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From Matsu to Taiwan: An Initial Report of Migration, Kinship and Intimacy

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Abstract

This research focuses on a migrant family who had moved from the Matsu Islands to Taiwan’s main island from 1970 to 1990. Five Matsu migrants from one family have participated in semi-structured interviews exploring their family history of migration and their individual development of relationships with family members and romantic partners. This study investigates their kinship networking utilizing the idea of chain migration, the intergenerational relationships between parents and children of the migrants’ families, and the second-generation children’s mate selection regarding migration background in Taiwan. This study’s findings suggest that their Matsu kinship relationship has significant functions with regard to the family’s movement, employment, and settlement in Taiwan. The family members needed their relatives’ assistance in regard to information about transportation and job-seeking before migration. Later together they were able to share a house and food with more relatives, especially with those who came for work and not yet moved their home to Taiwan. As to the intergenerational relationship among the interviewed family members and their kin, the second-generation migrants have shown relatively strong responsibility to their parents with frequent visiting and warm bonding. They built their social relationships in Taiwan through education and employment. None of the interviewed children from the original family married to partners with the same Matsu background. With perspectives of family and migration studies, this research provides a preliminary analysis of Matsu migrants’ kinship, family, and intimate relationships after migrating to Taiwan.

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Introduction

In the past hundreds of years, Taiwan has experienced several waves of immigration thereby establishing society as it is nowadays. In Chen (2006), the researcher considered Taiwan as an immigrant society with several major and minority groups including, e.g., Formosan aborigines, Taiwanese Hakka, Taiwanese Minnan, Mainlanders (Waishengren), and immigrants from Southern East Asia in recent decades. This research, coming from another perspective, focuses on the Matsu people and their migration experience to Taiwan's main island. The Matsu Islands, consisting of several islands and islets, are officially named "Lienchiang County" of Taiwan R.O.C. and located in the north of the Taiwan Strait. Since the islands are close to the Fujian province of China, there had been a history of close communication between the two, socially as well economically. The native language of Matsu residents are Matsu dialects, which are considered subdialects of the Fuzhou dialect spoken in Fujian, of the Minnan Chinese language, also variably labeled as Hokkien or Fujianese. In 1949, when the Kuomintang (the KMT, or so-called Chinese Nationalist Party) retreated from mainland China to Taiwan after the Chinese Civil War, Lienchiang County became the front line of the war between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and KMT. At that time, the long history of connections between Matsu and Fujian was severed. Some families were divided between the two places. In later decades, the main industries, including fishing, had become constrained as the residents were living under the threat of acts of war that might happen at any moment, being a target of artillery shelling.

From the 1970s to the 1990s, it is observed that Matsu residents started their migration from the Matsu islands to Taiwan's main island. This movement is considered as an intra-national migration, which does not involve a political change of residency rights and citizenship. Also, the development of industries at that time in Taiwan caused a huge demand for labor which perfectly matched the need for jobs among Matsu migrants in Taiwan.

Within this historical background, this research intends to provide an understanding of Matsu families' migration. This research analyzes family networking under the context of migration and intimate relationships in and out of the families. Until present, five interviewees from one original family from Matsu were interviewed, including two 1st generation migrants (at the time of migration they were the main providers of economic resource for their relatives households) and three 2nd generation migrants (at the time of migration most of them were children or teenagers). It is

observed that the migration usually involved an entire nuclear family unit and that the family normally had a strong and close connection with their kinsfolk. These families, connected by kinship and/or marriage, shared resources for housing, moving, and job-seeking among each other during the difficulties of migration. The families had also become social capital for each other and formed an effect of “chain migration.” Also, this research focuses on the intimate relationships of the Matsu migrant families, and how the 2nd generation has constructed close relationships in Taiwan. It is found that the 2nd generation migrants were highly willing to take responsibility for the support of their parents and family member. They have expressed an affection combining responsibility, loyalty, filial piety, and duty to their parents. And all of the 2nd generation interviewees in the research married to partners not from the Matsu Islands, though mainly to members of Hakka and Minnan-speaking minorities on Taiwan.

The Matsu Family Migration

Among the related literature on migration, there are three main focuses: movement, settlement, and control. The Matsu cases as researched are classed as intra-national migration with no direct relation to the concept of “control,” which refers to the characteristics of national actions concerning politics of immigration, for example, the citizenship of immigrants, the idea of a nation-state, and the control of populations by national borders (Kivisto and Faist, 2009). This research accordingly focused on the two other aspects of movement, and settlement, in order to analyze the family migration experience of former Matsu residents.

Matsu people moving from the archipelago to the nation’s main island could be compared with the subjects of Cerrutti and Parrado (2015)’s research on South American immigration. The researchers state that the characteristics of South-South migration and intraregional migration are based upon a similarity in historical background, a low difficulty of leaving and entering, and a similarity in culture (Cerrutti and Parrado, 2015). The Matsu migrants moving to Taiwan show common circumstances with those South American migrants. There is no national border between Matsu and Taiwan. Though with a slight difference, the two locations share a resemblance of culture and to some extent the history of being Waishengren².

² In the researcher’s field trip and participation observation, the researcher found that the Matsu migrants tended to recognize themselves as Waishengren. However, in fact, the definition of Waishengren, that is

Scholars have discussed “chain migration” as a theoretical approach to immigration/migration studies (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964: 82)³. Per such an approach, the movement of migrants is viewed as being highly dependent upon the preliminary migrants whom they have social relationships with. The forerunners assist with transportation, providing initial living space and opportunities of employment. There are cases of research involving chain migration in the history of the United States of America, Europe, Italy, and Latin America. Studies on Chinese migrations’ networking show the same mechanics (e.g., Zheng, 2006; Zhuang, 2006).

The migration mechanism of Matsu residents can be easily viewed via this theory. The previous migrants provided temporary accommodation for later migrants to Taiwan, helping them with information about jobs. This mechanism reveals the social functions of family and kinship relationships among Matsu residents migrating to Taiwan. The mechanism mitigates the risks and costs of migration and increases the possibility of safe and successful migration. The preliminary migrants motivate the following migrants, providing not only material support but also mental and social assistance (Ye, 2014).

The Background of Matsu

In Liu’s dissertation *The migration background and local presentation of the immigrants from Matsu to Taiwan -- An example of Taoyuan Bade* (2016)⁴, she provides a deep analysis of the Matsu residents migrating to Taiwan with the Push-Pull Theory. The population of Lienchiang County (Matsu) reached its peak around 1970 at the number of 17,088. In the following 20 years, the population decreased to only 5,547 in 1992. According to Liu, the social population increase rate had become negative between the 1970s and the 1990s, which led to a dramatic decline in the population of Matsu. Using statistical data in *The 1980 Population and Housing Census* (conducted by the ROC government), Liu indicates that most of Matsu migrants relocated themselves to Taoyuan County (current Taoyuan City), Taipei County (current New Taipei City), and Taipei City. Taoyuan, with the highest numbers of Matsu migrants, is

the Mainlanders who arrived in Taiwan with the KMT government in 1949, is clearly different from the Matsu people.

³ “Chain migration can be defined as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants” (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964: 82).

⁴ The article highly addressed historical and cultural background of Matsu migration.

therefore designated as “the second hometown of Matsu people” (Zhan, 1998; Liu, 2016).

Liu proposes three reasons causing Matsu migration to Taiwan: First of all, Matsu had been in the midst of war since 1940 (Huang, 2009, cited in Liu, 2016). It caused numerous inconveniences to residents’ daily lives. They also shared concerns for their safety (Qiu, 2005). Second, the development of industries on Matsu had been limited and forced the residents to leave in a search for income. Since the Matsu islands are extremely close to Fujian, China, the antagonistic situation between the KMT and CCP had made fishing difficult and dangerous for the local residents. In addition, the 1973 Oil Crisis had made the cost of fishing soar and thus fishing was unprofitable. At the same time, the rise of manufacturing industries in Taiwan had created a need for low-skilled workers (Qiu, 2005; Huang, 2009). Third, the marginal situation of Matsu vis-à-vis its government resulted in insufficient resources allocated for education, medical treatment, national defense, governmental and social institution. For example, there was only one high-school in Matsu (established only in 1968). Most students went to Taiwan for higher education. Also, the only hospitals in Matsu were military hospitals. The locals had to share medical resources with the national army.

Empirical research results match the aforementioned impact on population change and industrial development in the Matsu Islands. The interviewed family in this research shared the same experience with subjects of previous research. After the family’s arrival in Taiwan, they had rent a flat in Guandu, New Taipei City. A few years later, they moved and settled in Bade, Taoyuan City. Some of their relatives have stayed in Guandu until today while some had moved to Taoyuan following other family members.

Research Methods and Data

This research applies the use of semi-structured interviews for the collection of oral history data. The interviewees were born in the Matsu Islands and later moved to Taiwan’s main island at different stages of their lives. They had a similar experience of growing up in Matsu. Some moved to Taiwan after their 30s and some moved in their adolescence. The interviews collected data of (1) their experience and memories of living in Matsu and moving to Taiwan, including where they lived in Matsu and Taiwan, how they worked/studied in Matsu and/or Taiwan, and so on, (2) their past and current relationships with family members and relatives, (3) their intimate relationships with

romantic partners, including how they met and how they married. Varied data regarding former Matsu residents' migration was collected through the interviews. The researcher herein presents the data and findings involving the interviewees' family/kinship network in the function of chain migration and the building of their local relationships in Taiwan. From a gender perspective, this research also references how gender acted as an element in the Matsu migrants' lives during the lack of family resources.

The five interviewees all originated from the same family. They are the father, mother, son, and two daughters. The family also has one daughter and one son not included in the research since they were too young at the time and they barely have memories of Matsu and their migration. "Table 1" shows basic information about the interviewees at the time when they moved to Taiwan. Their actual identities are not revealed herein, instead the researcher assigned names for each subject for ease of reference.

Table 1. Basic Information on the Interviewees

Name	Year of birth	Age at moving	Brief description of circumstances at the time of departing Matsu
Pat	1941	35	Pat was the father of the family. He had an elementary certificate. He was mainly a fisherperson and sometimes worked for the local association. He had made business trips to Taiwan before migration.
Mia	1943	33	Mia was the mother of the family. She sold fish that Pat brought home and washed clothes for soldiers to earn some additional money.
David	1962	14	Son of Pat and Mia. David ended his junior high school studies in Matsu and started vocational school in Taipei. ⁵
Amy	1964	12	Daughter of Pat and Mia. She finished her education in elementary school with good performance and started to work in factories in Taipei with her mom, Mia.
Eva	1965	10	Daughter of Pat and Mia. Eva was in 4 th grade of elementary school and resumed her studies in Taipei.

⁵ The interviewee, David, went to the National Taipei Institute of Technology (NTIT), which was considered one of the best vocational schools in Taiwan at the time. The school is now known as the National Taipei University of Technology.

			She eventually got a degree in an educational school and became an elementary teacher.
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This interviewed family moved from Matsu to Taiwan in 1976. They firstly shared a tiny house with their relatives in Guandu, Taipei. It was a difficult time for some of them. Family members were all staying in a small room with other relatives that led to no privacy. People had to share rooms and beds; some had to sleep on the floor. Two years later, they bought a house in Taoyuan. At the time they paid a deposit of only NT 200 dollars, the house was not yet under construction and was contracted for sale at a relatively cheap price that they could afford with a government housing subsidy. In 1980, the family finally settled themselves in Bade, Taoyuan, a developing area with growing manufacturing industries.

Transportation from Matsu to Taiwan was extremely inconvenient in the past. The residents had to take naval ships. There was no seat for them on the ships, so they had to sit on the floor in the cabins with the terrible smell of gasoline and vomit. The journey might take a day and a night to arrive at Keelung, Taiwan. They then had to take buses or trains to Taipei since most of the Matsu's family's relatives were in Taipei initially. As a result, once most of Matsu residents left their home island with family, they rarely went back to Matsu. This circumstance did not change until the introduction of commercial flights between Matsu and Taiwan in 1994⁶.

This study addresses the “generation” of the migrants in its discussion. The definition of the 1st generation is the generation who were in their adulthood and worked as the main economic providers for their family, while the 2nd generation indicates those who moved to Taiwan in their childhood or adolescence. Due to the poverty of Matsu migrants, most of the 2nd generation in the family had the experience of being child laborers and worked part-time or full-time during their childhood. It should also be noted that the researcher is the 3rd generation of this Matsu family. I was born and raised in Taoyuan, Taiwan, as well as my brothers. The 3rd generation's experience of living in Matsu is relatively rare. While most of the young generation had travel experience as tourists, the researcher had also lived in Matsu for a month in the summer vacation.

⁶ Matsu Beigan Airport is located on Beigan island. It is originally a small military airport and eventually opened to the public and served as a commercial airport on the 17th of January 1994. It was Matsu's only air transportation at the time, providing residents with a more convenient tools of transporting between Matsu and Taiwan. See: <https://www.tsa.gov.tw/tsaMFK/en/page.aspx?id=1183>

Forming a Chain: The Kinship Relationships

The kinship network has played an important role in this Matsu family's migration. The function and role of kinship relationships are analyzed via three factors: movement, settlement, and employment. Regarding these factors, the research reveals the mechanism of chain migration in this case of migration from Matsu.

In this study, these residents of Matsu migrated with their family unit and relied on their relatives who had previously migrated to Taiwan. The relatives provided information and resources of movement, as well as the first temporary living place. After the family's movement to Taiwan, it led to more Matsu family members' migration and constructed a migration chain. Therefore, in the interviews, the important effect of kinship relationships is observed among Matsu residents' during their migration to Taiwan's main island. Kinship works as a weak tie with great function in chain migration (the idea of the weak tie refers to Granovetter's theory, 1977).

Pat, the father of the family, had been to Taiwan's main island for business three or four times in his early 30s. He helped the fishermen's association to buy materials from Taiwan for making fishing kits.

Pat: At the time, I was sent to Alishan, to buy stuff, and to Nantou, Yilan, Chiayi...lots of places. (...) My main task was to buy bamboo, from Taiwan, I bought them back to Matsu to make fishing kits.

Mia, the mother of the family, traveled to Taiwan in February 1976, to find her brother, who had been working in Taipei for a while, and rent a house there. In the following months, David, Amy, and Eva finished their school semesters, and moved to Taipei with their grandmother and the whole family was together again.⁷ After the interviewed family moved to Taipei, most of their relatives also left Matsu in the years

⁷ *Pat: ...and, David had gained admission to the National Taipei Institute of Technology (NTIT), so we were all out to Taiwan. He was smart and graduated with a high GPA. We knew that he would get admission (to study in Taipei), but we didn't know which department or school. And he chose NTIT, so... it's NTIT.*

that followed. They gave up their prior work, mostly fishing, in Matsu, and found a new job in Taipei. Some of them did not really “move house” themselves there, rather they worked in factories and lived in provided or shared dorms. During vacation, they went to stay in their relatives’ rental houses. Pat’s house was one of the places for them during that time.

Pat’s family and Mia’s brother’s family lived nearby each other in Guandu, Taipei. Most of their Matsu relatives relocated nearby to find a job and visited their house for a temporary stay when needed. The style was similar to “the extended family,” but much larger and with more relatives. Both Mia and Amy talked of this memory, when the house was crowded with relatives and how much food they had to prepare for the entire family.

Amy: There were a lot of relatives during the holidays, grandmas, uncles, aunts, cousins,... relatives. They all came to our house on holidays. It was like, you had to line up to wait for brushing teeth and washing your face. Every week, my grandmother and I had to pull a huge basket to the street market at Danshui to buy food, because the Guandu market was too small for us! We took the train to Danshui. We bought a lot of vegetables. There were too many people in our house! A lot! This situation probably lasted for more than half a year. It was like more than one year, that most of them moved and rent a house in Taiwan. (...) There were just too many people. They slept on the floor. That was what happened during the holidays.

Mia: We spent three years in Guandu. We were renting a house there. (...) The room was very small with four bunk beds. One bed for my two daughters, one bed for my sisters, one bed for my mother-in-law and one of my daughters, and one bed for my little son and us. If some came visiting, they had to sleep on the floor. (...) We moved here and didn’t have money but we had the most guests! They all liked to come here. I still remember that, when we lived in Guandu, we had to buy a whole pack of rice every half month. The grocery store owner said to me, “Ah, Mrs., why does your home eat so much, huh?” I answered, there were so many people. She said, “How come you have so many visitors?”

According to the interview, the migrants relied on their relatives who had moved to Taiwan earlier for a temporary place of living. They continued their lifestyle of

Matsu in which “all the villagers were families”, and reconstructed it in Taiwan. The relatives, later on, moved to Taiwan when they were ready after the family who is interviewed herein. The chain of migration is observed built through the mechanism of relying on and helping each other based on their kinship.

After a while living in Guandu, Taipei, the interviewed family visited their relatives in Taoyuan occasionally and decided to buy a house there. When they were back in Taipei and told others this news, it resulted in a tendency of buying houses in Taoyuan among related Matsu migrants.

Mia: It was a holiday and we got nothing to do, we went to Danan⁸ to see one of my brothers. We then visited here (the place for living now), and gave the deposit money to the seller. We did not bring a lot of money with us, it was just 200 NT dollars.

The researcher: So you planned to do it?

Mia: No, we didn't! It's just a coincidence. I said to the seller that we hadn't brought much money. She said, “it's fine! You just take a look and if you like it, a little money is fine then!” I said I got only 200. She said ok.....and then we were back to Guandu, I told other people the information. Another day, lots of people came to buy houses. Because it was cheap. My cousins, sisters-in-law, my daughter's uncle.....they all came to see and buy.

Amy also mentioned the story. From her point of view, the reason for buying houses in Taoyuan instead of Taipei was due to the fact that Matsu people traditionally favored a house rather than an apartment or flat. At the time they could not afford houses in Taipei, where the price was more expensive, and therefore chose to settle in Taoyuan. This explanation of the interviewee happens to hold the same view as subjects of Liu (2016)'s statement. However, it is obvious to see the mechanism of families relying on each other for information sharing and acting as one's social capital.

Secondly, the same mechanism of chain migration could be seen in the employment of new migrants from Matsu. They helped relatives to find jobs by introducing them to managers. The factories there then hired plenty of Matsu people.

Mia: There was a week of time that we didn't have money and couldn't go

⁸ Danan is an area in Bade district, Taoyuan city.

sightseeing...I, with some relatives, went to see the factory making gloves. Their HR managers asked where we came from when we walked in. I said, Matsu. And he said, "How many people do you have?" I said, "five to six, or more" He then asked us to work there from the next day, so we were hired. Later, a lot of people joined us, like my cousins. They all followed.

As in the interview, we understand that the kinship network works as social capital in the new migration location. The Matsu relatives followed each other "one-by-one" to obtain jobs in the manufacturing factories. They shared information and together formed a strong helping group. The connection among Matsu relatives/families empowered the working system of chain migration with enough social and economic capital that could satisfy the needs of newcomers in an unfamiliar city. The connection linking the system of the chain was mainly the relationships of kinship among different families.

Intergenerational Intimacy

Some researchers have proven that the second generation of immigrants appreciate their parents' sacrifice to the family and agree on the importance of family to them (e.g., Foner and Dreby, 2011; Fuligni and Pedersen, 2002). Foner and Dreby (2011) analyze the relationship between generations and are convinced that there is a strong emotional tie connecting family members among immigrants. The members of young generation of immigrants have been thankful for their parents, showing loyalty, responsibility, and are emotionally connected (Suarez-Orozco, *et al.*, 2008; cited in Foner and Dreby, 2011). Fuligni and Pederson's quantitative research (2002) points out that the children of Latin-American and Filipino immigrants express strong responsibility to their original family and are more willing to provide economic support and cohabitate with their parents.

The interviewed family is believed to have constructed a more intimate family relationship between generations. These could be seen through the frequency of how often the second generation visited their parents after leaving home and starting their own nuclear family.

David and Amy now live in Taoyuan. David's house is 30 minutes by car from Pat and Mia's house. He visits his parents almost every weekend or every two weeks when he is busy. Amy lives very close to Pat and Mia. It is only 10 minutes by motorcycle

(which is a normal transportation tool in Taiwan). Amy's son bought a house only one street away from Pat and Mia's home. Amy visits her parents almost every day. She spends time with them, sometimes has lunch with them and takes them to the hospitals when necessary. Eva, on the other hand, lives in Guanxi, her husband's hometown, and a small district in Hsinchu County. Eva's house is 40 to 50 minutes away from Pat and Mia's home. She spends one day at the weekend with Pat and Mia, this has become her weekly routine for a while. She is more into planning trips for Pat and Mia. For instance, she had taken them to Shihmen Dam, Cihu Mausoleum, Bade Pond Park, and plenty of sightseeing spots nearby. In September 2020, she organized a trip and brought Pat and Mia back to their hometown in Matsu when they were both over 80 years old. In the interview with Eva, she talked about a story from her childhood.

Eva: When we were young, whenever the CCP started propaganda bombing Matsu, we would hide and stay in a dugout. We did our homework there. I remember we used candles and Kerosene lamps. I was left-handed, which was considered "weird" and "a freak" to older generations. My grandpa did not like it. My dad, therefore, forced me to write using my right hand. In the process of teaching me to write, he spent a lot of time with me. He was patient and gentle. He was nice to children. He'd stay beside you, teach patiently, teach, teach and keep teaching...I remembered there was a time that I had been learning to write the word home (jia, written as "家") and couldn't do it well. I'd learned for a long long time. Especially the under part of the word. It's difficult to write. And, my dad had taught me for a long time. He spent a lot of time teaching me. This memory influenced me very much.

Eva describes her image of the loving father that Pat had been. In the interview, she emphasized that Pat had treated them very well and she had thought of what her parents had been through in the past. She even tried to understand her mom, Mia, in her position of being a mother, a wife, and a daughter-in-law in a poor family in the past hard time.

The three interviewees in the Matsu 2nd migration generation show how they care for their original family and established a close and intimate interaction with their parents. They visit their parents frequently, accompany them, and even travel with them. It is obvious to see their care, love, respect, and responsibility to their migrant parents.

The 2nd Generation Migrants' Mate Selection

Foner and Dreby (2011) mention that one of the main conflicts between parents and children in an immigrant family arises when children meet their intimate partners. Parents in general lived in the time of arranged marriages while their children were exposed to the era of romantic love. This research tries to explore how the second generation of Matsu migrants met their intimate partners and how their parents influenced their choice of partners.

We find that none of the five children from the interviewed family married with partners from Matsu (or none of their partners' parents were from Matsu). David's wife is a Taiwanese Minnan-speaker. Amy and Eva's husbands are both Taiwanese Hakka. The researcher asked Amy and Eva if Pat and Mia had wished them to marry someone whose family are from Matsu. The answer was not consistent. While Amy believed their parents did not have this thought, Eva said they did have this hope. Amy had an example:

Amy: Someone tried to introduce me to a man from Matsu, yes, there was one man. Our neighbor talked about him to my parents. But, my grandmother, she considered a lot. She thought that the two families lived too close, and they were relatives... so maybe it was not a good choice. We did not go on a date in the end. Just them talking about the man and me. And nothing happened. Perhaps, my grandma thought it'd be too complicated if you married a relative. Yeah...so someone is trying to introduce a man to me, we didn't respond.

Amy talked about how their neighbor planned to introduce her to a young man from Matsu, but her grandmother had some considered and refused the invitation. Amy did not meet the man eventually. However, Eva had different feelings about her parents' intentions for their children's marriage partners.

Eva: My dad would like us to see someone from Matsu. He hoped that we could marry people from the same "group". (...) He didn't say anything about my husband and me. But, when my elder sister, Amy, was going to get married, he was not happy. He felt surprised when my brother-in-law came to visit. But I think he's just astonished that his daughter had met someone and he didn't know them at all.

As we could see from Eva's illustration, Pat did not have a comment on her dating someone Hakka, but Pat felt not comfortable when Amy brought her boyfriend home. The main reason was not, as Eva believed, that their boyfriends were not from Matsu, instead, it was his sudden understanding that his beloved daughter had been dating someone and he was the last to know about it.

In the interview with Pat and Mia, they both confessed that it was acceptable for their children to have relationships with those not from Matsu. The marriage of David and his wife revealed the same conclusion. Matsu migrant parents did not try to control the direction of their children's marriages and did not insist on them forming close relationships with people from the same original background.

Conclusions

This research conducted interviews with five members of a family from the Matsu islands, who migrated to Taiwan in 1976. Data on their family history has been collected, including migration movement, settlement, and employment. This study also has analyzed their kinship networking under the context of migration, the intergenerational relationships in the family, and the mate selection of the 2nd-generation migrant children. Currently, there have been only a few pieces of literature on the culture of Matsu. The existing works generally focus on the Min Dong religions (or Eastern Min), Han dialects, and Tourism studies. This research provides a preliminary analysis of Matsu migrants, aiming to contribute to the study of the sociology of family and migration in Taiwan and East Asia. This research puts effort into outlining the phenomenon of the Matsu migrants moving with their family units to Taiwan between the 1970s to the 1990s. It is also for the purpose of understanding their social relationships, interactions, communication and differences between Taiwan's outlying islands and the Taiwan main island. Furthermore, the research suggests that more Matsu families could be included and interviewed in future studies and that analysis might be addressed from different theoretical perspectives.

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