Introduction

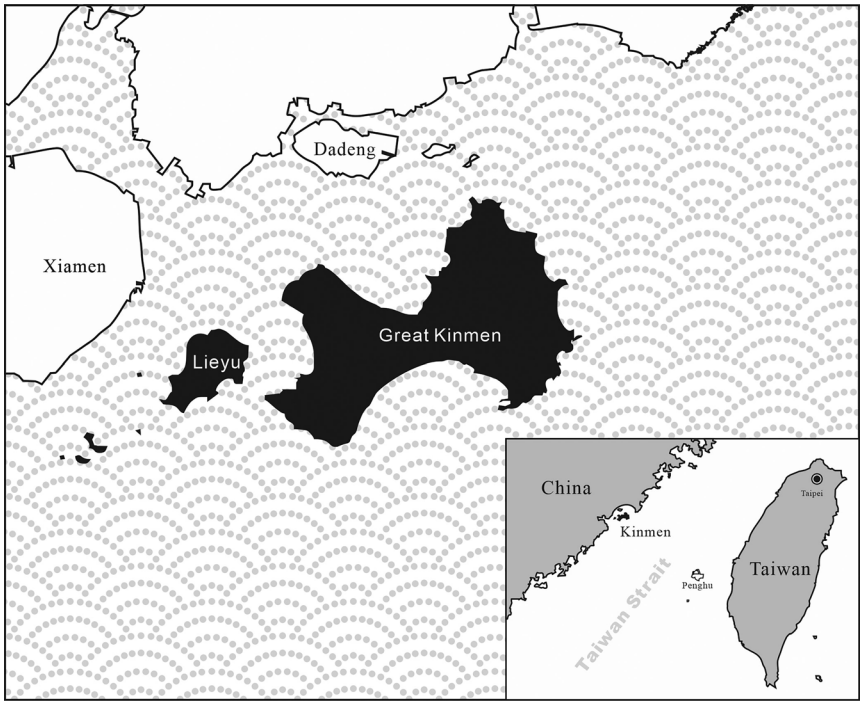
Marriage often serves as an index of the wider social changes that were part of the grand force of modernity that swept across much of the globe in the twentieth century. People on the Chinese mainland initially experienced this sweeping force when their government was defeated by the Western powers, including the British and French empires, on their own land in the nineteenth century. The Chinese empire's incapacity to compete with Western forces eventually led to its collapse and the establishment of the Republic of China (ROC) in 1912. Since then, marriage has been highlighted by reformers as a key site of engineering the building of a modern Chinese nation-state. The Chinese Civil War following the Second World War resulted in two Chinese regimes in 1949 – the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the Chinese mainland and the ROC on Taiwan. The two regimes continued to promote modernization in their respective territories, in both of which, despite various contradictions, marriage played a significant role. Rather than focusing on political events, this book explores ordinary people's experiences of marriage on Kinmen – an archipelago under Taiwan's governance and bordering China's southeast coast. I investigate marital experiences across multiple generations over the last century, unpacking the entanglements between marital change and multiple forms of modernity linked to changing global and regional geopolitics.

'Visions of marriage' – the title of this book – reflects my treatment of marriage as a site of creating desired futures from the perspectives of an individual, a family, or a political regime. I also consider marriage as a site of making relatedness between spouses, between an individual and his/her family, or between groups. These future-making and relational aspects of marriage are highlighted and illustrated through ethnographic stories across different political temporal-

Endnotes for this chapter begin on page 21.

ities, which reveal the constitutive power of kinship and marriage in regimes of modernity (McKinnon and Cannell 2013). While in subsequent chapters I outline how reformers and political regimes envisioned new futures for their nation through marital reform in different political contexts, my discussion centres on Kinmen islanders' experiences. I explicate how ordinary people envisioned a good life and futures through marriage and kinship practices, and how these visions and practices have changed over time in conjunction with shifting political economies over the last century. Through marital stories across multiple generations in Kinmen, I point out a shift of emphasis in kinship practices from the goal of preserving the patriline in earlier times to the goal of pursuing cross-generational emotional intimacy and material security in the face of increasing uncertainties. This shift, involving challenges to the generational and gender hierarchies of traditional patriarchy (Santos and Harrell 2017), suggests that, rather than zones of conservatism, kinship and marriage are always constitutive of changes and new futures.

Kinmen refers to a group of islands lying about 2 kilometres from China's southeast coast, and about 300 kilometres from Taipei, the capital of Taiwan (see Map 0.1). The available records suggest that Kinmen was officially incorporated into the Chinese administrative system in the late tenth century (Kao 2014; Lin 1993 [1882]), whereas the island of Taiwan was officially placed under Qing's governance in 1683 (Tai 2007). Kinmen and the islands of Taiwan and Penghu diverged politically when the Chinese government ceded the latter islands to Japan in 1895 following its defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War. After the Japanese surrender in 1945 and its resettlement on Taiwan in 1949, the ROC government – led by the Kuomintang (KMT, or the Nationalist Party) – controlled Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu and some smaller islets. But the unresolved civil war between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) again resulted in a different destiny for Kinmen from Taiwan. Due to its geographical proximity to China, Kinmen was shaped by the KMT, backed by the US, as an anti-communist frontline against China in accordance with Cold War geopolitics, and a system of military rule was set up on the island (Szonyi 2008).[1] This military rule, which ended only in 1992, excluded Kinmen from the movements promoting democratization that emerged on the Taiwanese mainland in the 1980s. However, Kinmen's external contacts and people's movements were never entirely blocked during these wars and the period of military rule. The flows of people into and out of Kinmen, due to wars, livelihoods, education and other factors, left imprints on the marital landscape in Kinmen but also linked Kinmen to the Chinese mainland, Taiwan and foreign countries far away.Because of its imbrication in these wider geopolitics, Kinmen is a strategic site for studying the multiplicity of modernity and the vitality of kinship. The stories in this book, across an extended timeline from the early twentieth century to the present, provide a dynamic picture of transforming family and society in Kinmen that is closely linked to but not concordant



Map 0.1. Kinmen's position between China and Taiwan. © Hsiao-Chiao Chiu.

with the situation on Taiwan. The concept of 'compressed modernity', proposed by sociologist Kyung-Sup Chang (2010), pertinently describes the condensed processes of modernization in various aspects in East Asian societies which resulted in the coexistence of diverse cultural components (including both colonial and postcolonial elements) and multiple social temporalities (e.g. traditional, modern and postmodern temporalities). I argue that such compressed modernity also has multiple representations within the same country as Kinmen islanders experienced different forms of modernity from those on Taiwan in the past century. Marriage provides a productive avenue to explore the intersection and interaction between temporalities under different conditions of modernity in Kinmen and Taiwan, revealing kinship's significance in mediating and generating changes for subsequent generations. Moreover, Kinmen's historical and kinship connections with China, as well as involvement in post-Cold War waves of globalization and expansive neoliberalism, offer suggestive insights for a comparative analysis of family change across Taiwan and China and around the world.

The ethnographic material in this book is arranged chronologically, beginning with the Republican era (1912–1949), followed by the period of military rule (1949–1992), and post-militarization (1992–present), to highlight how mar-

riage has been a knot in which changes in personal lives and politics converged. Rather than projecting a unilinear, progressive understanding of family change, this chronological arrangement brings to light the contestation and negotiation between divergent visions of marriage pursued by individuals, families and successive political regimes. The marital stories of different generations and these stories' cross-generational connections also reveal how wider kin and social ties are still valued and maintained, challenging the assumption by theorists of modernity about the nuclearization of the family and increasing possessive individualism (see also Donner and Santos 2016; Lambek 2011; McKinnon and Cannell 2013). Probing marital change in this specific place over time thus illuminates the interplay between changes in personal lives and the society's transformation into the conditions of modernity as well as the significance of kinship in these transforming processes.

The Setting: Kinmen and Its Experiences of Multiple Forms of Modernity

This section zooms in on Kinmen, introducing the formation of its landscape of Chinese settlements and how the different forms of modernity arising from wars and regime transitions in the past two centuries shaped its current conditions and differences from Taiwan. The following description centres on the two main constituent islands of Kinmen, Great Kinmen (around 134 square kilometres) and Lieyu (around 16 square kilometres, also known as Little Kinmen). Calculation of the resident population on Kinmen has been difficult because of the constant flows of native islanders and outsiders (including soldiers) along with changing politico-economic conditions over the last century, as I describe below.

From the late tenth century, Kinmen received migrants mostly from the southern part of Fujian Province ('Minnan' in Mandarin) on the Chinese mainland. They spoke Hokkien, a dialect used in Minnan, and many of them settled in Kinmen and built houses in an architectural style also observed in Minnan (see Figure 0.1). Their offspring gradually expanded their residential and productive areas, and differentiated between each other according to their surnames (through patrilineal lines). Despite being remote tiny islands, Kinmen produced numerous Confucian scholars and ranked officials mostly between the mid-sixteenth and late nineteenth century. These scholar-officials contributed greatly to the formation of what David Faure (2007: 2) calls the scholarly model of lineage, namely, a lineage with its own written genealogy (*zupu*) and ancestral hall in an official style known as *jiamiao* (see Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3). A commonly-funded estate was set up to finance the maintenance of the ancestral hall and grand rituals worshipping remote ancestors that involved a complex set of etiquette introduced by the scholar-officials from the imperial court to Kinmen. These single-surname set-

Figure 0.1. Minnan-style houses in a village in Kinmen, 2010. © Hsiao-Chiao Chiu.

tlements, or territorialized patrilineages in anthropological terms, were also found in Fujian and Guangdong (Freedman 1958, 1966) and Taiwan, which received many migrants from the foregoing two provinces (Cohen 1976; Pasternak 1972). Nowadays, the boundaries between these single-surname settlements in Kinmen are not only marked bureaucratically (the lines of settlements and administrative villages are basically congruent) but also symbolically by the preservation of ancestral halls and rituals (Chiu 2017). The persistence of these rituals suggests the continued significance of kinship in spite of the expansive marketization today promoting a shift of emphasis from a universe of wider kin ties to the self.

Prior to 1949, Kinmen islanders were mostly engaged in farming and fishing, commuting frequently to the Chinese mainland for trade and purchase of various items from daily necessities to materials for house construction. Despite the achievements in producing numerous scholars, making a living on Kinmen was extremely difficult because of the lack of fertile land to produce enough food. The genealogical records (*zupu*) of local patrilineages indicate the constant outflow of young men eastward to the islands of Penghu and Taiwan, or westward to the Chinese mainland. In the nineteenth century, the growing Western powers which challenged the Chinese empire and colonized tropical lands of Southeast Asia provided Kinmen islanders with another channel of earning a living through migrant labour. The Opium War (or Anglo-Chinese War) in 1842 resulted in China opening five treaty ports, including Xiamen, and the 1860 Beijing Treaty legalized the emigration of Chinese labourers that the Western colonizers coveted. Via the nearby port of Xiamen, young men of Kinmen followed the trend of selling their labour abroad (especially to Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia in Southeast

Asia) and sending remittances back home. This transnational labour migration and remittance economy was common across the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong – all known as *qiaoxiang* (the homeland of overseas Chinese).

It was through this migrant economy that Kinmen experienced modernity for the first time. As documented in many studies, the initial processes of modernization in *qiaoxiang* across south China were largely attributed to the Chinese migrants who achieved economic success abroad (Ding 2004; Godley 1981). In Kinmen, these successful migrants returned home, investing in the general improvement of local society including in education, public security and public hygiene (Chiang 2011). Many influential Chinese merchants in Southeast Asia supported Sun Yat-sen's 1911 Revolution which led to the collapse of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the ROC in 1912. Young men receiving a Western education in Xiamen or in the foreign countries where their fathers worked advocated new ideas of marriage by choice and gender equality in Kinmen, echoing the discourses of the New Culture Movement emerging on the Chinese mainland in the late 1910s. Chapter 1 draws on historical material and stories of local women marrying migrants in order to discuss marital change in relation to this wave of modernization.[2]

A few months after Japan's full-scale invasion of China in 1937, Kinmen fell in October to the Japanese army's control. The islanders' transnational mobility was to some extent restricted by the Japanese occupation, and then interrupted by the separation of Taiwan (including Kinmen) controlled by the KMT and China controlled by the CCP in 1949. The post-1949 Taiwan-China conflict, as part of Cold War bipolar politics, led to the second wave of modernization in Kinmen, in which military and geopolitical concerns were prioritized. As compellingly demonstrated in historian Michael Szonyi's (2008) monograph, *Cold War Island*, the lives of Kinmen civilians were significantly altered or disrupted by military strife between the KMT and the CCP in the Cold War era. Houses were destroyed by CCP shelling; civilians were required to conduct militia training and missions, and were ordered to replace the main subsistence food of sweet potatoes on their farms with sorghum, which was used to make alcohol that generated profits to sustain the army. Nevertheless, this militarized modernity had some positive effects which might have been unexpected by the authorities. The remarkable number of soldiers deployed on Kinmen (about 100,000 at their height in the 1950s and 1960s) encouraged the sprouting of various small businesses catering to the needs of the troops. Local women of different ages were the entrepreneurs or main labour force in these flourishing businesses. Based on life stories of local women and men, Chapter 2 unpacks how kin ties and conditions of militarization co-produced new patterns of marriage.

From 1949 to the 1980s, the economic development in Kinmen was shaped and constrained by military concerns. By contrast, the Taiwanese mainland had

undergone several waves of industrial development: from cheap, labour-intensive manufactures in the 1960s to an expansion of heavy industry and infrastructure in the 1970s, and then to advanced electronics from the early 1980s onwards (Cheng 2001; Tsai 1999). Like rural areas on Taiwan, Kinmen has been a source of male and female labour, from low-skilled workers to professionals, contributing to Taiwan's economic miracle (Brandtstädter 2009; Kung 1983). On the political side, the KMT regime had confronted growing crises of legitimacy from within and from outside since the 1970s. In 1971, the ROC was replaced by the PRC in the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council; then, in 1979, the US officially recognized the PRC and severed diplomatic relations with the ROC. These diplomatic failures stimulated young intellectuals, including Taiwanese natives and the children of mainland Chinese, to initiate a series of social movements advocating democratization (Hsiau 2005). These events contributed to the lifting of martial law on Taiwan in 1987 (Gold 1986), whereas in Kinmen, due to military concerns, martial law was only lifted in 1992. Taiwan transitioned from the KMT's one-party rule to multi-party democracy, and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), established in 1986, won the first presidential election in 2000. Social movements focusing on various public issues (women's rights, LGBT rights, labour rights, etc.) became more active on Taiwan (Chang 2009; Fan 2019; Schubert 2016), but until recently have had only a limited presence on Kinmen (see this book's Conclusion for further discussion).

Though Cold War geopolitics resulted in different routes of modernization for Kinmen and Taiwan, the flows of Kinmen islanders to and from Taiwan to some extent bridged these differences. Chapter 3 explores how parents increased their investment in both their sons' and daughters' advanced studies in Taiwan with a view to guaranteeing their upward mobility and future material security. The younger generation witnessed a transition to the third wave of modernization featuring democratization, expansive neoliberalism, and increasing mobility (including affordable domestic flights and global travel) from the 1990s onwards. Chapters 3 and 4 describe how young people with sojourning experiences in Taiwan articulated their ideas about marriage and planned their weddings in relation to these new politico-economic circumstances.

Following the end of military rule in 1992, central and local governments proposed tourism as a solution to local economic decline following the mass withdrawal of troops from Kinmen. But the effects of these initiatives were limited, and not readily helpful to individual households. Some market towns close to larger military bases that had been established and prospered during the period of military rule became like ghost towns in the 1990s (Szonyi 2008: 206–12). Notably, following demilitarization, the county government of Kinmen began to provide generous benefits and social welfare to its citizens, with financial support from the profitable sorghum distillery founded by the military government in 1952 (Chiu

2017). This encouraged many native Kinmenese living on Taiwan to transfer their household registration back to Kinmen, which resulted in a growing gap between those registered in Kinmen and those actually resident there. The number of people actually living on Kinmen was estimated to be 50,601 in 2017, whereas the number of people with household registration in Kinmen was 136,771 (Liang 2018).[3]

In this book I do not highlight the notion of class to describe my informants in Kinmen. Researchers often use degree of education and type of occupation to categorize people into middle class or working class. For example, Pei-Chia Lan (2018) uses a Bachelor's degree as an index for the measurement of class status in her study of parenting in, largely, urban and nuclear Taiwanese families. However, in Kinmen where joint households remain common and family members vary in degree of education from illiteracy to a Bachelor's degree and above, it is difficult to categorize a family as being middle class or working class. Besides, I knew a couple of local younger politicians, without higher education, who gained upward mobility through participating in electoral politics based on daily networking with their related islanders. The aforementioned generous benefits and social welfare provided by local government also help to reduce the gap in living standards between households. One of these benefits is the monetary compensation to local residents who experienced the period of military rule, which to some extent guarantees the material comfort of many elderly residents.[4] As such, the older generation who accumulated wealth by living very frugally throughout their lives could finance the large expenses of their children's housing and weddings (see Chapter 3). This laid the foundation for the younger generation, with or without higher education, to pursue a middle-class lifestyle in Kinmen as is in urban Taiwan (see Chapters 3 to 6).

Following the waning of military tension between Kinmen and China in the early 1990s, Kinmen islanders began to restore their contact with people in China. In 2001, the governments of Taiwan and China agreed to the establishment of *Xiao San Tong* (lit. mini three links, meaning direct postal, transportation and trade links between Kinmen and China). Local people usually use the term *Xiao San Tong* to refer to the regular ferry service between Great Kinmen and Xiamen (a one-way journey takes about thirty minutes), which has brought a remarkable number of tourists from China.[5] Two tax-free shopping malls and diverse kinds of shops targeting Chinese tourists have been established in Kinmen in recent years.[6] Rapidly growing communications between people in Kinmen and China, as well as the convenient *Xiao San Tong*, had contributed to the surge of cross-border marriage between Kinmenese men and Chinese women between the early 2000s and mid-2010s, as discussed in Chapter 5.

For the Chinese women marrying in Kinmen whom I interviewed, Kinmen was very rural in their eyes when they arrived in the early 2000s. The growing enrolment of students from Taiwan in a local public university and the expanding

tourism industry in the last decade have stimulated the local economy to some extent, but most new businesses were established around the market town and administrative centre of Jincheng. A governmental project of preserving traditional Minnan buildings and unused military constructions partly for tourism also contributes to the rural or 'underdeveloped' landscape of Kinmen as a whole. But for in-married Chinese women, their impression of Kinmen as 'rural' also connotes the patriarchal ordering of local family lives, for example, the popularity of patrilocal joint households and the density of familial rituals that are seldom seen in most parts of China and urban Taiwan today. Chapters 5 and 6 discuss how this patriarchal ordering has affected local people's marital experiences, especially from the perspectives of women facing more pressures than their husbands in patrilocal joint households.

Ethnographic Research in and beyond Kinmen

The ethnography in this book is drawn from nearly three years that I spent on Kinmen, including two long-term periods of fieldwork and several short-term visits between 2013 and 2020. Due to its status as a militarized frontline, before 1992, Kinmen was inaccessible to most Taiwanese civilians and was perceived as a place where only soldiers went – and with reluctance. As a native Taiwanese with no kin connections in Kinmen, I was so curious that I first visited the island in 2010. I was amazed by its landscape with numerous traditional Minnan settlements and the density of military fortifications dotting around the islands. But what puzzled me most was, in those seemingly rural and tranquil villages, the kinds of lives local residents had lived through wars and military rule, and were living after demilitarization. In the autumn of 2013, I visited Kinmen again to carry out anthropological fieldwork for my doctoral research aiming to solve these puzzles.

Before my departure, I was told by several people who had friends from Kinmen that it would be difficult to find a place to stay in a village because the available properties were rare and outsiders were usually unwelcome. Rather than the main town of Jincheng where rental housing was easier to find, I managed to rent a Minnan-style house in a larger patrilineal village through several indirect connections. I was not the first researcher from Taiwan in this village but I was the first who intended to stay in the village for more than a year. I could sense the initial suspicion of my landlord at our first meeting. But my landlord's elderly mother and several female neighbours, who were also present, interpreted my single, female and student status as being *tan-sûn* (in Hokkien, meaning simple, without complicated background) and welcomed me.

In a sense, I was fortunate to be able to live in that village for fifteen months because its patrilineal group was comparatively strong by local standards. It had

a relatively large population and robust ritual traditions, and several descendants were incumbent political representatives. Moreover, the existence of a voluntary group in the village provided me with a great opportunity to get involved in local social lives. This kind of voluntary group composed of ordinary citizens has flourished in the towns and villages across Kinmen since the late 1990s, encouraged by the Taiwanese government's nationwide policies promoting community building (Lu 2014). Though, in the case of Kinmen, the voluntary groups enabled villagers to go beyond their more exclusive circles associated with ancestral rituals,[7] they have become an efficient way to organize voluntary labour for social events inside and outside the village and to enhance the reputation of the patrilineage (Chiu 2018a).

My participation in the village's voluntary group, mainly composed of middle-aged and elderly women, enabled me to build relationships of trust with many villagers and to enter their households and listen to their family stories. Working with volunteering villagers, I frequently engaged in preparations and proceedings for various traditional events, such as ancestral ceremonies, funerals and celebrations for a new marriage or the birth of a baby boy. Through participant observation, I learned how rituals and customs have been significant media through which kinship and social values (mutual help, reciprocity and hospitality) and interpersonal ties within and beyond the patrilineage have reinforced each other. My fieldwork was not restricted to the above village. Instead, through the villagers' wider social networks building on kinship, marriage, rituals and volunteering activities, I travelled and gathered data across the islands of Great Kinmen and Lieyu, and even in China and Malaysia where my informants had kin connections. These multi-sited experiences were an essential part of Kinmen's biography regarding the complex interaction between kinship, human mobility and political transitions. These research experiences inspired me to explore what role kinship had played in the islanders' everyday lives through the disruption and changes caused by wars, militarization, and then demilitarization, which eventually became the main theme of my doctoral dissertation.

This book is mainly built on my second project in Kinmen, as part of an ERC-funded research programme, 'A Global Anthropology of Transforming Marriage' (AGATM).[8] AGATM aims to re-examine marriage theoretically and ethnographically against the backdrop of profound changes to this institution across the globe. The knowledge gained from my first fieldwork left me with a question: What changes to marriage had come about amidst this resilience of patrilineal values and communities? With a PhD and in my mid-thirties when carrying out my second fieldwork in 2017–2018, I was still categorized by local people as marriageable and encountered suggestions for possible marital candidates. This personal experience signals a significant change in local marriage patterns: the great improvement in women's higher education and the rising trend of delaying

marriage among local women and men (see Chapter 4). I therefore tried to understand these changing patterns over time by collecting life histories from local people across multiple generations, including informants of different generations from the same family. I paid attention to how my older and younger informants spontaneously, or in answer to my questions, related their personal experiences and ideas about marriage to the locally dominant views of gender, moral personhood and a good life embodied in persistent traditional rituals and customs, and to wider social changes.

The ethnography of this marriage project builds on an anthropological tradition of longitudinal research in a specific place to make sense of comparable developments and interactions between that place and the broader geographic areas over time. My fieldwork involved a combination of several methods to gather data, including semi-structured interview, participant observation and collecting various publications related to my research, such as local newspapers, the volumes of local people's life stories, and governmental reports. I resorted to my existing local networks to recruit research participants, and found participants myself through volunteering in or attending local public events that had different types of audiences. I also visited China several times to interview people who were relatives of my informants in Kinmen about cross-border marriage. The persons whom I interviewed or had conversation with therefore range across different ages, occupations, social positions and places of origin. I carried out forty-five semi-structured interviews in Kinmen with local people regarding their life stories or views on marriage-related topics based on their personal or work-related experiences. More ethnographic material was accumulated during my longitudinal research spanning eight years, through close interactions and conversations with my informants on various occasions such as dining in their homes, volunteering with them, and attendance at weddings. Notably, most of the marital stories in this book are drawn from women's perspectives because, as a female researcher, I had easier access to women and their intimate lives in present-day Kinmen where the social monitoring of proper male-female boundaries remains palpable. More importantly, this female lens discloses the less visible part of family change in a male-focused society and underlines the importance of gender in making sense of the dialectics of change and continuity.

I discuss my research methods further in subsequent chapters which concern either a specific political period or particular groups of people, and involve data gathered through varying approaches. My framing of this book in chronological order and singling out certain aspects of marriage, gender and intergenerational relations in each chapter was inspired not only by theoretical concerns but also by my long-term and close interactions with local people and families across multiple generations. Most existing studies of Kinmen focus on a specific period, especially the Cold War era. This book, presenting marital stories across multiple

generations in Kinmen, links the multiple temporalities of local histories to those of global histories, revealing the mutually transforming processes of kinship and politics.

Family Change and Modernization

Theoretically, this book aims to contribute to the reconsideration of marriage in anthropology and in social scientific studies of family change through unpacking kinship's transformative capacities in regimes of modernity. Ethnographic studies of China prior to 1949 almost unanimously identified the family as the entry point for studying Chinese society and culture (Kulp 1925; Lang 1946). The 'traditional Chinese family' was conceived as an economic unit as well as a carrier and embodiment of Confucian philosophy that envisioned a patriarchal family-based social order.[9] Ideologically, father-son filiation and continuation of the patriline were emphasized, which affected actual arrangements of marriage and transmission of family property. The generational and gender hierarchies intrinsic to the patriarchal structure endowed parents with almost absolute authority over children's lives and marriages, which were highly gendered (Croll 1984). Only male heirs could continue the family line (and uxorilocal marriage and adoption were alternative solutions to the breakdown of the agnatic line) and inherit family property. In contrast, women were destined to marry out and be counted as members of their husband's family providing that they produced heirs for their husbands (Wolf 1972). The 'traditional Chinese family' which supressed individual autonomy and structured gender inequality was therefore severely critiqued by intellectuals in the early twentieth century amidst the threat, but also inspiration, of Western modernity.

Postwar anthropological studies of Chinese kinship to some extent reinforced the impression of the Chinese family as being oppressive. British anthropologist Maurice Freedman (1958, 1966) drew on Africanist theory of unilineal descent groups to examine patrilineal settlements in south China, proposing patrilineal descent as the key politico-jural principle in organizing Chinese social and family lives. This structural-functionalist approach led to a dominant model viewing the Chinese family as 'an organization characterized by a common budget, shared property, and a household economy that relies on a strict pooling of income' (Yan 2003: 3). Within this corporate family, it was assumed that individuals would suppress their own interests and act in the family's common interests. Accordingly, marriage was considered a pivotal social institution largely in terms of its political and economic significance in the reproduction of the family and society, echoing the mid-twentieth century anthropological scholarship of kinship (see, for example, Evans-Pritchard 1951; Fortes 1949; Lévi-Strauss 1949; Radcliffe-Brown and Ford 1950).

This 'lineage paradigm' (Watson 1982) or 'corporate model' (Yan 2003) had a profound impact on anthropological studies in Taiwan and Hong Kong in the 1960s and 1970s (when China was inaccessible) (Santos 2006). Earlier ethnographies of Taiwan provide nuanced accounts of the interaction between peasant households and industrialization, illuminating how the family made adjustments by rearranging its familial resources and labour (Cohen 1976; Gallin 1967; Gallin 1984). However, these works, based on the corporate model, marginalized the existence of personal desires and emotions (Lee 2004a, 2004b; Yan 2003). On the other hand, the sociology of family, mostly quantitative, has been focused more on how individuals became independent from the family owing to modernization of the economy, education and the growing advocacy of gender equality (e.g. Chen and Chen 2014; Thornton and Lin 1994). In this scholarship, the case of Taiwan has been used to reassess theories of modernization originating from Euro-American experiences given that Confucian-cum-patriarchal values remain effective in enforcing hierarchical relations and gendered expectations (e.g. Lee and Sun 1995; Raymo et al. 2015; Yu 2009).

While the above two bodies of literature vary in theories and methods, they both present Chinese kinship and family as zones of conservatism demanding individual compliance with traditional norms and gendered roles. They implicitly reaffirm a dichotomy posited by theorists of modernity treating kinship as a 'private domain' segregated from the progressive, public spheres of politics and economy effecting changes.[10] Recent anthropological discussion has challenged this 'domaining' framing in the theories of modernity and highlighted the constitutive power of kinship and marriage in generating changes (Carsten et al. 2021; McKinnon 2013; McKinnon and Cannell 2013). On the other hand, I take forward insights from earlier research based on the corporate model, which implied kinship's transformative capacities for the purpose of reproducing the extended family. My doctoral research also showed that while the ritual continuities in Kinmen reflected the conservative aim of preserving the patriline, the continuities actually required people's creativity and innovation to make adjustments in relation to changing conditions (Chiu 2017). To foreground the transformative capacities of kinship, I take theoretical inspiration from the rethinking of the individual-family relations in anthropological studies of Chinese kinship and from new kinship studies.

Individual-Family Dialectics and New Kinship Studies

As discussed above, in light of the corporate model, post-1949 changes in marriage in Taiwan, especially the rise of marriage by choice, were studied as an outcome of the restructuring of household economy and generational hierarchy alongside industrialization. While personal emotions, desires and aspirations for

the future might be silenced, neglected or suppressed by individual men and women, and by their parents and wider communities, they were also marginalized by researchers' theoretical preoccupations. Yunxiang Yan's *Private Life Under Socialism* (2003), going beyond this corporate model, is a breakthrough in anthropological studies of Chinese kinship and marriage in foregrounding emotionality, desires and personal freedom that have a vital presence in the private lives of people in post-reform China.

Based on his personal experiences and research in a village in north China between the 1970s and early 2000s, Yan (2003, 2009) theorizes the rise of the individual or individualization following China's transition from collectivization to decollectivization. He shows how young villagers actively pursued personal privacy, desires and a marriage based on romantic love, along with marketization and growing commodity consumption, which since the 1980s had shaped the imaginings and aspirations of rural youth for modern lifestyles in the cities. This quest for modern lifestyles – which were nonetheless hardly attainable in rural areas – has driven many young villagers' ruthless demand for money and property from their parents and created perceived crises of filial piety and elderly support. Yan pertinently captures the role of the socialist state in bringing about this clash of interests and values between generations. The Maoist revolutions replaced traditional values with socialist morality by tearing down the Confucian heritage and the material foundation on which the patriarchal order had been grounded. But this socialist morality collapsed after decollectivization as Chinese citizens, especially in rural areas, were forced to make their own way rather than depending on the state for work, housing and pensions. With neither traditional values nor socialist morality, Yan observed a moral and ideological vacuum widely perceived among the younger population in both rural and urban China. He therefore distinguishes the individualization trend in China from that which Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim (2001) found in Euro-American societies because of the intervention of the Chinese government and the absence of an internal democracy and welfare state to date.

Though Yan convincingly links individualization to China's compressed process of marketization mediated by the state, there are concerns about his overstating the extent to which individuals have become detached from the family and other social bonds (Donner and Santos 2016; Santos and Harrell 2017). For example, Yan's (2003) rich ethnography of changing intergenerational relations features somewhat less description of the ways and processes in which parents raised their children, and their consequences for parent-child ties. But many studies in post-reform China suggest that parent-child ties are complicated by parental investment in children's long-term well-being (especially through education) in relation to the state's policies (e.g. the One-Child policy) (Evans 2008; Fong 2004; Johnston 2013; Kipnis 2011). These works explicitly or implicitly echo

new kinship studies, emerging from the 1980s onwards, which shifted the focus from the question of whether kinship is determined by biological or social factors, to the processual and performative aspects of kinship. The new kinship studies turned attention to how kin ties are established and nurtured over time, and their consequences (Carsten 1995, 2000, 2004; Stafford 2000a, 2000b).

Several recent studies of marriage in China, theoretically in line with new kinship studies, unpack how young people negotiate their marital choice with people, rules and expectations from the broader social networks of which they are part (Donner and Santos 2016; Santos 2021). For example, Obendiek (2016) shows that young people in northwest China rely on their familial and wider social ties to achieve higher education and well-paid employment despite the disadvantages caused by their rural *hukou* (household registration). Despite their espousal of companionate marriage, marital choices are not simply based on affection but influenced by other concerns, such as the potential spouse's *hukou* and the intervention of those who have supported their upward mobility. In metropolitan Shanghai, on the other hand, Zhang and Sun (2014) observe that many parents frequent a 'matchmaking corner' in a park where they look for a suitable partner for their single son or daughter. Though some young women assert their refusal to compromise in their marital choices, they avoid openly rebuffing their parents' matchmaking efforts. Strong intergenerational ties have been enhanced by the One-Child policy and have led to parents' concentration on their only child's well-being, as well as their own, in their old age. In his recent works, Yan (2016, 2021) also notes the increasing expressions of intergenerational intimacy and even the rise of neo-familism in China in ordinary families' response to the problems resulting from compressed marketization and reduced social support provided by the state.

Yan (2003, 2009) made an important theoretical contribution in his shift of focus from the family to the individual in the anthropology of Chinese kinship, which has reshaped the ways that marriage is analysed. Researchers now place less emphasis on how marriage represents and reproduces Chinese patriarchy than on how marriage serves as a vital site in which different imaginings of a good life and future contest with each other. However, as recent ethnographies have shown, we should be wary of overstating the individual's desires and power to disengage from familial and social bonds. My research in Kinmen builds on Yan's move to attend to the individual's subjective experiences and emotions to explore marital change, but also considers these changes in dialogue with new kinship studies. Moreover, my Kinmen ethnography offers a point of comparison with the above studies on China regarding the consequences of the intersections of kinship, the state and policies of reproduction in culturally similar but politically opposite regimes of governance. This comparative perspective also helps to highlight what role kin ties play in preparing people across different social settings for increasingly competitive and precarious living conditions.

Making Relatedness and Fostering Changes in Everyday Lives

Since the late twentieth century, sociologists and demographers using large-scale surveys or demographic statistics as sources of data have consolidated their authority in the study of family change in Taiwan.[11] Chinese kinship and family have been less prominent topics of enquiry for anthropologists of Taiwan.[12] Though growing research on the new global phenomenon of cross-border marriage illuminates the links between sex and commodification, citizenship, and the sovereignty question of Taiwan (e.g. Chao 2004a, 2004b; Friedman 2015; Lu 2008), the theoretical reconsideration of Chinese kinship and marriage via this new phenomenon has been more limited. Notably, with the rising LGBT rights movement in Taiwan, studies of LGBT kinship practices across the fields of anthropology, sociology and gender studies have stimulated rethinking of Chinese kinship (e.g. Brainer 2019; Hu 2017; Lin 2014; Tseng 2018).

These works cite or echo new kinship studies, paying attention to what LGBT people do in their everyday lives to sustain ties with their natal families, or with children who may not be biologically connected to them in their queer families. What they 'do' to keep or make kin ties usually falls within the mainstream cultural framework, that is, the heterosexual, patriarchal structure and gendered roles, but also involves innovation or transgression. For example, Brainer (2017a) describes how a transgender (female to male) research participant took on men's roles in rituals, such as the role of a son during the funeral of his maternal uncle, to construct his maleness but also to create the chance for his kin to recognize his transgression of the conventional gendered boundary. Tseng's (2018) case study shows how lesbian parents in different kinds of non-normative families negotiate with norms grounded on heterosexual marriage and family in order to protect their children and prove their families to be as 'normal' as other normative families. But Tseng also notes that LGBT people's efforts to conform to mainstream norms and gendered roles may make them feel more pressured and anxious while reinforcing dominant norms and values.

The transgression, innovation and anxiety about conforming to dominant norms entangled in LGBT kinship practices reveals the ambivalence of kinship (Peletz 2001). It also echoes the growing anthropological discussion of how transgressions or changes may arise from the unremarkable everyday acts of kinship, which may involve both positive and negative effects leading to kin ties being thickened or thinned out over time (Carsten 2013, 2019; Das 2007; Lambek 2011). Chinese kinship has been well documented for its generational and gender hierarchies that are reinforced through unequal transmission of care, attention and materials to sons and daughters (Croll 1984; Santos and Harrell 2017; Wolf 1972). As this book shows, though these inequalities remain palpable in Kinmen today, the growing parental investment in daughters' education and material security has

diversified their life options beyond the traditional gendered destiny (see Chapters 3 and 4). Moreover, I argue that kinship's transformative capacities also lie in the innovation, transgression or unequal treatment made in the processes of parenting that may lead children away from the life paths expected by their parents and reconfigure hierarchical relations between generations.

Most of the protagonists we encounter in this book are heterosexual, and the majority of their marriages and families may be categorized as being 'normative' in relation to the aforementioned queer families. But, like their queer counterparts, my younger informants express the pressure and anxieties originating from parents and wider social networks who demand their conformity to patriarchal social norms that are at odds with their own desires. As we will see, my work and the above LGBT studies have two ethnographic insights in common. First, we have found that our informants try to secure autonomy in their lives and marital decisions while also preserving familial and social ties that are important to them in practical and emotional terms. Second, by including perspectives from people of different generations of the same family in our investigations, we have all detected room for transgressing or subverting norms within the sphere of family (Hu 2018). These life stories across different generations provide subtle material illuminating the accumulation of changes in quotidian lives within the family that potentially contributes to wider social changes, for example, through civil organizations and movements as discussed in this book's Conclusion.

The Intersection of the Personal and the Political

Taking an anthropological approach to kinship in my exploration of transforming marriage and modernity in Kinmen, Taiwan and China, I highlight not only the continued vitality of kinship but also cultural heterogeneity in the age of globalization. This is to critically challenge the global application of grand theories of modernity and intimate lives grounded on Euro-American experiences (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001; Giddens 1992, 1998). Similar attempts have been seen in the bourgeoning scholarship in Asian studies across the fields of social sciences (e.g. Davis and Friedman 2014; Donner and Santos 2016; Ochiai and Hosoya 2014; Yan 2021). Several Asian societies, including Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and urban China, have witnessed increasing trends of later marriage and childbearing, fewer barriers to divorce, and growing commercialized pursuit of (sexual) intimacy, similar to those which occurred earlier in the US and were described by Cherlin (1978, 2004) as the 'deinstitutionalization' of marriage. The volume edited by Davis and Friedman (2014), for example, brought together scholars from the fields of sociology, anthropology and law, highlighting the value of comparison by exploring the political, legal and cultural factors behind these phenomena in different Chinese societies. This book shares a similar aim of com-

parison but through a different approach in linking Kinmen's specific experiences to wider political and social changes across the world and engaging with relevant anthropological theories (see Santos 2021 for a similar approach). In light of the horizon of new kinship studies, I single out generation, gender and temporality as effective lenses to probe the intersection of the personal and the political.

Generation and gender have been highlighted as two prominent axes of hierarchy and inequality constituting Chinese patriarchy in a collection of anthropological studies edited by Santos and Harrell (2017). This collection has shown how these two axes have been maintained and yet reconfigured by the intersection and interaction between familial norms and state policies in contemporary China, which has resulted in what they called 'transforming patriarchy'. Building on this collection and on insights from new kinship studies, I pay attention to the dynamics among the same generation, and between generations, to explore how acts of kinship contributed to protecting or transgressing patriarchal norms, in relation to actors' more conservative or transformative visions of the future. Through marital stories across multiple generations, I point out a shift of emphasis in kinship practices from a more conservative aim of preserving the patriline to a more open-ended aim of pursuing cross-generational emotional and material well-being today.

Gender, or, more specifically, a female lens, is used to foreground the roles of women in a male-centred society in reinforcing, loosening or subverting gendered norms and inequalities during the processes of raising their children. But examples of fathers' less patriarchal roles in participating in children's life trajectories are also provided to illustrate the gradual reconfiguration of gender and power. Temporality becomes significant in these understandings of generation and gender. In earlier writing from the linked projects of which this book forms part, we focused on the temporalities inherent to the imaginative work that marriage involves (Carsten et al. 2021). This may be concerned with how a person contemplates past familial marriages, or those of children or grandchildren in the future – all of these require imagining relationships beyond the here and now. This imaginative work of marriage affords opportunities for, and encompasses, ethical judgements about, and changes to, ways of performing gender and making relatedness. For example, my ethnography shows how parents who transgressed gender stereotypes (seen in the increased power of mothers to decide family matters) broadened and stimulated the imaginings of their children about non-normative gender images and futures. Children thus became more confident in choosing a life path at odds with their parents' expectations and supported wider changes in society. Moreover, strong parent-child ties encouraged parents to tolerate or protect children who might be non-conformist in their sexuality or social expectations against locally strict patriarchal values (see this book's Conclusion for discussion of emerging LGBT campaigns in Kinmen).

Exploring how marital change across multiple generations is linked to Kinmen's particular experiences of modernity over the past century thus provides a unique comparative perspective on family change in Taiwan and China. It reveals the heterogeneity produced by complex intersections of kinship, politics and different conditions of modernity. It also combines with anthropologists' efforts to reconsider how to study culture and kinship in an ever-changing world where people in different places are linked to each other in varied and complicated ways. By using generation, gender and temporality as analytical lenses, I demonstrate how conservative as well as transgressive qualities presented in the marital stories in Kinmen across the past century embody the increasing reconfiguration of gender and generational hierarchies within and beyond the family. Rather than zones of conservatism, kinship and marriage are sites of animating changes in relation to their agents' visions of desired futures that are challengeable and changeable.

Mapping the Book

This book is composed of six chapters presenting the ethnography chronologically in relation to three political periods that Kinmen experienced between 1920 and 2020. Each chapter is focused on either a specific political period or specific groups of people to provide a suggestive angle on the connections between marital change and shifting political economy. Overall, these different angles together offer a kind of multi-point perspective used in Chinese painting, revealing the coexistence and intersection of multiple temporalities. This helps to foreground how the future-making aspect of marriage becomes less associated with the goal of preserving the patriline than with the goal of ensuring both conjugal bonds and wider kin ties today, and how non-marriage, LGBT intimacy and other relational possibilities are increasingly incorporated into individual and social imaginings of new futures.

Chapter 1 explores marriage in Kinmen in a period when different temporalities of men's transnational mass-migration and China's transition into a republic converged and brought about the first wave of modernity. The 'traditional Chinese family' was 'managed' in this context in the sense that many migrants married women chosen by their parents in Kinmen and their wives were left behind to take care of the household. With examples of young educated men's struggle for marital reform and 'left-behind' women's everyday striving, I discuss how kinship practices and the migrant economy co-produced new arrangements of marriage and maintaining a patrilocal household.

Chapter 2 describes the palpable changes to local marriage patterns conditioned by Cold War geopolitics and militarization in Kinmen. Through stories from veterans originally from China and from Kinmen civilians, I discuss how individuals and families sought to realize desired visions of marriage and the

future through transgressing the existing order of sex-gender, generational hierarchy and what constituted a family. The rising power of women in this context is underlined as these women, embodying both the conservative and creative qualities of kinship, had a profound influence in shaping their children's visions of marriage and the future.

Chapter 3 focuses on changing intergenerational transmission amidst significant changes in Taiwan's diplomatic relations and domestic politics since the 1970s which led to democratization and the end of military rule in Kinmen in 1992. Education, housing and weddings are highlighted as three key sites where parents changed their ways of transferring much of their accumulated wealth to both sons and daughters in order to better prepare their children for increasingly uncertain futures. These three sites of intergenerational transmission also witnessed the gradual reconfiguration of gender and generational hierarchies; especially in weddings, there are growing visible expressions of emotions and intimacy between generations through a combination of old rituals and global commodity forms. While the expectation of preserving the patriline remains strong and is expressed through performing old rituals, there is a shift of emphasis in parenting strategies to a desire to enhance intergenerational intimacy and ensure children's material security despite children's life choices being at times at odds with parental expectations.

Following discussions of changing intergenerational transmission in the preceding chapter, Chapter 4 centres on young single people above the age of thirty and their experiences of remaining unmarried in Kinmen. Presenting three young people's life stories, I describe their experiences of deferring marriage not as simply an expression of personal autonomy and freedom but as 'trials' they have to go through on a daily basis. In dealing with three kinds of trials surrounding marriage, they ponder, hesitate and seek to eventually reach their desired visions of life and the future. Moreover, these young single people, rather than embodying possessive individualism, live with their parents and even a married sibling's family and express feelings of obligation and emotional attachment to their families.

Chapter 5 turns to another kind of marital choice emerging in the late 1990s, in which local men decided, very often with their parents' intervention, to marry women from China. I explore how Kinmen's borderland status rendered these cross-border marriages to some extent dissimilar from those found in Taiwan and other Asian countries and, from Chinese women's perspectives, affected their marital decision and navigation of ways of pursuing their desires. Here kinship's conservative tendency became evident in terms of setting local men on a normative life course and pressuring Chinese women to conform to traditional gendered roles. However, Chinese women strove to make the life habitable and even adjust to their desires through transgressing the patriarchal ordering and reshaping rela-

tions with their marital families. This suggests a kind of transformation that these women sought to initiate within the intimate sphere of kinship.

Focusing on a young married woman's experiences, Chapter 6 examines the actual marital lives in a patrilocal joint household. While centring on this woman's perspective, I adopt a relational analysis showing how the views and behaviours of her husband, in-laws and villagers encouraged or pressured this woman to make changes to herself in order to sustain her marriage. By situating this woman's marriage within a wider web of kin, I discuss different kinds of relatedness-making in relation to both the conservative and transformative qualities of kinship. This woman's marital story, as well as those discussed in Chapters 3 to 5, demonstrates that younger islanders today tend to search for a balance between pursuing personal desires and sustaining wider kin ties as part of their creation of a good life and desired future.

The Conclusion runs through the key arguments of this book, linking the marital stories across multiple generations in Kinmen to the changing global and domestic political economies over the past century. I end by discussing the emerging LGBT rights campaigns in Kinmen in relation to kinship's transformative capacities, which brings to the fore how wider societal changes in sex-gender, family and marriage can be generated from the relatedness-building and future-making activities of kinship.

Notes

1. Matsu, an archipelago in the East China sea and to the north of Kinmen, also served as the KMT's anti-communist frontline in the Cold War era (see Lin 2021).
2. Note that, from 1895 to 1945, the islands of Taiwan and Penghu were governed by the Japanese, who promoted modernization in various regards, such as infrastructure, production, education, public health, and so on, to maximize their own interests. A growing body of literature has unpacked the tensions between the people of Taiwan and the Japanese colonizers heightened by the former's exposure to ideas about democracy, ethnic self-determination, class struggle, gender equality, and so on, under the concurrent processes of colonialization and enlightenment (e.g. Chang 2014; Li and Lee 2015; Liao and Wang 2006; Wakabayashi and Wu 2000). Despite the difference in their initial approach to modernity between Kinmen and Taiwan, intellectuals in both places echoed the discourses of the New Culture Movement, seeking to reform their society through new practices of gender and marriage (see Chapter 1; see Hong 2017 and Yang 1993 on Taiwan).
3. As many local people told me, the registered population figures include many native Taiwanese people who covet the benefits provided by local government though they have no local kin connections and do not live in Kinmen.
4. The benefits to which people registered in Kinmen may be entitled can be separated into three types: (1) ordinary social welfare, which can be found in other parts of Taiwan, but the level offered in Kinmen is relatively generous, including free public transportation, free medical care, free tuition fees and lunch for pre-university students, and a variety of grants for the elderly and disadvantaged groups; (2) the privilege of buying

sorghum liquor at wholesale price for three traditional festivals and applying for a liquor retailing licence (licence-holders can profit by renting their licences to other bigger distributors); (3) monetary compensation to Kinmen residents for their physical suffering and sacrifice of their civil rights under military rule (Chiu 2017).

5. According to a report issued by the local government of Kinmen in 2019, the number of Chinese tourists visiting Kinmen surged from 68,523 in 2014 to 253,724 in 2015, which was followed by a continuing increase, and the number reached 631,360 in 2018 (see the website of Tourism Department, Kinmen County Government, retrieved 15 March 2023 from https://kmtd.kinmen.gov.tw/Content_List.aspx?n=B159B98318F6F0E6). There was no explanation in the report for this impressive surge, but a news item on *Taiwan News* suggested that this tourist boom was related to the keen promotion of Kinmen as an ideal site for Chinese holiday-makers by county Magistrate Chen Fu-hai at the time. On the other hand, the Taiwanese mainland witnessed a significant decline in Chinese tourists after Tsai Ing-wen (representing the Democratic Progressive Party, DPP) took presidential office in 2016, which was believed to be related to the Beijing government dissatisfaction over Tsai's refusal to accept the 1992 Consensus, under which China defines Taiwan and the mainland as part of one China (see *Taiwan News*, 14 September 2018, retrieved 15 March 2023 from https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3530174). This contrast was suggestive of an overall inclination of Kinmen islanders for amicable relationships with China while also being cautious of the DPP's claim about Taiwan's status, which my local informants often commented on publicly.
6. However, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the ferry service between Kinmen and China has been suspended since February 2020. The day of full reopening is not yet clear at the time of writing this book. As far as I observed, several shops were closed because of the loss of their customers (see also a news item on the website of *CNN*, 3 March 2021, retrieved 15 March 2023 from https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/kinmen-travel-taiwan-china/index.html).
7. Within the patrilineal village, as the patrilineal group is genealogically separated into several branches constituting smaller units for conducting ancestral rituals, villagers tend to be socially closer to those in the same ritual unit (see Chapter 6 for more on women's communities congruent with these ritual units).
8. AGATM includes five sub-projects carried out in selected sites in Europe, North America, Asia and Africa. With a comparative perspective building on ethnographies from five places across the world, AGATM aims to create a new theoretical vision of the importance of marriage as an agent of transformation in human sociality. See the collective volume by Carsten et al. (2021) resulting from this collaborative research.
9. Francis Hsu's *Under the Ancestors' Shadow* (1948) provides a detailed exploration of how this patriarchal vision of social order was laid out inside the family and shaped its members' personalities through day-to-day internalization of ideas including an emphasis on the father-son relation as the axis of family life, estrangement between the sexes, and authority based on generational and gender hierarchies.
10. Note that a significant body of literature in sociology has shown how the governments in Asia, such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, proposed policies related to marriage and the family that have created or reinforced familialistic or patriarchal expectations of gendered roles (e.g. Chiu and Yeoh 2021; Lan 2008; Ochiai 2011; Ochiai and Hosoya 2014). Here my discussion focuses on how kinship has been treated as a zone of conservatism in the scholarship of family change in Asia. In subsequent chapters, I relate my findings to the literature on the state policies appropriating or reinforcing conservative or patriarchal familial values.

11. Two on-going projects of the *Taiwan Social Change Survey* (since 1985) and the *Panel Study of Family Dynamics* (since 1999) have accumulated an astonishing amount of data for longitudinal analysis and cross-country comparison (Yi and Chang 2012; Yu and Huang 2018). However, this scholarship has two representative problems. First, some groups of people living in remote areas (offshore islands, mountains, etc.) are often excluded from so-called nationwide surveys. Second, the data is generated and interpreted according to certain theoretical assumptions while the question of how phenomena which seem superficially similar may be engendered by heterogeneous historical or cultural contexts is side-stepped. For example, as I discuss in Chapter 2, the remarkable number of soldiers assigned to safeguard Kinmen between the 1950s and 1980s had a significant impact on the local marriage market: many local women married soldiers and moved to Taiwan. I have not, however, found any reliable official statistics or survey data about these marriages and migration to Taiwan.
12. This is probably related to the diversification of research interests among anthropologists of Taiwan and their division into two research areas, focusing respectively on Austronesian-speaking peoples – the indigenous inhabitants on the Taiwanese mainland – and Han Chinese who constitute the majority of the population.