

A STUDY ON THE MIGRATION OF STUDENTS FROM TAIWAN TO THE UNITED STATES: A SUMMARY REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

This study covers a broad scope of the related literature in two areas: the literature about international migration and the literature about foreign students. The former exists in much larger quantities than the latter. Among the relatively few literature on the migration of foreign students, the *Open Doors* which is edited by Zikopoulos, Marianthi and Julian is the most comprehensive. Published annually, the report contains important information on foreign students. According to the 1985-86 volume, the content contains four parts: (1) the annual census of foreign students in the United States; (2) Cost of living of foreign students in the United States; (3) Intensive English Programs for foreign students and (4) Appendix. In part one, various kinds of detailed statistics of foreign students in the United States have been presented. It was recorded that Taiwan's students in the academic year of 1985-86 reached 23,772, comprising 6.9% of the total foreign students of the United States, and ranks at the top of countries which send their students to the U.S.

In a paper entitled "Preference of Asian Overseas Students for the United States: An Examination of the Context," William K. Cummings and Wing-Cheung So indicated that the number of Asian students studying abroad has been increasing remarkably since the end of the war. Also the proportion of those who study in the United States has been increasing rapidly. Important factors affecting Asian students' preference to choose the United States for overseas studies are: (1) The improvement of political relationship between Asian countries and the United States; (2) the increase in the volume of economic trade between Asia and the

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United States; (3) the increase in the number of migrants from Asia to the United States; (4) the Asian and the American educational systems becoming similar; (5) strong receiving abilities of higher educational institutions of the United States; (6) good quality of the higher educational system of the United States; (7) good matching of demands on study by Asian countries and supplies of education by the United States; (8) good opportunities for earning money for covering educational costs in the United States (Cummings and So, 1987: 403-423).

Larry Sirowy and Alex Inkeles published one paper entitled "University-Level Student Exchange: The US Role in Global Perspective." In this paper, the authors first pointed out the fact that the number of foreign students in the United States has been increasing rapidly. This change lead to more careful selection of foreign students over the US higher education institutions. In the main part of the paper, the pattern and the trend of the world foreign student system, the effect of foreign students on high educations, the reasons for studying abroad and the foreign student policies of the United States have been well analysed (Sirowy and Inkeles 1985: 31-85).

William K. Cummings published one research report named "the Asian Student Market." The main objective of the report is to examine the phenomena and problems of the increasing Asian students in the labor market of the United States. In order to achieve this main objective, many specific aspects have been identified and examined. These specific aspects of phenomena and problems include (1) the increasing number of Asian students in the United States, (2) the relationships between the United States and Asian countries, (3) the tradition of educational exchange, (4) foreign study policies of Asian countries, (5) the reasons for Asian students to study in the United States, (6) policy directions of Asian countries on student exchange (Cummings, 1985: 118).

The literature reviewed above reveals an important fact that the number of foreign students in the United States has been increasing and it has certain causes and effects. Most of the studies of effects examined only what happen in the receiving country of the United States. Very few literature is concerned with the individual in sending countries. The present study attempts to fill this gap in the literature.

International migration has been an important population behavior throughout human history. In the post-World War II period, emigration of common people and students from developing to developed countries became more frequent, mainly because of great gaps in technical, economic, social and political development between these two types of nations.

Since the post-war period, Taiwan basically adopted a closed-door international migration policy, but the government has allowed college graduates to study abroad. The annual number of students studying abroad had increased gradually during this period. From only 216 in 1950, the number rose to 5,979 in 1985. About 93 percent of the total number of students abroad studied in the United States. By 1985, the accumulated student population from Taiwan to the United States was more than eighty thousand. Taiwan's students have usually ranked in the top three largest groups of American foreign students in the past three decades. It has become the largest group since the academic year 1983-1984. (See Table 1).

Table 1. Trends in Number, Percentage and Order of Taiwan's Students Among Total Foreign Students of the United States

Year	1954-55*	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86
No.	2,553	4,546	6,780	12,029	10,250	17,560	21,960	22,590	23,770
%	7.5	9.4	8.3	8.9	6.6	6.1	6.5	6.6	6.7
Order	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1

Source: *Open Doors*. New York: Institute of International Education, 1985-86 : 18.

*The period of the academic year 1954-55 is from August, 1954 to July, 1955.

Most of the students from Taiwan who go to the United States stay in the United States after they have finished their study programs. This growing number of emigrating students from Taiwan and their dependents have caused a significant increase in the proportion of Taiwanese in the total American population. American scholars and the government have paid more attention to this fact in recent years. American demographers who studied Asian immigrants also included immigrating students in the United States (Fawcett, Carino and Arnold, 1984; Smith, Gardner,

and Barringer, 1984; Sirowy and Inkeles, 1985).

Emigrating students from Taiwan to the United States may have a significant impact on technical, social, economic and political developments and problems in Taiwan. But studies and statistics have not been available. Research is needed for formulating policies in regard to foreign studies, international migration, and overseas Chinese affairs. The present study attempts to fill in this information gap.

STUDY DESIGN

1. Objectives of This Study

The main objective of the study is to explore and examine general characteristics and differentials in the status, trends, processes, and consequences of student migration from Taiwan to the United States. The specific tasks include exploration and analyses of 1) the size, composition and distribution of Taiwan's emigrating students; 2) the emigration status of Taiwan's students; 3) employment and residence of emigrating students from Taiwan to the U.S.; 4) application processes, problems and adjustments for permanent residence and citizenship; 5) processes, problems and adjustments of emigrating students; and 6) emigrating students' socioeconomic interactions with their families and Taiwanese society.

2. The Theoretical Framework

Student emigration, being a special type of international migration, can be investigated by employing many migration theories and concepts. But its unique characteristics may also allow us to develop some particular theoretical concepts which may be different from generalizations for other types of migration.

From a broad point of view, the emigration of Taiwan's students can be systematically studied at both the macro and micro levels. A macro study usually covers the current status and changes in size, composition, distribution, and return rates of the emigrating students, as well as the relationships with the social, economic, cultural and political status of the country. Micro studies usually

emphasize migration behavior process more than other processes. Important subjects of micro studies include: 1) motivations for studying abroad; 2) employment and residence processes while studying abroad and after graduation; 3) processes and problems in applying for and receiving permanent residence and citizenship; 4) marriage, family life and general socioeconomic life; and 5) their interactions with families and the home society in Taiwan.

A complete and detailed study must include both macro and micro levels, but it is not easy to construct an all embracing theoretical framework which can cover these two levels of study at the same time. In fact, macro data on emigrating students from Taiwan to the United States are very insufficient. Therefore, this study will emphasize primarily micro analysis.

Theoretically, a student starts his or her process of emigration once he or she decides to study abroad. This series of emigrating processes could take place in the following order: 1) formulation of the motivation to study and the selection of schools; 2) work during the study period and after graduation; 3) application and receipt of permanent residence and citizenship; 4) marriage, family formation and the practice of daily life; 5) interactions with family members, friends, and other people in the home society. In each different stage or dimension of the emigration process, the content and the characteristics are different, thus the problems which an emigrating student confronts and the adjustment strategies which an emigrating student adopts are also different. On the one hand, it may be argued that Taiwan's emigrating students were born in the same society and have experienced rather similar social and cultural lives in both origin and destination societies. For this reason they may have common behavioral responses at each stage or dimension of the emigrating process. On the other hand, emigrating students may have different backgrounds and experiences, i.e., there are variations in sex, age, year of departure, degrees held before leaving Taiwan, current degree, subject of study, occupation, income level, and residence of parents. To the extent that this is the case, their responses in the same stage or dimension of the migration process will be varied.

Both similarities and differences in behavioral responses in various stages or dimensions of the emigrating process form important subjects for the present study.

Theoretically, some macro sources on migrating students can represent common phenomena and a common trend of individual behavior. These important macro sources, which are also not very difficult to collect, include the size, composition, distribution and other demographic characteristics of emigrating students. Different groups of emigrating students have different characteristics. Therefore, emigrating students chosen for a sample could be partly the same as and partly different from the total emigrating students in their demographic characteristics.

In different stages or different dimensions of the emigration process of Taiwan's students, the behavioral characteristics and indicators should be different. In the stage of motivation formation, important data may include 1) the most important reason for deciding to study abroad, 2) the most influential person in their study decisions and planning, 3) the reason for choosing particular schools, and 4) the effect of scholarships and transportation fees on their education.

At the employment and residence stage, important data include 1) working characteristics and types, 2) time for finding a formal job, 3) the working period, 4) frequency of changing job, 5) employees' characteristics, 6) plan for changing work, 7) couple's working status, and 8) the ownership, quality, and location of housing.

At the stage of applying for permanent residence and citizenship, information may be collected on 1) current residence status, 2) time to obtain permanent residence and citizenship, 3) the process of obtaining permanent residence and citizenship, 4) difficulties confronted in the application procedure, 5) methods of applying for permanent residence and citizenship, and 6) adjustment strategies for becoming an American permanent resident and/or an American citizen.

At the stage of marriage, family and social life processes, important information includes 1) marital status, 2) number of marriages and divorces, 3) characteristics of the marriage partner, 4) number of children, 5) timing of births, 6) children's type of schools and their academic performance, 7) satisfaction with family life, 8) adjustment after divorce, and 9) satisfaction and complaints of general daily life.

On the dimension of the interaction with family and members of the sending

society, important data are 1) interactions regarding monetary support and remittances, 2) mail and telephone communications, and 3) contact with institutions in the home country.

All information listed above is important in examining the processes of student emigration behavior, and they are also important subjects of the present study. This study can be approached from both qualitative and quantitative analyses. In doing quantitative analysis, more complicated and sophisticated statistical techniques can be employed.

3. Study Methods

This study uses two methods to collect the needed data: 1) an examination of secondary statistical data and literature, and 2) interviews with emigrating students' family members and close friends in Taiwan. The interviewing work was conducted in 1987.

It was originally planned that samples of emigrating student families would be selected systematically by using documents held by the ministry of education. However we could not do so because these documents were not available. Instead we selected a random sample of families and close friends of emigrating students. About 500 respondents were interviewed, but only 435 cases are used for the statistical analysis. In this study we did not directly survey emigrating students in the United States, simply because we had difficulty in finding their names and addresses in the United States. Also, it would have been too expensive and too difficult to interview them directly. Among 435 samples who have been surveyed, 265 or 60.9% are males and 170 or 39.1% are females. The mean age of these samples is 42.3. The age distribution of the sample is 50.8% for the group aged 30-39, 27.6% for the group aged 40-49, 12.4% of the group aged 20-29 and 9.2% for the group aged 50 and over. Among them those who emigrated from Taiwan to the United States before 1960, in 1960s, 1970s and after 1980 are respectively 2.5%, 23.4%, 48.9% and 25.5%.

The survey data were processed by computers. Both single variable and multivariate statistical analyses were conducted. In order to find the similarities or the common characteristics of the migration processes of the student population,

we calculated frequencies and mean values for many variables. In order to find differentials or variations of migration processes among emigrating students we ran many cross-tabulations. Among these tables we selected only those for which the significance level for chi-square is less than 0.05. In other words we only selected significant differentials for analyses.

FINDINGS

Since this paper is a summary of the research findings, many statistical tables are omitted. The major research findings are summarized in the following:

1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Emigrating Students.

The number of emigrating students from Taiwan to the United States and their proportion in the total number of students studying abroad has become larger every year. There were only less than one thousand students to study abroad before 1960, but the number increased gradually through decades followed. During 1950s, 1960s and 1970s the total number of students emigrating from Taiwan to study in foreign countries were respectively 4,536, 21,242 and 28,859. In early 1980s, there were over 5,000 students leaving Taiwan each year. In 1988, there were about 6,000 Taiwanese students in the United States, constituting 90% of the total number of students who went abroad that year. Among these emigrating students to the United States, there are more males than females, but the sex ratio has become lower in recent years than it was in previous times. In 1950 there were seven males for every ten students who studied abroad, but in 1980 there were only six males in every ten emigrating students. However, the sex compositions of students in different groups with different subjects of study are different. There are more males than females majoring in engineering, agriculture, medicine, and law, and there are more females than males majoring in the humanities. The top five disciplines among the seventeen groups are engineering, business and management, humanities, natural science and social sciences. (See Table 2).

The return rate of these emigrating students has been low, but it has been slightly higher in the recent years than in previous years. In 1986, the rate was

Table 2. Sex and Subject Compositions of Students Migrating from Taiwan to Study in Foreign Countries (about 92.5% in U.S.), 1986

	Both Sexes		Males		Females	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Total	6,499	100	4,062	100	2,437	100
Education	78	1.2	37	0.9	41	1.7
Art	91	1.4	20	0.5	71	2.9
Humanity	678	10.4	122	3.0	556	22.8
Sociology, Economics, Psychology & Related Fields	450	6.9	219	5.4	231	9.5
Business and Management	1,161	17.9	500	12.3	661	27.1
Law	100	1.5	53	1.3	49	1.9
Natural Science	504	9.8	387	9.5	117	4.8
Mathematics & Computer Science	389	6.0	284	7.0	105	4.3
Medicine, Health and Related Fields	273	4.2	124	3.2	149	6.1
Technology	15	0.2	13	0.3	2	0
Engineering	1,958	30.1	1,854	45.6	104	4.3
Architecture & Urban Planning	110	1.7	88	2.2	22	0.9
Agriculture, Fishery & Livestock	250	3.8	152	3.7	98	4.0
Home Economics	68	1.0	14	0.3	54	2.2
Transportation & Communication	90	1.4	77	18.5	13	0.5
Travel Service	36	0.6	14	0.3	22	0.9
Mass Communication	106	1.6	62	1.5	44	1.8

Source: *Educational Statistics of Republic of China*. Ministry of Education, Republic of China, 1987: 56-57.

about 20%. Among all returning students, those who were employed by public and private industries and financial institutions in Taiwan are the greatest in number and those who are employed by universities and colleges are the second largest. These two groups comprise about 80% of all returning students (See Table 3).

Taiwanese students are distributed across the United States, but there are more living in the State of California than in any other state. The number of students in Texas is somewhat smaller than those in California. Most of the Taiwanese

Table 3. Changes in Return Rates for Students Migrating from Taiwan to Foreign Countries (mostly to the United States).

Year Sexes N and Rates	1950-59			1960-69			1970-79			1980-85		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
	Emigrating Number	4,536	3,216	1,320	21,242	14,481	6,761	28,859	18,208	10,651	34,300	21,511
Return Number	400	324	76	1,172	954	218	5,028	3,907	1,121	6,619	4,318	2,301
Return Rates %	8.8	10.1	5.8	5.5	6.6	3.2	18.0	21.5	10.5	19.3	20.1	18.0

Source: *Educational Statistics of Republic of China*. Ministry of Education, Republic of China, 1987: 50-53.

N = Number, T = Total, M = Males, F = Females

students in the United States graduated from universities and colleges in Taiwan.

About 90% of the emigrating students have at least one living parent. The average number of siblings is 4.5. Overall, 60% of these students have at least one brother or sister studying and/or living in the United States.

2. The Formation of Motivations for Studying Abroad

Motivations of Taiwan's students to study in the United States are complicated, but the most important objective of the students is to pursue professional knowledge, techniques and advanced degrees, so that they can earn a high income and have a good life in future. This motivation or objective comes from many sources, but it is commonly decided by the students' own rational judgement.

Students usually choose those universities which can offer them scholarships or where the cost of living is relatively low. When they decide on a university, they usually decide on their study program. About 80% of new students from Taiwan in the United States started working toward a master's degree, and about 15% of them started working directly toward a doctorate degree. The rest are those who may be required to take some courses before they can enroll in the Master's program or who do not want to pursue any degree. A majority of students complete their academic work in the universities where they initially enrolled, but some of them change their universities before they finish their advanced studies. Finally, about 40% of the all students received Doctoral degrees while the rest obtained Master's degrees.

Student motivation and processes involved in studying in the United States are differentiated by sex, age, year of departure, degree held before leaving Taiwan, current degree and subject of study. These differences are summarized below:

(1) Differentials by sex

Males are more self-directed orientated, have received more scholarships, and are more likely to consider the earnings of a good job and income as reasons for staying in the United States.

(2) Differentials by age

More older emigrating students select New York and other states on the East Coast for their studies, and younger emigrating students are more likely to study in California or Texas. Older students are more likely to have changed universities in the United States.

(3) Differentials by the years of departure

Those who departed early from Taiwan are more likely to consider the better political and social conditions of the United States as significant forces to encourage them to stay in this country. On the contrary, those who departed from Taiwan later are more likely to consider the better residential environment as a significant reason for them to stay.

(4) Differentials by degrees held before leaving Taiwan.

A relative high proportion of students who had held a master's degree before leaving Taiwan consider universities with higher academic standards or prestige as ideal places for study. But a relatively high proportion of students who had not held a master's degree before leaving Taiwan place more importance on lower tuition and the lower cost of living in deciding the ideal places to study. In addition, for those who held a master's degree before leaving Taiwan, it is easier to be granted a scholarship by the national government of Taiwan or by universities in the United States (See Table 4). Differentials also include the fact that a higher proportion of students with a master's degree before leaving Taiwan pursue the Ph. D. degree directly.

Table 4. Differentials in Scholarships by Degree Held Before Leaving Taiwan

Kinds of Scholarship	ROC Government Fellowship		U.S. University Scholarship		No Scholarship		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Master	4	12.9	20	64.5	7	22.6	31	100
Bachelor	6	1.5	233	58.4	160	40.1	399	100
No degree	0	0	1	20.0	4	80.0	5	100

$$\chi^2 = 26.894, S = 0.002$$

(5) Differentials by current degree

Those who have received a higher degree usually showed a stronger motivation to study in the United States at the beginning. Also, a higher proportion of them have received scholarships, as compared to those who received lower degrees.

(6) Differentials by subject of study

On this aspect, emigrating students majoring in medicine and biology are more likely to study directly toward a doctorate degree, and students majoring in social sciences have a lower rate for transferring to other universities.

3. Employment and Housing

Important generalizations regarding employment of migrating students from Taiwan to the United States can be summarized as follows: 1) most of them experienced a time gap between graduation and finding a formal job, 2) more than half have worked no longer than ten years, 3) most of them have changed their jobs at least three times, 4) a majority are employed by private sector businesses owned by Americans, 5) a majority do not want to change their jobs again, 6) most of the spouses in married couples are also working, and 7) most of them can work without difficulty. As for important generalizations regarding housing, important findings include the following: 1) most students rent a room or share an apartment or a house near the campus during their studies in the United States, 2) after graduation, most of them attempt to buy a house near their places of work, 3) at present a majority of them live in large cities, and 4) the largest number live in California.

Significant differentials in employment and housing arrangements are highlighted in the following summary:

(1) Differentials by sex

The factor of sex affects type of employer, couples' working status and ownership of houses. A relatively high proportion of males are employees of American private institutions or business owners (See Table 5). More spouses of males are not working. Also a higher proportion of males live in their own houses.

Table 5. Differentials in Employment by Sex

Sex	Employment		U.S.	U.S.	Chinese	Other	Own	Others	No	Total
			Government	Private	in U.S.	Foreigners in U.S.	Business		Answers	
Male	N		45	158	9	7	43	3	0	265
	%		17.0	59.6	3.4	2.6	16.2	1.4	0	100
Female	N		32	86	20	4	16	11	1	170
	%		18.8	50.6	11.8	2.4	9.4	6.5	0.6	100

$$\chi^2 = 26.894, S = 0.002$$

(2) Differentials by age

Senior emigrating students have 1) more working experience in their school lives, 2) a longer time working, 3) more change in jobs, 4) employment in private institutions owned by Americans and business owners, 5) fewer plans to change jobs (see Table 6), and 6) a higher proportion of non-working spouses.

Table 6. Differentials in Plan for Changing Job by Age

Ages	Plans		Have a Plan to Change				No Plan to Change		Total	
	No Answer		Person		%		Person		%	
	Person	%	Person	%	Person	%	Person	%		
20-29	0	0	26	48.1	28	51.9	54	100		
30-39	1	0.5	69	31.2	151	68.3	221	100		
40-49	0	0	18	15.0	102	85.0	120	100		
50+	0	0	2	5.0	38	95.0	40	100		

$$\chi^2 = 34.34, S = 0.000$$

(3) Differentials by year of departure

Students departing early from Taiwan have the following important character-

istics: 1) a higher proportion of U.S. government employees, 2) fewer plans for changing jobs, 3) a lower proportion of working spouses, and 4) a higher proportion of home owners.

(4) Differentials by current degree

Students with a Ph.D. degree 1) are more likely to be employed by governmental institutions, 2) have a higher proportion of couples working, and 3) have a higher proportion owning a home.

(5) Differentials by subject of study

The more significant differentials are that: 1) those students whose major fields are social sciences or humanities and the arts take a longer time to get a formal job after graduation, 2) a relatively high proportion of migrants majoring in basic science, medicine and biology are working in governmental institutions, 3) a relatively high proportion of migrants majoring in social sciences have their own businesses, and 4) a relatively low proportion of migrants majoring in humanities and the arts own homes.

(6) Differentials by income level

There is only one significant differential by income level – a higher proportion of emigrating students have owned a house in higher income groups than in lower income groups.

4. Applications for Permanent Residence and Citizenship

According to our samples about half of emigrating students from Taiwan to the United States in the post-war period have received American citizenship, and about one-third are permanent residents at the present time. In addition, about fifty percent of them received these two statuses in the 1980s. Most of these students received citizenship or permanent residence through their own academic achievements and working conditions. Only a small portion of them are petitionary by their naturalized relatives. In the process of applying for citizenship or permanent residence, only a few people have encountered difficulties or problems. Among all those who have received citizenship or permanent residence, about one-third have helped a family member visit the United States. After these emigrating students become citizens or permanent residents, their most important adjustment

objective is to work hard so as to live comfortably. Some of them have also become more interested in U.S. national social and political activities.

The more significant differentials in applications for citizenship and permanent residence are summarized below.

(1) Differentials by sex

A relatively high proportion of males received citizenship or permanent residence on the basis of their degrees or their occupations. On the contrary, a relatively high proportion of females received their citizenship or permanent residence by depending on their naturalized relatives.

(2) Differentials by age

Older respondents are more likely 1) to have received citizenship and permanent residence, 2) to use their degrees and occupational conditions to obtain citizenship and permanent residence, 3) to apply for citizenship and permanent residence by themselves, and 4) to experience less difficulty in the process of application.

(3) Differentials by year of departure

Students who departed from Taiwan in earlier years are more likely a) to have obtained citizenship and permanent residence, b) to use their degrees and occupational conditions for obtaining citizenship and permanent residence, c) to apply for citizenship and permanent residence by themselves, and d) to experience less difficulty in the process of application.

(4) Differentials by current degree

Emigrating students with higher degrees are more likely a) to receive citizenship and permanent residence (see Table 7), b) to apply for citizenship and permanent residence on the basis of their degrees and occupational conditions, c) to apply for citizenship and permanent residence by themselves, and d) to face less difficulty in the process of application.

(5) Differentials by occupation

One significant differential in occupation is that those who are working in institutions related to the U.S. government comprise a relatively high proportion of persons who have citizenship or permanent residence.

Table 7. Differentials in Permanent Residence and Citizenship by Current Degree

Residence Status Degrees	With U.S. Citizenship		Only With P. R.		No P.R.		No Answer		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ph.D.	112	69.6	34	21.1	14	8.7	1	0.6	161	100
Master	98	37.7	109	41.9	52	20.0	1	0.4	260	100
Bachelor	4	28.6	7	50.0	3	21.4	0	0	14	100

$$\chi^2 = 43.75 \quad S = 0.00$$

(6) Differentials by income level

A higher proportion of higher income students a) have received citizenship and permanent residence, b) have received citizenship and permanent residence in an earlier period, c) have experienced less difficulty in the process of application, and d) have helped their relatives to visit the United States.

5. Marriage, Family and General Socioeconomic Conditions

Most emigrating students from Taiwan who stay in the United States are married. Only a very few are divorced. Most of these students' spouses are Chinese, but a few are foreigners. A large portion of families have two children at most. These children are different ages and at different stages of school life. Many of them study in primary schools or have not yet reached school age. Most emigrating students' families have a happy life, according to the respondents. More than half of these families are also satisfied with their general socioeconomic situation. However, among these emigrating students there are differentials in marriage as well as in family and socioeconomic conditions. Significant differentials are summarized as follows:

(1) Differentials by sex

According to our survey data, a higher proportion of emigrating females are unmarried or are married to foreigners. (See Table 8). A higher proportion of males have children studying in higher levels of school and have a happy family life.

Table 8. Differentials in Marriage Pattern by Sex

Spouse \ Sexes	No Answer		Chinese		American		Other Foreigner		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	3	11.7	227	85.7	1	0.4	6	23	265	100
Female	38	22.4	123	72.4	9	5.3	0	0	170	100

$\chi^2 = 23.696$ $S = 0.00$

(2) Differentials by age

A higher proportion of younger emigrating students a) are still single, b) are married to foreigners, c) have a smaller number of children, d) have fewer children studying in higher grades of school, and e) are less satisfied with family life and life outside the family.

(3) Differentials by year of departure

Those who departed Taiwan earlier a) have a higher marriage rate, b) are less likely to be married to foreigners, c) have more children, d) have more children studying in higher levels of school, and e) are more satisfied with family life and life outside the family.

(4) Differentials by current degree

Migrating students with higher degrees a) have a higher marriage rate, b) have a higher divorce rate, c) are more commonly married to foreigners, d) have more children, e) have more children studying in higher grades of school, and f) are more satisfied with family life and life outside the family.

(5) Differentials by income

Those who have higher income a) have a higher rate of marriage, b) are more apt to marry foreigners, c) have more children, d) have more children studying in higher grades of school, and e) are happier with family life and life outside the family (See Table 9).

Table 9. Differentials in Satisfaction With Family Life by Income Level

Degree of Satisfaction Mohtly Salaries	Very Satisfied		Fairly Satisfied		Unsatisfied		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
US\$ 5000 +	43	81.1	10	18.9	0	0	53	100
4000 – 5000	48	81.4	11	18.6	0	0	59	100
3000 – 4000	65	59.6	44	40.4	0	0	109	100
2000 – 3000	62	52.1	57	47.9	0	0	119	100
1000 – 2000	23	34.5	39	61.9	1	1.6	63	100
1000 – below	5	31.3	11	68.8	0	0	16	100
no salary	3	37.5	5	62.5	0	0	8	100

$$\chi^2 = 49.682 \quad S = 0.000$$

6. Interactions with Family and Society of Origin

Migrating students from Taiwan in the United States interact with their families and the society of origin in many forms. In the earlier stage of departure, most of the students received financial support from their families. After they graduated more than half of them sent money to their parents in Taiwan. In general, most of these students are frequently in communication with their family members in Taiwan by mail or by telephone. About 85% of them have returned to Taiwan to visit their family members or relatives. Many of them have arranged for their parents or parents-in-law to live or to travel in the United States. Also, a majority of these students have received regards from their families in Taiwan. Only a minority of them have frequently been in contact with governmental, academic

and business institutions in the home country. Some of them have been invited by these institutions to attend conferences, to be visiting scholars, or to serve as consultants. Only a few of them have been asked to take a permanent job in Taiwan.

Significant differentials in interaction processes with the family and society of origin are summarized below:

(1) Differentials by sex

Compared to males, females have more frequent interactions with their family members in Taiwan, but have less often been invited by academic institutions to join working projects.

(2) Differentials by age

Younger students a) have less frequently remitted money to families in Taiwan (see Table 10), b) have more communication through mail and telephone calls with families in Taiwan, c) have fewer opportunities to return to Taiwan, and d) are less likely to have invited parents to visit the United States. (See Table 11)

Table 10. Differentials in Remittance to Home in Taiwan by Age

Remittance Ages	No Answer		Remitted		Not Remitted		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	20-29	0	0	17	31.5	37	68.5	54
30-39	1	0.5	92	41.6	128	57.9	221	100
40-49	0	0	70	58.3	50	41.7	120	100
50+	0	0	26	65.0	14	35.0	40	100

$$\chi^2 = 19.96 \quad S = 0.0028$$

Table 11. Differentials in Plan of Inviting Parents to Live in the United States by Provincial Identification

Plans Provinces	Already Invited		Have a Plan to Invite		Have no Plan to Invite		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Taiwan	50	17.9	90	31.8	143	50.5	283	100
Others	40	26.7	59	39.3	51	34.0	150	100

$$\chi^2 = 11.414 \quad S = 0.003$$

(3) Differentials by year of departure

Those who departed early a) have received less support from their families, b) have remitted more money to their families in Taiwan, c) have less communication through mail and telephone calls with family members, d) have more frequently returned to visit home, e) have more commonly arranged for their parents to visit or to stay in the United States, and f) have more contact with academic institutes in the home country.

(4) Differentials in degree held before leaving Taiwan

A higher proportion of emigrating students who held a bachelors degree or higher a) have remitted money back to their families and b) have associated with governmental institutes in Taiwan.

(5) Differentials by current degree

A higher proportion of those with higher current degrees a) have not received financial support from home, b) have remitted money to their families of origin, c) have contacted academic and industrial institutes (See Table 12), and d) have been invited to work permanently by related institutes in Taiwan.

**Table 12. Differentials in Contact with Academic Institutes in Taiwan
by Current Degree**

Frequency of Contact Degrees	Often		Occasionally		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ph. D.	13	8.1	58	36.0	90	55.9	161	100
Master	3	1.2	26	10.0	231	88.8	260	100
Bachelor	0	0	1	7.1	13	92.9	14	100

$$\chi^2 = 63.62 \quad S = 0.000$$

(6) Differentials by the subject of study

Our study data show that a relatively high proportion of emigrating students majoring in humanities and social science have received financial support from their families after leaving Taiwan.

(7) Differentials by occupation

Significant differentials in interaction with family and society of origin by occupation are that a) a lower proportion of students who work as governmental employees or employees of private enterprises have received financial support from their home of origin, b) a higher proportion of those who are working in governmental and academic institutes in the United States have contacts with governmental and academic institutes in Taiwan, c) a relatively high proportion of those who are self-employed have contacts with enterprises in Taiwan.

(8) Differentials by income level

A higher proportion of higher income emigrating students a) have received financial support from home during their study period, and b) have contacts with governmental and academic institutes as well as private enterprises in Taiwan.

(9) Differentials by places of residence

Native Taiwanese students have less frequently arranged for or planned to invite their parents to live in the United States (See Table 11).

SUGGESTIONS

This paper is a summary of the research on the migration of students from Taiwan to the United States. Many findings of the study are presented very briefly, without providing detailed statistical data. However, based on some of these findings and other important information of Taiwan's students studying in the United States, some suggestions are made as useful references for policy making and improvement of study programs as listed below:

1. Suggestions for Policy Making

(1) A good graduate study program and a good residential environment in Taiwan should be developed to reduce the emigration of college graduates.

The gradual increase in the number of emigrating students from Taiwan to the United States reflects the fact that the interest and the need of college graduates in pursuing advanced study is becoming stronger. Also, we know that the family burden of financial support for students in the United States has become heavier. In addition, we find that those students who departed from Taiwan later are more likely to consider the better residential environment as a significant reason for them to stay. These changing situations reflect the urgent need of the development of good graduate study programs and good residential environment in Taiwan.

(2) Advanced technical and research institutes should be established to reduce the employment pressure from returning professional migrants.

In this study we found that the return rate of emigrating students has become higher in recent years and there is an urgent need to develop advanced technical and research institutes to absorb these returning professional personnel.

(3) The governmental policy of providing funds for supporting students to study abroad should be continually implemented, but it should support more students who have received a master's degree.

This policy is good because it can encourage highly educated people to receive

more advanced trainings, in order to contribute their knowledge or technical expertise to the home society. Also it can adjust the advanced studies to meet societal or national development plans. The policy can effectively support particular fields which are urgently needed by the society and by the country, but in which it is difficult to earn scholarships in foreign universities. Based on this study one finds that a relatively high proportion of students who had held a master's degree before leaving Taiwan consider universities with high academic standards or prestige as ideal places for study. Thus we also suggest that the government funds should support more students who have received a master degree.

(4) Organizational developments should be promoted by combining Taiwan's public and private institutes in the United States in order to provide job opportunities for Taiwan's emigrating students in the United States.

If more emigrating students from Taiwan to the United States can be absorbed by Taiwan's institutes in the States after they graduate, their employment problems can be more effectively solved. Also, they can more effectively promote the development of foreign trade and international relationships for the home country, although they would stay in the United States after they graduated. As of now, there is still not a good connection between Taiwan's institutes, which need to hire people, and Taiwan's emigrants, who need to find jobs. In fact, a majority of Taiwan's students graduated from Universities in the United States are employed by American business companies. So we suggest that it is important to improve this situation in order to benefit the home country.

(5) When the return rate of emigrating students becomes higher in the most recent years, the government needs to improve these channels and services.

(6) Every important branch institute of the central government in Taiwan should have someone to analyze problems faced by emigrating students and to find effective policies to solve these problems. They may need to pay particular attention to differentials in migration processes by all kinds of personal factors. The present study has found many significant differentials of various aspects in the process of emigration of students by various kinds of demographic and socio-economic variables. All of these differentials are valuable for governmental administrators to formulate more effective strategies for solving specific problems

related to the foreign study program.

2. Suggestions for Improvement of Study Programs

Many aspects of the migration of students from Taiwan to the United States can be studied in various perspectives. This study covers a relatively broad scope and deals with more general concepts and problems of the whole migration process of students from Taiwan to the United States in the post-war period. Future study programs, should include more specialized topics concerning practical situations and application purposes. Such as: 1) the impact of emigrating students on academic, socioeconomic and political developments in the country of origin, and 2) proper policy adjustments and policy changes in Taiwan's studies abroad and overseas affairs, with particular attention to the relation with the United States, 3) new crises and problems for Taiwan's students to study in the United States and/or other countries, and 4) business as a way of job adjustment among emigrating students from Taiwan to the United States.

For studying any of the subjects mentioned above, it is necessary to enlarge the sample size. Also, samples drawn directly from emigrating students would have more relevance for this study. More sophisticated analyses would also be needed in future.

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台灣留美學生的移動研究：報告的摘要

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(中文摘要)

鑑於當前每年自台灣留學美國學生人數眾多，占台灣全部留學生及全美國外國學生的最重要地位，但有關留美學生移動過程作成較完整性的研究則缺如。本研究乃針對此種情勢經由檢視次級統計資料、文獻及由調查訪問四百餘位留美學生在台家屬及親友，對樣本留美學生的移動過程、問題及調適作較廣泛性及較完整性的探討。本文為全部研究報告的摘要部分。

本研究的內容先由總體觀點分析留美學生的人口性質及變遷，而後就其移動過程細分成下列諸階段或層面，(1)出國留學動機的形成及經過，(2)留美學生在美國工作謀生及居住的過程，(3)居留權的取得與歸化美國籍的過程、問題與適應，(4)婚姻、家庭及一般生活的過程、問題與適應，(5)留美學生與在台母家庭及母國社會的互動與往來。

在進行上列每一移動階段或層面的分析時，既注意留美學生之間的一致性，也注意其間的差異性。個別移動差異乃依其在性別、年齡、出國時間、出國時的學位、目前的學位、主修科目、職業、收入水準及籍貫等個別條件之不同而加以分析。結果發現在不同的留學階段或層面上，由於部份個別條件之不同而有顯著的不同移動過程、問題或適應。

本研究於最後參照若干重要研究結論，提出若干政策上及研究改進上的建議。

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**A STUDY ON THE MIGRATION OF STUDENTS FROM
TAIWAN TO THE UNITED STATES: A SUMMARY REPORT**

(ABSTRACT)

A great number of Taiwan's students study in the United States every year, comprising the highest proportion in the total number of foreign students in the United States. But no comprehensive study on the migration process of these students has been done. The present study attempts to make a broad and comprehensive analysis of the migration processes, problems, and adjustments of these students both through examining secondary statistical data and literature, as well as through interviewing these students' family members and close friends in Taiwan. The study covers the demographic characteristics of students from Taiwan in the United States, and their specific migration processes: (1) the formation of motivation for studying abroad, (2) working and living experiences, problems and adjustments, (3) the application for permanent residence and citizenship, (4) marriage, family and general socioeconomic situations, and (5) interaction with family and society of origin. In carrying out the analysis for each migration process listed above, not only the similarities but also the differentials are emphasized. Differentials are analyzed by age, sex, year of departure, degrees held before leaving Taiwan, current degrees, fields of study, occupations, income levels, and parents' birth places. The different migration processes, problems and adjustments are each affected by different factors. In the final part of the study, suggestions for policy-making and improvement of study programs have also been made.