Conclusion
-

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will be separated into four sections: (1) transnational marriage between Vietnam and Taiwan, (2) post-divorce, (3) identity, and (4) social and cultural capital. At the beginning, I will give the general of information about transnational marriage between Vietnam and Taiwan. The reasons have attracted the wave of migration through marriage in South-East Asia. And the reasons that transnational marriage has declined in recent years.

In the second part, I will give a clearly picture about post-divorce. The common result of unhappy marriage. In the first part of this section, *stigma*, I will give the label of bad women about divorce women and immigrant women. The *post-divorce challenges* will be specified in following part. And final part, *adjustment* will show the ways that divorced women adjust their life after divorce.

In the third section, I will introduce the Vietnamese women's identity. The traditional roles that Vietnamese women bring it from Vietnam to Taiwan. The expectations from society for the women become the responsible women. And how does their identity change after divorce?

In the final section focuses on the social and cultural capital. The short paragraphs to conceptualize the concept and the way to apply it into immigrant women. The cultural capital of Vietnamese women also reminds in this section. The following, I shall begin with the background information about transnational marriage between Vietnam and Taiwan.

2.2 Transnational marriage between Vietnam and Taiwan

The phrase "foreign brides" is not new to the Taiwanese. There are more and more foreign brides coming from many countries to Taiwan, including Mainland China, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, and the Philippines. Foreign brides have had a long history, but it became a hot topic from the mid-1990s. Following Kuo and Hsu (2010), since early 1980, some veterans and other men in Taiwan had difficulty finding brides. So, they needed to find foreign brides who came from other countries through marriage brokers, including Thailand and the Philippines. Until 1993, with the policy "Pushing South", the businessmen in Taiwan came to South-East Asia to invest, and then some people lost their jobs. They suffered great difficulty finding local brides, and they needed to seek foreign brides that came from South-East Asia (Hsia 2003, 2006, 2008, 2009).

With a growing fairness in society and economic development, women increasingly have higher education and can join the labor market easily. Most Taiwanese women with a high education level also go to work and attain financial independence. They don't want to marry to husbands who have a lower education and a lower income. Of course, the men also don't want to marry to women who have higher education and financial independence (Kuo & Hsu, 2010). They can't control their brides if immigrant brides have financial independence. Following Tang and Wang (2011), in a traditional society with a patriarchal Taiwanese family, they respected the parent-son relationship more than the husband-wife relationship. The women are expected to become a subservient wife, a servile daughter-in-law, and a mother of children. In that research, it mentions Luan, who is a Vietnamese bride, and who got pregnant after arriving in Taiwan. But she must do all the housework and take care of her bedridden father-in-law. One night, she asked for help from her sister's husband because she had a quarrel with her husband's family. He teased the mother-in-law of Luan, saying: "Is she your daughter-in-law or a foreign domestic worker?". She answered calmly: "Both daughter-in-law and foreign worker". Also, in traditional society, an unmarried woman is considered an incomplete person in Taiwanese society (Lee, 2009). The Taiwanese family must have the responsibility to take care of their elderly.

The average age of a husband who marry foreign brides is usually 36, and his level education averages less than nine years. They usually have unskilled job and it provides an inevitably lower income. Their jobs are often cab-driving, farming, self-employment, and even unemployment (Wang & Chang, 2002). Men, not only in Taiwan, when they are older and have a lower education, have difficulty getting married (Lu, 2005). It is especially hard with men who have lower incomes or unstable incomes. In 2000, a Taiwanese man must pay NT\$300,000 (about US \$9,100 at that time) for a successful arranged marriage.

The data from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO) in Ho Chi Minh city from 1996 to 2000 records that the average age of brides is 23.3 and their education is 6.3 years (Wang, 2007).

Table 2 Married women's age with Taiwanese men, 2004

Age	Percent
15-17	0.3
18-22	70.5
23-29	26.0
30+	3.2

(Source: Study of Vietnamese Marriage Migration to Taiwan, Department of Sociology, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, National University of Ho Chi Minh City, unpublished data, 2004)

As the data above, 70.5% of Vietnamese brides are 18-22 years old and 26% are 23-29 years old at the time of marriage. Hence, almost all Vietnamese brides get married to Taiwanese men when they are under 30 years old.

In addition, almost all Vietnamese brides in Taiwan come from poor rural areas where they help their family by farming. More than a half of Vietnamese brides are from the Mekong delta: Can Tho (30%), Dong Thap (15%) and Tay Ninh (11%) (Hugo and Xoan, 2007). Almost all Vietnamese brides come from southern Vietnam; a little figure from northern Vietnam. Especially, those women from the Mekong delta accounted for the highest rate. These are the rural areas in Vietnam and their main job is usually related to farming. Women from rural areas want to get married to a foreign husband usually because of money. Women get caught up in the whirlpool of money, think that after coming to Taiwan they can earn a lot of money to help their families. In the eyes of everyone, women get married because of money, not for love (Wang, 2007). Economic reasons seem very important in their decision to marry foreigners.

Beside economic reasons, it is also related to culture. Vietnamese women are very filial toward their parents; they want to fulfill the duty of a filial daughter. They get married to a foreign husband to earn money and send the money to their parents. (Tang & Wang, 2011).

In recent years, the proportion of Taiwanese men marrying foreign brides in general, and Vietnamese brides in particular, fell sharply. In 2003, there were 48,633 Taiwanese men who married foreign brides, and this statistic dropped to 20,716 in 2006, and descended even further to 17,709 in 2010. The proportion fell sharply because the government publicized the laws about restrictions and penalties to limit transnational marriage (Jones & Michelle Miller-Chair, 2012).

2.3 Post-divorce

People who want to marry do so when they feel that the expected benefits from marriage is higher than the expected benefits of continuing to be single. It is easy to see that the spouses separated when the expected benefits from marriage was lower than the expected benefits from divorcing or remarrying (Becker, 1974). The effects of divorce are less for high salaried women. The reason for this is simply that they will less dependent on the salary of husband. An increase in the earning capability of women allows them to continue an unhappy marriage, get divorced, or remarry. In addition, the man's salary should have a positive effect on the marriage; the high salaried men will attract a high salaried woman (Sander, 1985). In the relationship between marital dissolution and firstborn's sex, the firstborn girls increase the frequency of marital dissolution (Dahl & Moretti, 2004; Bedard & Deschenes, 2005). The rise of marital dissolution has received significant attention with social scientists and policy makers.

Following *An Economic Analysis of Marital Instability* (Becker, Landes & Michael, 1977), they indicate that the result will be a dissolution of the marriage when the *expected* gains increased more than the *actual* gains. For example, with regard to the occupational status of husband and wife, if the wife has a higher salary or the husband has unstable occupation, she will likely divorce him. Another factor is that the increasing age at the time of marriage produces an inverse ratio with the proportion of divorce, in other words, the higher the age a person is married, the lower the possibility of divorce. There is also the marital-specific capital, exemplified by children; this will reduce the possibility of divorce. The differences between the couple also increases possibility of divorce, exemplified by religion, education; background, social background, or occupational status.

Asia is typified by a diversity of forms in the process of marital formation and marital disintegration. Almost all research focuses on marriage formation, but marital disintegration in the Asian context has not received much attention. Variations in divorce rates have been pulled to ideational variations: increasing education and altering participation of women in labor force, the altering nature of couple selection, variations in age at marriage, expanded support for divorced women from society, and variations in religious and civil situations (Dommaraju & Jones, 2011). The family life in Taiwan experienced variations as an effect of economic development. These variations include: a higher number of outside jobs, mobility founded on achieved traits, extended education, rising urbanization, rising income

and material rewards, more involvement in couple selection, and higher degrees of marital instability (Yu, 2014).

In part of social integration after divorce, some studies show that divorce has a negative effect on the support network. This is because contacts with friends and relatives of the former spouse are reduced (Terhell, Broese van Groenou & Van Tilburg, 2004). The relationship with kin and personal friends seems to be strengthened (Miller et al., 1998). But Kalmijn & van Groenou (2005) indicated that these studies have shortcomings when they consider divorce from sociological view; they only focus on individual networks and specifically on the support network. On the other hand, when the persons divorce, they will be in more contact with their single friends than persons who are married. But, divorced persons have less contact with neighbors than persons who are married. And there are not significant variances in contact with family members between divorced persons and married persons (Kalmijn & van Groenou, 2005).

Divorce does not only have negative consequences for the couple, but also for the children, family, and society relationships. With children and family, negative consequences result in psychological problems, a bad reputation, and a financial burden for their family. In society, divorces can be seen as something that destroys social cohesion, changes the place of residence, and breaks up social relations. Moreover, they become a bad example for young people (Diefenbach & Opp, 2007). The growth of children in the divorced family will have less of an effect on the children's cognition if it happened before they started school. It is easy to assume that pre-school children in a divorced family will be less effected than school-age children (Fergusson, Lynskey & Horwood, 1994).

Culture also affects the individual's decision to divorce. Vietnamese ideology is affected by Confucian ideologies. The woman is expected to be obedient, responsible, and take care of family members (Pyke, 2000). The women endure discrimination that deters many of them from leaving unhappy marriages and sometimes even abusive marriages. After a divorce, women have to negotiate in society and the Taiwanese in order to live in Taiwan. New immigrant women have to cross the cultural boundaries to pursue a better life. But when they come to Taiwan, everything is not like a dream; they have gotten a divorce and continue to pursue a hard life in Taiwan.

2.3.1 Stigma

Stigma is a complex issue that has attracted the interest of many social scientists in populations and contexts (Corrigan, 2014; Golbeg & Smith, 2011; Stafford & Scott, 1986). Following the definition of Goffman (1963), stigma is a deeply discredited attitude that it closely relates to negative stereotypes. In his study, Goffman asserted that the Greeks “originated the term stigma to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier” (1963, p.1). Since Goffman, many authors offered the descriptions of stigma. For example, From Goffman’s observation, stigma is considered “relationship between attribute and stereotype” (p.4); Jones et al (1984) defined stigma as a connection between “mark” (attribute) of a person and undesirable characteristics (stereotype). Stafford & Scott (1986) indicated as “a characteristic of persons that is contrary to a norm of a social unit” (p.80), and “norm” is a “shared belief that a person ought to behave in a certain way at a certain time” (p. 81).

Link & Phelan (2001) indicated two particularly prominent. First, people can apply the stigma concept in countless cases. Each person has the capacity to lead investigators in a slightly different way to conceptualize stigma. Second, the study of stigma is multidisciplinary such as contributions from sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, anthropologists and social geographers. Therefore, different frameworks will have different conceptualizations. They stress that stigma comprise “elements of labeling, stereotyping, separating, status loss, and discrimination [that] co-occur in a power situation that allows these processes to unfold” (p.367).

Derived from the Goffman’s classic formulation (1963), the finding of Gerstel (1987) suggested that “the divorced come to be seen (and to see themselves) as “of a less desired kind... reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one.”” (p.173). In the study about Puerto Rican and Dominican women’s perceptions of divorced women by Arditti and Lopez (2005), they found that divorced women felt both two contradictory aspects: “independent”, “successful” and “failures and social outcasts” (p.143). The authors shown themes related to humiliation and the enduring of women to sustain the family. Research on viewpoint of low-income women about divorce, Cherlin, Cross-Barnett, Burton, and Garrettt-Peters (2008) found that one fourth women admit that divorce is shame for women.

In the old day, Women are vulnerable and easily to debasement through a lot of of deviation labels, including divorce (Yodanis, 2005). In the research about stigma and divorce: A relevant lens for emerging and young adult women by Kontam, Karwin, Curran, Lyons & Celen-Demirtas (2016), they found that divorce women were viewed as “bitchy”, “flaky”, “crazy”, “uncommitted”, “irresponsible”, and “selfish” (p.179); seven women said that their divorced status had a negative influence to their lives. Eight of the nine women identified as failures at the divorced time. They talked about the connection between awareness of failure, shame and guilt. For two women, they asserted that cultural context affected their awareness of stigma.

The stigma of divorced women continue to be demonstrated in the research of Newton-Levinson, Winskell, Abdela, Rubardt & Stephenson (2014). Based on in-depth interview and focus group discussion, they found that widowed and divorced women seen as a threat of sexuality of community. When they separated from men, their sexuality is considered as “uncontrolled”, “unpredictable” and has to “monitored” or “reined” (p.920). For example, one married women in focus group discussion said that: “A widowed or divorced women has more sexual desire” (p.920). They shamed by the suspicion from society. We know that social support help widowed and divorced women to have the competence to rely on the others for emotional and psychological pressures. But from the stigma of the threat of sexual, they will experience lack of support and even social isolation. They noted that the other women do not like them and deny to talk with them.

Moreover, in the research of Hsia (2007), she cited many stigmas of foreign brides that social media portrayed them. In the China Times 1995a: 17, they mentioned that Taiwanese men continue bringing back women who “poorly-educated, dull, and sometimes even ugly Southeast Asian women”. And because of their low education, they have the negative effect to the educational quality of next generations. Or in the United Daily 1992, they assumed that foreign brides negatively affect the quality of population, cultural and social structures. As Hsia (2007) mentioned the ‘foreign brides’ in the eyes of journalists as women who will make broken families and they will “run away” after coming to Taiwan.

2.3.2 Trauma

Following Eth & Pynoos (1985), psychic trauma occurs when individuals experience overwhelming events which make them helpless in facing with intolerable danger, anxiety, and instinctual arousal. Traumatic events have two types including: “human made”, such

as violence, kidnapping, and rape, or, “acts of god”, such as earthquakes, typhoons, etc. (Dreman, 1991). Divorce is also considered one of the most traumatic events (Bevino & Sharkin, 2003); the psychic consequences during the first year of divorce is seen as being as destructive as a natural disaster. A family may feel like an earthquake or storm has occurred and few people can about tell their experiences during this period, such as undergoing emotions like shock and embarrassment (Hen Brown, 1988). In comparison between men and women, divorced women were considered to face more trauma than divorced men (Albrecht, 1980). Some contemporary studies have shown that the ambiguity of the role reflects the social disapproval of divorce and sets a challenge for divorced people. Kohen (1981) indicated that recently divorced women described feeling like “nonpeople” or “nonwives”. Haffey và Cohen (1992) also found that divorced women described feeling like they were experiencing death, since they no longer had a perception of who they were.

Very few couples get married and they do not believe that they love each other. In fact, even though love has faded does not mean that the termination of the relationship is considered mild or it does not cause much hardship and pain. Stress can increase dramatically when children are born in a family and when couples realize that their decision is not only impacting themselves but the lives of others (Albrecht, 1980). Booth and Amato (1991) indicate that the persons who keep a conservative attitude toward divorce will be more disappointed and less happy than the people with a liberal attitude. Almost all persons believe that marriages are not a temporary relationship, rather that is a long-term commitment. Therefore, even the persons who have a liberal attitude toward divorce, if it happens in one’s life, it will be seen as failure; and failure seems to be the main factor causing trauma and stress to divorced person (Albrecht, 1980).

In the study about reactions and adjustments to divorce: Differences in the experiences of males and females by Albrecht (1980), the author designed questions regarding what periods were most difficult with them and their children and what periods was better for them and their children. The period before making the decision to divorce was the most difficult for them. During that period, conflict between spouses was increasing. They had to fight psychologically and considered changing a bad relationship by deciding to divorce. They felt better after making a divorce decision. Besides, others, more difficult times with them were still ahead. About 22% said that the most difficult part with them happened after

making the divorce decision, but before the final decision was granted. That time, they felt lonely and scared about their future life. And after all, everything will be better. Only 3% said that the present was the most difficult time for them.

With divorce, people need stages to stabilize traumatic events. Hen Brown (1988), gave a developmental model of women's divorce, which shows the shift from passive to active coping, leading to long-term adjustment. As mentioned above, the initial "aftermath" phase was a stressful, one-year-long crisis characterized by shock, confusion, and low parental efficiency. When initial shock and stress levels decreased, these women moved into transitional periods, lasting two to three years, in which they underwent an "emotional divorce", involving learning from their past experiences and mistakes. The "stabilization" phase, beginning 3 to 4 years after the divorce, is characterized by the use of previous efforts at cognitive-emotional processing during redeployment. Mainstream behavior changes occur in areas such as parenting, social, and professional skills.

The first time the Vietnamese brides came to Taiwan, they experienced many cognitive challenges, including domestic violence, a patriarchal family, taking care of husband's family, doing all housework, etc. (Tang & Wang, 2011; Wang, 2007). They felt stressed, depressed, unhappy, and they wanted to divorce their husbands. Stressors are events occurring after the traumatic events of divorce, such as economic instability, house changes, and legal issues (Tschann, Johnston & Wallerstein, 1989).

2.3.3 Challenges

Divorced people face a lot of challenges. For example, Bohannon (1970) developed the concept of the six stations of divorce: "(1) the emotional divorce, which centers around the problem of the deteriorating marriage; (2) the legal divorce, based on grounds; (3) the economic divorce, which deals with money and property; (4) the co-parental divorce, which deals with custody, single parent homes, and visitation; (5) the community divorce, surrounding the changes of friends and community that every divorcee experiences; and (6) the psychic divorce, with the problem of regaining individual autonomy" (p. 34). His study provided a useful structure to understand challenges that divorced people have experienced.

Because of the loss of supportive systems, physical and mental problems have developed, such as headaches, sadness, anxiety, and isolation. Emotions are defined as

feeling vulnerable and a broken heart (Thomas & Ryan, 2008). Many studies have addressed emotional problems such as depression (Booth & Amato, 1991), physical illness (Kitson & Morgan, 1990), and even death (Murphy, Glaser & Grundy, 1997). Depression in post-divorced women may be due to abuse in the marriage, poor legal representation, negative feelings and lack of intimacy from the ex-spouse, lack of support networks such as friends and family, less participation in social activities during the marriage and after the divorce, and a lower income (Thabes, 1997). Cleberg and Danes (2010) asserted that emotional distress can affect decision making, cause truth denial, create anger, and manifest physical problems. Some women have struggled to reconcile their marriage, but most have suffered the reality of permanent disintegration, and have had to deal with negative feelings. Nine out of ten women said that they felt like they refused, betrayed, and destroyed their souls.

According to Gregson and Ceynar (2009), almost one-third of the respondents reported that their income after the divorce was much lower than that of their closest friends and associates. Two-thirds of the women said that their income after divorce was significantly lower than before divorce. The influence of divorce causes more negative results for the women than for the men, such as in their financial and psychological status (Haffey & Cohen, 1992; Hetherington, Forgatch & DeGarmo, 2003; Gregson & Ceynar, 2009). Similarly, Tschann, Johnston & Wallerstein (1989) also reported that the socioeconomic status impacts women more than men. Because many women are not involved in managing money during marriage, they experience difficulty with financial management after divorce (Spanier & Thompson, 1984). Even simple maintenance tasks, such as repairing a car or repairing some small part of the house can become a nightmare when they are faced with the financial pressure. Some women may be financially worse after divorce, but they may feel more stable in their economic situation because they can control their finances and have more choices about how to make and spend money. The other women, although they do not experience a reduction in income, feel more nervous and vague about their financial status in the future, because they do not have experience in financial management (Boon, 2009).

The change in family structure from two-parents to the single parent creates a great financial and emotional challenge for the custodial parent (Lowenstein, 2005; Montenegro & Fisher 2004; Robboy, 2002; Rokach, Cohen & Dreman, 2004). The loss of social and

individual identity almost certainly occurs during divorce (Kitson, 1992; Faust, 1987, Spanier & Thompson, 1984). This is usually the result of social norms and expectations, such as assumption that marriage is forever and marriage is a sign of maturity. Thus, divorce can be regarded as failure in an important role (Arditti and Lopez, 2005). The re-organization of the family after divorce is more or less pressure based on their role orientation. Wijnberg and Holmes (1992) defined three orientations of divorced women: (1) traditionalist – women who follow traditional values and do not work outside during marriage (they are satisfied with the role of mother and wife in family), (2) modifier – women who are consider themselves the mother and wife in family, but need to work full-time or part-time outside, and (3) career-directed – women who have a strong orientation to work (they work during marriage and separate self-identity from husband and family). They found that the re-organization of the family is more pressure for the traditionalists than for women with modifier and career-directed orientations.

Thomas & Ryan (2008) found that all of the women lost their friends during the time after divorce. They believe that many friends do not want to maintain the friendship. Many family and friends do not respond to their needs. During this time, divorced women will find support from some selected friends. Support is mainly derived from the women who also have experienced divorce or who sympathize with them. One of the great obstacles that divorced women encounter in a social context is stigma. It may be the result of the perception that these women are excluded from social situations due to their divorced status. (Anderson, Stewart, & Dimidjian, 1995).

2.3.4 Adjustment

Adjustment after divorce is defined as: (1) being free of signs and symptoms of sickness — physically or mentality, (2) operating sufficiently in the social role of these responsibilities — home, family, occupation, and free time, and (3) rising an independent identity that is not associated with the ex-spouse or the marital status (Kitson & Raschke, 1981). Wang & Amato (2000) assume that adjustment after divorce depends on three factors: the overlap of stressful events after the divorce, the support of the person's resources to cope (including personal and social resources), and the perception and definition of the person about divorce. Furthermore, they found that the three stressors (reduced income, loss of friends, and relocation) were associated with adjustment after divorce.

The women with better adjustment after divorce have performed well before the divorce, experienced smaller reductions in income, and have less conflict with the ex-husband after the divorce (Tschann, Johnston & Wallerstein, 1989). Adjustment after the divorce is more difficult for older people than younger people (Wang & Amato, 2000).

The resources that individuals require to meet the needs after a divorce include personal assets (such as education, work, and already present psychological characteristics), and social assets (such as social activities, social support, and new intimate relationships) (Tschann, Johnston & Wallerstein, 1989). Social and interpersonal resources are important factors in the adjustment after the divorce. More social participation, social support, and greater social networks than both before and after divorce that are said to have made the adjustment better, especially in men (Berman & Turk, 1981; Pett, 1982; Plummer & Koch-Hattem, 1986). The new intimate relationships also have a positive effect on the adjustment after divorce. Many studies show that mentality will be better with people who are regularly dating, living with someone (Tschann et al., 1989) or remarried have few serious problems in adjustment (Demo & Acock, 1996; Marks & Lambert, 1998).

There is a significant difference in adjustment after divorce between men and women. Men are more likely than women to answer that participation in the clubs and organizations remain unchanged and is even higher than while they were married. On the other hand, women reported that participation in clubs and organizations became lower than while they were married, but they have more contact with relatives in their family than before the divorce. Adjustment after divorce in women is more relative to the family, while with men, it is *not* relative to the family (Gregson & Ceynar, 2009).

Divorce changes the original family member, life arrangements, and economic conditions (Hardesty & Ganong, 2006; Watkins, 2006). In the research of Gregson & Ceynar (2009), they focus on the significant changes of a women's identity after the divorce. The respondents change their identity after divorce through such ways as: changing appearances, modifying surroundings, and arranging artifacts.

Changing appearances

Changing physical appearances after divorce was common for the respondents. When the authors asked respondents what changes women made after divorce, they often lost weight and cut their hair. Just like many other aspects of their life after divorce, the

deliberate physical changes that women made were often contrary to the preferences of the ex-husband and thus show a clear separation from their ex-marriage. For other women, physical changes were the result of changing mental states. Almost all the women said that weight loss is not purposeful, but it still happened because of stress and depression.

Modifying surroundings.

Besides women changing their physical appearances, they also changed the environment in their life. The purpose was not only to remove reminders of their married life, but to regain their sense of an independent life. Sleeping on the old bed reminded them of the former marriage, so many respondents said that they bought new beddings, mattresses, and even beds to adapt a new life. Even, many women moved to a new house; this action gave them a feeling of power, independence, and ownership.

Arranging the artifacts

A last significant change for women after divorce was a new arrangement of the items from the marriage itself. Women needed to rearrange things that remind them of their former marriage. These were things such as wedding gowns, rings, photos, greetings cards, and love letters they had accumulated throughout the marriage. On the one hand, wedding dresses, wedding rings and wedding photos are a physical reminder of a considerable chapter in their lives as adults. On the other hand, they caused memories of the sadness and pain they felt when the marriage was over. It is hard to get a fresh start when the reminder of a failed marriage is visible.

McKelvey and McKenry (2000) assumed that in different cultures, women experience different psychic and social problems and they will have different strategies to cope with the challenge, leading to adjustment differences. After divorce, some women can establish their new life with the positive change. “[E]ven the longer-married older housewives who suffer the greatest financial hardships after divorce (and who feel most economically deprived, most angry, and most ‘cheated’ by the divorce settlement) say they are ‘personally’ better off than they were during marriage. They are proud of the skills they used to deal with the crisis, and the ability to marshal a support network, manage their finances, and take control of their lives. They also report improved self-esteem, more pride in their appearance, and greater competence in all aspects of their lives” (Weitzman, 1985:

346). But the process to positive change is not fast nor easy. It is a long process that takes two to three years to re-establish life (Booth & Amato, 1991).

2.4 Identity

2.4.1 Vietnamese women's identity

In the old days, Vietnam was a colony of China, France, and the U.S. Therefore, to understand the Vietnamese identity, we need to know whether the identity existed before, during, and/or after periods of colonization. Fanon (1967) and Memmi (2013) indicated that there were three different definitions of ethnic identity: first, identity is determined by an oppressor; second, identity is determined by immigration; and third, identity is determined by the oppressed.

The Vietnamese culture was then influenced by Chinese culture, which peacefully mixed with Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. So, a Vietnamese woman's identity was one that was subordinate to men. She had to help the husband work outside and fulfill the role of being a daughter, a wife, and a mother at the same time (Phan, Rivera & Roberts-Wilbur, 2005). The Vietnamese women were taught Tam Tong (three obediences: to be submissive to her father when young, to her husband when married and to her oldest son when widowed) (Hoang, 2016)

The influence of the United States on the Vietnamese identity is different from other colonies because it is a recent and present influence. In the war, the U.S. had changed the traditional role of Vietnamese women. Many Vietnamese women participated in the fight parallel with their countrymen. On the other hand, women became the pillar of the family when the husband joined the fight. Women worked outside and supported the family's financial needs, while those were the responsibilities of the men in the traditional sense.

Almost all Vietnamese people, both men and women, still keep the traditional values that "a man has more right to a job and that housework for a wife is just as fulfilling as paid employment. The majority of Vietnamese also say that men are better politicians". (Dalton et al., 2002). It is described by proverb:

Đàn ông xây nhà, đàn bà xây tổ ấm.

This proverb means that men need to work outside and earn money to build the house; its like the idea of a "breadwinner". And the roles of women are giving birth, taking care of the family, and doing housework; we call it "women build the family". In family, the

important role of women is creating intimate relationships between family members. On the other hand, nearly 97% of Vietnamese think that both men and women need to contribute to the income of family. This finding proves that society has impacted gender equality. However, this viewpoint does not diminish the responsibility of the woman, but also doubles her responsibility for the family. Women not only work outside and earn money, but also fulfill the role of mother and wife in family (Gammeltoft, 2012; Trinh, 1992). The women are expected endure hardship and sacrifice themselves for the family (Werner, 2009). Despite the great political transform and social change in Vietnamese society over the past century, motherhood is still the center of Vietnamese woman's identity (Rydström, 2004). In contemporary Vietnamese society, men continue to be considered the breadwinners, and women are considered reproductive instruments, mothers, and wives, although they also work outside and contribute economically to the family (Dalton et al, 2001; Kabeer et al, 2005). The primary responsibility of women is to take care of children and be reproductive. Women are often assessed by the level of completion of reproductive work and child rearing. This is because a woman's identity is associated with the responsibility of being a mother and housewife (Hoang, 2011).

2.4.2 Post-divorce identity

The idea that a change of identity after a divorce is not new. According to Burker (2006), identities will change when couples marry and also when (or if) the marriage ends. When divorce occurs, it makes people feel (at least temporarily) like a failure, or abnormal (Kim & Kim, 2002). It seems that in the general agreement of society, transition to marriage is a positive and good change for women, but there is less agreement about the effect of divorce on the individual identity (Baum, Rahav & Sharon, 2005). Because of traditional gender roles, the transition from marriage to divorce is more difficult for women – the nurturer and caretaker of others – and women usually lose a sense of individual identity. Therefore, when divorce happens, women lose their main role and find themselves in a position where they have to redefine themselves (Lund, 1990). In contrast to the available roles for divorced men, the role of women after divorce depends and often is demanded for her to be the "family head" (Kohen, 1981).

Researchers in the field of divorce and changing identities in a diversity of religious and cultural contexts have confirmed that people who have experienced divorce must re-establish the concept of self (Gregson & Ceynar, 2009). For example, in the research of

Baum et al. (2005) with 70 Israeli divorced women, they found that 83 percent of divorced women felt more independent after divorce. They revealed that most women had significant changes and in important ways since the divorce and they considered the changes to be positive. Kohen (1981) also agreed with this view; being a single parent allowed divorced mothers to discover new abilities and interests.

The research of Rahav & Baum (2002) is about factors effecting the self-identity change of divorced women. They designed variables for six areas of identity: control, challenge, independence, responsibility, competence and self-esteem. The factors that effected the six areas are: “(1) the socio-demographic variables of age, education, number and age of children, economic status, and employment; (2) the marital variables of duration of the marriage and time since the divorce, and (3) the divorcee’s socio-emotional relationships, that is: having a steady partner, the quality of her relationship with her ex-spouse, and the experience of therapy.” (p.44). These variables have a positive relationship in the adjustment after divorce. Interestingly, the relationship between the variables in this study were not significantly correlated with the change of identity. “The findings suggest that, unlike adjustment, identity change depends less on social relations and social support than on the women’s own self-construction through their experience and handling of the challenges of their lives alone” (p. 55).

2.5 Social and cultural capital

Bourdieu’s concepts of social and cultural capital offer an useful lens to examine divorced Vietnamese women’s adjustment. Following Bourdieu (2008), cultural capital as a social link inside a social exchange system includes the accumulation of cultural knowledge that produces power and status. In addition, making use of cultural capital can bring benefits, such as being granted status or being accepted, thus being transformed into social capital. Social capital includes a resource that is based on group membership, relationships, social networks. It is related to the influence and support in the community. Besides, the utilization of cultural capital can bring benefits, leading to accepted status, thus it transfers to social capital (Yu, 2014). In my research, I approach the definition of cultural capital as a tool to help Vietnamese women to know: Who am I? And what should I do to become a respectable woman? With the cultural capital in Vietnam, the women who “enduring hardship and sacrificing one’s self-interests are acts of selflessness and compassion, demonstrating some of the most highly valued social virtues” (Hoang, 2016, p.893). From the cultural capital in

Vietnam, they know that how to become a respectable woman in society. Because Vietnamese culture was affected by Chinese culture, this is the reason why Vietnamese women easily adapt in Taiwan. For example, after immigrating to Taiwan to get married. Vietnamese women take advantage of their cultural capital including traditional clothes (Ao Dai), food, appearance, tailoring. They use all of the cultural capital to integrate with the life in Taiwan. And it will transfer to social capital, helps them to feel more confident. And also, it transfers to economic capital. From the cultural capital, they can open the restaurants, tailoring store, and they have more social network in Taiwan. They can earn money from their social and cultural capital.

Regarding marriage migration, both transnational and identity are important for wives who want to be accepted in a culture based on specific ethical principles. On the one hand, it is because the transnational networks of many nations are built on the perception that these people have the same characteristics, also it is also based on their origin and cultural and linguistic characteristics. By engaging in socio-cultural activities, these migrants can build networks through forms of communication or the interchange of resources and information (Vertovec, 2001). An indicator of social development comes from the type of social networks in a country. Social networks are the instruments for connecting individuals to society, providing social interaction models, social signals, and social identities (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inkeles, 2010).

Women often begin their post-divorced life with a limited social network if their friendships were linked to the 'couple' condition, or most of their time was spent with family relationships when they are married rather than in their friendships. Social support networks are different in the size and types of support. Some women can develop large, varied networks, while others seek less social support. Almost all of the social network of divorced women include family, in-laws, friends, and even their children (Boon, 2009). Besides, divorced women can find the support from the other divorced women (Anderson, Stewart, & Dimidjian, 1995).

Almost all Vietnamese wives in Taiwan come from poor families (Hugo & Xoan, 2007, Wang, 2007). They have acquired cultural capital such as appearance, youth, similar religions, devotion, reproduction, and filial piety from a "daughter in Vietnam" turning into a "daughter-in-law in Taiwan" (Yu, 2014). The results of Hirschman and Vu (1996) show that more than three quarters of Vietnamese live with their parents and see their parents

weekly. These authors conclude that this is "an extraordinary pattern of intimate family ties" (Hirschman & Vu, 1996:243). Likewise, Dalton, Hac, Nghi & Ong (2002) found that family is the center of social life in Vietnam. About 59% of people said that they spend time with their parents or relatives each week, 32% spending time with colleagues, and only 17% with social friends.

Most of the Taiwanese men who marry Vietnamese women have a low education and their jobs are often cab-driving, farming, self-employment, and even unemployment (Wang & Chang, 2002). They still have more decision-making power over those who are married to local women or Chinese women living in urban areas (Tsay, 2004). From the social capital of husbands, many Vietnamese couples have leveraged their unique Vietnamese cultural capital and started businesses to expand their social networks to accumulate social and economic capital in Taiwan. Some Vietnamese couples even share their social capital or economic capital to their homeland by investing, thus enhancing their social status (Yu, 2014).

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have endeavoured to offer a organized understanding following timeline of marriage. From the background information about transnational marriage, until they divorce and post-divorce period. I have come up with a difficult period for a woman after divorce, the pressures and the way that they adjusts their life. Besides, I also express clearly the identity of a Vietnamese woman. Their roles and responsibilities in the family. In addition, I have emphasized the application of cultural and social capital of Vietnamese immigrant women to learn to adjust their life after divorce.

After the marriage through brokers, there are many issues in marriage life. And the result of an unhappy marriage is divorce. According to literature, women are more difficult than men after divorce (Tschann, Johnston & Wallerstin, 1989). Women who experience a lot of stigmas after divorce, because society thinks that they have no responsibility for their family. Moreover, migrant women have to live on the foreign land and have no relatives nearby. So I assume that Vietnamese women in Taiwan are more difficult after divorce. I argue that through the cultural and social capital they have reduced the difficulties and strong wills following the divorce to continue living in Taiwan.

There are many stigmas about divorced women and immigrant women. From my research, I combined it together to explain clearly about the stigma that Vietnamese divorced women have in Taiwan. Although modern society is different to past, the genderd practices are still affacted by traditional values. Vietnamese women need to follow values that help them to become a respectable woman. I shall describe my 5 months of fieldork in the next chapter.



Chapter 3

Methodology

- 3.1 Introduction
 - 3.2 Research design
 - 3.3 Research method
 - 3.4 Participants
 - 3.5 Research process
 - 3.6 Translation
 - 3.7 Data analysis
 - 3.8 Conclusion
-



3.1 Introduction

The main purpose of my research is to explore challenges and adjustment of Vietnamese women after divorce, the usefulness of social and cultural capital in their adjustment. The primary attention of this chapter is to offer how can I connect the research participants and researcher in both theory and culture. This chapter shows (1) research design, how can I identify my research purpose and subject; (2) research method, the reason that I chose qualitative research, the benefit in using in-depth interview in divorced research; (3) participants, a detailed description of 13 Vietnamese divorced women; (4) research process, 5 months of fieldwork divided into two phases: a pilot study (2 months) and the main study (3 months); (4) translation; and (5) analysis. The following section begins with research design.

3.2 Research design

Divorce, and the tension associated with it, is clearly a subjective experience. Every person who goes through the process of divorce will have a series of events, perceptions, emotions, and unique results that they will explain in their own way. This study proceeds with the design of an inquiry to find out the reasons, pressures, challenges, adjustments, and social support that divorced women experience in the reintegration process after divorce. My thesis was conducted in 5 months of fieldwork in Southern of Taiwan. Through the introduction of Vietnamese brides, Southern of Taiwan is known as one of the places where many divorced women living. I spent a year to build the social networks in Taiwan as well as create trust from the Vietnamese divorced women in there. My fieldwork was 5 months and divided into two phases: Phase 1- a pilot study (from October 2017 to November 2017), Phase 2- main study (from December 2017 to February 2018).

3.3 Research method

Grounded theory was used for this study because it emphasizes the importance of data. In-depth interviews were conducted to collect research data. I chose grounded theory as the methodology for the following reasons: (1) it helps me to interact with respondents because it depends on the perceptions, ideas, opinions and views of people, (2) it is particularly useful for women to share their divorce process (the way that they integrated after divorce since that experience is very personal), (3) it develops a deeper understanding of the divorce

process, story and feelings. East-Asian women in general and Vietnamese women in particular, they are very sensitive to the problem of divorce. Because divorce is a bad thing in East Asia, so they felt shy when they shared the private story in a group (Dommaraju & Jones, 2011). Therefore, the in-depth interview provided an opportunity to ask this sensitive topic. The women who accepted me to participate in my research will sign on the consent form and they could stop the interview at anytime if they feel uncomfortable, they were interviewed in the convenience places for them as a workplace, private home or in the farm.

The interview guide was created after an extensive review of the literature on the experience of divorced women and from my pilot study. My interview guide included questions about why Vietnamese women wanted to divorce their husbands, whether they received any support from the government, organizations, or their friends or family, the way that Vietnamese women experienced their life after divorce, and I specifically addressed adjustment after divorce and how they formed a post-divorce identity. Participants were interviewed face to face through an open-ended and semistructured interview; all of the interviews were recorded with the permission of participants. The duration of interviews ranged from 1 to 2 hours.

3.4 Participants

In-depth interviews were conducted with 13 Vietnamese divorced women who live in Southern of Taiwan. The youngest participant is 31 years old and oldest is 44 years old, all of them were divorced from 1 to 10 years at the time of interview. Two women have not completed primary school, six women had earned primary school diploma, three women had secondary school diploma, one woman had high school degree and one woman had a bachelor degree. Six women were employed full time as a worker, four women are the owner of the store, two women are farmer and one woman is a documentary film director. Only one woman remarried; one woman was cohabitating and planning to give birth within the year. Two women had no children, six women live with their children, 4 women live alone, and one woman separated daughter to mom and son to dad. There are eleven women come from Mekong river delta and two women come from Southeast Vietnam. Their aged gap with ex-husband is from 7 to 25 years. All of names shown in this thesis are the pseudonyms.

Table 3 Demographic participants

Series	Name	Y.O.B	Place of birth	Education	Marriage age of wife - husband	Time of living in Taiwan	Time of divorce	Living with children
1	Kidu	1978	Cần Thơ	4/12	23 - 43	17 years	1 year	No
2	Naem	1978	Đồng Tháp	5/12	19 - 28	20 years	2 years	Yes
3	Tiha	1986	Vĩnh Long	9/12	23 - 33	10 years	1 year	Childless
4	Anho	1979	Tây Ninh	5/12	20 - 37	17 years	3 years	Separation (one to dad, one to mom)
5	Beho	1979	Trà Vinh	12/12	23 - 41	17 years	2 years	Yes
6	Kiho	1980	Đồng Tháp	5/12	21 - 28	17 years	9 years	Yes
7	Kilo	1974	An Giang	9/12	26 - 41	17 years	8 years	No
8	Tipo	1984	Tây Ninh	7/12	25 - 35	8 years	3 years	Childless
9	Miti	1981	Kiên Giang	10/12	20 - 35	16 years	10 years	Yes
10	Tuti	1975	Tiền Giang	6/12	22 - 42	20 years	4 years	Yes
11	Tata	1977	Đồng Tháp	Bachelor	24 - 44	17 years	10 years	No
12	Tatu	1984	Đồng Tháp	3/12	18 - 40	16 years	5 years	Yes
13	Tatru	1987	Đồng Tháp	5/12	20 - 45	13 years	8 years	No

3.5 Research process

This thesis uses two sampling techniques including: Convenience sampling, from my social networks in Taiwan; and snowball sampling, from my participants to the others. At the first time, I conducted from convenience sampling and then through snowball sampling.

This research divided into two phases: a pilot study (2 months) and the main study (3 months). In addition, I built the social networks in Taiwan before that two phases. Since November 2016, I had the opportunity to meet some Vietnamese wives in Southern of Taiwan. Especially, I know Kiho who is a Vietnamese divorced woman and has opened the Vietnamese culture center. I knew her through my Chinese teacher in Nanhua university (Mei-Zhi Huang). This center is the place for Vietnamese and Taiwanese to come there to visit and have a cultural exchange. In that place, many Vietnamese come to celebrate a meal or play every week. So, I often came there to talk with them in weekend. I want to build the trust from them. If they believe me, it will be easier for them to share their story with. From this center, I talked with 3 Vietnamese divorced women (Kidu, Beho, Tata), and relying on these women, I used the snowball sampling method to find the other participants.

Phase 1: Pilot study (From October 2017 to November 2017)

In the two months of the pilot, I have interviewed 4 Vietnamese divorced women.

The purpose of the pilot study:

- To have an overview of the topic and fix the interview guide to fit with the topic.
- To check the interview guide to make sure that all questions are smooth and easy to understand.
- To test sample recruitment strategy.
- To observe the attitude and emotion of participants to adjust the way for asking in the main study.

After the pilot study in Vietnamese, I transcribed and translated it into English and sent it to my advisor. She gave me some suggestions for my interviews. Also, from the pilot interview, I learned more experiences to make next interviews better. Additionally, I have completed my interview guide by forming some additional questions to collect more in-depth data and clarify the problem that I need to study.

Phase 2: Main study (from December 2017 to february 2018)

From four women who I interviewed in the pilot study. I continued to interview them to conduct some missing information. Then, I asked for their help to find the others. And also, I would like to sincerely thank Kiho (divorced women and also my participant) for her connection with some Vietnamese divorced women. Finally, I had 13 participants.

The pupose of the main study:

- To identify the reason for divorce and divorce mean to Vietnamese divorced women.
- To find out the pressure that they face after divorce.
- To examine the social support that they received.
- To describe their adjustment after divorce.
- To understand the strategy that they use to alleviate the stigma of divorced women.

3.6 Translation

All of my interview were conducted by Vietnamese and translated to English. Because my mother tongue is Vietnamese, I felt more comfortable and confident. Also, the interviews in Vietnamese help me and my participants to connect together, I can touch their feelings, and they will feel free to share their story with me. With the data in Vietnamese, I will conduct the analysis best in Vietnamese.

3.7 Data analysis

Following the suggestion by Charmaz (2011), I transcribed interview with line by line of each transcript first. After I finished line by line coding for all transcript, I created the initial codes. Basing on the similarities in each code, I grouped the incoherent codes together. And finally, I chose the code that closely respond to the research questions.

3.8 Conclusion

Qualitative provided the rich understanding of the experience of each participant. The fieldwork of my research is 5 months but acutally I spent over 1 year to build my social network in Taiwan. The difficulty of in-depth interview is the trust and connection between researcher and participants. For the researcher, I understand the importance of data collection and analysis. I have worked hard during the 2 years of the masters program. By applying these subjects into practice, I have tried to convey the data to the analysis in the most accurate

and reliable way. From the use of grounded theory, I analyze the data completely not according to research questions. I grouped the participants' answers on each topic. From then on, I've been using topic-by-sentence topics to get the most accurate results. The ethical review related to this study has also been identified. From the fieldwork, I drew my strengths in this study:

Race consideration: Because I and the participants are Vietnamese, and live in the foreign land. That helps me a lot in understanding and easily sharing with participants. And it also helps them feel comfortable sharing with me.

Language consideration: I use Vietnamese as the main language in the interview, and it is also the language in which the participants feel comfortable sharing their stories. So my questions are easy to get a clear and honest answer from the participants.

However, the study could not avoid some limitations:

Gender consideration: Because I am a male researcher, and my participants are female. And my research topic is sensitive and hard to share. In the early days of fieldwork, I received a refusal to join the study of a few participants. But I did not give up, and continued to search for other participants. I do not see it as an interview, but as a conversation between the Vietnamese living in the foreign land.

Age consideration: My age gap with the subjects is over 10, so it almost makes them feel shy and pressured to tell their life story. But I have expressed my sincerity and see them as a respected sister. And it makes them feel more comfortable sharing life stories.

The next chapter will present the results of this study.

Chapter 4

Results

- 4.1 Introduction
 - 4.2 The meaning of divorce for Vietnamese divorced women
 - 4.2.1 Having freedom and comfortable life
 - 4.2.2 Bringing a stigma of divorced women
 - 4.3 Challenges that Vietnamese divorced women have experienced
 - 4.3.1 Challenge about finances
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 - 4.6.1 Working to earn money as much as possible
 - 4.6.2 Joining the social activities
 - 4.6.3 Promoting the responsibilities of women
 - 4.7 Conclusion
-

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the result of the study in 5 sections. It describes the life stories of 13 Vietnamese women who divorced in Taiwan:

The first, *the divorced meaning of Vietnamese divorced women*, this section explores the meaning of divorce of Vietnamese women. The Vietnamese divorced women understand that divorce will bring two contradictory aspects: Having freedom and comfortable life as well as bringing a stigma about divorced women.

The second, *challenges that Vietnamese divorced women have experienced*, this section identifies Vietnamese divorced women meet the challenge about finances and emotions.

The third, *supports for Vietnamese women after divorce*, Vietnamese women meet some challenges after divorce, as the result, they need some supports to help them to reduce the difficulties. This section shows that Vietnamese divorced women received support from friends – relatives and government.

The fourth, *Vietnamese divorced women alleviate the stigma by Vietnamese women's identity*, this section will show interesting things. Vietnamese divorced women use traditional roles as a filial daughter and responsible mother to alleviate the stigma and become the responsible women in Taiwan.

The final, this chapter will end with the section on *the post-divorce adjustment of Vietnamese women*. This section describes the adjustment of Vietnamese women after divorce to continue living in Taiwan. It modifies Vietnamese women working hard to earn money for their life in Taiwan and join some social activities to help the others. Moreover, they try to become respectable women in Taiwan by promoting traditional roles. Now, the chapter will begin with the first section.

4.2 The divorced meaning of Vietnamese divorced women

4.2.1 Having freedom and comfortable life

Marriage is typically the beginning of a new life with a perfect chance of happiness, and everyone wants it to last forever. But that happiness does not come to everyone, divorce is an unexpected result that brings sadness and hopelessness. It causes psychological trauma and negative changes for people when they are just divorced. And it will be a hundred times more difficult for migrant wives in general, and Vietnamese women in Taiwan in particular, when they do not have a family with them. The first time they come

to Taiwan, they hope that they will have a good life in Taiwan with a harmonious family; they will try to escape their previous poverty and help their family. They always keep that sweet dream until they face many problems when they become a migrant daughter-in-law.

One of the divorce reasons starts from the problems of the husband including: mental illness, alcoholism, violence or gambling addiction. Because they got married through a broker, they do not know about each other well. When they came to Taiwan and started a married life, day by day they might learn their husband has some kind of problems. For example, one of the participants' husband has a mental illness. If the husband is typical, then he behaves normally, but when he experiences a recurrent mental illness, he will transform into another man and he will hit his wife every time. As Tipo's case:

He had a mental illness in a long time ago, and when he experienced a recurrent illness, he can not control his actions. If he is normal, he is very nice, and if his illness recurs, he will hit me and chase me go back to Vietnam. Even I am his wife, I have lived with him for 5 years.

Other women, who are luckier than Tipo, have normal husbands. But the husband only wants to marry with them in order to conscript a family. The husband only got married to them to fulfill a role of a filial son from traditional values. The men need to marry and have a son. After marriage, wife does not feel care from her husband; actually, they do not have love each other. As Naem said:

My husband is very easy-going. The more difficult his father is, the more easy-going he is. He does not care about me or even our daughter. Although we are husband-wife, but wherever you go, whatever you do, no one cares. Example, tomorrow I will go back Vietnam, so I will arrange clothes in a suitcase. My husband only ask me that "Will you go back Vietnam", and I say "yes".

Or when the husband does not feel the love with his wife anymore, he will ask his wife for a divorce.

After 18 years in marriage, my husband always ask me to divorce. He follows me every time and asks "when will you divorce me?". When I go back home from work, when I enter the room to rest, he stands next to me and asks like that. I asked him "Why do you always require

me to divorce? How do children live after divorce?”, and he answered me: “I do not know, I only need you divorce me”. This action lasted about 3 months. After the lunar new year, I could not tolerate it anymore, I allowed his desire. (Kidu)

Moreover, some women face worse cases with their husbands. The husband is a heavy drinker and does not finish his role of house-hold-provider. And when they are drunk, the wife will become a “sandbag” for them to illustrate their masculinity. The women think that after marriage, the husband will become a fulcrum for them to rely on. But in fact, conversely, they will become firm fulcrums for the men, and replace the position of the provider with their husbands.

..... one year ago, he became a heavy drinker, he was not a responsible for our family. During that time, he hit me about 3 times until I decided to divorce. (Anho)

Or Beho’s case

When I was 2 months pregnant, he asked me if I had a baby with another man, and chased me back to Vietnam. He hit me and bruised my right eye... When my son is 2 years old, my husband came back home drunk at midnight, and he tried to strangle me. I remember that time was winter in November. My son just stood there and cried. I asked my son to stand next to the door and not come near me, or he will die. While my husband was choking me, I thought that I would die, but I used all my strength to push him out. I went [and picked up] my son going to the police station. The weather was so cold, I did not have time to wear a coat, I only wear “đồ bộ” from Vietnam (women's clothing at home, which is made of the same fabric, is usually soft).

From the sweet dream of a harmonious family to the dark reality, they live with an irresponsible husband day by day. Finally, they want to escape their unhappy family, escape the irresponsible husband, and escape the abusive husband. Although they know that they will meet with many difficulties after they made their decision, they still want to get a divorce. They believe that they will be more freed and have a relaxing life after escaping from that marriage. Sometimes they struggle inwardly whether they will divorce

or not. But, ultimately, they can not endure anymore, and the past few years in marriage is enough for them. Indeed, they feel more comfortable after few years of divorce. They have a free life and can do anything if they want. Almost participants said that “*Now, my life is more comfortable than in the former days*”.

I do not think too much about this. I only go forward, and do not turn back my head; I forget what I need to forget. So I feel more comfortable now. (Tipo)

Now, I feel more comfortable, freer. If anyone asks me “Do you want to re-marry?”, I will answer “No”. I’m scared; I’m afraid to repeat the last situation. (Kidu)

There is a special case in one of my participants – Beho. While married, her husband used her name to borrow money from the bank, about NT400,000 (approximately 13,700 USD). But this did not keep her from divorcing her husband. Beho said that:

I would rather try to work to earn money and return the money to the bank than continue to live with my abusive husband.

From the information above, we can see that divorce with Vietnamese women can produce freedom and a more comfortable life. They are not controlled by a husband and a husband’s family. After divorce, their lives can start again in Taiwan with freedom. However, divorce does not only bring freedom for women but it also results in a stigma about divorced women. They know that but they still want to divorce. It illustrates that they can not endure anymore, they need action, for their lives and for their children. This next part addresses this stigma aspect.

4.2.2 Bringing a stigma of divorced women

Every action we take in our life often lead to two results: good and bad, positive and negative. Divorce brings Vietnamese women a freedom, but also bring a stigma about divorced women. They are seen as a bad woman, a bad mother, and a bad wife. The society thinks that they are selfish and only think for themselves. They are perceived as those who leave their husbands and children to pursue the other happinesses with the other men. The women need to face and bear the stigma of Taiwanese people day by day. As Kidu shared:

They (Taiwanese people) say that Vietnamese wives are bad. They think that we are not good to leave husband and children. But they do

not know the truth about how the Taiwanese husbands treat us. If they knew that, they would not think like this. I heard from my friend (she lives near my ex-husband's house) that neighbors said something bad about me. They said that I left my husband and children.

The following is the story of Tuti. She became a victim of stigma because of the neighbors near her ex-husband's house. She is seen as a bad woman that only thinks about her happiness and left her husband. They think that she is adulterous so she decides to divorce her husband.

They said that I have a lover, and when I obtained custody of our child, they said that my son is only my child, that my son is not the children of my husband [here she cries]. And this information came from my sister-in-law. Every time I have a work opportunity near my ex-husband's house, when I go there, the neighbors run out to look at me.
(Tuti)

The stigma is worse when some Taiwanese women are afraid of the Vietnamese divorced women. They are afraid that the Vietnamese divorced women will entice their husbands. They think that Vietnamese women will ruin their family.

Sometimes Taiwanese women see that Vietnamese women are beautiful and so they are jealous of us. Some Taiwanese women do not think about that, but some women have such thoughts. You know there are many Vietnamese women who are divorced now, so they are afraid we will entice their husband. (Tatu)

Taiwanese people think that Vietnamese women spend too much time at play, and do not care about their family. They always spend a lot of time gathering with friends. But they do not realize that if the husband is would show them any kindness, they would not go out with their friends or divorce.

Always in their minds, especially Taiwanese women, their mind always thinks that Vietnamese women are bad women. They only think that we spend too much time with friends and are adulterous. They always think bad about Vietnamese women. But you see that many Vietnamese women are good in Taiwan; they can take care of

their family and go to work to earn money for the family. Some of them even open a Vietnamese food store. Maybe, Taiwanese women are jealous of Vietnamese women. (Kilo)

Taiwanese people also think that Vietnamese divorced women are bad women now, in general very much. It is not all of them, but there are still many people that think like that. They say that Vietnamese women only care about money and they will divorce when they have ID card in Taiwan. (Tiha)

In general, we know that Taiwanese society is more modern now and Taiwanese people have an open-view of immigrant people. But sometimes, we will meet some unfriendly looks toward immigrant women, especially Vietnamese divorced women. Their life is very difficult after divorce. They need to face many problems after divorce. They need a sympathetic look from Taiwanese society. And to know clearly about difficulties after divorce, I demonstrate in the next part.

4.3 Challenges that Vietnamese divorced women have experienced

4.3.1 Challenge about finances

Finance is always a major issue for divorced people, and it is more difficult for the Vietnamese women in Taiwan. When they are married, they do not pay a rental fee or living expenses, but after they are divorced, they will become a “family head”. With the status of immigrant women in Taiwan, they have experienced the crises dates of their lives. The first time, they started their life again when they became immigrant wives in Taiwan, and then after their divorce, they also need to press the restart button to start their life once more.

I felt pressure about finances. When I moved out, I needed to buy everything for myself, such as kitchenware, pillows, blankets, mattresses, ...I started from nothing, and with no money so I felt very stressed. (Kidu)

Maybe some people will feel strange to know that some women cannot move out immediately. They have to stay at their ex-husband’s house a short time after divorce, because they do not have enough money to rent another house and supply living expenses.

They need to negotiate with their ex-husband for staying a short time, then they will move out when they find a house to rent.

After our divorce, I told my ex-husband that I could not find the new house, but that I would move out when I found the new house to rent. I lived in his house about 2 weeks and he asked me “Why are you still not moving out?”. I answered: “I cannot find a new house, I will try.” and he answered me: “I think that there are other people to help you to find the house”. I am very angry, and I try all my best to find the new house for me and my son. Finally, I moved out of his house after 1 month of divorce. (Tuti)

And also, they have to stay in their ex-husband’s house as long a time as Tata’s case because she just broke her arm and no company wanted to hire her. Finally, she had to work as a masseuse to earn money and she moved out after 1 year of divorce. She did not know that she would be a masseur, she only thought that she will shampoo for clients. But she has no choice. She needs money so she worked in there for 3 months and then she changed to another work. Tata shared:

When I just divorced, I needed to stay at my ex-husband’s house for 1 year. Because I just broke my arm and no company wants to hire me. Therefore, I have not enough money to move out. I cannot find a job and finally, I worked as a masseur. I worked a night shift and came back home at 6 AM, I cooked breakfast for my children and prepared something for her to go to school. I slept from at 8 AM to 11 AM to prepare something to come back work. I worked in there for 3 months. In the time I worked as a masseur, my husband’s family knew that and they despised me. I am so sad and I decided to move out.

It is not only a financial burden for their own lives, but also be the burden of debt from their ex-husband. This is the case of Beho that I mentioned in section 1.1 of chapter 4. She had to earn money for the living expense of her and her son; and tried to work to return a big debt for the bank. She said:

In the time after the divorce, it was really difficult because I started my life again with nothing and a big debt. I do not have money to go

to court. I need to borrow money from my friend. In the past, I have no debt owed to anyone, but now I have a big debt from the bank. I moved out without a house and I have to feed my son. Really difficult. Now I am also scared when I think back.

From the above information, finances are not a simple and easy problem with Vietnamese divorced women. They have to work and earn money to continue their lives in Taiwan. Because they married Taiwanese men in the old days and Taiwan was affected by a Confucian influence. The women were only supposed to stay at home with the responsibility of caregiver. They did not think too much about finances when they were wives. But after divorce, it is very difficult period for them; they have to change from caregiver to provider for themselves and their children. But not at all Vietnamese divorced women face financially burden; some women are luckier because they had a stable job before the divorce. That is an interesting contrast. They become a provider for the house because they met an irresponsible husband; they have to work to earn money for their husband and their husband's family.

When I receive a salary every month, I need to give a half of my salary for my husband. If I do not give money to him, they do not allow for me to work. But you know, I am increasingly older, my husband does not give me money, If I do not work to save money for myself, who will take care me when I am old? ... After divorce, I do not have the financial burden. (Anho)

We can see that financial burdens come to Vietnamese women from marriage to divorce. They have to face that problem when they live in Taiwan, and this is the reason they have a stigma. Taiwanese people think that Vietnamese women come to Taiwan because of money so they only care about money, but do not care for their family.

Taiwanese people think that we only care about money, to earn money and send it back Vietnam. (Tatru)

4.3.2 Challenge about emotions

Vietnamese divorced women not only face financial pressure, but also the pressure of emotions. Many people think that Vietnamese women married a Taiwanese husband because of money, so they do not have love for their husband. The assumption is that they

will be free after the divorce, and so they will not meet with any problems emotionally. And also, it is true that some of the painful emotions are only caused when a couple's relationship began with real attraction, but many immigrant women feel more more relief than pain after the divorce. In fact, the Vietnamese women also face emotional problems. Although the marriage began as a source of money first, when they have lived together in a house over 10 years, they have feelings together that they did not realize. They do not dare go alone to court to sign a divorce petition although they were given permission from their husband.

When I go to court, I do not dare go to there alone. Because I and my husband lived together over 10 years, but now we have to divorce so I feel regret. But it still occurred, so I ask Linh (my friend) go to court with me. She is a motivation for me to sign on the petition. And everything is end (Kidu smiles when she says this). (Kidu)

When I quote Kidu's statement, at the end of the sentence I describe her feeling with a smile. Maybe some people think that she feels happy after the divorce. But from my observation, this is the forced smile, the helpless smile. She has no choice, she does not want to divorce but she has to. And after the divorce, she continues to feel sad and lonely. Kidu described:

We lived together over 10 years. The first few days after we divorced, I felt uncomfortable, a little bit sad. Really sad. A few days before signing the petition, I felt sad.

In Anho's case, she felt lonely and lost her direction after the divorce. She does not want to divorce, but her husband is always drunk and is not responsible with his family; he hit her after he is drunk. If he were not a drinker, she would not divorce him. She fell in love with him:

I and my husband lived together over 10 years, we also have love. But I am angry with him because of his irresponsibility, so I divorce. After divorce I feel more comfortable, but more ponderous because [there is] nobody for me to rely on. In marriage, it is [a heavy hardship], but I could rely on my husband. After the divorce, although I feel freer, but there is nobody I can rely on.

She even gave her husband an opportunity to change his ways. If he can quit drinking, she will go back to the family. It illustrates that she still loves her husband; she does not want to divorce.

Because he [is] drinking too much so I leave him. But I also tell with him that “If you want me come back you, you have to change yourself in 1 year”. But he does not change so I do not come back family.
(Anho)

Tatru is a victim of domestic violence from an alcoholic husband. In her memory of the ex-marriage, she was evicted from her home for working late overtime. She always remembered that time, a rainy day, and her husband asked her come to the court to sign the divorce petition. At that time, she need to put her household in the police station. People think that she really hates him, and in the fact that, she does; but she also misses him every time she comes back home to meet her child. She believes that her husband is very nice, it is just that alcohol changes his temperament. Tatru shared:

Every time I go back home to meet my daughter and drive her to somewhere to play and buy snacks, I also buy alcohol, food, [and] cigarettes for him. Although I know [it is] because [of the] alcohol that he hits me, but I feel rueful [toward] him. Every time I go back home I also buy something for him.... In the old day[s], my husband was very nice to me. After I gave birth, my parents-in-law divided the property for my husband only 1 part, and for my brother-in-law 2 parts. So my husband was so sad and became a heavy drinker. If he does not tell me divorce him, I will not divorce.

In addition, the emotional problems also arise from nostalgia about their children. Unfortunately, some Vietnamese women cannot live with their children after divorce. So, in the few days following the official divorce, they miss their children a lot. They have been raising their children since birth and have not been separated from their children. And when they live alone, nobody takes care of their children. Every time they go back to meet their children, they feel very guilty because they can not take care of their children.

When I moved out, I did not meet any difficulty, I only miss my daughter. The first time I came back, I cried. Because [when] I just

moved out a for few days, my daughter was very clean. But now, she looks like a beggar. (Tata)

It is not easy for the women who need stay at home and take care of their children since birth. They really miss their children when they move out. But they cannot win custody because they know that they do not have house and the finances to feed their children. Every time they are reminded of their children with me, they also cry. This is difficult time for them to live without children. As Kidu told:

When my husband asked me [for a] divorce, I think that if we cannot live together anymore, I will divorce. But I think for my children, I can not leave them. After divorce, I miss them every day. I go back husband's house to meet them and cook for them. I love them so much.

In addition to that emotional pressure, some women feel better after divorce because they have children next to them. They felt so stressed in their marriage, they even have a mental illness. As in Tuti's case, she has a mental disorder and she has to take medicine to sleep. Every night, she cannot sleep. She thinks too much about the future, about the mental harassment from her husband, and about her son. And after the divorce, she feels better, and she does need to rely on medicine any more. She can sleep and has a strong health.

[The] doctor [told] me: "You have a mental disorder because you can not sleep; you need to take medicine, otherwise the disease will get worse". Therefore, I need to take medicine every day and my husband told me to lie. He [said to] me: "I do not starve you", but you know, eating is not important to us; I need a husband [who] understands me and [gives me a] comfortable spirit. Because I take medicine [for] a long time, I afraid that I will lose my mind and I asked the doctor: "Will I forget my son?" The doctor said: "No, I give you light pills". Finally, I took the confirmation of the doctor to [go to] court to divorce. After divorce, I can sleep enough and feel better. I go to meet the doctor and he told me: "You are out of the disease". After 2 months, I do not need to take medicine anymore.

4.4 Supports for Vietnamese women after divorce

4.4.1 Support from friends and relatives

With regard to the difficulties indicated above, Vietnamese divorced women need people to help them to stabilize their life. It is necessary to have a family close to them after divorce. Family is always a peaceful place for people to return, and a firm support where we can share our feelings and receive love from relatives. Tiha is very lucky because she has sister near her. Her sister is also married to a Taiwanese husband and they live in the same city. She has received a lot of supports from her sister after her divorce (and also while she was married). Her sister helped her find a job and a house, and also supported her financially when she did not have enough money. Family is always a valuable resource for everyone to rely on. Tiha shared:

The first time I came to Taiwan, my sister introduced a job to work with her. She came to my home to drive me to workplace.... After I move out, I lived in my sister's house for a week and she helped me to find a room to rent. After 1 week, I moved to the new room. Now, we work in the same place so I feel better. If I feel bored, I will talk with my sister and weekend we can cook some Vietnamese foods.

Tiha is a special case among my participants because her sister is also Vietnamese wife in Taiwan. This is the reason that Tiha feels better than the others. With the other women, they do not have relatives close to them, it is really hard for them to endure their sadness. They need to find the other resources, like good friends, especially Vietnamese friends. Therefore, many Taiwanese people say that Vietnamese women only want to gather friends to play, do not focus on work and family. But they do not realize that Vietnamese women do not have the family here. No one can reduce their homesickness like people come from the same country who share the same language and can share their feelings with each other. They are alone in Taiwan, and after the divorce they feel more alone. This is a way for them to reintegrate their lives.

In marriage, I borrowed money from my Vietnamese friend to open the Vietnamese food store. I returned the money to her after 1 year. And when I divorced, I asked my friend to help me sign the divorce petition. I lived in Dounan with my husband, and after the divorce I

moved to Douliu city. My friend helped me to find a house. Because I opened fruit juice store now, we only meet each other every week to eat and play. (Kilo)

Or Naem's case, she told me that she does not have any Taiwanese friends. She only relaxes with some Vietnamese friends to reduce her homesickness. Naem shared:

I do not have many friends. I do not like to [gather] with Taiwanese people, so I only have Vietnamese friends. Until now, I stayed in Taiwan for 20 years, but I can not eat Taiwanese food. My friend comes to my home every weekend to cook Vietnamese food; I love Vietnamese food.

Beho escaped from the unhappy marriage that entailed an abusive husband without money. She is luckier than the others because she can live with her children. And this is also a burden for her because of living expenses. When she was just divorced, she asked for help from her friend. She stayed at a friend's house some days and moved to the others some days. She moved to the new room when she received a salary. She thinks that if she did not have friends in Taiwan, she and her son would die. Her friends gave her a lot of help to find a job, translate for her at her job, and, take care of her son when she is at work.

My friend introduced me to the job that I am working at now. The first time I did not understand what the boss said. My friend helped translate for me in this working time...When I had just divorced, I needed to stay at my friend's house some days and moved to the others some days. My friend, Kiho, and her husband, helped me to write a divorce petition. I feel alone because I do not have family in here. But I have my son and friends; they help me a lot. I am very grateful to them. (Beho)

Similar to the Beho's case, Tipa has to rely on her friends for accommodation. Because her husband's house is in Changhua, after the divorce she moved to Minxiong. Consequently, she needs help from her friends for living and a job.

When I moved to Minxiong, I stayed in a friend's house some days, and moved to the other [places] some days. I had to move. I lived with my friends for a short time and they helped me to find a job. Finally, I

moved to the new room near my factory. My friends are very nice, but they have family, so I cannot stay in their house in a long time. (Tipo)

We can see that a social network is really important for the Vietnamese women in Taiwan. Following Bourdieu (2008), social capital is defined as a set of actual and potential resources which are linked between networks in families and communities that create a basis for social cohesion and enable everybody to collaborate for the general benefit. Vietnamese women built for them a network of Vietnamese women in Taiwan to help come together and alleviate the homesickness and to reintegrate their lives after divorce. It is really hard for them if they do not have any friends in Taiwan; they will feel helpless and lose the direction needed to control their lives.

Although I divorced, my friends are still good with me. They treat me well. [While I was married], I always shared with them about the problems between me and my husband, and after I divorced they also stood by me to listen to me. When I was just divorced, Kiho helped me a lot, she asked me to live at her home until I have enough money to move out. In that time, I had no financial condition, so it was good for me to not care about accommodations and I could just work to earn money. I do not need many friends, only 1 or 2, but it is close enough to they understand me and help me during the difficult period. It is enough with me. (Kidu)

4.4.2 Support from government

There are more and more Vietnamese women, workers, and students in Taiwan, and combined with the “Pushing South” of Taiwan, many policies have been adopted to help Vietnamese people in Taiwan. It proves that the Taiwanese government has begun to care about the lives of Vietnamese people, especially Vietnamese wives in Taiwan. Within these regulations, there are many policies that support the financial situations of immigrant divorced women in general, and Vietnamese divorced women in particular. These policies help divorced women integrate into a life after divorce. The government knows that they will meet many difficulties, from emotional to financial. So they offer a great deal of support in a variety of forms. They provide free schooling fees for students from a single parent family, they know that Vietnamese women can not pay a lot of money for the school

fees of their children. And the government also does not want children will be uneducated. That policy will help children have a more hopeful approach to their education.

My son does not need to pay school fees, and he also [gets] free lunch in school. This month I just paid for the school lunch, but they said that they will return money for me. (Beho)

I do not need to pay school fees for my son, but I need to do a confirmation letter about [being] a single mom and having a low-income. Every semester, I go to the government to ask for documents and I send it to school. I only pay several hundred for school, the others need to pay NT10,000 NT every semester (approximately 338.28 USD). (Tuti)

And the policies also offer living expense assistance for divorced women. They will support 6 months of a rental house, and daily food such as oil, rice, etc.

My son receives NT2,000 (67.66 USD) per month; the fee of health insurance for me and my son are also discounted ... the government offered me a fee for a rental house at NT3,500 (118 USD) per month, [for a] total of 5 months. (Tuti)

Yes, social worker offered me 6 months for rental house, rice, and cooking spices. They gave me so much... They also gave me a lot of fruits and cookies. (Beho)

Besides that, the government also cares about the emotions of Vietnamese divorced women. They think that divorced women will be alone in Taiwan and nobody helps them to manage those feelings. This is the reason that some women are encouraged to join some social activities to alleviate the pressure from life.

They afraid that divorced women will go the wrong way. So they introduced me go to vocational classes; in that class [there are] many Vietnamese divorced women; we will help together. After the class, we will have a job to earn money for ourselves. Until now, although I am divorced for 4 years, they still call me to ask about my life. (Tuti)

But not all of them can receive that social welfare. Some of them gave up due to cumbersome procedures. They desire to receive a small allowance to help them have a

more comfortable life, but time does not allow them to continue the process. Their life after divorce is really difficult, so they have to work hard for their living expenses and their children. If they always follow the process to apply for benefits, they will lose the opportunity to earn money from work.

I have applied for benefits a few times already — one person asked me to apply for rental house, one person asked me to apply for free school fee of my daughter. I applied two times but nobody helped me. I felt discontent and gave up. (Anho)

Moreover, some women do not know the social welfare which they can receive. They do not think they belong to the women who receive benefits.

A few days ago, my friend asked me: “Do you receive any support from the government?” I said “No”. And my friend asked me, “I think that you will receive some support when you apply to government. I see many women who received.” I think that the government only supports the women who live with children. I only live alone so I cannot receive. (Kidu)

Nobody supported me after divorce. At that time, I did not know anyone, so nobody helped me. (Tata)

As in Miti’s case, because she and her husband agreed to divorce, she feels more comfortable and she does not think about support from government. She said:

I do not think there will be anyone supporting me. Because I and my husband agreed to divorce. I can survive with my income so I do not think about support from government.

There are only 5 out of 13 participants who received support from the government, and all 5 of them got help from their friends to apply for the support. Again, we can see the importance of a social network for divorced women. Their friends not only give them accommodations or money, but also helped them to apply for the allowance from the government. In fact, the government also have financial allotments for divorced women, but Who will be approached? And Where they can approach with the policy? With these problems, we can see in 2 dimensions: first, although the government has policies to support divorced women, the accessibility is limited. If anyone knows about that allowance and

applies for support, they will help. Second, their social network in Taiwan is limited, so they do not know that they can apply for some basic allowances.

4.5 Vietnamese divorced women alleviate the stigma by Vietnamese women's identity

4.5.1 Continuing the role of filial daughter

Filiality to parents is a traditional value that everyone tend to learn from a young age. The children have to respect parents who gave birth to them. And the responsibilities of filial daughter follow Vietnamese women when they come to Taiwan. From the start, they decided to marry a Taiwanese husband because they would like to earn money and send it back to their parents. Eleven out of the 13 participants said that they came to Taiwan due to the fact that their natal family is very poor, and therefore they could not finish their education. Some of them are a student in university or passed the entrance exam to go to the university. But they had to stop their dream and go back home to help their parents. They worked hard but still could not escape poverty. That is when the problem of marrying foreigners emerged in the 1990s. Many immigrant wives send money back home and their families escaped poverty quickly. This is a strong motivation that encouraged Vietnamese women to marry with foreigners. It proves that Vietnamese women are filial daughters; they sacrifice themselves for parents.

Tuan: Following your opinion, what does a filial daughter need to do for her parents?

Naem: I sacrificed my life for my parents. I would like to see them happy. They sacrificed all their life for me and my younger brother. So this was time for me to repay their feeding.

All of 13 participants answered that they always send money back to parents. Although they are having difficulties after the divorce, they still try all their best to earn money and send it back Vietnam. They do not think that this is an obligation, but this is the way to repay their parents. Actually, the parents do not ask them send money back home, but they think they cannot take care of them, so Vietnamese women send money back home for their parents to have a comfortable life.

...with Vietnamese people, we need to repay for parents. We accept marr[iage] with Taiwanese men, [if it will reduce] our parents' misery.

Or if our parents do not [have] enough food, we have to take care of them. And housing must be adequate for parents to live in. (Tiha)

After their parents, the filial daughter also takes care of their brother or sister in the family. In Vietnam, the oldest sister carries a lot of responsibility in the family. They take care of the younger sibling, help their parents to cook for the family, and also work to earn money. Depending on their age, they will have a different responsibility. This is also the action of the filial daughter; they share the burden with their parents. Therefore, there is respect for the oldest sister (including from the brother). And when they come to Taiwan, they carry this responsibility as a “burden”. If they have a stable job and money, they will send money back home for their parents and siblings.

My mother lives with my younger brother and his wife. In the old days, when I just went to Taiwan, I also gave the money to prepare wedding for him. Now, he has two children and all of them live in the same house. I send money back home every month for my mom to pay an electric fee [and] living expenses for all of them. If they have money, they can save it for themselves. (Kilo)

From the natal family’s perspective in Vietnam, they do not think that they will sell their daughter. They hope that their daughter will have a harmonious and prosperous family life in Taiwan, while escaping the poverty in Vietnam. Parents can not imagine that their daughter has to struggle in Taiwan and work hard to earn money. And when the daughter has a problem with husband’s family or gets a divorce, they will ask their daughter go back home with them. We can see that the love in the family is very powerful emotion. Family members sacrifice for each other.

After the divorce, my parents asked me to go back Vietnam and live with them. They [were] afraid that I would be lonely in Taiwan and can not feed my son. They called me every night to ask me about my life, my work, and my son. I love them so much. All the time, if I feel sad, I will go back [to] Vietnam. You know, the flight ticket is very cheap now, so I do not [worry] too much about money. (Miti)

After the divorce, I go back Vietnam some days. My father does not allow me to go back Taiwan. He asks me stay at home; if I go back

[to] Taiwan, nobody takes care [of] me, [and] I will feel alone. And I lied to him, I said that I need to do some documents so I need to go back Taiwan. (Tipo)

There is another explanation for sending money back to Vietnam, because they think if they do not, that they are not a filial daughter. They cannot live with their parents and take care them. So they send money back home for their sibling(s) to take care the parents.

I live in here alone. My father lives in Vietnam with my older brother.

I do not take care [of] him. So I am not a filial daughter. (Tipo)

4.5.2 Promoting the role of responsible mother

Besides being a filial daughter, another important role with women is being a responsible mother. Perhaps it is strange to hear. How can they do this role after divorce? How can they become a responsible mother with their children? In Vietnam, motherhood is a natural vocation, “*Thiên chức người mẹ*”; women’s duties relate to caregiving and housework. These duties are more difficult with women after divorce. When I asked my participants: “Why you do not go back Vietnam after divorce?” because I think that they will feel more comfortable only when they have family next to them. All of the participants who have children who answered me said that they have to live in Taiwan due to their children. They will not be able to see their children again when they go back Vietnam.

I do not think that I will go back [to] Vietnam after the divorce, because my daughter is here. (Tatru)

Some women are unlucky or do not know the law think that they will not get custody. They have to leave home after divorce missing their children. Their first days were horrible when they could not stop missing their children. They gave birth to them, carried them from birth, and day to day saw them grow. But now they can not continue anymore, they have to start their new life. So after divorce, they return to their husband's home regularly to meet their children, buy them food, or take them for a walk.

I only stand outside to visit my daughter, they do not accept me into the house. I told my husband that if he continued to do that, I will call for police to ask the help, and next time I can visit my daughter. Every time I go back, I buy food and fruits for my husband’s family, but when I leave and they will throw it away. Many time I feel discouraged

to return, but I can do everything for my daughter.... Now, my daughter is 15 years old, she lives with her aunt because my husband died. She can cook now, I know that she does not have much love from her aunt. But I wait until she is 18 years old to pick her up. Because my husband died and left insurance for her, my parents-in-law ask my sister-in-law [to] keep it for my daughter and feed her. That is okay. [I]t is for her to live independently. I and her talk on the phone often, every week. (Tatru)

As Tatru said, mothers can do everything for their children. As in Tata's case, she does not have a lot of money and has to stay at husband's house for a year after divorce. During that time, she can take care of her daughter every day. Until she moved out, her husband told her that she has to lend him money, otherwise she can not meet her daughter. Although she moves out with many things to worry about, she still gives money to her husband to have the "right" to meet her daughter.

My husband said: "You let me borrow money." I [stayed] silent and [the] next time, he continued to say "Lend me the money." I also said nothing. He said "Do not you want to visit your daughter?". So I lent him the money, he took money, and I also visited my daughter. That's all. (Tata)

I feel that the fate of the woman is very resigned, resigned but strong. They are strong in making a decision to divorce in the foreign land, in order to earn money for their daily living expenses. Besides, they also have to endure some cases which cannot change in the foreign land. The responsibility of a mother to them is more difficult and challenging than the other women.

My sons are now grown, they also have the lovers; they beg me [for] money to buy somethings [to] date his girlfriend; they meet me often. Do not worry, just earn money, we are not afraid of losing our children when we have money. (Kilo)

In addition, some women know that they have custody of their children, but they cede their custody of children to their husbands because they know they cannot do well for their children. The fate of lives in foreign land is not stable and has a dim future. They know

that they will not be able to care for their children in the future. Therefore, they sacrifice themselves to live alone with the wish that their children will have a full and affluent life. But they did not neglect their children. They still keep in contact, still meet the children regularly and cook for the children. They cannot stay close to their children, so they will be far away for caregiving. This caregiving comes in the form of sending money to their children, purchasing essential items, or talking to their children on the phone. You can see the image of a weak woman, sacrificing everything for her children. As Kidu shared:

Generally, I do not have [the right] condition to feed my children. I moved out empty-handed. I do not qualify for my children to [be in] school. So, they need stay at his father's house.

If they are lucky, some women get custody of children. But it is not that they feel comfortable raising children, they feel sorry for their children, and they cannot give their children an intact family or an affluent life. This was the case with Beho. After a few days moving from one friend's house to another, she told her son that he should go back to his father so he will have a comfortable life. She did not believe that she could give him a comfortable life. But the child was determined to follow his mother, even though he knows that he will have a hard life.

When the divorce was not [going] smoothly, I endured many pressures. I told my son: “*You should come back to your father, I can go alone, your life is very hard if you go with me, not like at home*”. He said: “*No, I will follow you even if difficult, I will [commit] suicide if you take me to my father.*” Thus, I accept for him to follow me, have rice to eat rice, have porridge to eat porridge. (Beho)

The women live with their children and know that the children will feel the lack of affection from their dad, and they will feel self-pity with their friends. So the mothers tried twice as much as a mother in an intact family. They are both a single mother and father of their children. They take care of their children, become the family's provider, and are a friend for their children.

I love my son so much, I think that I will take love to compensate for him, because he has no love from the father. He is no fault at all, the error is me. I thought that he lived with his father in a comfortable

home, so, I have to rent a house a little bigger. I rented a house for NT8000 per month. It will cost a little more but my son feels comfortable. (Tuti)

4.6 The post-divorce adjustment of Vietnamese women

From the issues which I have mentioned above, it can be seen that divorced women have difficulty financially and emotionally. With the difficulties they have gone through, they are always looking for a suitable solution to reduce the pressure. With financial difficulty, they will try to work hard to cover the cost of living; with the emotional difficulty, they will participate in meeting with friends to ease the sadness. They know that divorced women will have the same condition, so they will be available to help divorced women in both material and spiritual matters. In addition to having a comfortable life after divorce, divorced women also face the stigma about being a divorced woman, and they have chosen to fulfill the role of a responsible woman to reduce that stigma. And to better understand the problem, I will introduce more evidence in detail in the following sections.

4.6.1 Working to earn as much money as possible

Most divorced women meet financial problems. They go from a family with stable accommodations to having to move out and pay for everything. They have to rent the house themselves, buy essential items, and purchase daily living expenses. All these have created pressure for the women in a foreign land. These difficulties forged powerful Vietnamese women living in a foreign country; and they overcame all barriers to earn a living. They can do every kind of work and maybe even 2 jobs at the same time to make more income. The decision to marry a Taiwanese husband is to help the family escape from poverty, and after the divorce, they still want their family to live comfortably, so they have to try to make money not only for them but also for the family and their children. Thảo, a woman not employed by any company because she had broken hand. She did not have money for daily living expenses and had to stay in her husband's house for a year to find a job. And finally, she chose to work as a masseuse to make money. People think that she will go a wrong way and will be sexually involved. But no, she works for money but not in an improper way. She earns money from her own efforts and absolutely does not have sex with guests.

Because of money, that time, I do not have money so I work too much. I worked both day shift and night shift, as long as there are guests. I will do, do not sleep There was one time, a drunk guy hugged me [and] pulled onto the bed. I tried all my best to kick him [off] the bed, he cursed [at] me [a lot before he finally left.] (Tata laughs here). From the time I came to Taiwan, I did every [kind of] work, I had to work. (Tata)

Women are often seen as weak, but these women are not weak. They do their best. They want to make a lot of money to stabilize and improve their lives.

You know, one month is only 30 days, but I do 31 or 32 days (Here Kidu laughs). This month I worked overtime about 35 hours. In general, I am also trying to make money because I live alone. There is nobody [here who] worries for me, so I have to try. I think so. (Kidu)

It is more difficult when a woman has to bear a debt from her ex-husband. She has to earn money for her own life, for their children, and also to repay his debt. It is really terrible when she moves out with a huge debt. B. Hong has tried so hard not to be too discouraged, and today the debt was reduced a lot. She shared:

He uses my name to borrow money from the bank, NT200,000. Actually, it is NT400,000, but I borrow[ed] from my boss NT200,000 to pay [to] the bank, then every month she cut my salary NT8000. This is the reason that I work [so] much. But I almost [paid] off the debt, [which should be satisfied after 3 more months of payments].

Besides having to work hard, they also have to try to save money for the future. They cannot spend all their income from the hard work. They know that money is very precious, so they rarely spend a huge amount of money.

I work too much. After the divorce, I worked in the factory at day and at night [to] sell bread. I worked to earn more money because I [was] afraid that I do not have enough finance. I saved so much One day I worked over 10 hours. I [was] afraid that after I decided to divorce, everything I need to [earn] by myself — learning, [feeding] my

daughter, the rental house fee. If I do not cover enough, they will scorn me. (Anho)

Trying to work so hard to make money has helped divorced women to have a more comfortable life. Besides, it also highlights the stigma that Vietnamese women who only care about money. So, I can understand where those strains are coming from. But people do not know that to live in a foreign land is very difficult, and they have to try very hard. From the time they are young, they have to help the family to work. Then, when they grow up, they marry a foreign husband to help the family to reduce suffering. But the truth is not the same as they imagine. They do not escape suffering, but rather suffer many times by having a husband who is not responsible for the family; they have a husband who does not fulfill his obligation as a strong foundation to provide finances for the family. Women have to replace the husband's responsibilities and must to become both the pillar and the fulcrum in his place. Indeed, they have helped their families escape poverty, but nobody knows this result is from a woman's hands. People suspect that they would take money from the husband's family and bring back their family back to Vietnam. From this result, I hope that Taiwanese people can partly understand where that stigma comes from. And is it real? Of course, it is real, but behind the money is affection for family, husband, and children.

4.6.2 Joining social activities

More than anyone else, Vietnamese divorced women know the feelings after the divorce and the difficulties that they encountered. Therefore, they have formed groups to help those in the same situation. In addition to material help, they also help each other mentally. They do these things out of sympathy for divorced women, for women living in the foreign land, and for the weak women in society. They know that their small contribution is not worth too much, but it has contributed to help some of the divorced women to alleviate their sad past and make a fresh start. Those relationships are a sisterhood; they protect and help each other in a foreign land. They know that they can adapt to life in Taiwan due to the help of the other women or even the government. So they are willing to help others who are going through what they went through.

At the time of divorce, I also received the help of some social workers in the government. They called me to join some vocational groups with the desire that divorced women can learn something as well as chat each other to feel comfortable. They are afraid that we will go the

wrong way. From then on, if any Vietnamese woman is in the same situation with me, they will call me and ask me to call for those whether they need the help. Anyway, we are the women from the same country, so I am more easily confided with them. I only do it in a short time, because you know, I have to work to earn money. I work in the Vietnamese food store from 9 am to 9 pm, there is no time so I do not participate anymore. (Tuti)

K. Hong is the most fortunate divorced woman who I have ever met. After divorce, she found a true love, a strong spiritual support. The person who gave her belief in life was a Taiwanese professor at Chung Cheng university. It is from the past grief and a solid support from her husband that she stood up to help the Vietnamese women. Although it is only a small group, it is created from her heart and sympathy. Here are some things she has done: help a lot of divorced women write for divorce papers, give them advise, protected them from abusive husbands, lent them money, and even shared accommodations for those who still had not found a rental house. She also published a documentary film about the foreign divorced women in Taiwan. She wants to bring her voice to protect divorced women. Kiho shared:

In the future, I want to serve the community in Taiwan; what I can help, I will help. And I want to promote Vietnamese culture for the Taiwanese. I hope that the Taiwanese understand more about Vietnamese women. Let them reduce a bad look at Vietnamese wives as well as divorced women.

All 13 participants confirmed that thanks to the help of friends, their divorce process was smooth and they felt a little more relaxed. So they say that they will always be available to help other Vietnamese divorcees to integrate into new lives. They share their personal experiences to motivate others. It is the mutual affection of the women in a foreign land.

At the time of my divorce, though I did not have a problem with my husband. My husband is a gambling addict. He borrows money to play and can not return it, finally, he said that he will go away, so I want to divorce. I and my husband did not have any conflicts, so I did not meet much pressure. But after the divorce, I feel lonely, because we have lived together 6 years. Thanks to friends sharing and caring for each

other, I can be more comfortable. So now if there is anyone in the same with my situation, I will be willing to help. (Miti)

Social networks are very important in human life. It helps people to integrate into life. And divorced women too, they need sisters to share with in both sad and happy times. The Taiwanese do not know the loneliness of a woman who lives away from her natal family. They have to work hard to live day by day in Taiwan. Conversation in their mother tongue and the words of love from friends will help them to reduce their homesickness. It is from this reason that Vietnamese brides gather with friends throughout the day. Society should find out why they gather, and not just look at the outside and give a comment. More than anyone, Vietnamese women need greater sympathy and sharing.

4.6.3 Promoting the responsibilities of women

I mentioned the main roles of Vietnamese women in section 4. Although traditional values are gradually changing, it does not mean that they will not exist anymore. Good moral values still exist. Many people think that Vietnamese divorced women will escape the traditional values of a woman with the family. But in reality, they are not; they still continue to perform their roles. When I asked my participants: "What should a responsible woman in the family do?" Most people respond that they care for their husband and children, cook for the family, and do all the housework. It can be seen that the traditional values have been imprinted in their mind, and although it has changed a little bit, it still follows the women to Taiwan.

For a Vietnamese woman, a mother is a divine and honorable position. Mothering is a process of raising children from birth to adulthood. Being a mother is not only raising a child with tender care, but it also means being a moral teacher so that their children can become good citizens for the society. In Vietnam, if you are Vietnamese, you might know the sentence: "Con bỏ cha mẹ chứ cha mẹ nào bỏ con" (Only children left their parents but the parents never abandon their children). Indeed, the Vietnamese women brought that sentence from Vietnam to Taiwan until divorce. Although they face many problems with the husbands, they still keep the image of a responsible mother with the children. They still love them and love them more if they can not live together with their children. Because the husbands do not treat well them, so the women gave all the love to their children, which in fact would be shared for the husbands. This is the strong connection linked between mother

and children, although they live together or do not, the responsibility of the mother is never changing.

For them, divorce was a huge mistake for their children. They have broken an intact family of their children and they know that maybe the children will hate them. But with a sincere interest from a distance, they think that surely one day their children will understand the problem and love their mother more.

The night before divorce, my daughter cried, then I explained it. I explained that: "I and your father are not compatible anymore; [we're] not living together, but I still go back to visit you". At first, she very hated me. Then I went back home and cooked for her, bought something, and also often called her. She understood slowly, and now she does not hate me anymore, she says "no problem" [laughs]. (Kidu)

There are no mothers who do not love children, and no mother who ruthlessly leaves them. So there are some women who determine to regain custody of their children. They want to take care of their children and see their children grow up day by day. During the conversation with them, I felt their excitement when they talked about their children. They are happy. They feel the happiness of a mother doing all she can for her children. Mothers can suffer hardship, but are not willing to let their children suffer.

I live in the Chiayi city, near the train station, but I work in Minxiong; from my house to workplace is far. If I go to Minxiong to rent house is cheaper, but in the city is [a] comfortable living that costs a little higher; there are many food stores around my house. My son does not like Minxiong, he says that Minxiong township is deviousness at night [she laughs]. He does not want to live in Minxiong, so I also pamper him because he is very lamentable. [H]e has no love from his father, so I agree to live in Chiayi city, as long as my son is happy. I can suffer a little bit miserable. But, it is okay. (Tuti)

Besides the love for their children, they are also filial daughter for the parents. They are always respectful and grateful to their parents for feeding them until they grow up. It is a virtue that every Vietnamese child must learn. When people have children then they understand the affection from parents for the children. And when Vietnamese women have

children, they are more loving to their parents, because they cannot stay close to their parents to care and show concern for their parents. So they will try to make money to send it to Vietnam with the desire to reduce the misery of their parents.

I do not have a father, my father left my mother. My mother does not ask me to send money back home; my mother just wants my husband to love me, do not [be greedy] and steal. Only I send money back home, but she does not ask. At the lunar new year, I sent 1000USD to mom. When I save the money then I sent back home, but she does not ask. I think that my mother worries for me so she does not ask. She raised me and now I cannot do anything for her, so I send money back home for more comfortable her life. Sometimes I send money to my siblings so they can take care of my mother. I do not know what to do now. (Tatu)

The image of a woman suffering and her sacrifice is imprinted in my memory even now. A strong woman stands up after a marriage breakdown in Taiwan. And people would think that they would hate their husbands, but not all; some divorced women still care for their husbands. They think that their marriage already existed for a long time, so the conjugal love still exists. Because of their husbands, they can get to Taiwan, and consequently, they can help their family.

From then on, I also take care of my children such as food and clothes, and my husband too. I buy clothes for my husband and send it to him. I think that we do not love together, but we still have the conjugal knot. Thanks to him [for marrying] me and [taking] me to Taiwan. If we do not have the conjugal destiny, I will treat him like a relative. I think so. (Kilo)

And so, they still continue their life in Taiwan and continue the roles of a responsible woman. They want to prove to the society that they are divorced women, but they are not bad women.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to clarify the life stories after the divorce of the Vietnamese women in Taiwan. Difficulties, pressures and supports that they have experienced both

mentally and physically. I have described their thoughts on divorce. On the one hand, after divorce they can have a comfortable life and freedom. Divorce helps them no longer bear the burdens of both physical and mental in the marriage. On the other hand, continuing the gendered practices, traditional roles has helped them adjust their lives and alleviate stigma.

The divorced Vietnamese women have faced stigma from an irresponsible divorced woman as well as a migrant woman who is only interested in money. These stigma made them feel much more pressured after the divorce and made their post-divorce life worse.

The genderd practices have followed the women from a filial daughter in Vietnam to become a filial daughter-in-law in Taiwan. The traditional values remain unchanged and follow them throughout the process of seeking happiness in Taiwan. And traditional values have helped them make a better adjustment after divorce.

In what follows, I will connect from my results to previous literature.



Chapter 5

Discussion

In chapter four, I presented Vietnamese divorced women's perspective on the stigma, challenges, social support, and adjustment. Besides, I explored the way that Vietnamese divorced women used to alleviate the stigma of divorced women. Almost all my participants come from poor family in Vietnam, and their marriage helped them escape poverty as described by many scholars such as Hugo & Xoan (2007), Wang (2007), Tang & Wang (2011). And divorce is the unexpected result with them. The first time they come to Taiwan with the hope that they will have a harmonious family and escape poverty. Unfortunately, the dream did not come true and they have experienced the dark day in their life. They endured and sacrificed to keep the natal family for the growing of their children. They turned the role of filial piety from "daughter in Vietnam" into "daughter-in-law in Taiwan" (Yu, 2014). It does not mean that they completely remove their role of filial daughter in Vietnam, but instead, they carry both two roles. When they have the children, the responsibility is even heavier. They take care for children with the image of a responsible mother, also take care of the family's husband and doing all housework (Tang & Wang, 2011; Wang, 2007). The role of women in the family is heavier day by day.

After a period of marriage, they can not endure anymore because of an abusive husband, lack of intimacy from husband (Yu, 2014). Finally, they decided to divorce from their unhappy marriage. Of course, they will meet some challenges after divorce. According to Bohannon (1970), there are six stations of divorce: "the emotional divorce", "the legal divorce", "the economic divorce", "the co-parental divorce", "the community divorce" and "the psychic divorce". My participants have experienced all of six stations of divorce. The economic divorce is a common problem with them. Because they can not manage finance in marriage, so they will meet the big challenges about finance (Spanier & Thompson, 1984), and even some women have worked before divorce but they still feel nervous for their future (Boon, 2009). When they move out, they need to buy everything for their life such as kitchen appliances, rental house fee, and daily living expenses They have a right to custody but they give up because they think that they do not have enough money to support their children a bright future. Sacrifice and endurance is the roles of a responsible mother (Werner, 2009). My participants sacrificed themselves for their children. Although they love their children

and they want to see them grow up day by day. Besides, they have to sacrifice and endure for a lonely life. They think for their children and their future. Nine out of thirteen my participants said that they face the emotional problems after divorce as described of Booth & Amato (1991). For example, Kidu did not dare go to court alone to sign the divorce petition, so she asked the help from her friend to go to the court with her. She felt lonely, sadness and miss her children after a few days of divorce.

Following Thomas and Ryan (2008), they indicated that all divorced women lost their friends after divorce. But in my study, with the Vietnamese divorced women after divorce, they are closer to friends than before divorce. Their Vietnamese friends understood and love them more. They used the love between the women in a foreign land to take care together. The Vietnamese friends helped them many works such as lend money, share an accommodation, talk and help them to reduce their sadness. I found the importance of social networks that helped my participants. The help of social networks come from the family, Vietnamese friends and even their children (Boon, 2009), and also come from the other divorced women (Anderson, Stewart & Dimidjian, 1995).

Divorce has brought the stigma to divorced women. They become a bad woman, bad mother in the society. As Arditti and Lopez (2005), they found that divorced women felt both two contradictory aspects: “independent”, “successful” and “failures and social outcasts”. This research also found two contradictory aspects of divorce mean to Vietnamese women as I mentioned in two subtitles of section 4.1: “Having freedom and comfortable life” and bringing the stigma of divorced women”. In the study of Kontam, Karwin, Curran, Lyons & Celen-Demirtas (2016), the divorced women were viewed as “bitchy”, “flaky”, “crazy”, “uncommitted”, “irresponsible”, and “selfish” (p.179). Or the sexuality of divorced women is seen as uncontrolled and become a threat to the other women (Newton-Levinson, Winskell, Abdela, Rubardt & Stephenson, 2014). This study gives strong evidence to confirm that the stigma of divorced women still exists. My participants said that they are considered a threat to the other women, Vietnamese divorced women will ruin their family. In the eyes of Taiwanese, Vietnamese divorced women are selfish, they left their husband and children to follow the other happiness.

After divorce, Vietnamese women suffered many emotional and financial difficulties (Booth & Amato, 1991; Clabergs & Danes, 2010; Haffey & Cohen, 1992; Hetherington, Forgatch & DeGarmo, 2003; Greyson & Canon, 2009). This is easier to understand that they

need some friends to help them stand up after the stumble. Actually, they ask the help from some best friends who they trust. They can find more friends, join more activities but they do not want. They are nervous with the stigma that they have, some people will do not dare to play with them, or they feel shy when they gather more friends with the stigma. Because Taiwanese labeled the image of bad women who left husband and children to find the other happiness, so this is the reason that Vietnamese women are afraid to make friend with the Taiwanese, they have more Vietnamese friends than Taiwanese friends.

Following Hen Brown (1988), the “stabilization” phase of divorced women begin from 3 to 4 years after divorce. But in my research, my participants need only 1 year to stabilize their life after divorce. It illustrated that the period to stabilize the post-divorce life changes nowadays along with social transformation. Wang and Amato (2000) assumed that adjustment after divorce depends on three factor: the overlap of stressful, the support, and perception of the person about divorce. Based on support from friends and government, Vietnamese divorced women had the good adjustment after divorce. It asserts that social support is an important factor in the post-divorce adjustment, the greater social network has made the adjustment better (Berman & Turk, 1981; Pett, 1982; Plummer & Koch-Hattem, 1986).

Based on the definition of social and cultural capital of Bourdieu (2008), this research found that the Vietnamese divorced women who have social and cultural capital had better adjustment after divorce. For example, their social capital includes friends, relatives, and get support from friends, support from the government. Their friends helped them both emotional and financial problem after divorce. About cultural capital, they know that they are Vietnamese, they can cook Vietnamese food and the taste is closer to Vietnam than Taiwan. It helps them to gather more Vietnamese friends, they meet every weekend to cook Vietnamese food or introduce it to Taiwanese. They can exchange from cultural capital to social capital, and they can keep social capital that they already have and extend it to Taiwanese. Besides, the social and cultural capital can be transfered to economic capital, so they have a job or they can open a food store. They have new friends, and their friends introduce them to some jobs. It helps them to earn money and keep their traditional role of filial daughter and responsible mother. When they are in marriage as well as divorce, they have to work to earn money for their living expenses, for family, and also fulfill the role of mother and daughter in the family (Gammeltoft, 2012; Trinh, 1992). And with the cultural

capital, they know that they are a filial daughter and responsible mother; they know what do they need to do in mothering and filial daughter, it helps them to alleviate the stigma from society about divorced women. The society will have a new point of view about Vietnamese divorced women, therefore. It helps them develop social capital in Taiwan. Although society transformed nowadays, Vietnamese women still keep the traditional values that a man is a provider and woman is a caregiver (Dalton et al., 2002). It is proven that when I ask them: “Following your opinion, what is the responsibility of a wife with their husband’s family?”. Almost my participants said that the wives need to take care of husband, children, and parents-in-law, do all housework, and cook for the family.

Moreover, as I analyzed in the findings, the Vietnamese women not only fulfill the role of filial daughter and responsible mother, but also the role of eldest sister. Eldest sister in the family has the role of a mother who will take care family member if parents are absent. This role is also mentioned in the research of Yu (2010); the eldest sister has responsibility to take care younger siblings. This is the reason that all of my participants send money back home for parents and their siblings. They cover all the monthly fee for family even pay money for their sibling’s wedding.

In addition, the Vietnamese women send money back natal family with the reason that they want to express to the villages benefits for having a daughter than a son (as cited by Yu, 2010). And also, they show the image of “Viet Kieu” (Vietnamese oversea) who will send money back to natal family and relatives (Pham, 2010). Almost my participants do not dare to go back Vietnam regularly although they feel alone after divorce. because they said that every time they go back Vietnam, they need to buy gifts for family and relative, they spent about NT 100,000 (approximately 3,355.47 USD) for every trip back hometown though airfare is very cheap. Even when the family does not ask them to buy many things for the family, with the identity of “Viet Kieu”, they will be shy if they go back to hometown with nothing.

Finally, Because the identity of a woman is sacrifice and endurance. They have forgotten their own interests, preferring family benefits over their own benefits. Because of gendered practices, they know the strategy to reduce the stigma of divorced women that they will become a filial daughter and a responsible mother. For that reason, they worked so hard to earn money for themselves and to fulfill the responsibility of a woman. As a result, other stigma comes to them as they only have a preference for money. They have reduced stigma

on them as well as other divorced women. And the circle of discriminatory will disappear when and only if society has a more open look at the migrants.



Chapter 6

Conclusion

- 6.1 What has this thesis explored?
 - 6.2 Policy implications
 - 6.3 Limitations of this study
 - 6.4 Suggestions for future research
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6.1 What has this thesis explored?

This thesis explored aspects of divorce process of Vietnamese women in Taiwan such as:

(1) The meanings of divorce : My finding confirms the study of Arditti and Lopez (2005) that divorced women suffered two contradictory feeling after divorce: freedom and failure. Divorced mean to Vietnamese divorced women are comfortable life and stigma. Divorce comes to them to escape the dark reality of violent and irresponsible husband. Besides, divorce brings them the stigma, the image of an irresponsible mother, adulterous wife, and that bad women will ruin the family of other women.

(2) Challenges that they faced after divorce: In fact, there are many challenges after divorce. But with Vietnamese divorced women, they have experienced two major challenges including emotional and financial difficulties. It is really difficult for them to move out without family, children, and especially money. They had a series of dark days after divorce.

(3) Supports: With above challenges, they need to ask the help from relatives, friends to reduce the burden. And with them, they received the help both mental and financial supports from Vietnamese friends and Taiwanese government.

(4) Post-divorce adjustment: This thesis found three ways to adjust the life of Vietnamese divorced women: working to earn as much money as possible, joining social activities and promoting the responsibilities of women. The image of filial daughter and responsible mother was presented clearly in the result. The strong connection between Vietnamese divorced women with their natal family and children. Even they can not live with children, but they still take care the children from afar.

Applying a framework from social and cultural capital resonate with identity concept. This research concludes that Vietnamese divorced women are not bad women. They do not leave their husband and children. In contrast, they still take care of them in another ways. They tried to adjust well after divorce and fulfill the role of being a responsible mother. They work hard to earn money as much as possible to pay the living expenses, send back Vietnam and also buy some things for their children and even ex-husband. They fulfill their responsibilities day by day. This thesis contributes in four ways:

First, with society, this thesis offered true information about Vietnamese divorced women. The reason that they want to divorce, the challenge after divorce and social support for them after divorce.

Second, with the government, although the government had social welfare for immigrant divorced women in Taiwan. The policy hopes that immigrant divorced women can integrate and start a new life in Taiwan. But not many immigrant divorced women can receive the designated social support. From this study, it offers useful suggestions for Taiwanese government to improve the accessibility of this welfare.

Third, this research proves that although society transforms nowadays, and the stigma of divorced women has diminished, however, Vietnamese divorced women still face the stigma of bad women. This result proved that the stigma still exists nowadays, and it gets worse when it combines with the discrimination of immigrant women.

Fourth, this study argues that Vietnamese divorced women are not bad women, they are divorced women but it does not mean that they stop their responsibilities with family, they still think for their children and ex-husband. They used the Vietnamese traditional identity of a filial daughter and responsible mother to alleviate the stigma of divorced women.

6.2 Policy implication

In fact, the Taiwanese government has now paid attention to migrant marriages, immigrant wives. The government has issued many policies to support foreign wives with the hope that they can adapt and settle in Taiwan. However, there are not many immigrant wives who have an opportunity to access to these policies. Although Vietnamese women in Taiwan can communicate fluently in Chinese, most can not read Chinese. To remedy these situations, the government should design websites that include Vietnamese in order for Vietnamese brides to be easily accessible. In addition, supporting policies are also required to be translated into Vietnamese and widely distributed so that citizens' ability to access is the best.

In addition, the government should focus on the discrimination of immigrant wives in Taiwan. Only when social stigmatization really ceases, then the immigrant wives have a better life and contribute to economic and cultural development in Taiwan.

6.3 Limitations of this research

Although I tried all my best to conduct this study, but I know that it still has some limitations:

First is language barrier. I know that there is much literature in Chinese about Vietnamese women in Taiwan as well as Vietnamese divorced women. However, since my Chinese is not good so I can not read that literature. I know this is my limitation because I missed some valuable information from other scholars who have studied this problem.

Second, there is a limitation of gender. Because I am a man and my participants are divorced women, this is a sensitive problem and they will be shy to talk with the others about shameful things (with the East Asia women, divorce is the bad result and shameful, so they will feel awkward when they share about this problem). I remembered in my pilot study that when I talked with Miti about my research topic, she was surprised and told me, “Why do you know I was divorced?”, “Who told with you?”. I explained to her my purpose of this study and how I will keep confidentiality. I told that I only use an interview with her in my research, and it only caters for learning. Finally, she accepts my interview with a requirement that her name will be changed in my research. So Miti is a changed name. I know that she is very shy when she told about divorced story with the other men. After that interview, I found the way to decrease the barrier about gender. I talked with my participants as a conversation of the people in the same country in the foreign land and as well as the conversation between sister and younger brother. I conducted data as a conversation rather than an interview. I showed the empathy and sincerity to talk with them. I told that divorce is no longer a bad thing in today's society, so do not be shy.

Third, my research was only conducted from the Vietnamese divorced women view and only in qualitative research. Maybe, when the reader read my thesis, they will suspect my research that only focus on the one perspective from Vietnamese women. But I assure that information which I used in my thesis is totally correct. Because I used Vietnamese view to talk with them and they believe me so they shared their real story from their heart. More than anyone, I believe my participants and their stories.

6.4 Suggestions for future research

Drawing on the viewpoint of 13 Vietnamese divorced women, this research provides another look at immigrant divorced women and their traditional roles in the family. It is

hoped that future research will not neglect the husband's perspective in divorced family. And also, future research can approach this topic from the perspective of bi-racial children. How do bi-racial children in divorced family think about their mother? Because this generation will become cultural brokers and the bridge to make the connection between Vietnam and Taiwan stronger. It contributes to the development of both countries.

In additional, when I was in fieldwork. I heard many bad things about immigrant women, especially Vietnamese women. They became masseuses or sex workers because they could not find a replacement job. They have an economic burden when they have to earn money to support their natal family in Vietnam as well as their family-in-law in Taiwan and their children. It is their last choice to make more money than another job. So I hope that future studies can continue to focus on the problem of stigma against immigrant women who work as masseurs or sex workers.



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APPENDIX

Interview guide

A. Background information
Name, age, duration in Taiwan, education, job, number of children, children's age and gender, ex-husband's job, age and education, duration of ex-marriage.
B. About ex-marriage
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. How do you know your ex-husband?2. How long did your marriage extend?3. Did you have any difficulties when you first became a wife in Taiwan? What were they?4. How long did you take to study Chinese?5. Did you have any problems with your ex-husband? About language, culture, food, money?6. Did you have any conflict with your ex-husband? What is that?7. Did you live with your ex-husband's family? Who did you live with?8. Did you have any conflict with your ex-husband's family?9. Why did you want to divorce?10. How old were your children when you divorced? (if she has children)
C. About social support
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Do you know the divorce procedure?<ol style="list-style-type: none">1.1.If yes, Why did you know that?1.2.If no, How were you able to divorce?2. Did you have any support in the divorce process? What was it?3. What kind of support did you receive from others?4. When there was a need, who did you turn to for support?

D. About pressure

1. Did you experience any pressure after divorce? What was it?
2. What is your day-to-day life like since the divorce? Situation.
3. In what way has the divorce experience effected your state of health?
4. What challeges did you meet after your divorce? (emotionally, economically, legally, and as a co-parent).
5. Did you experience any mental illness after your divorce?
6. What are some examples of ways you have coped since the divorce?
7. Describe a period when you felt stuck or unable to move and what did you do about it?

E. About identity

1. What do you think about intact family?
2. Do you think your children will be have trouble because they do not have an intact family? Why?
3. What do you think about “good women” in Taiwanese society?
4. What kinds of new roles have you assumed since the divorce?
5. Were you disregarded by the others when you divorced? What was that disregarding action?
6. How do you negotiate with a social perspective about women who are divorced to become “good women”?
7. Following your opinion, What the responsibility of a wife with their husband’s family?
8. Following your opinion, What does filial daughter need to do for parents?
9. What did you do for your parents in Vietnam?
10. Overall, if you were to describe your life since the divorce, what would you say?

Table 4 Number of foreign spouses

各縣市外裔、外籍配偶人數按國籍分與大陸（含港澳）配偶人數																									
76年1月至106年12月底																									
區域別	總計	外裔、外籍配偶（原屬）國籍																		大陸、港澳地區配偶					
		合計		越南		印尼		泰國		菲律賓		柬埔寨		日本		韓國		其他國家		合計		大陸地區		港澳地區	
		人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%	人數	%
總計	#####	#####	33,33	#####	18,93	29,451	5,55	8,703	1,64	9,075	1,71	4,300	0,81	4,750	0,90	1,600	0,30	18,531	3,49	#####	66,67	#####	63,68	15,846	2,99
新北市	#####	30,848	29,90	17,412	16,88	3,639	3,53	1,602	1,55	1,495	1,45	436	0,42	957	0,93	430	0,42	4,877	4,73	72,332	70,10	66,916	64,85	5,416	5,25
臺北市	59,696	14,255	23,88	5,385	9,02	1,108	1,86	483	0,81	611	1,02	188	0,31	1,571	2,63	438	0,73	4,471	7,49	45,441	76,12	41,660	69,79	3,781	6,33
桃園市	58,632	21,557	36,77	10,270	17,52	4,714	8,04	2,318	3,95	1,683	2,87	299	0,51	370	0,63	127	0,22	1,776	3,03	37,075	63,23	35,639	60,78	1,436	2,45
臺中市	55,442	17,753	32,02	10,471	18,89	2,286	4,12	859	1,55	830	1,50	745	1,34	497	0,90	148	0,27	1,917	3,46	37,689	67,98	36,309	65,49	1,380	2,49
臺南市	33,128	11,264	34,00	7,805	23,56	1,073	3,24	499	1,51	443	1,34	329	0,99	228	0,69	73	0,22	814	2,46	21,864	66,00	21,278	64,23	586	1,77
高雄市	60,822	17,773	29,22	11,576	19,03	2,090	3,44	620	1,02	911	1,50	439	0,72	473	0,78	148	0,24	1,516	2,49	43,049	70,78	41,900	68,89	1,149	1,89
宜蘭縣	8,349	3,314	39,69	2,267	27,15	451	5,40	116	1,39	91	1,09	131	1,57	41	0,49	9	0,11	208	2,49	5,035	60,31	4,908	58,79	127	1,52
新竹縣	13,327	6,377	47,85	2,406	18,05	2,428	18,22	313	2,35	561	4,21	52	0,39	90	0,68	41	0,31	486	3,65	6,950	52,15	6,771	50,81	179	1,34
苗栗縣	13,939	5,787	41,52	3,026	21,71	1,891	13,57	261	1,87	270	1,94	70	0,50	30	0,22	11	0,08	228	1,64	8,152	58,48	8,039	57,67	113	0,81
彰化縣	22,613	10,293	45,52	6,864	30,35	1,738	7,69	493	2,18	395	1,75	411	1,82	62	0,27	21	0,09	309	1,37	12,320	54,48	12,069	53,37	251	1,11
南投縣	10,576	4,901	46,34	3,269	30,91	909	8,59	173	1,64	116	1,10	226	2,14	24	0,23	4	0,04	180	1,70	5,675	53,66	5,563	52,60	112	1,06
雲林縣	15,853	6,954	43,87	4,277	26,98	1,828	11,53	217	1,37	163	1,03	261	1,65	32	0,20	15	0,09	161	1,02	8,899	56,13	8,801	55,52	98	0,62
嘉義縣	12,890	5,476	42,48	3,731	28,94	1,183	9,18	140	1,09	127	0,99	167	1,30	13	0,10	4	0,03	111	0,86	7,414	57,52	7,324	56,82	90	0,70
屏東縣	18,991	8,133	42,83	4,833	25,45	1,715	9,03	203	1,07	796	4,19	240	1,26	51	0,27	11	0,06	284	1,50	10,858	57,17	10,641	56,03	217	1,14
臺東縣	4,242	1,530	36,07	967	22,80	256	6,03	30	0,71	84	1,98	42	0,99	30	0,71	4	0,09	117	2,76	2,712	63,93	2,671	62,97	41	0,97
花蓮縣	7,721	2,105	27,26	1,094	14,17	535	6,93	64	0,83	66	0,85	63	0,82	53	0,69	16	0,21	214	2,77	5,616	72,74	5,479	70,96	137	1,77
澎湖縣	1,831	964	52,65	562	30,69	319	17,42	—	—	8	0,44	42	2,29	7	0,38	1	0,05	25	1,37	867	47,35	845	46,15	22	1,20
基隆市	10,022	2,584	25,78	1,712	17,08	295	2,94	110	1,10	97	0,97	67	0,67	52	0,52	29	0,29	222	2,22	7,438	74,22	7,192	71,76	246	2,45
新竹市	8,971	3,144	35,05	1,364	15,20	678	7,56	149	1,66	260	2,90	23	0,26	138	1,54	60	0,67	472	5,26	5,827	64,95	5,600	62,42	227	2,53
嘉義市	4,899	1,426	29,11	909	18,55	194	3,96	44	0,90	63	1,29	63	1,29	28	0,57	9	0,18	116	2,37	3,473	70,89	3,395	69,30	78	1,59
金門縣	2,597	327	12,59	176	6,78	115	4,43	5	0,19	4	0,15	3	0,12	3	0,12	1	0,04	20	0,77	2,270	87,41	2,222	85,56	48	1,85
連江縣	574	63	10,98	42	7,32	6	1,05	4	0,70	1	0,17	3	0,52	—	—	—	—	7	1,22	511	89,02	508	88,50	3	0,52
未詳	2,217	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,217	100,00	2,108	95,08	109	4,92

資料來源：本部移民署與戶政司。

內政部移民署 107年01月11日編製

(Source: National of immigrant)

Table 5 Major themes

Research question	Theme	Respondents
1.1/ What does divorce mean to Vietnamese women?	Having freedom and comfortable life	12
	Bringing a stigma of divorced women	10
1.2/ What challenges have Vietnamese women experienced after divorce?	Pressure about finance	8
	Pressure about emotion	9
1.3/ What kinds of support do Vietnamese divorced women receive?	Support from friends and relatives	13
	Support from government	5
1.4/ How does Vietnamese women's identity help divorced women to alleviate with the stigma after divorce?	Continuing the role of filial daughter	13
	Promoting the role of responsible mother	11
1/ How have Vietnamese women adjusted after divorce?	Working to earn money as much as possible	13
	Joining the social activities	10
	Promoting the responsibilities of women	13

Consent form (Vietnamese)



GIẤY ĐỒNG Ý THAM GIA NGHIÊN CỨU

Đề tài: Sự điều chỉnh sau khi ly hôn của phụ nữ Việt Nam tại Đài Loan

Học viên: Huỳnh Quốc Tuấn

Tôi đã nhận được thông tin về đề tài “Sự điều chỉnh sau khi ly hôn của phụ nữ Việt Nam tại Đài Loan”. Tôi đã thảo luận với Huỳnh Quốc Tuấn, sinh viên đại học Nam Hoa về mục đích của đề tài này. Đây chính là đề tài luận văn tốt nghiệp thạc sĩ dưới sự hướng dẫn của Tiến sĩ Tzu - Hui Chen, hiện là giảng viên khoa xã hội học ứng dụng trường đại học Nam Hoa.

Tôi hiểu rằng nếu tôi đồng ý tham gia vào đề tài này, tôi sẽ được yêu cầu cho phép in ấn các thông tin của tôi trong luận văn tốt nghiệp thạc sĩ. Tôi cũng đồng ý tham gia một cuộc khảo sát và phỏng vấn sẽ được tiến hành bởi Tuấn. Tôi hiểu rằng đóng góp của tôi sẽ được bảo mật và sẽ không có thông tin cá nhân trong dữ liệu mà tôi không đồng ý cho phép sử dụng trong nghiên cứu. Tôi hiểu rằng không có rủi ro tiềm ẩn hoặc gánh nặng liên quan đến nghiên cứu này.

Tôi hiểu rằng sự tham gia của tôi trong nghiên cứu này là tự nguyện và tôi tự do từ chối tham gia và tôi có quyền rút khỏi nghiên cứu bất cứ lúc nào. Việc tôi từ chối tham gia hoặc thu hồi sự chấp thuận sẽ không ảnh hưởng đến mối quan hệ của tôi với bất kỳ ai.

Nếu tôi có bất kỳ thắc mắc nào về nghiên cứu này, tôi có thể liên hệ qua email của:

- Học viên Huỳnh Quốc Tuấn: huynhtuan303@gmail.com
- Hoặc Tiến sĩ Tzu – Hui Chen: tchen9@asu.edu

Bằng cách ký tên dưới đây, tôi đồng ý chấp nhận tham gia nghiên cứu. Tôi hiểu rằng dữ liệu thu thập từ sự tham gia của tôi sẽ được sử dụng chủ yếu cho luận án thạc sĩ, và cũng sẽ được sử dụng dưới dạng tóm tắt cho xuất bản tạp chí, và tôi đồng ý cho nó được sử dụng theo cách này.

Đài Loan,/.../.....

Ký tên,



Consent form (English)



Consent form to participate in research

Topic: The post-divorce adjustment of Vietnamese women in Taiwan

Graduate student: Huynh Quoc Tuan

I have received information on the topic "The post-divorce adjustment of Vietnamese women in Taiwan". I discussed with Mr. Huynh Quoc Tuan, a graduate student of Nanhua university for the purpose of this topic. This is the subject of a master's thesis under the guidance of Dr. Tzu - Hui Chen, a lecturer in the department of Applied Sociology at Nanhua university.

I understand that if I agree to participate in this subject, I will be asked to authorize the use of my information in his thesis. I also agree to participate in an interview that will be conducted by Tuan. I understand that there is no potential risk or burden associated with this study.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. My refusal of participation or withdrawal of consent will not affect my relationship with anyone.

If I have any questions about this research, I can contact via email:

- Graduate student: Huynh Quoc Tuan: huynhtuan303@gmail.com
- Or Phd. Tzu – Hui Chen: tchen9@asu.edu

By signing below, I agree to accept participation in research. I understand that the data collected from my participation will be used primarily for the master's thesis, and will also be used for the publication of the paper, and I agree that it will be used this way.

Taiwan,/.../.....

Signature,

