

Floating Home

A journey of Taiwanese identity in the UK



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Table of contents:

Acknowledgments	P.01
Abstract	P.02
List of figures	P.05
List of participants	P.11
The Research films	P.16
Introduction:	
A Road map to the thesis	P.21
Literature review	P.24
Research questions	P.28
Theoretical Framework	P.31
Chapter 1: Home is where we begin	
Origins of the research	
1.1 The genesis	P.37
1.2 Definition of Floating Home	P.43
1.3 The formation of Taiwanese identity and Taiwan New Cinema	P.50
1.4 Focus group in the films	P.71
Chapter 2: Rhizomatic filmmaking	
Methodology	
2.1 Filmmaking as research	P.98
2.2 Habitus and practice	P.106
2.3 The concept of Tactics	P.116
2.4 Rhizomatic path in filmmaking	P.131

Chapter 3: Presenting the Taiwanese identity in the UK	
Analysis	
3.1 The stereotypical representation of ethnic Chinese in the UK	P.144
3.2 The practice of daily migratory life	P.156
3.3 The evolving hybrid identities	P.174
Chapter 4: Floating in-between	
Findings	
4.1 Sandwich (wo)men and female dual role	P.188
4.2 Liquid/Floating/Fluidity	P.205
4.3 Rhizomes, minoritisation and becoming	P.213
Conclusion: Journey to an unknown stop	
1. Emergence of identity under Chinese domination	P.224
2. The contribution of the research	P.227
3. Optimism of becoming	P.234
4. Further study	P.238
Appendix: Definition of terms	P.245
Reference	P.248
Bibliography	P.252
Filmography	P.267

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Abstract

People from Taiwan have been internationally marginalised and unrecognised for a long time, particularly by the cultural hegemony from the Western cultures and colonialism from Japanese imperialism¹ and Chinese authoritarianism. These historical influences generate a hybrid² culture in the Taiwanese society. Through the migratory experience of the Taiwanese people in Britain, their hybrid-cultural identity is caught between even unstable in between the host society and their homeland.

As Stuart Hall states that identities, particularly in late modern times, are 'multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions' (Hall, 1996:04). It is intriguing to explore what is the identity of Taiwanese people in the UK, especially in the migratory situation.

This practice-based research project, which combines a production of a documentary feature and a series of seven short documentaries made over the research period, and a written thesis. The research explores and examines the intricacies of the experience of a small group of Taiwanese migrants³ living in the UK. It investigates Taiwanese identity in Britain using collaborative documentary filmmaking techniques as its central research methodology.

¹ See the definition of term on page 247

² See the definition of term on page 246

³ See the definition of term on page 245

The employment of Michel de Certeau's concept of *tactics* and Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome are the main two theories throughout the research. They are not only applied to theorise the identity of Taiwanese people in the UK through the daily practice; but they are also exercised on a particular ethically responsible, inclusive and non-hierarchical filmmaking practice in the research approach. This thesis analyses how the identity of Taiwanese people in the UK evolves and transforms through the audiovisuals in the films, which captured the Taiwanese participants' everyday practice. And the analysis of those daily practices actualised by the Taiwanese participants investigates their cultural adaptation and cultural resistance in the British society.

Under the impact of globalisation⁴ that the developed technology opens up countries boundaries, Taiwanese migrants paradoxically encounter their longing of the homeland and the belonging of searching new homes. This situation positions them in an in-between space, where they combine and negotiate Taiwanese and British cultures that emerges a further hybrid identity in the UK. They are afloat between two cultures; they are "in-betweeners", who keep floating to find their ultimate homes.

This research further examines how Taiwanese migrants in the UK process the formation of their community through word of mouth - the alternative means of communication, to construct a potential and on-going development of non-hierarchical social structure. Finally, combining the

⁴ See the definition of term on page 247

filmmaking approach and theoretical analysis, this research contributes to a practiced-based path to study cultural identity with a reciprocal way: actualising the theories on filmmaking approach and utilising the same theories to analyse the films.

List of figures

Figure 1.

A simplified map of Taiwan, Hong Kong and partial Mainland China

P.10

Figure 2.

A map of Taiwan with the participants' hometowns and birthplaces

P.10

Figure 3.

A screen shot of myself in the feature documentary

Floating Home

P.38

Figure 4.

Changes in the Chinese/Taiwanese Identity of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Studies Center, NCCU (1992-2015)

P.60

Figure 5. Taiwanese passport with the Republic of China as the official state's name on the top, Taiwan is right underneath the ROC's emblem

P.61

Figure 6. The chart of UK emigration and immigration, 1991 to 2014

P.73

Figure 7. The population of Overseas-born residents excluding some residents in communal establishments, by sex, by country of birth in 2015

P.75

Figure 8.

A screen shot of London's Chinatown during the celebration of 2014 Lunar New Year in the episode of

Little Taiwan

P.77

Figure 9.

A simplified map of the UK with the participants' current location P.85

Figure 10.

A screen shot of me documenting in front of the gate of Chinatown, London in **Floating Home** P.91

Figure 11.

International Passenger Survey estimates of long-term international migration into the UK for formal study by nationality, 2009 to 2014 P.92

Figure 12.

A screen shot from **Floating Home** shows how **Yung-Fang Chen** and her friends prepared the dishes for the celebration of the 2013 Lunar New Year P.112

Figure 13.

A screen shot from the feature **Floating Home** shows **Claire Griffin**, her husband and friends having the hotpot for the celebration of the 2014 Lunar New Year P.114

Figure 14.

A screen shot depicts me, **Da-Chung** and his friends enjoyed a little gathering in his restaurant in **Little Taiwan** P.138

Figure 15.

Rhizomatic structure of Floating Home P.139

Figure 16.

Four levels of methodology in the project of Floating Home

P.141

Figure 17.

A screen shot from Floating Home shows **Claire Griffin** makes dumplings for her family's dinner

P.162

Figure 18.

A screen shot from *Floating Home* shows **Maggie Chang** and her daughter **Luna** rolling out the flour to make breads

P.167

Figure 19.

A screen shot from *In between the two cultures* shows **Yung-Fang Chen, Ben Gibbon** and their daughter **Jilly** cross the road

P.170

Figure 20.

A screen shot from *Beyond the frying pan* shows me filming the interactions between teacher and students in a Cantonese class at Coventry Chinese school

P.172

Figure 21.

A screen shot in feature *Floating Home* shows the celebration of **Ethan's** birthday party with **Patty, Frank** and their friends

P.181

Figure 22.

A screen shot in *Crouch, hold and engage* shows **Jalen** does the training with his rugby teammates

P.183

Figure 23. A screen shot from *In between the two cultures* shows **Yung-Fang**, her husband **Ben Gibbon** and their

daughter **Jilly** surrounded by their local friends in a birthday party P.191

Figure 24.

A screen shot from **Floating Home** indicates **Maggie's** décor in her living room, which are a black doll statue of Taiwanese indigenous stands along with an iconic London red bus P.201

Figure 25.

A screen shot from **Crouch, hold and engage** demonstrates **Claire's** house door with a couplet on it P.202

Figure 26.

A screen shot from **Travel of the flavour** shows numerous containers shipping to the UK P.205

Figure 27.

A screen shot in the episode **Beyond the frying pan** shows a picture that **Steve Cheung** as a child with his siblings in front of the takeaway shop from a **Cheung's** family photo album P.209

Figure 28.

A photograph on **Maggie's** wall shows Maggie alongside **Luiza** as an infant - taken from documentary **Floating Home** P.210

Figure 29.

Rhizomatic structure of the Taiwanese in Britain P.219

Figure 30.

A screen shot in episode *Travel of the flavour* illustrates Taiwanese people having their hometown food in the 2012 Taiwanese food festival in Camden P.220

Figure 31.

A screen shot in feature *Floating Home* shows the sign of "Taste of Taiwan" on the shelves in the Wing Yip Chinese Supermarket at Croydon P.224

Figure 32.

A screen shot in feature *Floating Home* depicts me showing the footage I shot to **Ethan** and **Patty** P.228

Figure 33.

A photo shows me and **Yung-Fang Chen** had a speech before the screen of Floating Home Series at Coventry University on 8th February, 2017. Photo provided by Culturae Mundi P.242

Figure 34.

A photo shows the screen of Floating Home Series at Coventry University on 8th February, 2017. Photo provided by Culturae Mundi P.243



Figure 1. A simplified map of Taiwan, Hong Kong and partial Mainland China

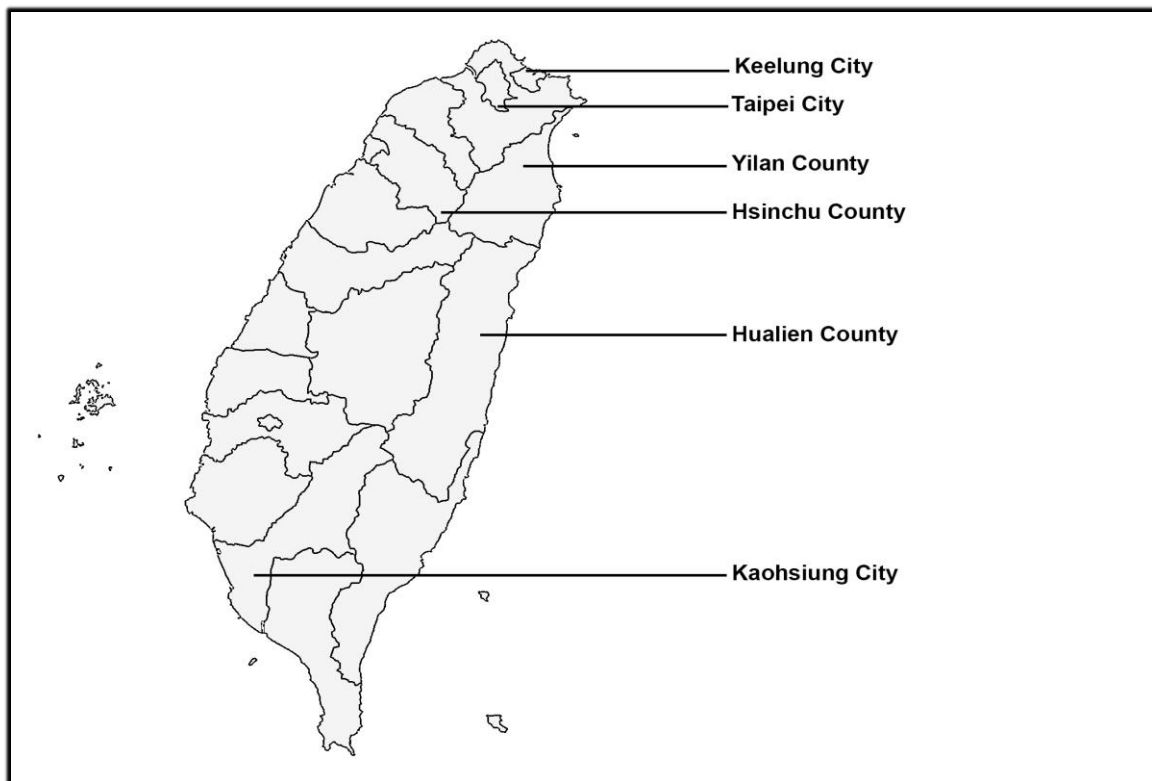


Figure 2. A map of Taiwan with the participants' hometowns and birthplaces

List of participants

In this thesis, I will make the participants' names bold in order to highlight them within the text.

Main Participants

Yung-Fang Chen:



Yung-Fang was born and bred in Taipei; she has lived in the UK for over 12 years. She is a lecturer of Disaster Management and Emergency Planning at Coventry University and married to an English husband, **Ben Gibbon**. The couple moved from Portsmouth and currently live in Kenilworth, Coventry with their daughter, **Jilly** (5).

Patty Pan (I-Pei Pan):



Patty is from Taipei, and her father was a veteran from Mainland China. She now works as a sales manager in the UK. She married to **Frank Gao** from Beijing. They had their civil wedding in Edinburgh, as the laws between Taiwan and China around the mid 2000s were not legislated for the marriage of people between the two countries; they could not legally get married either in Taiwan or Mainland China. They now have a son, **Ethan** (5). During my research they lived in Stevenage, then moved to Watford in 2015.

Claire Griffin (Ya-Yin Teng):



Claire was born in Hualien but grew up in Hsinchu. She was a single mother back in Taiwan where she had her eldest son, **Jalen** from a previous relationship. She met her South African husband, **Gregory Griffin** in an online chat room when she was in Taiwan. The couple live the Basingstoke area of Hampshire with **Jalen** and their other two children, **Tristan** (8) and **Bella** (4). **Claire** is now a full-time housewife.

Maggie Chang (Jui-Fen Chang) :



Maggie was born and bred in Taipei. Her personal circumstance is slightly similar to **Claire**, as she met her Brazilian husband **Jorge Araujo** online. However, they only started their relationship when both of them moved to Britain in 2006. Now they live in Rugby and have two daughters, **Luiza** (9) and **Luna** (5). Maggie is also a full-time housewife.

Additional participants

Da-Chung Chang:



Da-Chung is from Keelung; he is a chef and owner of *Formosa* - a Taiwanese restaurant in Fulham, London. He has been in London for over thirty years.

Steve Cheung and his father, Yim Kwong Cheung:



Steve is the owner of *Hong Kong Chinese takeaway shop* in Coventry. He is son of **Yim Kwong Cheung**, who was born in Hong Kong and migrated to Britain in 1961.

Sherman and Marcia Lai:



Sherman is from Yilan County, and **Marcia** is from Taipei. They are currently running their own Taiwanese food company - *Taipec Ltd*, established in 2007 alongside their initial business, a computer business - *Landmarq*, in 1989. They have been living in London for over thirty years.

The Research films

Floating Home is a practical research that I applied filmmaking as my methodology to observe and explore the cultural identity of Taiwanese migrants in the UK. I made a feature documentary and a documentary series contained seven episodes. The production is presented along with this written thesis in the research.

The production as a whole can be viewed as an assemblage - a multiplicity, which indicates a ramified structure like a map that shows each film fabricating and connecting with each other. Each film also can be viewed as an individual. This structure relates to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's concept of *rhizomatics* that I endeavour to apply it as one of my methodologies.

The feature documentary - **Floating Home**, is based on four female Taiwanese migrants to show how they adapt British culture and survive in the host society. With my participation in the journey of the filmmaking and migration visually presented in the film, this feature documentary reflects on the idea of *tactics* brought by Michel de Certeau to depict the flexible ways of life without the powerful or resourceful support in order to achieve the goal. This idea of *tactics* I employed is also throughout the entire production to analyse and document the participants' practice of everyday life, particularly food and language.

In the documentary series, each episode means different aspects of the research I attempt to examine. **Episode 1 - Beyond the frying pan** is the film I employ the migrants from Hong Kong as the comparison of Taiwanese migrants in the UK. **Episode 2 - The past, present and future** is the film I utilise

the ethnic connection to address the historical acknowledgement of Chinese roots and cultural influences. This is related to Stuart Hall's cultural identity I applied as the foundation of theory in the research. **Episode 3 - In between the two cultures** and **Episode 6 - Crouch, hold and engage** are the vignettes of **Yung-Fang Chen** and **Claire Griffin** respectively, which I intend to emphasise the adaptation of ways of life conceptualised through the idea of *tactics* in the subjects' migration.

Furthermore, **Episode 4 - Travel of the flavour** and **Episode 5 - Little Taiwan** are the stories of the additional subjects, **Sherman and Marcia Lai**, and **Da-Chung Chang** respectively that I not only examine their daily practices in their business trade with the idea of *tactics*, but I also investigate the way they develop the Taiwanese community with their wills through the concept of *rhizome*. In the end, **Episode 7 - A journey to an unknown stop** is the film I attempt to conclude the production with an open ending, which metaphorically hints the journey of Taiwanese people finding their own belonging and position is an on-going and unending process. This resonates Stuart Hall's notion of cultural identity.

Brief of research films

Suggested order of viewing

When I mention my films in this thesis, I employ them with bold, italics and underlined to highlight them in the text.

Feature documentary:

Floating Home (80'05):

This feature documentary visually illustrates my personal journey from Taiwan to Britain with the collective migratory

experience of the four main participants - **Yung-Fang Chen, Patty Pan, Claire Griffin, and Maggie Chang**. These female participants all have transnational marriages; they are married to husbands of different nationalities - English, Chinese, South African and Brazilian respectively. The video research began with the Lunar/Chinese New Year of 2013 and finished in the New Year of 2014. Through the four seasons in the year, this documentary intermittently records through their everyday practices to show how they integrate into the host society and maintain their hometown cultures in the UK. This is accompanied by their interviews to convey the experience of their life in the UK, cultural differences and racist confrontations in their migratory experiences. The documentary reveals the subjects' and my own transformation of our values and belonging in order to truly see the evolving Taiwanese identities in the United Kingdom.

Floating Home documentary series:

Episode 1 - Beyond the frying pan (20'36):

A story about **Steve Cheung** and his father - **Yim Kwong Cheung**, examines the development of their family food trading business in the UK. The progress of their commercial catering enterprise was strongly influenced by the capitalist freedoms of the ethnic migrants from Hong Kong encouraged by the British government after the Second World War. The catering trade then became a pervasive stereotype in the representation of ethnic Chinese people in the United Kingdom for years.

Episode 2 - The past, present and future (12'18):

This biographical story is about **Patty Pan**, her Mainland Chinese father and husband (**Frank Gao**); this episode looks at the historical influence of the Chinese Civil War and Mao's Cultural Revolution in differentiating Mainland Chinese and

Taiwanese people. **Patty** and **Frank** are hopeful that by bringing up their son in Britain, he will have access to opportunities that they did not.

Episode 3 - In between the two cultures (13'14):

This chapter is a short story about how **Yung-Fang Chen** deals with the cultural differences with her English parents-in-law and husband (**Ben Gibbon**). The episode also reveals how **Yung-Fang** and **Ben Gibbon** attempt to guide their daughter to not only learn the local language but also to understand Taiwanese Mandarin in order to communicate with her family in Taiwan.

Episode 4 - Travel of the flavour (20'36):

A Taiwanese couple - **Sherman** and **Marcia Lai** in this episode illustrate how they endeavour to enhance their identity and coherence of Taiwanese culture in the UK through the food. They run a company that only imports and sells Taiwanese food, they also organise a Taiwanese food festival in London in order to enhance the coherence of Taiwanese overseas students and migrants in the United Kingdom.

Episode 5 - Little Taiwan (09'09):

Da-Chung Chang, who is a Taiwanese chef running a Chinese restaurant in Fulham, highlights the ethnic, linguistic and cultural changes that are taking place in London's Chinatown. He also reveals the increased influence of Mainland Chinese migrants in the last decade. Along with his migratory experience of London, Chang states because of his close relationship with likeminded friends from his hometown, his Taiwanese restaurant becomes a little hub for them.

Episode 6 - Crouch, hold and engage (13'44):

Claire Griffin's film, is about her relationship with her eldest son **Jalen Tang** whom was conceived from a failed

relationship in Taiwan. **Claire** and her present South African partner **Gregory** talks about **Jalen's** experience from the age of six of racist bullying and domestic and cultural inability to integrate into the local British community. This film highlights how the sport of rugby was used to help **Jalen** immerse into British society.

Episode 7 - A journey to an unknown stop (10'29):

This last episode shows **Maggie Chang's** concerns about the emergence of cultural contrast through how people treat her two daughters completely different in Britain and in Taiwan. Her Brazilian husband **Jorge Araujo** talks about the difficulties he and **Maggie** had on the application of their visa and passport, which reveals the issue of Taiwan's international status: it is not recognised as an independent country.

Introduction:

A Road map to the thesis

This thesis presents a coherent body of academic work with a discussion and analysis of my film production - *Floating Home*, exploring the cultural identity of Taiwanese migrants in the UK that I find during the research period.

Here I choose the term "ethnic Chinese" to describe the Chinese descendants from different countries in general circumstances, as Gregor Benton and Edmund T. Gomez mention in their book:

'In Southeast Asia, where most Chinese regard themselves as Thai, Indonesian, Malaysian, and so on, the term "ethnic Chinese" has come into vogue, as a neutral descriptive term corresponding to the Chinese *Huaren* 華人.' (Benton and Gomez, 2008:22)

Although they state there is no actual term for the variety of Chinese identities in Britain and Europe, I determine to employ the term when I talk about the so-called Chinese in the UK generally, which includes people from Taiwan, Mainland China and Hong Kong, as these three group of people still have cultural and historical relations. However, I prefer to apply their individual terms: Taiwanese, Mainland Chinese and Hong Kongese⁵ to represent the people from these three regions in this project.

Chapter 1 presents the genesis of the research and film production. Then I will explore the formation of Taiwanese

⁵ According to Oxford Dictionary, Hong Kongese as a noun refers to a native or inhabitant of Hong Kong.

identity through the historical events. The significance of the Taiwan New Cinema in making visible Taiwanese experience to the global scene, and the power of film to communicate experience through visual story. This power of cinema to communicate and reveal Taiwanese identity outside Taiwan, for political as well as cultural articulation. The movement inspired me to use filmmaking to document the practice of everyday life, to reveal and visualise Taiwanese cultural identity in the UK.

The chapter will contextualise the focus group of Taiwanese migrants living in the UK with which the research films were made within the UK's immigration landscape in general and the comparison and correlation of the people from Hong Kong and Mainland China.

Chapter 2 introduces the methodology employed in this research project. The specificity of the practical method of filmmaking through which I observe, immerse and self-reflect on Taiwanese cultural practices through my participants' everyday life in Britain. Bourdieu's Habitus is the foundation of the theoretical framing of the practical approach to investigate the subjects' everyday life in Britain.

Michel de Certeau's concept of *Tactics* is applied to both the participants and the filmmaker in this project is significant to observe and employ daily practices, and to see how tactics converge on me as a Taiwanese filmmaker, in the filmmaking process. Through the convergence of myself in the filmmaking process, I then illuminate the practice of documenting my subjects with Deleuze and Guattari's conception of the Rhizome.

Chapter 3 analyses the representation of ethnic Chinese in Britain stereotyped and inscribed on the media in the first section. To investigate and build the representation of Taiwanese identity, I observe the subjects' everyday life, through their tactics I then apply Bhabha's hybridity to examine the cultural combination that the Taiwanese participants evolve their cultural practice to express their even further hybrid identity in the life in Britain.

Chapter 4 adopts Bauman's notion of Liquid Modernity and light-weight capitalism to elucidate the impact of migration in the present day as floating. To this concept of Liquid Modernity, I will apply Bhabha's third space to and the perception of liminality proposed by Victor Turner to examine the position obtained by the participants in the research as in between Taiwanese and British cultures. This in-between status of the Taiwanese participants can be seen as sandwich (wo)men as a reference to Hou Hsiao-hsien 's film ***Sandwich Man (1983)***. I then will further look at the concept of rhizome through the capability of the Internet, to inspect how Taiwanese migrants in the UK process the formation of their community.

The final section will analyse the conclusions of the research project, answering the research questions, methodology and stating the contribution of this research to existing scholarship on Taiwanese identity. The practice-based research of Floating Home utilizes an informed model of rhizomatic filmmaking to produce a positive and richly holistic, multifaceted articulation of Taiwanese identity in the UK.

Literature Review

The *Floating Home* research project explores the area of identity in the field of social science, particularly for Taiwanese immigrants in the UK. According to British sociological scholar Kath Woodward, identity does not only generate difference, but it also accommodates and manages difference to develop boundaries in order to differentiate you and me, them and us (Woodward, 2002). She also states, identity brings links between the individual and collective (ibid). Moreover, Stuart Hall suggests identity in the social science context 'is used to refer to whatever is distinctive about the "way of life" of a people, community, nation or social group' (Hall, 1997:02).

In this research, although I approached each Taiwanese participant in my focus group individually, I attempt to reveal their collective identity through the practice of filmmaking, which should be understood as Taiwanese people's identification as "Taiwanese". The collective identity Taiwanese people possess is contained geographically within the island of Taiwan and several small isles under the sovereignty of Republic of China (ROC) - the official name of Taiwan's government. This could be perceived in relation to Benedict Anderson's notion of imagined community. He suggests the nation is 'an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (Anderson, 2006:06). Thus, this "imagined community" that Taiwanese people obtain has generated their own national and cultural identity in the face of China's dominant homogenisation of Chinese identity.

Nai-Teh Wu, research fellow of the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, suggests the notion of national identity is the identification of "a group of people", but not

as the "state identity" because a state is a ruling authority and a system of political power (Wu, 2005:11). David Miller also stresses this common misunderstanding between nation and state, which has caused the everyday usage (Miller, 1995). This identity of "a group of people" is linked to the ethnicity the people obtain and is not necessarily formed by a singular ethnic group, as Miller exemplifies the USA developed a specific national identity that 'embrace a multitude of different ethnicities' (Miller, 1995:20).

In the case of Taiwanese identification, it is also developed by the multiple ethnicities in the concept of national identity. Some Taiwanese scholars apply different terms of ethnic identification as "ethnic identity" or "ethnic consciousness", but the concepts of both terminologies are equivalent. Fu-Chang Wang, another research fellow of the Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, defines the "ethnic consciousness" as a specific ethnic group's member who understands this group's presence and particular features, and the individuals' loyalty to this ethnic group. Besides, Wang points out that the ethnic consciousness is a certain way of thinking or imagination about what are ethnic groups, why they exist and what kind of features they possess (Wang, 2002). Thus, national identity and ethnic identity are related to in the notion of the collective identity. Wu even suggests the ethnic identity is an essential basis for the national identity, particular in the case of Taiwanese people (Wu, 1993).

However, the national and cultural identity of the Taiwanese has been contested both internally and internationally. Internally, the debates of Taiwanese identity disputed by activists and politicians for the future of the island, particularly the demarcation between the Han Chinese from

Mainland China that relocated to Taiwan before 1895 and those that moved after 1945 with the nationalist party - Kuomintang - the governors of ROC, who lost the Chinese Civil War to the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1949 (Wu, 1993).

Internationally, Taiwan is marginalised as 'a powerless, threatened and marginal "non-country"' due to the lack of international recognition (Storm and Harrison, 2007:08). Despite the country its own existence, military structure and development, the identity of the Taiwanese without international recognition is still seeking a stable fixation in the phenomena of globalisation (ibid).

The impact of globalisation, which Zygmunt Bauman points out that the development of technology makes both logistics and an individual's traveling and migration much more fluid and mobile in the modern day (Bauman, 2000). Globalisation affects economy that broadens the impact of transnational business to converge human's economy and mingle the cultural life under the global development of capitalism (Robins, 1991). This phenomenon of globalisation comprises the logistics of production and transnational consumption, which people can have the same products and food in different countries provided by the multinational enterprises. This can be seen as creating shared identity (Woodward, 1997). Thus, Woodward describes that the phenomenon of globalisation generates divergence of reactions for the identity, which could be either altered and detached people's identity of origin by the cultural homogeneity aided by the global marketing or could be led to resistance. Alternatively, it could be brought up the emergence of new identities (ibid).

Additionally, the national boundaries are not as solid and stable as it used to be (Woodward, 2002), which means the identity people obtain in the migratory process is not

confined within a place. While people attempt to find another (better) place to stay or settle, people's identification and connection to the (new) place is about ways of belonging, whether is entangled or separated as Gilroy mentions (Gilroy, 1992). The ways of belonging, it is actually subjected by each individual that how he or she experiences the world (Grossberg, 1996). Hence, there is possibility for people to wish to be or enable in the pursuits of identity from migratory situation, although the biological or ethnical connection is contradictory to what people are able to make of their own identity (Strathern, 1996).

As a result, cultural identity in the migratory situation, contain its fixed feature with its roots; but it evolves, transforms, and mutates during the encounters of different cultures by marking differences and finding ways of belonging on its routes. As Woodward states, 'identity travels, but it is about belonging' (Woodward, 2002:168). From Bauman's perspective, although identity is a noun, it acts like a verb and 'only appears only in the future tense' (Bauman, 1996:19). This complex of identity involves the ethnical, national and personal experience in the modern days. With the already fluid identity the Taiwanese obtain, it is intriguing to see how their identity transform and how they find their belonging when they are on migratory process.

Research questions

The current Taiwanese identity is not only marginalised by the international recognitions (or lack thereof), but it also lacks a fixation by the internal conflict on the island. Hence, it is essential to see how the Taiwanese migrants in the UK encounter the host culture and environment. As Woodward pinpoints, 'identity has been constructed and *reproduced* around different relationships' (Woodward, 2002:01), the relationship that the Taiwanese people have and live with between British and Taiwanese society and culture is varied. During the process of the migration, it is also stimulating to see how Taiwanese migrants either transform or maintain their identity of origin through their cultural practices actualised in Britain.

In order to capture and document the cultural practices from Taiwanese migrants, I apply a specific practice of filmmaking as the approach. Being a filmmaker, I understand the strength and importance of film to deliver and transport the concept from the imagination of the maker into the perception of the spectators whom receive the message; as British director Alexander Mackendrick calls it a 'medium' (Mackendrick, 2004:xxxv). Whether this medium imaginably recreated the world - "fictional" or captured the environment to present how people live in - "non-fictional" or "factual" ways by the filmmakers, the film contains sights and sounds that need to be delivered and interpreted as the meaningful information to the receivers.

Here I employ the medium with the "non-fictional" way - documentary as the path to document the participants' everyday life in Britain and reflect on the journey of searching Taiwanese identity in the UK for this practice-based research.

As documentary theoretician Bill Nichols denotes that documentary is not only able to offer the engagement of receivers in investigations or arguments that occurring to the world people live in, but documentary is also a medium and vehicle of the filmmakers' expression to draw audience's attention to the world (Nichols, 2001). In other words, documentary provides representations of the topic to reveal the issues and create the voice to raise attention about the issues the filmmakers attempt to argue.

Additionally, being a Taiwanese, I apply my own personal background and historical trajectory as the core of this research project. The representations of the Taiwanese participants in the films I endeavour to disclose is not only to reveal how Taiwanese identity in the UK is evolves or is transformed, but I also attempt to establish a representation that is generated by Taiwanese people. An image that can properly embody and reflect Taiwanese culture in Britain through a Taiwanese perspective. This is the purpose of the project to break and overthrow a generic stereotype of ethnic Chinese in the UK in order to share and develop the notion of Taiwanese identity in the host country.

Thus, my central research question across this research project is:

What is the cultural identity of Taiwanese migrants in the UK?

This main research question composes a number of secondary questions which reflect the role of filmmaking in the research:

Chapter 1: question (1): How does film making contribute to the formation of identity in Taiwan, and what is its significance locally and internationally?

Chapter 2: question (2): Is it possible to develop a model of film making process that can record and express the experiences and tensions of marginalised people, and in particular Taiwanese migrants in the UK?

Chapter 3: question (3): How does the culture identity evolve and transform individually and connect collectively in migration, especially Taiwanese migrants in the UK?

Chapter 4: question (4): What is status of Taiwanese's cultural identity in the UK? And what is the formation of Taiwanese community in Britain?

These research questions are discussed in those four separate chapters. They are connecting the research and production process with the participants and films.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this practice-based research project combines two main theories, Michel de Certeau's *tactics* and Deleuze and Guattari's *rhizomatics*. These two main theories inform the approach to filmmaking practice not only to examine the Taiwanese identity through their daily activities individually and collectively in the UK, but they are also actualised in the filmmaking through the relationship and interactions between the filmmaker/researcher and the subject as the principal methodology.

Moreover, the employment of Stuart Hall's cultural identity and Pierre Bourdieu's habitus are the supportive theories in this research to identify, observe and analyse the transformation of the cultural identity through the everyday practice. The idea of Zygmunt Bauman's liquid modernity is the background to set the migratory situation with the impact of globalisation in the modern time. His concept of fluidity resonates throughout the research through the idea of floating, which theoretically refers to the constant changing identity, and practically relates to the flexible approach of *tactics* opposed to the fixed strategy.

Tactics

The concept of *tactics* is introduced by de Certeau in his analysis of everyday practices about the productive and consumptive scio-activity in his book - *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984). As de Certeau elaborates, the idea of *tactics* is from the dichotomy of ways of practice between strategy and tactic (de Certeau, 1984). The strategy in his perception is the comprehension of power that requires occupying space and self-segregating as solidity. Whereas, the

tactic is the comprehension of non-powerful, which adapts the environment without occupying a space and constantly moves as fluidity. The application of de Certeau's *tactics* is a two-way approach in this research. It is firstly employed to examine the daily practice of each individual Taiwanese participants to observe how they adapt British society and maintain their cultural origin in the migratory lives since they are migrants and considered as the Others. Moreover, the *tactics* is actualised as the practical approach - independent filmmaking to adapt the subjects' schedule and move around with them instead of conducting them. This independent filmmaking is contrast to the "proper film production", which conventionally produced with resourceful and financial support.

Rhizomatics

The concept of rhizomatics proposed by Deleuze and Guattari. Unlike the roots or trees (as hierarchy - a pyramid), a rhizome is ramified as a subterranean stem (as non-hierarchical) that connects any point to any other point. A rhizomatic structure comprises not of units but of dimensions, or rather directions in motion. It has neither beginning nor end, but always a middle from which it grows (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:23). Deleuze and Guattari suggest a rhizome is like a map to cultivate connections; but it also constantly modifies, as it 'is open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible...' (ibid:13). Which means it is flexible to adjust itself in order to construct the structure. This resonates the flexibility of *tactics* that are not fixed but always fluid to adapt to changing circumstances to achieve their aims.

The employment of rhizome in this research is to see the collective identity of the Taiwanese in the UK as connecting

and ramifying a connection of each individual through their *tactical* approaches. The *tactical* approaches are the collection of their daily practices, which is a non-hierarchical gathering or assembling with a drive of longing and belonging of being Taiwanese in Britain. This drive is what Deleuze and Guattari suggest "the unconsciousness", and the rhizome is the 'production of the unconscious' (ibid:20).

The application of a rhizomatic filmmaking practice is significant to this practice-based research project. The aim of this PhD research project is to build an ethically accountable relationship between filmmakers and subjects. Combined with the *tactical* approach to filmmaking, a rhizomatic filmmaking approach functions as a bridge to connect each subject in the project and forms a non-hierarchical structure between all the participants in front of and behind the camera. This means, although there is still an imbalance between filmmaker and subject, I have endeavoured to reduce it and increased accountability, trust, respect, sensitivity and ethical consideration. The filmmaker and subjects, as each are part of construction informed by the common experience of being Taiwanese in the UK. In addition, the filmmaker/researcher is also a subject in this approach, I appear onscreen in my role as filmmaker, communicating with the participants and their families. In the outcome of this research production, each film indicates each subject's migratory life as the "dimension" or "directions in motion", which is what Deleuze and Guattari define it as a "plateau" that is 'always a middle (milieu)' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:23) in the principal of rhizome. These plateaux are constructed as a map, which represents a series of spatio-temporal journeys of Taiwanese identity in the UK, documented through the resulting films.

Hall's cultural identity

The employment of Stuart Hall's cultural identity is the theoretical foundation in this research. Hall's idea that cultural identity contains two positions: the 'shared culture' (Hall, 1990:223) and the "becoming" as well as "being" (ibid:225). This notion not only comprises the established ethnic and cultural roots, but it also includes the continuously evolving identity, particularly with the historical movements and human migration. The concept is exercised in this research firstly to look at the "shared culture" of ethnic Chinese that the Taiwanese possess from their ethnicity and significantly influenced by the KMT government. And secondly, to investigate the emergence of the Taiwanese identity established with the historical and social movements such as Taiwanisation and Taiwan New Cinema in the last three decades of Taiwan. This perception is then further analysed how the transformation of the Taiwanese identity in the UK is developed through the adaptive daily practice as the "becoming".

Habitus

The adaptive daily practice that the Taiwanese subjects actualise is about their ways of life. According to Pierre Bourdieu's Habitus, cooking food, speaking languages and practices around dwelling culturally characterise and distinguish the way of life from different groups of people (Bourdieu, 1984:173). Thus, when the concept of culture is examined based upon the perception of practice, it is studied to see how people actualise their ways of operating for their reasons and purposes. As Paul James remarks, a simple definition of culture is:

'... how and why we do things around here.' (James, 2015:178)

How James deciphers this definition is quite interesting; the "how" indicates how we materially do and make things, and the "why" points out the meanings. Furthermore, the "we" shows the particularity of a collective lifestyle, and "around here" implies the geographical area. The important concern of the culture is to identify meanings and how meanings are produced from the collective practices in certain place.

This theory is applied to discover and observe those daily practices and discourses among the Taiwanese participants of the research in their ways of life. The detail of daily practice in the adaptation of the host environment and resistance of the cultural origin indicates the transformation of the Taiwanese subjects' identity individually and collectively in their migratory life at the UK. Hence, those daily details such as shopping, cooking food and child rearing captured in the films indicate habitus is visual, and is able to express the meaning of actions. Therefore, habitus is documentable, which the interviews can allow analysis and reflection. This employment in my research leans more towards an anthropological understanding.

Bauman's liquid modernity and fluidity

The utilisation of Zygmunt Bauman's liquid modernity in the research is set as the background to indicate the migratory situation with the impact of globalisation in the modern time. This concept proposed by Bauman suggests a promptly changing order that impacts all ideas of durability, particularly the influence of the globalisation affected by the "light-weight" capitalism (Bauman, 2000: 09). The time and space is

compressed by the velocity of movement and mobility that becomes 'the position of the principal tool of power and domination' (ibid).

In consequence, the theoretical framework in the research refers to the idea of "floating". The concept of Bauman's fluidity signifies a sense of flow to the utilisation of theoretical and practical approaches in this research. In theory, Bourdieu's habitus and Hall's cultural identity imply the idea that identity is constantly changing, transforming and evolving. This notion of identity reflects on Bauman's liquid modernity, which nothing stands still and fixed in the fast-changing world. In practice, de Certeau's tactics' flexibility resonates the concept that actualises the "insinuating" actions in order to flow, adjust and find a way to achieve goals. This fluidity of practice is actualised to build a rhizome and a map flowed with the unconsciousness. This map is constructed without any hierarchical power.

Chapter 1: Home is where we begin

Origins of the research

1.1 The genesis

I was born in Kaohsiung, the second most populous city of Taiwan, but brought up in Taipei, the capital. Taiwan is an island, which is seventy-five miles from the coast of Mainland China. I grew up from a middle-class family, which both my parents are civil servants, as my father was a colonel and mother was a primary school teacher. After completing 2 years of military service, I trained to be a video editor mainly for TV talk-show programmes for 2 years. This was an essential time to develop my fundamental production skills. I left Taiwan in 2007 to come to Britain and studied MA film making at Kingston University in order to further develop my filmmaking skills. Now I have lived and worked in the UK for several years.

When I first arrived at the UK as a post graduate student, I had a multiple feeling with the situation away from home. Firstly, I sensed the floating feel as an international student, while because of the restrict visa policies, my heart and identification remain in my home country - Taiwan. Then gradually, I was intrigued by the multicultural and the vast range of national and ethnic backgrounds represented amongst the students. This impression could be evolved around two general lines of inquiry, arguing either that culture matters, or that culture is largely overruled by other conditions (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961).

The visible evidence of migration is clear and ever present. People from every continent live in close proximity whilst maintaining specific traditions of culture and material

history. There is also clear evidence of communality in terms of common practices and behavioural patterns. This is most pronounced amongst people and is vividly manifested through current modes and expressions of popular youth culture.



Figure 3. A screen shot of myself in the feature documentary *Floating Home*

Being a Taiwanese educated migrant from a middle-class family background, along with the other individuals of similar appearance and same skin tone as the Ethnic Chinese, I have been homogenised as Chinese and "Other". As Martin Jacques points out, the 'idea of overwhelming racial homogeneity, in the context of a huge population, makes the Chinese in global terms, unique' (Jacques, 2009: 266). This compared to other populous great national powers like the United States and India, China seemingly stands out as a "racially" homogenous whole. Although my motherland and government do relate to Mainland China historically, politically and culturally, it is a complex and contentious relationship.

The result of the Chinese civil in 1949 dramatically changed the relationship between Mainland China and Taiwan. The political party - the Communist Party of China (CPC) defeated the established nationalist party - Kuomintang (KMT). As a result, the KMT retreated to Taiwan and numerous surrounding islands to maintain control. Officially under United Nations mandate Treaty of San Francisco 1952⁶ and policies of deliberate ambiguity Mainland China considers Taiwan as its sovereignty. Without any peace treaties, China's threat constantly is through its military force.

Moreover, as the US President Richard Nixon reconciled the relationship with the Communist Party of China (CPC) (Wang, 2010:137); and the United Nations recognised the sovereignty of Mainland China - People's Republic of China (PRC) as 'the only legitimate representative of China'⁷. The regime of Taiwan - Republic of China (ROC) withdrew from the United Nations in 1971. Since then Taiwan has been politically and internationally marginalised.

The people on the island of Taiwan have struggled to regain their own identity politically, nationally and ethnically. In particular, Taiwanese people suffer greatly from internal conflicts among different ethnic groups, mainly the early immigrants and new immigrants from China. Due to the KMT's oppressive rule over Taiwan, Taiwanese citizens had been forced to recognise themselves as Chinese (Yang, 2009:50). In other words, many native Taiwanese citizens who are born in Taiwan and have nothing to do with China were governed and

⁶ Treaty of Peace with Japan (with two declarations) can access on: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20136/volume-136-i-1832-english.pdf>

⁷ United Nations General Assembly Session 26 Resolution 2758. Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations A/RES/2758(XXVI) page 1. 25 October 1971. Retrieved 2008-10-07.

educated to recognize themselves as Chinese. As a result, the dilemma Taiwanese people have is to form a unified identity. Nowadays, as the interaction between China and Taiwan is accelerating, Taiwan is facing a crisis in both identity and economy.

This historical, political and cultural ambiguity of the position of Taiwan, where I was born, has complicated my identity as a Chinese subject, with a Taiwanese ethnic identity. And it actually complicates my identity and position through my own life experience, particularly the journey in the United Kingdom.

To distinguish who I am and where I am from. Here, I'd like to cite Stuart Hall to verify that identity is importantly distinguishable:

'... though we speak, so to say "in our own name", of ourselves and from our own experience, nevertheless who speaks, and the subject who is spoken of, are never identical, never exactly in the same place.' (Hall, 1990:222)

I have been struck by the similarities and comparison between Stuart Hall's and my own migratory experience and social background despite the differences between mine and Hall's position, in terms of ethnical, national, historical and geographical contexts. Geopolitically, our motherlands, Taiwan and Jamaica, both are islands that have been colonised by the imperialism of Japan and the United Kingdom, respectively. Both of us have been surrounded by the trend of returning to our historical root within larger continents, China and Africa respectively, from authority or social movement, though the directions of the result are completely opposite. Besides,

both of us have migrated to England and inhabited in the shadow of our own ethnical migration.

As a Taiwanese filmmaker, I was originally enlightened by filmmaking in Taiwan, particular the filmmakers from Taiwan New Cinema such as Hou Hsiao-Hsien 侯孝賢 and Edward Yang 楊德昌; and I further developed by British and Western cinema styles when I relocated in London. Additionally, being a lecturer of filmmaking, interaction and feedback from the students at Kingston University has been magnificently stimulating during the course of this research. Those cultural exchanges between my students and myself in the lectures, workshops and tutorials spurred the idea of identity that I sense all the time. Thus, when I was starting out this research, I determined that the filmmaking is the prior practical methodology along with academic research. At the same time, the research is also analysed through the filmmaking, especially during the editing in the post-production. In thinking about the most applicable format of filmmaking, the form of documentary became a pertinent approach to observe my subjects and myself within the matter of topical relevance.

Nevertheless, I was initially surprised to discover while conducting my PhD research how little film material is available on the ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese migration in Britain. Despite few contemporary feature films and documentaries raise some attention, especially Nick Broomfield's works *Ghost (2006)* and *Sex: My British Job (2013)*. There are only twelve feature films on the list of BFI Screenonline and around twenty five films on BFIplayer, which echoes Mark Duguid and Ling-Wan Pak's summary of British Chinese Cinema as "Expressions of an almost hidden community"

on the institute's page⁸. This reinforced my hypothesis that while the ethnic Chinese community is one of the most historically established in the UK, it remains one of the least visible and is largely represented in media and artistic productions terms by lumping ethnicities together based on xenophobia and stereotyping of the takeaway image.

This project arose not only to actualise and apply my filmmaking experience to the research practice, but I participated in the research process, acknowledging my position as a Taiwanese migrant observing my Taiwanese participants' lives in the UK. As a Taiwanese man, I aspire to declare my identity no matter where I am located. But perhaps the very experience of being away from my homeland made it possible and necessary to articulate what it is to be Taiwanese (Wu, 2009). Therefore, ***Floating Home*** is a research project using filmmaking primarily to examine the social position of Taiwanese migrants and later generations in the United Kingdom, and in the process to discover what is Taiwanese cultural identity particularly in the UK.

⁸ British-Chinese Cinema by Mark Duguid and Ling-Wan Pak can be accessed on: www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/475755/

1.2 Definition of Floating Home

Human migration is defined by S.N. Eisenstadt as the physical transition of an individual from one society to another. This transition is usually about abdicating one social setting and entering another, and different one (Eisenstadt, 1953:167-180). For me, human migration is the movement of people from a starting point to a temporary place and a permanent destiny. The incentive of human migration is to find a better place to begin a new life; generally, it could be for economic purposes, particularly in the modern global period. However, not all migrations are by choice. In migratory history wars, oppressions, colonization, starvation and disasters have been the push and pull factors to force people to take journeys and find other places to survive. Thus, migrations could also include exiles, diasporas, colonial dispatches and movements of globalization.

The development of technologies has opened up the boundaries of nation states. The inventions of high-tech transportation such as cars, ships and flights dispel the borders of nations and continents. The innovation of the Internet even further speeds up the exchange of information and communication virtually all over the world. As Sankaran Krishna expresses this phenomenon as globalisation 'that have literally shrunk the world' (Krishna, 2009:02). Kath Woodward points out that the globalization has increased the 'transnational dimension to economic, social, political and cultural life' (Woodward, 2002: 56). The developed technology compresses the time and space and makes people and products travel without fixed space and time as liquids or fluids. This concept of fluidity introduced by Zygmunt Bauman that he employs the term of "liquid modernity" to depict the world dominated by capitalist enterprises. He proposes how the concept and practice of

Capitalism has evolved from 'heavy to light' (Bauman, 2000:114), from immobile to portable - the idea of "lightness". This impact of fluidity produces various ways of global transformation and numerous ways of theoretical possibilities about 'the extent to which, in changing times people are able to shape their own identities and make sense of the changes that are taking place' (Woodward, 2002: 60).

Based on Bauman's concept of fluidity, the title of this project is inspired by Paul Gilroy, where Gilroy used the metaphor of the ship to express the sense of human migration, in particular the migration in the global area between the Caribbean, Africa, America and Europe (Gilroy, 1993). Moreover, due to the mobility and fluidity of the liquid modernity, the titled project is also influenced by Michel Foucault's idea, where he describes each individual as a floating piece of space - a boat that exists by itself constantly moving (Foucault, 1984). This could mean that each individual is floating to find the best place to build his or her own home, but the journey is always a process, not completed, as the becoming.

In this research, I emphasise to indicate and imply the complexity between the meaning of home and human migration with the effect of the mobility and fluidity under the globalisation, particularly for Taiwanese people migrated to the UK. Thus, I term the project as ***Floating Home***, where I aim to discover and articulate the experience of Taiwanese identity in the UK.

In framing ***Floating Home*** the application of titled project, the phrase needs to be manifested through the two individual words. Regarding the utilisation of "Floating", according to the Oxford dictionary, "Float", as a verb to its prime meaning

is rest or move or lift on or near the surface of a liquid without sinking. And "Floating", as an adjective, not only means suspended in liquid or air but also denotes to describe the situation not settled in a definite place. Accordingly, "Floating" in the title does not only imply the physical situation of my subjects dwelling in a foreign land; but it also indicates their social status in the host society.

In relation to this floating sense, among the focus group in the research I determine to utilise "migrants" to position the Taiwanese people in the UK. In accordance with Oxford dictionary, "migrant" as a noun is to describe a person who moves from one place to another, especially in order to find work or better living conditions. Although all the Taiwanese subjects in the project have settled in the UK for a while, they are still in progress to find a better place for their children and themselves whether is other country or Taiwan. In the feature documentary *Floating Home*, the main participants: **Yung-Fang Chen, Patty Pan, Claire Griffin and Maggie Chang**, all express their desire to go back to Taiwan with their families as their ultimate goal. But with their current situation, searching of the better education for their children and the work are their major considerations to stay in the UK (01:13:16-01:16:00, *Floating Home*). This process makes them afloat in their migratory journey and hardly stop. Correspondingly, the circumstances imply "migrants" are not only floating physically whether to one or numerous foreign places; but "migrants" are also floating socially due to their lack of fixation of the settlement because they are constantly looking for a better place - a new home.

The majority of individuals within my focus group are Taiwanese people; and most of the subjects are women. They have all migrated to the UK for various motives, but the most

common reason between them and me is the educational incentives. This project aims to look at how the subjects have adapted to life in the UK society and contrast these with later generations, along with the comparison within majority of ethnic Chinese including Hong Kongese and Mainland Chinese.

At present, although the subjects have settled in the UK, their social, ethnical, and cultural statuses in Britain are not as stable and solid as the host society. Their physical looks, cultural difference, and philosophical clashes distinguish them as outsiders. Those everyday experiences in the migratory situation to the participants encompass more than survival. It is about finding and building of their new homes and perpetuating their cultures to younger generations, particularly on their female roles. As bell hooks states, women do adequate work not only to be parents but also to be 'cultural workers' (hooks, 2013:39). And the homes they attempt to build are the sanctuary to them and their children in which they can 'freely confront the issue of humanization, where one could resist' (hooks, 1990:42). Distinctly, the essence of their female roles is the bridge not only to gender multicultural families in the domestic domains from their transnational marriage; but it is also a connection to public spaces in process of raising children in the host country.

Moreover, because the subjects have inhabited the UK for a while, they have changed their ways of life from Taiwan to adapt and integrate into the host culture. Their life style, which has been evolved and adjusted to the host style, is now not the same as that of their society of origin. Their ways of dwelling have become in between the styles of the UK and Taiwan. This status is resonant to what Victor Turner signifies, 'transitional-being' or 'liminal personae' (Turner, 1969:47). The liminality indicates that the participants feel

"outside" from an idealised memory of "original home"; but they are also as outsiders in the host country to search for new home. They float in-between these two "homes" that their family life becomes a negotiation between integration of the host environment and maintaining their culture of origin in bringing up their children.

Therefore, the utilisation of "Home" in this research, the word has multiple meanings. Since home is the starting point from the movement of migration, the concept of home could connote various dimensions. Home can be referred to the 'ideal place' and 'an exemplary kind of place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness' (Cresswell 2004: 24). For instance, Anne Buttimer expresses home as the 'zero point' for one's 'personal reference system' (Buttimer, 1976: 284), while Yi-Fu Tuan views home as occupying the central part of one's life that seemingly 'connotes origin and beginning' (Tuan, 1977: 128, 149).

Home also refers to the physical space of habitation, even in the host society. This present space of occupation, where family congregate, friends gather, children are born and raised. A colloquialism, "I left it at home" for example, that indicates the present space is different to the place of origin but used in speech. According to Woodward, home could indicate the geographical, spatial and territorial location with domesticity and privacy. A longing for home, the finding and making of a home denotes a desire to inhabit a secure and safe place that they could stay long-term and return to. As she points out:

'... "home" combines the meanings that are attached to the place we have come from and the desire to return, including the whole process of seeking the means to

return and contemplating its possibility, even if it is never likely to be accomplished.' (Woodward, 2002:49)

This close connection between place and identity is extremely prominent in the Chinese tradition, as Lynn Pan suggests the Chinese and the ethnic Chinese are place-bound (Pan, 1991). Hence, home is not only a starting point that specify memories of childhood, the cities that the individual grew up within, and birthplaces; but home is also an idealized location, secure environment or even political territory. These double-meanings correspond to the longing and belonging of peoples' desire for home; whether they are looking for a Shangri-La or going back to their birthplace. This desire significantly drives human movements to travel, to discover and migration for economic, practical and political reasons. As a result, the term "Home" in the context of this research is the starting point but also the end of peoples' journeys.

Therefore, ***Floating Home*** as the title of my PhD research has multiple layers within it. Firstly, it indicates the longing and belonging for home that my participants and I are constructing on our voyage in the migratory process from Taiwan to Britain. We bring an idealised representation of our homeland with us and build onto its aspects of our host culture. Thereby making something that is a hybrid, specific to our psychological, personal and cultural experience.

Secondly, ***Floating Home*** implies the unsettled dwelling of the Taiwanese subjects as outsiders whom are in-between their hometown and current places. They are floating between their starting point and present location. The belonging of their homeland drives them to keep looking back where they are from, but their longing for the ideal or better home also spurs them to continue their life journeys.

Thirdly, ***Floating Home*** can be also defined by the space he or she occupies within a new physical environment marked out by the host country, as Andrew Hassam suggests, it is also a social space which aligns the migrant with a certain social class (Hassam, 1992: 04). The population of Taiwanese people in the UK is insignificant, they are marginalised between Hong Kongese, Mainland Chinese immigrants and the local people. Besides, as the domineering Chinese government is overpowering Taiwan geographically and politically, the relationship between Mainland China and Taiwan is unbalanced which makes Taiwanese people more afloat to express their national and cultural identity in their migratory situation.

Consequently, ***Floating Home*** corresponds to the liminality of the subjects as the outlanders, the marginalised, and the minority⁹ to reveal that they do not have a stable status, position, and representation. This unstable condition affects their outward and visible forms to transform them into a flexible situation, fluid.

⁹ See the definition of term on page 245

1.3 The formation of Taiwanese identity and Taiwan New Cinema

This section investigates the formation of Taiwanese identity on the island before we examine its evolution in the United Kingdom later in the thesis. The concept of Taiwanese identity is developed through certain historical movements occurred on the island. Since Taiwanese people have a strong connection of the ethnical, cultural and political relation to the Chinese roots, here I apply Stuart Hall's concept of cultural identity to go through the context and formation of Taiwanese identity.

According to Hall, there are two positions comprised within the cultural identity: position of the "shared culture" and position of the "becoming" (Hall, 1990). On the position of the "shared culture", the historical experience and cultural tradition in common reflects and outlines the most ethnic Chinese have. At this position, this concept implies the fixed root, skin colour, common tradition and culture most ethnic Chinese share, which we are passed on by older generation and family. As Hall states 'people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common' (ibid:223). We are also taught history from a very specific position of thinking through the education run by the authority, and this underlies our representations. Most of time this aspect and position are verified by implying all ethnic Chinese without historical and geopolitical difference as "Oneness", which labels it as Chinese. And this is the first image, first impression, and appearance for us to be "Oriental", "Asian", "Chinese" or "Chineseness" to contrast other ethnics.

However, on the second position of cultural identity, the concept of the "becoming" can truly see the difference in those similarities of "Oneness". As Hall points out that

history plays a crucial part to this position; it is recognised the essential past, the ancient history, to be fixed in the first position; but cultural identity transforms and mutates constantly with history. On this position, identity can be understood and seen as fluid and transformable with those human events and movements under the constant transformation of *political* power relation. During those human events and movements, the encounters between different cultures temporarily generate identities for the cultures themselves based on differentiating each other (Grossberg, 1996), as Hall defines identity as 'a process of articulation, a suturing...' (Hall, 1996:03). Hence, cultural identity in this process of cultural encounters is evolving and mutating, and is 'always in process' as a never complete production (Hall, 1990:223).

Taiwanese history in depth is beyond the remit of this project, I will look through the impact of historical movements with Hall's concept in order to examine the Taiwanisation - as the formation of Taiwanese identity and its strong sense of identity among the oversea Taiwanese. Then I will briefly study contemporary Taiwanese cultural development through the movement of Taiwanese New Cinema and its influence to this documentary-based research.

Cultural hegemony brought by the KMT

The constitution of Taiwanese ethnic groups currently includes Hoklos, Hakkas, Mainlanders and aborigines as the four main ethnic groups, which gauge the total population of Taiwan as 72-76%, 10-12%, 12-14% and 1,7% respectively (Wang 2002: 32-33). Each ethnicity has its own language; Hoklo people speak Hokkien, Hakka people speak Hakka, Mainlanders most of the

time speak Mandarin or their own dialects, and aborigines have numerous linguistic system innate to the different tribes.

Generally speaking, Hoklos, Hakkas and Mainlanders are categorised as Han Chinese ethnic group (Shih and Chen, 2010); on the other hand, the aborigines have been marginalised or assimilated since Hoklos and Hakkas immigration began in the 17th century, though it is believed that they have been on the island about 8000 years¹⁰. Hoklo and Hakka people are the most numerous group on the island, whose ancestors immigrated from the southern part of Fujian province to the island of Taiwan before 1895. Both Hoklo and Hakka people are referred to as the local, *Benshengren* 本省人, which means people from this province. Contrary to the local people, those mainlanders who, or whose ancestors, moved to the island after 1945, have the local named for them is *Waishengren* 外省人, literally meaning people from the outer provinces.

The KMT (Kuomintang)- nationalist party - brought the army, people (*Waishengren*) and wealth, with a lot of resources from Mainland China to Taiwan after their defeat in the Chinese civil war. The re-establishment of the sovereignty was not as peaceful as they expected, especially after the Japanese conceded governance of the island. In the beginning the authority did not successfully blend into the local society but relied on military control instead. Ketty W. Chen points out that the KMT dominated and assimilated people on the island by several methods: 'coercion, education, restructuring the social status and creating of a new "pro-Chinese" identity for the indigenous population' (Chen, 2008:188). In other

¹⁰ Demographics of Taiwanese provided by Executive Yuan, Republic of China (Taiwan) can be accessed on:
<http://www.ey.gov.tw/en/cp.aspx?n=6CF4694061D32E34>

words, it became another political “invasion” towards Taiwanese people after Japanese colonisation.

This overpowering of the Taiwanese administration, mismanagement of the economy and a series of social and cultural misunderstandings and discriminations between the mainlander army and local inhabitants happened gradually, and caused many political tragedies including the infamous massacre, *The 228 Incident* in 1947 (Wang & et al, 1997). The KMT subsequently mounted the imposition of an extended period of martial law throughout the island from 1948 to 1987. Some scholars and sociologists even term the period as “White Terror” in Taiwan. ***Formosa Betrayed (2009)*** produced by a Taiwanese American, Will Tiao, dramatically illustrates the political murders based on several true events including the death of Taiwanese Professor Wen-Chen, Chen (陳文成) of Carnegie Mellon University in 1981¹¹, the 1984 assassination of journalist Henry Liu (劉宜良) in California¹², Kaohsiung Incident (美麗島事件)¹³ and the massacre of Yi-hsiung Lin’s Family (林義雄, 林宅血案)¹⁴.

The Chinese culture and Mandarin language the KMT brought to Taiwan was a force that the nationalist party used to govern

¹¹ The story of professor Wen-Chen Chen can be accessed on the website of his memorial foundation: http://www.cwcmf.org/html/cwcmf_about.html

¹² Taiwan Held Liable in Killing of U.S. Journalist: <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/12/31/us/taiwan-held-liable-in-killing-of-us-journalist.html>

¹³ The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) releases book commemorating the Kaohsiung Incident: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2004/12/08/2003214224>

¹⁴ Funeral for Lin Yi-Hsiung’s mother and daughters can be accessed on: <http://www.taiwandc.org/twcom/tc18-int.pdf>

and control the people on the island. As Kuei-Fen Chiu describes in her article:

'... Taiwan had been a colony subjected to the rules of the Dutch, Spanish, Chinese and Japanese before it was taken over by the KMT party and became embroiled in the American bid for world power in the Cold War. Incessant exposures, forced or voluntary, to "foreign" cultures have become an important constituent of Taiwan's history.' (Chiu, 2007:28)

The "colony subjected to the rules" here implies the enforced power; any form of power that the state uses to control and re-establish a specific cultural and political ideology across the country, this relates to Antonio Gramsci's notion of *hegemony*. The concept of Gramsci's *hegemony*, Fontana interprets that a social group or class is adequate to construct its own specific knowledge and value systems, and render them into common and general norms of the world (Fontana, 1993). Gramsci suggests 'the State has become an "educator"' (Gramsci, 1999:529). This was the way that Japanese imperialism and afterwards the KMT, imposed martial law upon the Taiwanese people, in order to control and transform the value system in line with the philosophy of their value system. Education became a tool and instrument to exercise the intellectual and moral leadership. This links to Michel Foucault states on the power of knowledge:

'... power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.' (Foucault, 1977:27)

Foucault denotes that the ruling class applies the power tested on the body as a strategy instead of a property; thus, the effects of supremacy are revealed as 'dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings...' (Foucault, 1977:27). In other words, the knowledge enlightened, developed and transformed through the education held by the ruling class, authority and states could solidify the social norm and the hierarchy they want to build upon the society. In this sense, those developments structured by the imperialism to the colonies could be viewed as implantation, indoctrination, or "brainwashing". This refers to what Frantz Fanon argues about the dominant colonisation by France in Martinique that the power not only impacts on the political circumstance, but it also affects and manipulates the psychology of colonised people (Fanon, 1952).

A direct example from a French film, *Days of Glory (2006)* directed by Rachid Bouchareb, visually recreates how French imperialism influenced their Algerian soldiers to fight for the "mother country" but were also discriminated against and ill-treated by the racism that identified them as "Others" even though they were able to speak French. In the case of Taiwanese cinema, a film directed by Wu Nien-Jen 吳念真 perhaps is a good example to visually describe the linguistic situation. The film, *A Borrowed Life/Duo sang (1994)*, depicts a coal miner whose life had been hugely influenced by Japanese colonisation but struggled to live under the sovereignty of the KMT. Wu applies the term of father in Japanese - Duo sang - as the title of the film to reminisce his father's life and echo the aftermath of Japanese imperialism.

As a result, it was education that initially shapes how the Taiwanese looked at themselves. In school before and after the lift of the martial law in 1987, because the decree and

teaching material that the KMT desired to reclaim Mainland China from the communist party, the Taiwanese citizens were still taught Chinese history, geography, philosophy, and Mandarin to acknowledge the magnitude and majesty of Chinese civilisation: the idea of Sinicization (zuguohua 祖國化). Bi-Yu Chang points out that geographic knowledge is jointly connected with the supremacy of imperialism and colonialism to achieve modernity in the education (Chang, 2015). Thus, in the textbooks I studied in school back in 80s and 90s, Mainland China was commonly referred to as our homeland and 'old home (laojia 老家)' (Chang, 2015:175) despite the fact that the island residents could not go there at that time, and most of the local people were not born there and had never been there. Mainland China was a myth and an imagined place to the people of Taiwan before the two countries opened the gate across Taiwan Strait to each other¹⁵.

Although some social activists had developed the idea of Taiwanese's self-awareness, most people recognised themselves as Chinese from the cultural hegemony of the KMT. This situation is evident in the early Taiwan cinema before 1980s and some of Taiwanese New Cinema films in the 1980s and 90s, for instance, one of Edward Yang's films, ***A Confucian Confusion (1994)***. However, in terms of the birth of Taiwanese identity, it was through the social movements of Taiwan nativism along with international political crisis in 1970s. Whether in governmental policies, private folk literatures or cinema movement, the idea of Taiwanese identity initiated in the 1980s and aroused rapidly in the 1990s after the lift of martial law.

¹⁵ Direct flight from Mainland China to Taiwan for nearly 60 years has landed at Taipei's airport: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/7488965.stm>

The movement of Taiwanisation

The KMT government faced multiple problems in 1970s: the international isolation after the Taiwan's withdrawal from the United Nations in 1971 and the demand of political re-establishment domestically. In 1971, The regime of Taiwan - Republic of China (ROC), politically led by the KMT, was replaced by the sovereignty of Mainland China - People's Republic of China (PRC) in the United Nations. The PRC is recognized by most of member as the legitimate representative of China and then turned into one of the five members of the U.N.'s Standing Committee of Security (Wu, 2009:51).

This setback of diplomatic the KMT suffered came along with the movement of Taiwanese cultural awakening, the idea of nativism that sprouted and grew the ideology of localisation from the society. The Taiwan New Cinema was part of the idea of nativism, which was a reaction to the failure of overseas Southeast Asian film market during the mid-1960s to the late 1970s (Yeh & Davis, 2005), in which Hong Kong cinema was dominant in the market. Besides, the New Cinema was also a reaction to the power of the KMT's authority and the state of culturally hegemonic reproduction during the late stage of the martial law period (Davis, 2007). These impacts forced the KMT government to re-think the identity of the country instead of the usual policy of Sinification (Chang, 2004). This led the social and cultural trend of Taiwan into the movement of Taiwanisation.

The lead of Teng-Hui Lee 李登輝 of the KMT was an essential influence. He suggested to remove the ancestral origin (zuji, 祖籍) on the Census Registration Law and replace with the birthplace instead (ibid: 03). This change aimed to scaled

down the internal conflict between *Benshengren* and *Waishengren* (the locals and mainlanders), and attempted to form a consensus of being Taiwanese as a whole for the entire country in order to cease the demarcation. Lee's KMT created the consciousness that encouraging Taiwanese citizen to concern and care their own environment more in order to develop the idea of "new homeland" (*xin guxian*, 新故鄉) (ibid). For the education, the government introduced a new textbook for secondary schools named "Getting to Know Taiwan" (*renshi Taiwan*, 認識台灣) in 1997. This move implied a start of an ideological change from the KMT to acknowledge that Taiwan as an island related and connected to numerous cultures, which includes the former colonial powers from Netherlands, Spain, and Japan (Wang, 2005; Amae and Damm, 2011).

The predominant notion of China-centric identity in Taiwan had been shaken and modified to a new ideology of the national identity. As Bi-Yu Chang identifies:

'The discourse of Taiwanese subjectivity was forming, and a new Taiwanese identity was emerging. Within only a few years, people's own perception of their identity changed dramatically. By the late 1990s, the trend of Taiwanisation was accepted as politically correct.'

(Chang, 2004: 04)

Despite the KMT's involvement of Taiwanisation, the movement ironically caused the failure of the election of their own presidential candidate in 2000. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) led by Shui-Bian Chen 陳水扁 then took over the governmental administration. The DPP was then craving to praise Taiwan-centric identity, they had not only established the notion even further to the people on the island, but they also endeavoured to develop the name of Taiwan

internationally. Bi-Yu Chang outlines the cultural actions of the DPP as three elements: "the economic value of culture industries, the theorization of Taiwanese subjectivity, and branding Taiwan as a cultural product" (Chang 2004: 06). The underline from these three aspects of Taiwanisation is to emphasise a great level on the island its own right, and China was not an essential role.

Throughout the alternate governances between these two parties over the last decade, whether is the political reason that the KMT utilised Taiwanisation to hold the control of the political power, or de-Sinification from the DPP's cultural plans (ibid: 12), the perception of prioritizing Taiwan and being Taiwanese has been continuously progressed. According to **Figure 4.**, the data by Election Study Center National Cheng-Chih University Taiwan, from 1992 to 2015, the number of inhabitants identifying themselves as Taiwanese has risen from 17.6% to 59%, whereas the ratio of people considered themselves to be Chinese has largely dropped from 25.5% to 3.3%. And the percentage of islanders placed themselves as these dual identities has also decreased from 46.4% to 33.7% in the same data research.

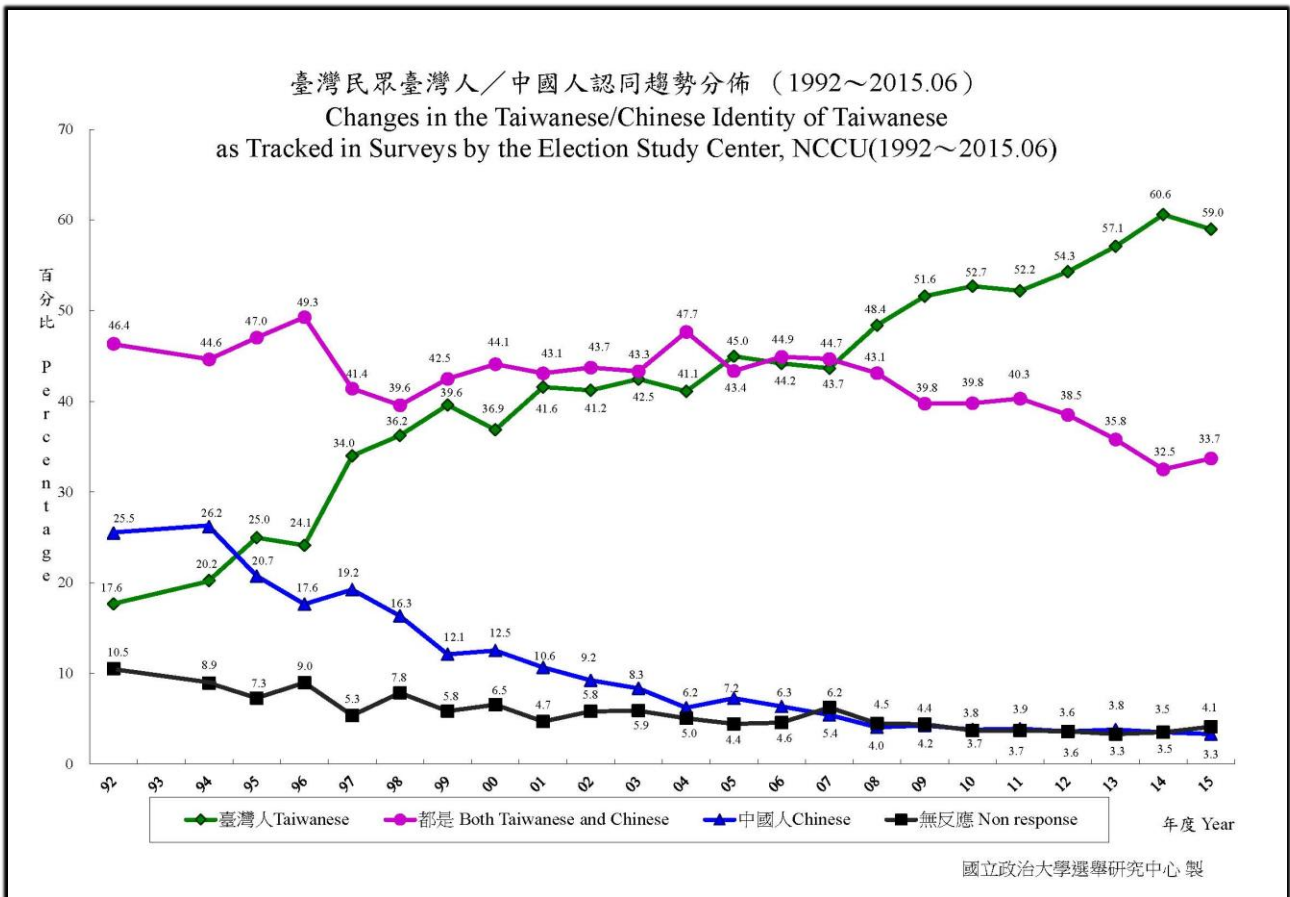


Figure 4. Changes in the Chinese/Taiwanese Identity of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Studies Center, NCCU (1992-2015). (2015). Election Studies National Cheng-Chi University Taiwan. Election Study Center, N.C.C.U., important political attitude trend distribution: <http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/course/news.php?Sn=166>

The awareness of Taiwanese identity has been awoken and transmitted to the people on the island through the movement of Taiwanisation, even when they go abroad. In 2002, the first president of Taiwan led by the DPP Shui-Bian Chen 陳水扁 suggested to add "Taiwan" on the front cover of the ROC passport in order to avoid the confusion between the ROC and PRC¹⁶. The picture of **Figure 5**. shows the passport with

¹⁶ The addition of "Taiwan" remark will be inscribed on the cover of ROC passport: <http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/2/1/14/n163740.htm> (in traditional Chinese)

Republic of China as the state's name on top, and Taiwan is marked underneath the ROC's emblem.

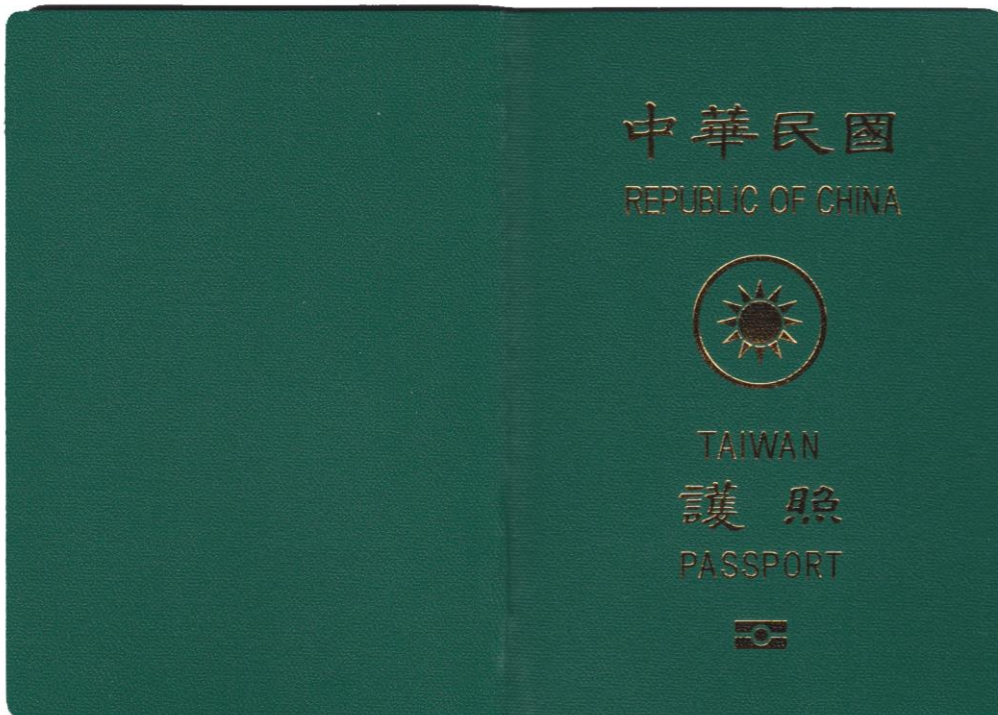


Figure 5. Taiwanese passport with the Republic of China as the official state's name on the top, Taiwan is right underneath the ROC's emblem.

All the participants in this project, who are the Taiwanese migrants in the UK, hold the Taiwan passport and declare that they are Taiwanese not Chinese, as their home of origin is Taiwan. They are fully aware that Taiwan and China are separated countries in spite of the significant influence of Chinese ethnicity and culture among them, and the political status of Taiwan's legitimacy in the international community.

Patty Pan, who has a Mainland Chinese father and is married to a husband from Beijing, states in the feature documentary **Floating Home** that she tended to keep distance from her

Chinese classmates when she studied her Master degree. Because she tried to keep away from the kerfuffle between Chinese and Taiwanese students to argue about the topic of whether Taiwan is an independent country or not (17:15-30, *Floating Home*).

Maggie Chang in *Floating Home* and her husband **Jorge Araujo** in *A journey to an unknown stop* point out they have suffered the political issue when they were in the process to apply Portuguese citizenship for **Maggie**. Because 'Taiwan is not recognised by Portugal as a free country' (05:30-33, *A journey to an unknown stop*), this struggle promptly indicates the unrecognised sovereignty of Republic of China - as Taiwan's official state's name, is not a legitimate state.

Paradoxically, the name of Taiwan nowadays is much well known than the title of ROC. Their oral narrations reflect on the international contestation of Taiwanese identity that the country and people struggle in the international politics.

This situation implies that Taiwan and Taiwanese people still remain at a crossroad, where they are liminal and still progressing to search for the fixation of cultural identity (Cheng, Wang, and de Zepetnek 2009). Whether the island-state is able to get its own name and be "independent" as a legitimate country or not in the future, the movement of Taiwanisation is still a process for the people on the island articulating their own voice and fighting against the political and economic powerhouse of China. Although the presence of China is a threat that marginalises the island and the people politically, this threat energises the development of Taiwanese society as a multicultural one through the literature and media (ibid). In consequence, Taiwanisation can be seen as a progressing identity developed from the colonial influences, in particular Chinese cultural hegemony. Yoshihisa Amae and Jens Damm term it as 'a growing manifestation of Taiwan's postcoloniality' but not 'as part of Taiwan's complex

"decolonization" process' (Amae and Damm, 2011: 09). Which means Taiwanisation is more toward generating and solidifying 'a new culture and identity that is multicultural and hybrid', but avoiding 'the sensitive question of sovereignty' (ibid).

Taiwan New Cinema

The influential cinema movement in Taiwan, which is commonly known as Taiwan New Wave Cinema, Taiwan New Cinema or New Taiwan Cinema (Kellner, 1998; Yeh & Davis, 2005). In this research, I have applied the term "Taiwan New Cinema" instead of the standard term Taiwan New Wave Cinema, because the term "new wave" as Kellner argues that it has become a "marketing term" 'allegedly worthy of consumption' and 'used to promote fresh entries into the international cultural market' (Kellner, 1998:101). The cinema movement was a reaction against the censorship by the KMT authority and affected the view of Taiwanese people in producing and presenting their own cultural representation. Similar to New Iranian Cinema, which provided representations of ordinary life in Iran, such as Abbas Kiarostami's work including his short films like ***The Bread and Alley (1970)*** and ***The Chorus (1982)***, and Majid Majidi's ***Children of Heaven (1997)*** and ***The Color of Paradise (1999)***. Taiwan New Cinema has also generated the Taiwanese identity in films and received the recognition internationally.

The New Cinema was a cinema movement in Taiwan which appeared between 1982 to 1987 and had a lasting impact on the filmmakers on the island in its aftermath, which Kellner describes it 'developed a shared style and set of concerns and themes' (Kellenr, 1998:102). The movement was conducted and shaped by two orientations: the nativist trend and a modernist movement in the 1970s (Berry & Lu, 2005). On one hand, the

modernist movement acquainted Taiwanese filmmaking with the Western aesthetics concept and Edward Yang 楊德昌 was perhaps the lead figure (ibid:06). On the other, the nativist trend was actuated by the failure of Taiwan's international withdrawal from the United Nations in 1972 (Yeh & Davis, 2005). Hou Hsiao-Hsien 侯孝賢 is commonly viewed as one of the influential filmmakers in the nativist trend of Taiwan New Cinema, he also continues to be an influential filmmaker, and one who has been recognised internationally (Lin, 1996), as he won the Best Director award at Cannes in 2015 for his latest film ***The Assassin (2015)***.

Although both movements had influenced two different approaches of cinema styles, the New Cinema filmmakers adopted the idea and the style of Italian Neo Realism and French New Wave as the centre of their cinema movement. This meant that they not only produced film on the actual streets and locations, but they also collaborated with non-professional actors in their works (Yeh & Davis, 2005). As Hou depicts his interpretation of film is 'an objective representation of reality' (Wen, 2010:74), this style worked very well with the nativist trend that the filmmakers and screenwriters started adapting and collaborating with authors of nativist literature to emphasise the everyday practice of local Taiwanese languages and dwellings.

Because KMT embedded the idea of China-centric within education and society, the authority treated the elements of rurality and provinciality represented to the local Taiwanese as an inferior culture that was 'unsuitable for representation in major public forums' (Yeh & Davis, 2005:63). Thus, speaking Taiwanese languages in public was banned and the promotion of Mandarin-speaking Chinese films the nationalist implemented during the martial law period continued. Moreover, presenting

or stating political issues in mainstream media was practically taboo; in fact, the newspaper agencies, TV broadcast companies and Central Pictures Corporation all belonged to or were affiliated with the KMT government. Cinema in Taiwan was just a propagandist tool to the state apparatus (Udden, 2007a). Hence, the authority created a cultural control system via the media as a 'soft-authoritarian regime' (Chang: 2005:19).

In this situation, the filmmakers had to tactically provide "creative" ideas to conceal the actual purpose of the films in order to get past the conservative ideology of the government-owned studio. For example, one of the indicative the New Cinema films, ***The Sandwich Man (1983)*** co-directed by Hou Hsiao-Hsien, Wan Jen and Tseng Chuang-Hsiang, was proposed to expound and propagate the ideology of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who is referred to as the national father of the Republic of China (Li, 1999). More significantly for this research, the New Cinema filmmakers emphasised filmmaking as an inclusive art form that it is tactically concerned with social issues such as: the influence of magnificent changes from economic rapid growth, conflicts between political, social and ethnic hierarchy, and clashes between Eastern and Western conceptions (Chang, 2005).

Furthermore, the New Cinema filmmakers attempted to break the boundary of the local market and set their goals as the international film festivals and recognitions. In particular, Hou's ***A City of Sadness (1989)*** won the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 1989. This surprised the entire Chinese-language film communities, including Mainland China, and relayed Taiwanese history to the rest of the world. The trend also came with numerous international recognitions that encouraged the Taiwanese filmmakers to produce more films

toward purely 'cultural endeavours' (Udden, 2007a:155) instead of commercialised creations.

Considering Hou adapted a local and political story, but cast a famous Hong Kongese actor, Tony Leung Chiu-Wai in the central role, this could be viewed as the *tactics* and plans of the production team to evade the censors, and to aim for the international market rather than set the goal as the local audience only. The international success of ***A City of Sadness*** raised awareness and recognition of Taiwan and the Taiwanese people throughout the world. As Udden points out;

'... it opened the floodgates to a more Taiwanese, as opposed to a Chinese, identity on the island in the 1990s.' (Udden, 2007a:153)

This trajectory of aiming for international acclaim from the Taiwan New Cinema filmmakers' tactics is similar to the approach of the post-revolutionary Iranian filmmakers such as globally known Abbas Kiarostami, Majid Majidi, and Kurdish Iranian director Bahman Ghobadi. They also employed various neo-realist techniques and developed their own styles in order to camouflage the actual purpose and pass the strict censorship policies of Islamic regime. More importantly, the filmmakers from both nations applied the neorealist style to present their own cultural practices to represent their identity.

As a result, the nativist idea of localisation in Taiwan New Cinema was a challenge and reaction against the censorship of authority and cultural hegemony of China-centric ideas propagated by the government. Particularly when the country was no longer recognised as China after its withdrawal from the United Nation in 1972 (Yeh & Davis, 2005).

Taiwanese cinema was then gradually reconstructing under the influence of the New Cinema movement in 1990s, which was the time I was growing up as a teenager in the capital, Taipei. From that time, most local film productions started portraying the Taiwanese perspective and language, localising and focusing on more ordinary characters and our everyday life on the island. This situation echoes James Udden's finding about the movement's emphasis on local culture in Taiwanese society. He points out:

'This movement marked the key transition from cinema as a largely commercial enterprise to more of a cultural endeavour, one that would be a beacon of dramatic changes in Taiwanese society as whole.' (Udden, 2007a:152)

Apart from the experience of viewing mainstream Hollywood cinema in my adolescence, I was immediately engulfed by this movement, particularly Hou Hsiao-Hsien's films. As the authoritarianism from the KMT oppressed the local people and their languages; local inhabitants sometimes applied languages as a tool to distinguish who is the mainlander and who is the local Taiwanese, or even further to Japanese colonist. Thus, at one scene in the film ***A City of Sadness (1989)*** where Tony Leung Chiu-Wai 梁朝偉, who plays a deaf and mute, was forced to speak up and declare himself a Taiwanese, has been phenomenally powerful to me. The scene cinematically and metaphorically points out who the Taiwanese people were under the colonial and authoritarian sovereignty.

Regarding the cultural practice, the linguistic aspect in the movement of Taiwan New Cinema helped Taiwanese Cinema be recognised as distinctly Taiwanese for the first time; it is mainly because many of these films applied the local dialects

that had been disallowed from the screens for many years (Udden, 2007a). Moreover, the movement cinematically and metaphorically acknowledges and connects those cultural roots, the influence of Japanese colony, the political impact of the KMT and the cultural hegemony from the USA to the Taiwanese people. The films processed those cultural differentiations between the four main ethnic groups as a whole, which are the medium to visualise the multicultural feature that Taiwanese society comprises.

In addition, the filmmakers revived the history, local culture and languages in the medium of film which inspired the local Taiwanese Hokkien, Hakka people and the aborigines to lead their own language campaigns and cultural rejuvenation movements of Taiwanisation in recent decades such as the first Department of Taiwanese Literature approved at the Aletheia University in 1997 (Chang, 2004). In this sense, the New Cinema was a significance to the movement of Taiwanisation that punctuated their own voices and presented as the cultural endeavour to manifest the Taiwanese identity.

Furthermore, the insinuation of the practice of everyday life from the locals portrayed and represented in the New Cinema films had emulated and restored people's history; ultimately the narratives revealed the fight of subsistence and the struggle of living from the visuals to bring up historical and social issues such as the socio-economic gap, the hierarchy of social status and cultural hegemony in Taiwan, which fermented the on-going movement of Taiwanese self-awareness. In three of Hou's films for instance, ***A City of Sadness (1989)***, ***The Puppetmaster (1993)***, and ***Good Men, Good Women (1995)***, Hou utilised the films to dramatize and visualise the stories into a bigger picture, the revelation of the long-time vague origins of Taiwan itself. As a result, those three films are

commonly regarded as 'a trilogy of Taiwan' (Yeh & Davis, 2005:166).

Therefore, the Taiwan New Cinema has an important role in the cultural identity of the island to express its own multi-culture, which is composed with postcolonial sense and modernist sensibility between Eastern and Western cultures. The New Cinema filmmakers invested in this framework of a Taiwanese cultural position, which is separate from Mainland Chinese and Hong Kong cinema (Haddon, 2005 and Wu, 2007). Thus, the movement can be acknowledged as a cultural and political liberation since the filmmakers followed the trend of nativism to visualise and dramatize those cultural traditions that had been on the abolishment of the screens for a long while. Furthermore, its influence has had a significant impact on the cinema of Taiwan to acknowledge the colonial and historical experience to the emergence of cultural assimilation on the island. Hou Hsiao-Hsien's ***Three Times (2005)*** perhaps is an indicative film to show the evolution of Taiwanese culture; from the sequence of *A Time for Freedom* which recreates the dreams of liberty under the Japanese colony in 1911, through the chapter of *A Time for Love* that visually depicts the innocence of adolescent love with Taiwanese Hokkien dialogue in 1966 under the period of the KMT's martial law, to the episode of *A Time for Youth* which reveals the modern Taiwanese culture in 2005.

In a summary, Taiwanese New Cinema is alerted for Taiwanese identity on a global-political scene. This alertness was reflected on the filmmaking in 80s as a practice, which can be viewed as the filmmaker's methodology. The movement of Taiwanese New Cinema was a political act, which the filmmakers were *tactical* to express the identity through international cinema and film critics. That means the path of Taiwan New

Cinema aimed to make the actual Taiwanese life and culture visible with little tricks, which are finding alternative ways to achieve a goal instead of confronting the powerful authorisation and hierarchy. Furthermore, those visuals presented and represented through the cinema and broadcasting channels can be visually expressed to audience and let them see the cultural practices tangibly. The New Cinema filmmakers utilised the films flexibly and fluidly to deliver the message to achieve the goal through the drama with imperceptible influence. This goal is the motive that those filmmakers desired to articulate themselves as the Taiwanese, who cares about the life and society of Taiwan, opposed to the cultural hegemony and political domination that the KMT brought to the island and people. This is the main reason that Taiwan New Cinema can be seen as an essential aspect of the movements of Taiwanisation.

Significantly, the pattern of the New Cinema exercised within the movement of Taiwanisation is influential to this practice-based research. I am inspired and encouraged by both movements, as my goal is not only to reveal the identity of Taiwanese in the UK, but also to establish a representation that is generated by Taiwanese people. An image that can properly embody Taiwanese culture in Britain through a Taiwanese perspective in order to break and gradually overthrow the stereotype of ethnic Chinese in the UK, which can be shared and developed the notion of Taiwanese identity in the host country. This inclusive approach with the practice of filmmaking and cinema provides a capability to document and recreate the migratory experience of Taiwanese migrant in the UK. This path can also produce the effectiveness of the cinema to articulate the cultural expression of the Taiwanese in Britain.

1.4 Focus group in the films

The main focus group in this research is Taiwanese long-term migrants in the UK. The Taiwanese overseas students are not included in the focus group, as they are the short-term migrants, who are only able to stay in Britain for a short period of time. In particular, the change of student visa in 2012 Home Office announced, the visa has become much stricter due to the fall of the old student visa regime that could not 'control immigration' and 'protect legitimate students from poor quality colleges'¹⁷.

In this section, I will firstly discuss the genuine relation between Taiwanese community, other international migrants and the multi-cultural/multi-ethnic host country. The statistics of UK population and migration applied here are for the duration of the research period, 2012 to 2015. The number of Taiwanese residents in Britain is approximately 45000 (see **Figure 7.**), which is only 7% of 650,000¹⁸ - the estimated number of UK immigration. Then I will elucidate the employment of Hong Kongese and Mainland Chinese settlers in Britain as the comparisons and correlations, to further examine the exiting representation of ethnic Chinese in Britain. This comparison reflects on the subjects of **Steve Cheung**'s family and the general Chinese catering and supermarket business. In the end of this section, I will explain how I found the participants; then I will analyse the motivation of the Taiwanese participants, which indicates the educational migrants I found were largely female.

¹⁷ Major changes to student visa system 2012 published on 22nd March, 2011: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/major-changes-to-student-visa-system>

¹⁸ The estimated number of UK immigration from YE June 2015, can access on: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/dec2016>

The landscape of the UK's immigration

The United Kingdom is one of the recipient countries of a large number of immigrants per year in the world¹⁹. According to Office for National Statistics (ONS), the population of the UK raised to an estimated 65.1 million in 2015, an increase of just over half a million people since 2014, which ONS states it is the largest rise of the population ever²⁰.

ONS suggests there are two kinds of changes to the population, which are natural change and net migration. Natural change is the result of birth rate minus the death rate. Whereas net migration, which is defined as the number of immigrants minus the number of emigrants. Net migration has caused primarily to the growth of the UK population since the 1990s.

Figure 6. shows the phenomenon of immigration in the UK has been larger than emigration since the early 1990s. ONS further explains that the increasing number of immigration can be seen as the attribution of instability of the countries in Africa, East Europe and the Middle East²¹. In addition, the precedent immigrants in the UK are strongly related to British empire, when the country accepted enormous number of Irish refugees from the potato famine, took tremendous slave trade from the

¹⁹ Top 25 Destinations of International Migrants in the world, the information and data can access:

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/top-25-destinations-international-migrants>

²⁰ Overview of the UK population: March 2017:

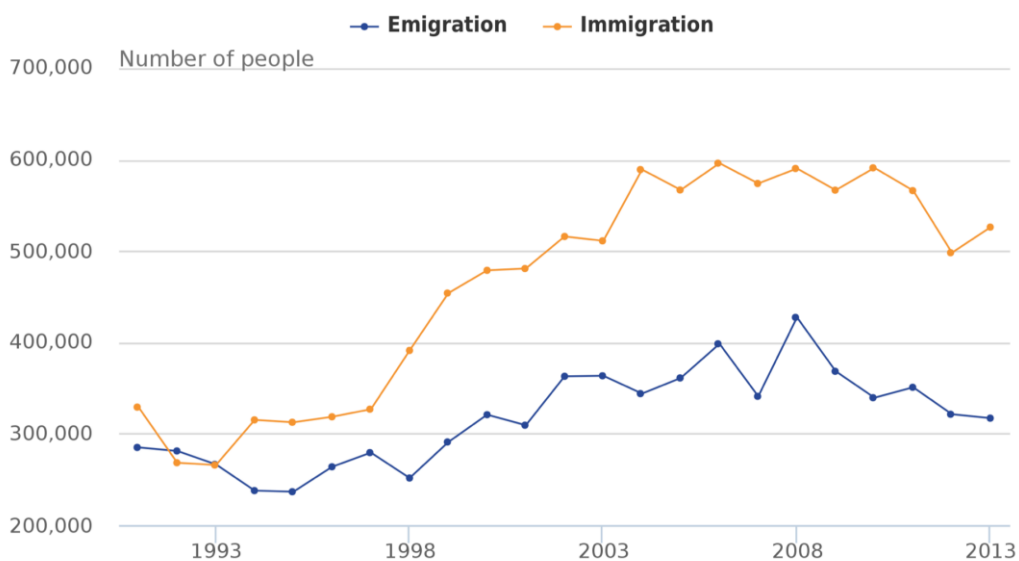
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/articles/overviewoftheukpopulation/mar2017>

²¹ Census analysis from ONS: Immigration Patterns of Non-UK Born Populations in England and Wales in 2011:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/articles/immigrationpatternsofnonukbornpopulationsinenglandandwalesin2011/2013-12-17>

Caribbean and Africa, and requested labour from India and China (Winder, 2004).

In his book, *Bloody Foreigners* (2004), Robert Winder points out that immigration in the UK 'is not only one of the biggest stories of British life; it is also one of the most resonant, and one of the oldest' (ibid: 02). He further indicates that Britain has been 'a mongrel nation' since the first Saxon, the first Roman and first Dane arrived (ibid). With the historical movements, the development of the British empire and the contemporary economic attraction of the UK, it has absorbed people from various countries, in which it generated a multi-cultural society.



Source: Office for National Statistics

Figure 6. The chart of UK emigration and immigration, 1991 to 2014, resource can access on:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/articles/overviewoftheukpopulation/2015-11-05#what-caused-the-uk-population-to-change>

As a result, the UK population contains various residents from different countries and generates a multi-cultural society.

Figure 7. is a survey of population of Overseas-born residents excluding some residents in communal establishments, by sex, by country of birth in 2015. The resident population here is signified by ONS that implies people who live in the UK for 12 months or more, including those who have resided for less than 12 months but intend to stay for a total period of 12 months or more. But ONS excludes short visitors with an open understanding, which could imply tourists, short-term workers and students. ONS employ country of birth (COB) to ask the UK residents in the survey, as the COB cannot change over time (apart from some cases of international boundary changes); whereas nationality can be changed. This ONS survey indicates the international migrants, who are defined as "overseas-born" or "born outside the UK" residents by the organisation, are coming from numerous countries and various continents.

On **Figure 7.**, it shows Poland, India, Pakistan, Republic of Ireland, and Germany respectively as top 5 most common countries of birth in the survey. The number of people from China in the survey are ranked as the 10th country, which is 197000 proximately. Here, there is no sign to distinguish the numbers of people from Mainland China and Hong Kong, as the sovereignty of Hong Kong has transferred from the UK to the PRC in 1997. The number of Chinese people in the UK in this survey could be interpreted as the population combined between Mainland Chinese and Hong Kongese. More importantly, the number of Taiwanese people stands as the 44th country on the table that is 45000 proximately.

United Kingdom

60 most common countries of birth

		<i>thousands</i>					
	Country	Total		Male		Female	
		estimate	CI ⁺⁵ +/-	estimate	CI +/-	estimate	CI +/-
1	Poland	831	41	400	29	430	30
2	India	795	40	404	29	391	28
3	Pakistan	503	32	263	23	241	22
4	Republic of Ireland	382	28	170	19	212	21
5	Germany	286	24	123	16	163	18
6	Romania	220	21	112	15	108	15
7	Bangladesh	217	21	112	15	106	15
8	South Africa	200	20	95	14	105	15
9	Nigeria	199	20	97	14	102	14
10	China	197	20	87	13	110	15
11	United States of America	181	19	81	13	100	14
12	Italy	162	18	85	13	77	13
13	France	153	18	69	12	84	13
14	Lithuania	151	18	69	12	81	13
15	Portugal	140	17	66	12	75	12
16	Jamaica	137	17	56	11	81	13
17	Kenya	134	17	66	12	68	12
18	Sri Lanka	132	16	67	12	65	11
19	Philippines	132	16	50	10	81	13
20	Spain	125	16	55	11	70	12
21	Australia	125	16	57	11	67	12
22	Somalia	114	15	47	10	67	12
23	Zimbabwe	112	15	50	10	62	11
24	Ghana	108	15	49	10	59	11
25	Latvia	94	14	42	9	52	10
26	Canada	87	13	38	9	50	10
27	Iran	86	13	53	10	34	8
28	Slovakia	85	13	36	9	48	10
29	Hungary	80	13	38	9	42	9
30	Afghanistan	76	12	42	9	33	8
31	Turkey	72	12	40	9	33	8
32	Iraq	71	12	41	9	31	8
33	Netherlands	69	12	37	9	32	8
34	Bulgaria	69	12	35	8	34	8
35	Nepal	67	12	34	8	32	8
36	Malaysia	62	11	29	8	33	8
37	Uganda	60	11	32	8	29	8
38	Cyprus (European Union)	60	11	30	8	30	8
39	New Zealand	59	11	29	8	30	8
40	Greece	57	11	31	8	26	7
41	Brazil	53	10	21	7	32	8
42	Czech Republic	49	10	18	6	31	8
43	Russia	46	10	14	5	32	8
44	Taiwan	45	10	20	6	25	7
45	Singapore	44	10	19	6	25	7
46	Japan	43	9	13	5	29	8
47	Tanzania	41	9	20	6	22	7
48	Thailand	39	9	10	5	29	8
49	Egypt	38	9	23	7	15	6
50	Belgium	35	9	16	6	20	6
51	Mauritius	34	8	19	6	16	6
52	Morocco	34	8	16	6	18	6
53	Sierra Leone	31	8	12	5	19	6
54	Sweden	31	8	13	5	18	6
55	Saudi Arabia	30	8	15	6	15	6
56	Vietnam	29	8	11	5	18	6
57	Denmark	28	8	11	5	17	6
58	Albania	28	8	20	6	9	4
59	Malta	28	8	14	5	14	5
60	Zambia	27	7	12	5	15	6

Figure 7. The population of Overseas-born residents excluding some residents in communal establishments, by sex, by country of birth in 2015, resource can access on:
<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality>

According to the survey, on one hand, it clearly shows the population of Taiwanese people in the UK are not as dominant as Polish, Indian, Pakistani, Irish and German. People from Taiwan are also outnumbered by the residents from China (197000 proximately) including people from Hong Kong. They are one of ethnic minority groups in the UK. On the other, the survey indicates that Taiwan is recognised as a separate country from China.

However, the Taiwanese culture and its identity with the strong Chinese influence is often categorised and lumped into the sector of the so-called Chinese. Considering how Stuart Hall exemplifies Caribbean people such as Jamaican, Martiniquais, Barbadian, and Haitian to disclose the similarities and difference of their cultural identities under the distinct historical movements, I employ the same concept to look at people from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan to understand the transformation and evolution of the cultural identities in these three regions with the historical transformation.

It is crucial to see the historical similarities and difference between Taiwanese and ethnic Chinese people in the UK to break the stereotype of a homogenised "Chinese" identity generated by the host country and Western society. In their book - *The Chinese in Britain, 1800-Present* (2008), Benton and Gomez categorise Taiwanese people along with people from Hong Kong and Macao as 'ethnic Chinese from outside China' (Benton and Gomez, 2008:41). As Edward Said points the conception of Orientalism to indicate the cultural hegemony that Westerners homogenise and conflate all the "non-white" to the "Otherness" (Said, 1978). Therefore, I apply Mainland Chinese and Hong Kongese as my comparison and correlation in the focus group to compare and contrast those cultural connections and historical

transformations with Taiwanese people in the UK in this research.



Figure 8. A screen shot of London's Chinatown during the celebration of 2014 Lunar New Year in the episode of Little Taiwan

Hong Kongese and Mainland Chinese in the UK

In the Nineteenth Century, the Qing Empire was the authority ruling China. The dynasty at that time was corrupt and not only lost the opium war to cede Hong Kong to the United Kingdom (Pan, 1991) but also signed many treaties including the loss of the first Sino-Japanese war to yield the island of Taiwan to Japan on April 17, 1895 (Wang et al, 1997). The Eight-Nation Alliance in 1900, which was an international coalition assembled by Japan, Russia, the British Empire, France, the United States, Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary, invaded Qing Empire in order to responded to the attack movement of the foreign missionaries, international and Chinese Christians by the Chinese peasants - the Boxer

Rebellion (White, 1968). This speeded up the collapse of this last empire and the prompted revolution in Mainland China.

The success of the revolution, in which the nationalist party, Kuomintang (KMT), established a whole new nation in 1912, initiated the rebirth of the country and Dr Sun Yat-sen named it Republic of China (ROC) (ibid). During the Second World War, the KMT often required the support from United States (Bagby, 1992); at the same time the communist party rose up and strengthened their power to match the nationalists. After defeat of Japan in 1945, the ROC recalled the island of Taiwan back to the territory (Wang et al, 1997) but in the same year, Chinese civil war between the nationalists and communists started again. Eventually the KMT lost the war and evacuated to Taiwan in 1949, and the communist party formed Mainland China as the People's Republic of China (PRC).

While the island of Taiwan and Mainland China have developed under different sovereignty over the decades after 1950, Hong Kong was governed under the authority of the United Kingdom before it was returned to the PRC in 1997. Because the UK government pictured Hong Kong as their intermediary of trade in Asia without the aspiration of transforming the entire city into a commercial-military force (Meyer, 2004), the region was rapidly established under the swift industrialisation of the 1950s. This caused the loss of farmland and influenced emigration of Hong Kong people to Britain encouraged by the colonial government (Benton and Gomez, 2008). Through the blossoming of the economy from the 1960s to the 1980s with its transformation to a global metropolis, Hong Kong became a front face of the ethnic Chinese culture to the West, and in particular, in the cinema (Yau, 2001).

As different authorities have governed Taiwan and Mainland China after the Second World War; in addition, Hong Kong was under the colonisation of the UK sovereignty for 99 years, the cultures in these three regions have developed diversely. According to Hall's notion of constant mutation, the cultural positions people in these three regions possess are already evolved differently through those historical and political impacts. Hall's second position of cultural identity - the "becoming" marks the differentiation from the first position of the fixed root and the shared culture.

Hong Kongese immigrants

People from Hong Kong do not have same cultural position in comparison to Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese. As the region was under the administration of Guangdong province (also as known as Canton or Kwangtung in English), Cantonese is the local language in Hong Kong, which is a completely different language from Mandarin and Taiwanese Hokkien. If we look at the brief history of the Chinese diaspora in the UK, Hong Kong and its people also occupy important roles in the migratory movements since they were under UK sovereignty from 1842 to 1997.

According to Lynn Pan's book of pan Chinese diaspora, due to the poor environment and lack of resources in Guangdong, people there often suffered agricultural failure. As the province includes some parts of southeast coastlines of China, people tended to migrate to new places by the docks to search for better lands and opportunities (Pan, 1991). Due to the Treaty of Nanking after the First Opium War (1839-1842), most of early ethnic Chinese migrants in the UK were seafarers from Guangdong and Hong Kong. Since then, Chinese migration to

Britain has always been predominantly Cantonese (Benton and Gomez, 2008).

In addition, there were another sub-ethnic group - Hakka - and they moved around and joined the migrations. The Hakka people, whose name means "guest families", have their own language and culture. Because they scattered without a homeland of their own around various southern provinces in the Mainland, they have been labelled as the 'gypsies of China' (Pan, 1991:16). With numerous migratory influxes during the Second World War, the Civil war and the Cultural Revolution (Carroll, 2007), the constitution of Hong Kongese includes not only Cantonese but it also comprises Hakkas and some Mainland Chinese, whereas the Cantonese view themselves as native (Benton and Gomez, 2008).

Under the British colonial governance, Hong Kong has been developed as an open port for free trade with the entire world. A city to make money and run business successfully around the world became a driver and victor of globalisation (DeGolyer, 2007). However, the commercial construction of the city and the special political position also stimulated the migratory movements of Hong Kongese to other countries (Pan, 1991). Thus, there were a couple of significant migratory waves of Hong Kongese to Britain, particularly the periods of 1960s and 1970s with the trend of catering trades that produced a typical image for themselves in the host country.

The migratory wave of the 1960s was the time when the rapid urbanisation in Hong Kong corroded the available agricultural land and increased the cost of farm labour. At that time, the Hakkas in Hong Kong generally endured poor living conditions and economic difficulty, the urbanisation impacted hugely on them. In addition, the Hong Kong Cantonese marginalised Hakka

people as the Cantonese considered themselves as the true natives. As a result, when the colonial government released the solution to encourage migration to the UK, a large amount of the Hakkas migrated to Britain and caught the initial trend of the takeaway business in early 1960s. As Benton and Gomez note:

'The Hakkas were probably the first to export their young men to Britain...Their arrival in Britain coincided with the start of a Chinese catering boom, as a result of a general boom in commercial catering and the British discovery of a taste for the exotic.' (Benton and Gomez, 2008:37)

In one of the short episodes in this project, **Beyond the frying Pan**, **Steve Cheung**'s father, **Yim Kwong Cheung** was part of this wave of migration, arriving in Britain and starting his catering business in 1969. According to my interviews with them, **Steve Cheung** mentions his family are Hakka people and the family speak Hakka at home instead of speaking Cantonese. Furthermore, **Yim Kwong** points out the emigration from Hong Kong to Britain at that time was very easy and straightforward. Although the takeaway business was a very hard job owing to lack of the ingredients and long-hours work, **Steve** mentions it was a lucrative business from the 1970s up until the 1990s (16:59-17:05, **Beyond the frying Pan**). This corresponds to the situation of the booming of Chinese catering business's in the UK in 1970s, the need for labour in the restaurants and takeaway shops rapidly increased, causing a massive migratory wave from Hong Kong to resolve the shortage of labour in the growing market (Benton and Gomez, 2008).

Mainland Chinese migrants

The Communist Party of China (CPC) has governed people in the Mainland since the takeover of the civil war in 1949. Under Chairman Mao Zedong's regime, the society had been through various socio political movements, including the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961), simplifying Chinese letters and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). During the Cultural Revolution, through Mao's ideology of the infamous socialist activity - the class struggle, the poor and lower-middle people gathered as associations (Bill, 1981) and formed the Red Guard movement to intrude upper and middle class' houses and moved around the country (Gittings, 1990). It did not only change and destroy some old traditions and ways of thinking, like the slogan of "Destroy the Four Olds and Establish the Four News" to overthrow the ideology of Confucianism and destruction of temples (Xing, 2004:61); but it also altered the social class and caused an enormous number of deaths in the period, of which the death toll is still uncertain (Dietrich, 1994).

There are numerous art works produced to document, memorise or re-present the tragedy that happened in the Cultural Revolution such as Jung Chang's well-known book, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (1991) and Zhang Yimou's early work, ***To Live* (1994)**. In one of the short episodes in this research project, **The past, present and future**, **Patty Pan's** father **Hui-Yun Pan** describes the situation on his family in Mainland China. The family were landowners and ran a wine business before the Cultural Revolution. **Hui-Yun** followed Chiang Kai-Shek's army to Taiwan but his family stayed in the Mainland; however, the house was broken into and destroyed during the socialist movement. The mobs even dug the ground in the house and the garden to search for treasures. His parents did not

survive this socialist movement (01:15-02:58, ***The past, present and future***).

After Mao's death in the late 1970s, PRC changed their policy and rejected Mao's theory of permanent "class struggle" to build a new ethos of Open Door and Getting Rich First (Gittings, 1990). Deng Xiaoping, the leader after Mao's death, had a significant influence on the policy to build more industries and economic development, open up international trade, and changed the whole country's face in a very short time (Gittings, 1999).

Therefore, those socialist movements under CPC's governance developed a different ethnic Chinese culture if you compare it with Taiwanese and Hong Kongese. According to Joan Kelly Hall's linguistic action book, considering language features multiple properties that are self-encompassed, independence of establishments, attributable to individuality, it seems to have multiple functions in sociology (K. Hall, 2001). Language is not only an instrument of human communications in daily life, but it is also conceptualised human actions to distinguish the identity whether individual or collective. In this sense, language becomes an instinct tool for people to mark "Us" and "Others", particularly in migratory movements.

Considering that Mandarin is the official language for the two countries on both sides of Taiwan Strait, the Communist Party in PRC has transformed the language differently, particularly the written form. Through the social-political movement of the Cultural Revolution held by Mao, the ruling party has developed the simplification of Chinese letters further in order to efficiently reduce illiteracy since 1956²². Through

²² Ministry of Education, People's Republic of China, on the "Chinese Character Simplification Scheme" and release the 50th anniversary of

the chronological transformation of the language use, the Mandarin in Mainland China has resulted in various accents and uses under the educational scheme of the communist government. This linguistic development has opened up a linguistic split between Mainland China and Taiwan.

Patty Pan depicts in the episode of *The Past, present and future* that she and her Beijing husband, **Frank Gao**, often quarrel about the same Chinese words with different pronunciations between the two countries. They also quibble about the use of the words, for instance, she describes the differences in the term "computer crash" between Chinese and Taiwanese Mandarin. The different uses and accents of Mandarin between them have become 'a kind of joy' (08:04, *The Past, present and future*) to squabble over in their everyday life. Uses of the words and terms show the differentiations between the two countries. Interestingly, **Patty Pan** exemplifies the situation between American and British English to explain the occurrence that even the use of the words is divergent between the two nations, they can still communicate with each other (07:41-08:02, *The Past, present and future*).

answering reporters' questions (2006): http://www.gov.cn/xwfb/2006-03/22/content_233556.htm (in simplified Chinese)

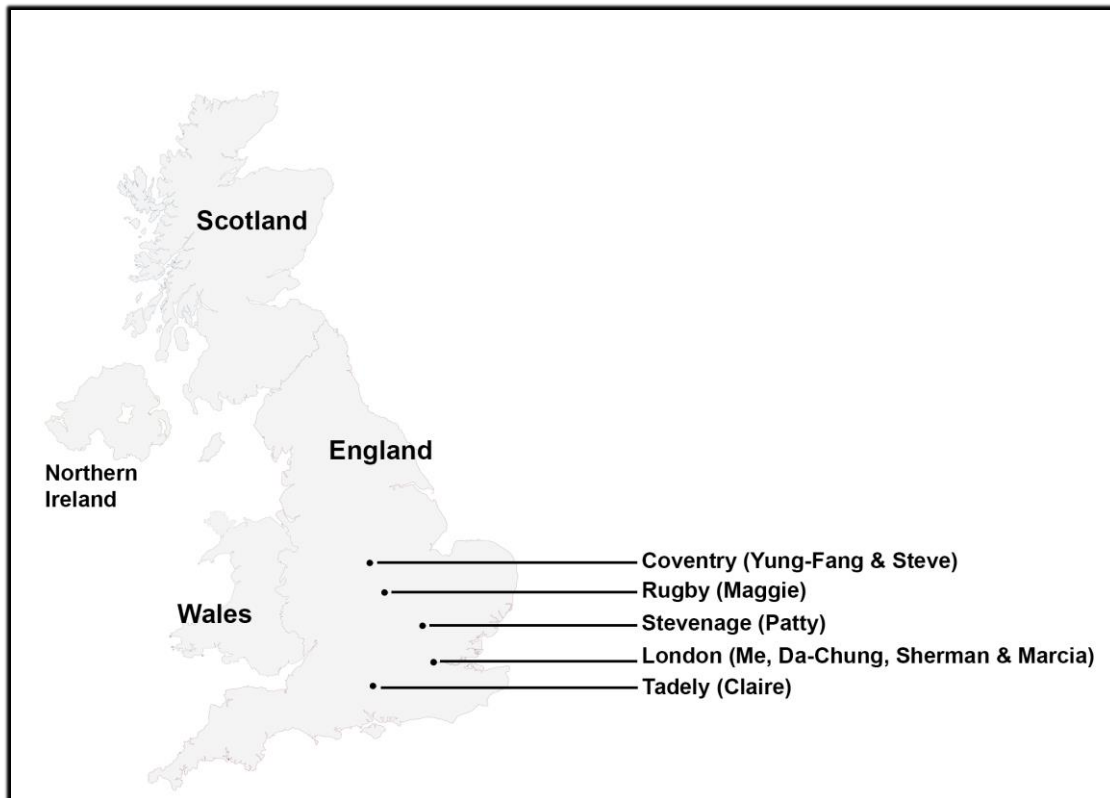


Figure 9. A simplified map of the UK with the participants' current location

Participants in the films and the gender

The main subjects in this research are four Taiwanese women: **Yung-Fang Chen**, **Maggie Chang**, **Patty Pan** and **Claire Griffin**. The additional participants are a Taiwanese couple who run a small business, **Sherman and Marcia Lai**; a Taiwanese chef **Da-Chung Chang** and a British Chinese takeaway owner with his retired Hong Kongese father, **Steve** and **Yim Kwong Cheung**.

There are several reasons I cast for the main participants in the research. The first reason is the migratory motive. Two of main subjects, **Yung-Fang Chen** and **Patty Pan** has come to the UK with an educational purpose. They are educational migrants. I choose a similar route to come to Britain as an international

student then decided to stay. On the report of ONS about the overview of UK population in 2015, the organisation points out that the international immigration in the UK by students increased during the late 2000s, peaking between 2009 and 2011²³. **Yung-Fang** and **Patty** came to the UK to study in 2001 and 2002 respectively; they were part of this trend, as I was too (I came to the UK in 2007). **Maggie** and **Claire** had different motivations, their migration was prompted by their cyber connections and romance, though **Maggie's** initial idea was also to come to Britain and study.

The second reason to choose the four main subjects is the gender. On **Figure 7.**, the statistics shows the number of Taiwanese female residents in the UK are larger than the males (25000: 20000, The population of Overseas-born residents excluding some residents in communal establishments, by sex, by country of birth in 2015:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality>). Although the number of Taiwanese males is not completely outnumbered by the females, I found when I was in the stage of searching for participants that I was able to locate women as opposed to men, and that it was the women who were more open to discussing their experience of migration and living in the UK as Taiwanese. This was an interesting development for the research, finding that the Taiwanese people I sought to participate in the research were largely female. **Yung-Fang Chen**, introduced me an exclusive Facebook group - Taiwanese mummies in the UK (台灣媽咪在英國), which is a private group of Taiwanese married females that tend to form a community for

²³ Overview of the UK population: November 2015 can access on: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/articles/overviewoftheukpopulation/2015-11-05#what-caused-the-uk-population-to-change>

their UK life. This underground social network directly and indirectly helped my searching process. As bell hooks states in her book - *Yearning* (1990) that female can be effective and influential, in particular creating a safe place as a home to maintain their culture of origin (hook, 1990). Women, as pioneers, reaching out to their surroundings, raising families with their partners, connecting with others from similar backgrounds to maintain the minds and hearts in what hook terms 'a site of resistance' (ibid:41).

Christina Mendoza mentions that female migrants are most often stereotyped as migrating for maintaining family unity and not for their own labours, especially in the case of Mexican women migrants (Mendoza, 2011). Which means, female migrants are normally viewed as 'unimportant and invisible' (ibid:10) in regards to understanding migratory experience by employing the conventional labour production in wages. However, Evangelia Tastsoglou and Alexandra Dobrowolsky argue that highly skilled female migrants are not exactly passive to the exploitation or the marginality of labour status (Dobrowolsky & Tastsoglou, 2006). Instead, they suggest that migrant women 'can be, and often are, the primary movers' (ibid:06), particularly the highly skilled and educated migrants.

In this practice-based research, all the four main participants have a strong longing to make a home that is a safe and better place for their family and children. This resonates that they are always floating to find a better environment with their or partners' work in order to build a better home for their next generation. **Yung-Fang** with her husband moved from Portsmouth to Coventry; **Maggie** relocated from London to Rugby to settle with her partner. **Claire** and her husband moved from Southampton to Basingstoke, where she thinks it is a better place for her children, especially for

her eldest son - **Jalen**. After my research period, **Claire** and her family moved again in the same area but a bigger house for the children. **Patty** and her husband also moved from Stevenage to Watford after the research period. The decision is mainly for her son that they believe their son - **Ethen** can have a better educational surrounding and atmosphere in Watford. This indicates that those female participants always concern about the environment for their children. As **Claire** quotes the Chinese idiom about Mencius's moves three times (29:31-38, ***Floating Home***), those Taiwanese mummies are constantly seeking for the better places for the kids' education and growing up environment.

Importantly, the process of locating subjects evolved through mutual connections and personal social network. This network was not formed arbitrarily, instead it was constructed by ordinary Taiwanese people in the UK out of necessity and social bonds. This doctoral research was self-funded, the films were made over two years, those subjects voluntarily participated in this research without any financial incentive and allowed me to use cameras to document their domestic lives and their public domains. Significantly, those additional participants I found were also through either the Taiwanese network or the exclusive Facebook group on the Internet. **Steve Cheung** was introduced through **Yung-Fang's** connection. I discovered **Sherman** and **Marcia Lai** in the Taiwanese food festival 2012; the same day I approached **Claire Griffin**. Additionally, **Da-Chung Chang** was through **Sherman** and **Marcia Lai's** suggestion. This implies the network of Taiwanese people in Britain grew over a number of years underground, and the research project can be viewed as instigated by it and connected through me.

Thus, through my approach, I document not only their current living situations, but I also investigate their motivations in migrating to the UK. The migration of the subjects was due to similar and divergent factors, such as development of education and business enterprise, and development of relationships. For **Yim Kwong Cheung, Da-Chung Chang, Sherman and Marcia Lai** who came to Britain over 30 years ago, their motivation was to capitalise on new economic opportunities, whether through the existing Hong Kongese catering network, for **Cheung**, or new business opportunities for the **Lai's** and **Chang**. On the other hand, **Yung-Fang Chen** and **Patty Pan** came to Britain as educational migrants. Besides, **Maggie Chang** and **Claire Griffin** established personal relationships online which prompted their migration to Britain.

Economic incentives

Woodward points out 'the motivation to migrate is tied up with economic factors' (Woodward, 2002: 52). This motivation had spurred **Yim Kwong Cheung, Da-Chung Chang, Sherman and Marcia Lai**, to migrate from Hong Kong and Taiwan respectively to the UK with the hope of finding a better chance for their business and careers.

Yim Kwong Cheung, a Hakka tailor from Hong Kong came to the UK in 1961 and established his takeaway business in Coventry in 1969, learning the catering trade from his business partner. He was in the migrating trend from the British policy of Hong Kong in 1960s to relocate in the KU. His son, **Steve**, born in Coventry, then took over the business in the mid 1980s and saw a decline in business from the 90s that continues today.

Da-Chung Chang, Sherman and Marcia Lai came from Taiwan to explore economic opportunities. **Da-Chung Chang**, previously a

sailor, migrated to Britain to join his wife, whose father worked as a chef in the Taipei Representative Office in the UK at London. Similar to **Yim Kwong Cheung, Chang** established his catering career in London in the 1980s. Benton and Gomez define that the majority of ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs, first jointly ventured into the catering businesses but invested their individual savings in order to be independent for their own takeaways or restaurants (Benton and Gomez, 2008:121). **Chang** is one of them who made the transition to his own independent business in Fulham in 1987. He has witnessed the shift within London's Chinatown from Hong Kongese dominance of the 80s to the ascendancy of Mainland Chinese; Mandarin has replaced Cantonese linguistically.

Unlike **Da-Chung, Sherman and Marcia Lai** came to Britain with a different business route. **Sherman Lai** came to Britain when his old shipping company dispatched him first to Germany then to Britain in 1981. His wife, **Marcia Lai** then joined him two years later. The **Lai** family had to frequently move between Germany, the UK and Taiwan. They began their own computer company in 1989, before establishing the food trading company **Taipec Ltd** in 2007 when the Taiwanese computer export market went into decline due to the relocation of manufacturing bases from Taiwan to Mainland China.



Figure 10. A screen shot of me documenting in front of the gate of Chinatown, London in the feature documentary *Floating Home*

Educational motivation

Benton and Gomez point out that the UK has always attracted foreign students and that includes Taiwanese students (Benton and Gomez, 2008:22). Statistics of Taiwanese overseas students in 2015 from the Ministry of Education, ROC, Taiwan, show that the USA is the most popular country for Taiwanese students studying abroad, whereas Britain is in the list of the top four²⁴. **Yung-Fang Chen** and **Patty Pan** were in this category and came to the UK for educational purpose initially.

²⁴ Statistics of Taiwanese overseas students over the world (2015), Ministry of Education ROC Taiwan can access on (in traditional Chinese): <http://ws.moe.edu.tw/001/Upload/7/refile/6656/46488/114f4f8e-3137-4d3d-843a-0d7d39d449a8.pdf>

A report from ONS about the impact of international student migration to long-Term international migration, it pinpoints in detail that the UK attracts an enormous number of non-EU international students²⁵. **Figure 11.** a table of long-term international migration into the UK for formal study by nationality, 2009 to 2014 shows the number of non-EU international students dominates the EU students and British students. This implies that Britain can be seen as destination for education, particularly for non-EU students.

thousands

Year	Total (+/- CI)	British	EU (excluding British)	Non-EU
2009	209 (16)	11 (4)	42 (9)	155 (13)
2010	234 (17)	8 (3)	45 (11)	181 (13)
2011	226 (16)	5 (2)	41 (8)	180 (14)
2012	175 (16)	8 (3)	28 (7)	139 (13)
2013	171 (17)	9 (4)	40 (9)	122 (13)
2014	187 (20)	5 (3)	48 (11)	134 (17)

Source: ONS

Figure 11. International Passenger Survey estimates of long-term international migration into the UK for formal study by nationality, 2009 to 2014, can access on:

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/articles/longterminternationalmigration/internationalstudentmigrationwhatdothestaticstellus/populationbriefstudentmigration.pdf>

Patty Pan expresses the most considerable aspect for her decision to study in Britain was the shorter period of time of the master's degree course when compared with the States. Her father, a soldier with the KMT led by Chiang Kai-Shek's, came

²⁵ Long-Term International Migration: International student migration - what do the statistics tell us?: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/articles/longterminternationalmigration/internationalstudentmigrationwhatdothestaticstellus>

to Taiwan when the army fled after defeat in the civil war in 1949. Therefore, she is, in effect, a second-generation Chinese Mainlander, who has grown up in Taiwan. She met her Chinese husband, **Frank Gao**, on her Masters course in the UK. Although the relationship between Taiwan and Mainland China has opened up gradually when the Taiwan government lifted the martial law in 1987, it was still difficult for the intermarriage between Mainland Chinese and Taiwanese. Thus, **Patty** and **Frank** considered the country where they met was the most suitable place to marry because of those political restrictions even though her father is Mainland Chinese. They then married in Edinburgh in 2004. Recently, it is much easier for them to visit both countries not only because of their marital status, but because travel between Taiwan and China has become easier.

Opposite to **Patty Pan**, **Yung-Fang Chen** had spent four years on her PhD degree. Due to her outgoing personality and long-time stay, she had integrated into the host culture more than the other main subjects. She started her English journey in Southampton first, and then followed her supervisor to Portsmouth where she met her husband, **Ben Gibbon**. Since her marriage with an English husband, **Yung-Fang** has immersed much deeper through the process of the communication between the East and the West's ideology with her husband and parents-law, especially things relating to traditions and the education of their daughter.

Cyber connections and romance

Online dating is one of those globalised impacts of the Internet that allows humans to virtually interact and communicate. The compression of the time and space from the Internet is able to generate rapid communication over the

limits of space. Time, as Woodward states, is the velocity of communication,

'... not the human temporality of history and of biography, encompassing birth, life and death; only time over space matters.' (Woodward, 2002: 56)

However, in terms of cyber love, the condition of the space here is invented and hosted by the networks that contain and exchange enormous amounts of information from strangers all over the world. According to Cornwell and Lundgren,

'Such networks are made possible by cyberspace's capacity to support e-mail messaging, direct messaging, chat rooms, and similar types of online group interaction.'
(Cornwell and Lundgren, 2001:198)

Thus, chat rooms for instance, become a virtual space that could fertilise social relations on the Internet across the globe.

In this section, **Maggie Chang** and **Claire Griffin** are grouped together though their situations could also overlap in the aspect of educational purposes. Despite their original purpose of using online chat rooms to practice their English to enhance their language ability and prepare for overseas studies, the use of dating websites did bring up some opportunities to experience intercultural friendships. However, neither of them developed a sort of "cyber love" when they were in Taiwan; the online dating websites and chat rooms were only a medium to broaden their networks widely and efficiently. Both of them developed the relationships with their husbands when they were able to meet physically.

Claire Griffin has had her eldest son, **Jalen** since she graduated from senior high school in Taiwan. She then brought up her son by herself with her parents' support. However, being a single mother had been a shame and dishonesty for **Claire's** family within the conservative social values on the island; thus, from her interviews in **Crouch, hold and engage**, she describes that her mother usually said to people that **Jalen** is someone else child when her mother babysat him. While she tried to practice her English on the dating website she met her South African husband, **Gregory Griffin**. Surprisingly, **Greg** decided to visit Claire in Taiwan before she began her studies in the States, and they have had their relationship since then.

Jalen had followed Claire and Greg to settle in the UK. However, he had suffered not only from the cultural shock but also the requirement of independence and maturation in a different environment. Also, he had to face racist bullies in school but could not defend himself owing to the language barrier. Hence, **Greg** as **Jalen's** stepfather has guided him to play rugby football. Through the training and competence of rugby, **Jalen** has blended much more into the host culture and made several friends in the team, also becomes more physically developed and able to defend himself better.

In the case of **Maggie Chang**, her situation before coming to the UK was similar to **Claire's** that she also met her Brazilian husband, **Jorge Araujo** on a dating website before coming to the UK for a 'new start of her life.' Both of them actually met in the UK as **Jorge** just finished his studies in Portugal and **Maggie** was on an English course. Due to Maggie's visa issue, she had to return to Taiwan although she realised she was pregnant. Hence the pair built their own home in Britain in order to give their next generation a secure and stable life.

Essentially, **Jorge** has planned to support the application of **Maggie's** Portuguese citizenship, both of them have had faced the political difficulty that the Portuguese government does not recognise Taiwan as a free country. Therefore, they have had various journeys back and forth between Taiwan and the UK only for authenticating some of her documents; and the closest Portuguese embassy to Taiwan is located in Macau.

To sum up this chapter, based on Stuart Hall's notion of cultural identity, there are two positions to indicate the cultural identity of groups of people: the fixed history and shared culture paralleling what people really are becoming through the historical experience. Since the people of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mainland China dwelled under three different sovereignties, each of them have developed their specific cultures even they are from the so-called Chinese culture.

Through the contemporary historical experience of Taiwan, the identity of people on the island has been influenced by various foreign forces such as Japanese imperialism, China-centric ideology brought by the KMT, and the cultural hegemony from the USA's global impact. Taiwanese people utilised film and cinema not only for the documentation and recreation of their historical experience, but they also employed the effectiveness of the cinema to resist and retain their cultural expression under the hegemonic censorship. As a result, Taiwan New Cinema is one of the essential elements of Taiwanisation to establish Taiwanese people's own identity.

Across the group of participants, the subjects in the research have at times divergent and similar life experience before coming to the UK. Because they have come to Britain from different eras and different purposes with distinct circumstances, their migratory motives could be grouped into

three dimensions: economic incentives, educational motivation, and cyber connections and romance. While their main purpose to settle here is to form a new home, they still keep their traditional and original practices of daily life from their culture of origin. In those acts they have brought to the UK, cooking and eating is the most visual, practical and essential culture that express their cultural identity distinct from the local and other migratory groups.

Film as a vehicle obtains the capability to present and represent the subjects' daily practice. With a significant influence of Taiwan New Cinema on me, I determine filmmaking as my main research approach regarding the methodology, which I aim to employ approach to document the subjects' daily life, construct and investigate the audiovisuals to research the content, and reveal the findings and message I aspire to deliver. This is the focus in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Rhizomatic filmmaking

Methodology

My methodological approach in the research proceeds on four aspects; firstly, in terms of my practical method of filmmaking where I employ an inclusive, participatory and self-reflexive approach. Secondly, I adopt Bordieu's theories of Habitus and Practice to examine my participants' migratory experience from Taiwan to the UK. Thirdly, I exercise de Certeau's theory of *Tactics* in two ways. On one hand, I use the concept to theorise how they integrate into the host culture and the same time maintain their culture of origin in their everyday life in the UK. On the other, I actualise the concept of *Tactics* on my filmmaking approach. Lastly and significantly for this research project, I use Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the *Rhizome* to consolidate the other three approaches and suggest a particular ethically responsible, inclusive and non-hierarchical filmmaking practice.

2.1 Filmmaking as research

In this practice-based research, I employ the "non-fictional" form of filmmaking - documentary as my practical approach. In the evolution of documentary, this form was typically labelled as *objective*, neutral and observational without any interference in the filmmaking, as Bill Nichols suggests the observational mode of documentary shows the dwelled experience of actual people that the audience can observe as witnesses (Nichols, 2001). Through numerous studies during 1960s and 1970s in the USA, the evolution of documentary through, as Michael Renov identifies the period as the heyday of this particular genre, filmmakers and film scholars recognised the

essence of the subjective where the personality of filmmakers was closely affected in the production (Renov, 2004).

Through the development of the documentary established by various approaches by filmmakers and film scholars, the forms of documentary have probably evolved more heterogeneous and complex. According to Renov, between the 1970s and 1990s, social and political movements such as anti-war, civil rights and student movements 'at least in the West' brought "identity politics" into view. The influence of the feminist movement particularly had introduced a new era where the formally "personal" issues including race, sexuality and ethnicity became politically perceived in documentary making (Renov, 2004). Moreover, the recent genre, the concept of performative documentary suggested by Stella Bruzzi acknowledges the construction and artificiality that filmmakers are 'more aware of the inevitable falsification or subjectification such representation entails' (Bruzzi, 2006:187).

The recognition of subjectivity in the elements of performative documentary corresponds to Noël Carroll's argument, where he indicates documentary is necessarily biased because through the technology of filmmaking, the process of producing documentary is 'inherently and selective' (Carroll, 1996:283). In other words, the processes of documentary filmmaking such as the design of interview questions, positions of camera, composition of framing, editing of audiovisual content, and the direction of topics is intimately decided by the filmmakers' point of view. The subjectivity in the filmmaking is inevitably presented in the final production. Bruzzi points out further that performative documentary could be perceived as an acknowledgement of the inevitable subjectivity and present an "alternative honesty" in the filmmaking although performative documentary could be

seen to erode the conventional documentary approach of representing the real due to its elements of performance, dramatisation and acting for the camera (Bruzzi, 2006:188).

Hence, subjectivity in documentary is presented by filmmakers' personalities to deliver their message from the makers' experience and perspective and to include their presence and the impact that it has on the subject. Renov defines subjectivity as:

'... a kind of experiential compass guiding the work toward its goal as embodied knowledge.' (Renov, 2004:176)

In accordance with the findings of these personal perspectives and subjectivity in documentary making, Corrigan and Renov then introduce the concept of essay or essayistic films inspired from the notion of essay by Michel de Montaigne. Corrigan suggests that the essay films are to connote a sort of 'encounter' between the self and the public sphere, which examines the boundaries and probabilities between the private and public as a 'conceptual activity' (Corrigan, 2011:06). His three variations of the essayistic film are 'the intersecting activity of personal expression, public experience, and the process of thinking' (Corrigan, 2011:14). Renov poses the idea of essay films even simpler that the essayistic film is a practice of 'the looking out and the looking in' (Renov, 2004:186).

In other words, the essay film presents a combining representation of personal and actuality with critical thinking in the medium of filmmaking. From the indicative film, ***Man with a Movie Camera (1929)*** produced by the pioneer of filmmaking, Dziga Vertov, through to ***Letter to Jane: An Investigation About a Still (1972)*** co-directed by Jean-Luc

Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin, to Chris Marker's well known work, *Sans Soleil (1983)*, the subject and the actuality are mutually configuring in these works with the presence of the filmmakers as physical, audible or conceptual.

Thus, I employ elements of the performative and reflexive categories of documentary along with the concept of the essay film in my approach to this research. With my participation in the films, I examine how the Taiwanese identity of the participants and my own identity manifests itself through our everyday practices. The specificity of filmmaking in the research is important to capture these daily practices, experience, memory description and opinion from the subjects. Video was used to directly capture images of the subjects showing the certain ways that they live, cook, speak in their own culture and tradition from their *private and public experience* in the UK. They are visual processes rather than simply verbally articulated memories. This is then supplemented by the conventional feature of documentary - interviews (also known as talking heads) where they reflect on and reveal their *personal expression* to study how they culturally think, practice and respond in a foreign land. This is fundamental to the research, and the reason why this is a research project led by practice.

Although the video documents, oral interviews and personal histories from my subjects are the essential information and material of this project, I too, as a Taiwanese filmmaker, am part of the research process examining cultural identity of Taiwanese immigrants in Britain. My presence in the filmmaking process is significant and intertwined with the audiovisual materials to reveal my immersion in each subject's life during the 3-year research period. The relationship between participants and filmmaker is particularly significant for

this study because it is not only documented through the filmmaking process, but it is also analysed from the subjects' migratory experience in the UK and reflected on me as a Taiwanese filmmaker to investigate the collective identity away from home.

In my feature documentary, *Floating Home*, I employ my physical presence to bridge my four main Taiwanese participants in the project, **Yung-Fang Chen**, **Patty Pan**, **Claire Griffin**, and **Maggie Chang** in a year-long video journey. Alongside my appearance, I also apply my voice to weave and connect my voyage and the subjects' migratory stories in Britain in order to examine and reveal the evolution and transformation of Taiwanese identities through their everyday life in the United Kingdom. In my documentary series - *Floating Home Series*, it includes the side stories from those four main subjects and the stories from some additional participants including **Steve** and **Yim Kwong Cheung**, **Da-Chung Chang**, **Sherman** and **Marcia Lai** whom I do not add in the narration of the feature documentary. In seven short episodes of the series, I only employ the voices of my participants to articulate their own (sub)stories though my physical presence is still visible in those short episodes.

The variety of visual footage in the feature and series shows the daily practice of my participants in their domestic domains or work places in order to denote the cultural negotiations and balance they make, which are the integration with the host society and the maintenance of their own cultural practices. Besides, the collection of each participant's personal expression in the interviews of the films is constructed to depict the cultural encounters that the subjects faced in their personal history of the migratory life.

Thus, the approach of each in-depth study about my subjects' everyday life significantly harmonizes the idea of qualitative research, which endorses the researcher's study and examines the subjects in a natural environment. Those documented interviews, conversations, photographs, and daily practices of my subjects in my films become a series of individual and collective representation. This links to how Denzin and Lincoln give their definition of qualitative research in their *Handbook of Qualitative Research*:

'... qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.'
(Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:03)

Through the public experience and their personal expression of their migratory journeys jointly edited in the feature documentary and the series, my subjects' interviews and footage examined in-depth can be studied, compared and contrasted with similarities and differences between each individual in their migratory lives of the UK. This practical method allows me to examine in a pluralistic approach instead of applying general theories in the social sciences, like American anthropologist Clifford Geertz pinpoints as the way of 'scattering into frameworks' (Geertz, 1983:04). Thus, through the collective audiovisual of my subjects' interviews and footage during the 3-year period, this sort of approach can be speculated on generalizable actuality about human practices or values, as Renov suggests it is 'from small but closely monitored case studies' (Renov, 2004:176).

Furthermore, the constructive editing nature of the documentary, through the reviewing and assembling footage after each visit of the subjects not only allowed me to

critically think and analyse the audiovisual content, but it also helped me to learn and improve my way of filming for the next visits. In addition, I share the rough cuts or assemblages of footage to the participants after each visit to let them understand the filmmaking process in order to provide me their feedback of their own representations on film. On top of that, with my physical participation in the films of this research project, I include myself in the visual works as being a visible participant of Taiwanese diaspora in the UK instead of being an outside and hidden observer.

Hence, my documentaries articulate how I share the culture, language and personal experience with my subjects to show the development of the relationships I built up from the beginning to the end of the process of research. More importantly, the outcome of my feature documentary and seven short episodes reflexively manifests the process of my learning and thinking in the research analysed through the editing process. This reciprocal process I practiced in the project then engenders a dialectical relationship between my subjectivity and that of the subjects' reveals and presents a reconstruction of factuality from my visual works. As a result, my filmmaking approach could also be viewed as essayistic film practice, which I discover the participants in the Taiwanese diaspora in Britain and reflect on myself. Like how Renov describes the essayistic project:

'... it is both screen and mirror, providing the technological grounds for the surveillance of the palpable world, as well as a reflective surface on which to register the self.' (Renov, 2004:186)

In consequence, the research approach I apply in the project is a hybrid where I not only employ the camera to examine the

personal expressions and public experiences of my participants; but I also immerse myself in the process to inspect and explore myself reflectively with a dialectical relationship between me and the subjects in the edited audiovisual outcomes. The feature documentary and series directly present the process of my thinking in the research. I believe the nuances of individual daily practices and intimate observations in the footage cannot simply transfer into data or statistics in an attempt to show the experiences of Taiwanese people living away from their homeland. As Renov points out, film was bestowed with power to the preservation and representation of the world in real time (Renov, 2004), I affirm this kind of audiovisual information in this project can be unfolded, seen, analysed, contextualised and reflected best through filmmaking.

2.3 Habitus and practice

The main focus of this research project is to examine the evolving Taiwanese identity in the UK through the practice of everyday life of the participants; it is crucial to understand the constitution and the theory behind what constitutes "practice" first. When we talk about practice, it is important to bring the concept of *habitus* from Pierre Bourdieu, particularly the formulation of the practice from his perception.

Habitus is the key element of Bourdieu's theories and perhaps is the most applied of his concepts to various practices and contexts in the social sciences. Sociologist Karl Maton interprets habitus as a property of an individual agent or collective group that contains not only a cognition constructed by one's past and current circumstances, but also building upon one's cognizance to outline the present and future practices (Maton, 2008). In other words, habitus is a "structure" of a mode of behaviour systematically constructed instead of irregularly organised or disordered. Bourdieu employs a word of 'disposition' to cover the concept and tendency of habitus. He mentions in the notes of his book - *Outline of A Theory of Practice*:

'It expresses first the result of an organizing action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination.'
(Bourdieu, 1977:214)

Those dispositions of an individual or collective are 'durably installed' (Bourdieu, 1977:78) in the unconsciousness, which

Bourdieu argues is actually formed by the forgetting of the history and the objective structures defined as the social and material condition. Thus, Bourdieu mentions because of habitus/disposition, history turned into "nature" (Bourdieu, 1977). As a result, it is understood that those past experiences and memories from an individual or collective make the dispositions durable. Since the dispositions are also related and built upon the current social and material situation, habitus is also transposable. In other words, habitus evolves with social and environmental changes. Hence, habitus could also be referred to as a bridge to connect one's childhood or growth path to and upon the present situation, then affecting future actions.

More importantly, the notion of habitus does not only link the timeline of each agency, but it also links the social and the individual. Because each agent's life background could be uncommon in their particular situation, but the life experience of each individual is shared with others in terms of the system under the same social class, ethnicity, sexuality, nationality, region and etc. Which means habitus could also be linked from the languages, educations, and cultures collectively within the system, which is what Bourdieu terms the 'structure' (Bourdieu, 1977:72).

However, this concept is not the only aspect to compose the making-do, the practice. What Bourdieu states about the constitution of the practice are the three 'thinking tools': *habitus*, *field*, and *capital* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1989:50). In the concept of *capital*, it could refer a wide range of economic, cultural and social positions of each agency. Additionally, *field* here indicates the status where the capital of an individual agency is placed in the social landscape. Through *Distinction: A Social Critique of the*

Judgment of Taste, Bourdieu offers an equation as a summary formula of the interaction of these three tools:

[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice

(Bourdieu, 1984:101)

In this equation practice is the outcome of the relation between the habitus, which is one's disposition, and the capital that is one's position, within the field that denotes the present status of the social landscape. Thus, he describes that the relation between these three components as interactive; the field constructs the habitus but the habitus also devotes to compose the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Furthermore, habitus can be developed in the "structure", which could be referred to the social system, state apparatus, and culture. That means the system, the state apparatus, essentially power can standardise the social value within the "structure". This notion could be related to Gramsci's concept of hegemony and Foucault's notion of the power of knowledge that the ruling class formulates the social rules and system. As Maton rephrases Bourdieu's idea as being 'the objective made subjective' (Maton, 2008:52). In relation to this perception, the bureaucracy and education from the colonial sovereignties such as the British and Japanese empires' and the KMT to control and conduct the colonised nations are the precise examples. The ideology of China-centric the KMT governance has installed in Taiwan is another instance of the objective made subjective.

Hence, in terms of the group habitus, Bourdieu suggests the collective ways of living or life-styles are 'the systematic products of habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984:172), which are homogenised by the "objective" as the 'immanent law'

(Bourdieu, 1981:81) in each individual within the group. He further points out that those cultural and material properties people surround themselves with and the manifestation of cultural practices are 'the synthetic unity of the habitus' (Bourdieu, 1984:173). This means, group habitus influenced by the "structure" and environment is classified and positioned into social class fraction. In this research, the four main participants and I can be viewed as positioned in the middle class from Taiwan. With the economic ability from our family, we at least can afford to migrate to the UK without any financial struggle. In particular, **Yung-Fang Chen, Patty Pan, Maggie Chang** and me are educational migrants that our life style and commons are influenced by the "structure" to a similar level. Additionally, it can be also understood that cultural practices are the physical expression of the group habitus. The episode of *Travel of the flavour*, the food company and the Taiwanese food festival **Sherman** and **Marcia Lai** run in London are the examples of transferring and maintaining the group habitus of the Taiwanese in the UK. Both acts provide the connection of the same taste that each Taiwanese people in Britain shares under their own culture.

However, each individual under the same structure can also internalise those social factors differently. In this sense, habitus can be diverse on various personal experiences but still based on the same social value; as Maton points out:

'Habitus thereby brings together both objective social structure and subjective personal experiences...' (Maton, 2008:52)

According to the concept of Bourdieu's habitus and practice, due to habitus' feature of connecting the individual and collective, and bridging past, present and future, the notion

of habitus and practice can be able to insert into the idea of Stuart Hall's cultural identity if we look through the "practice" to signify the "identity" individually and collectively.

Furthermore, in the aspect of the bridging past, present and future, the collective habitus or the life-styles were established from the *shared culture* (the first position of Hall's notion), which can include the fixed ethnicity with the common traditions and cultures referred to as the past. Then the collective habitus are developed upon the current social and material condition and will be continued with the on-going social, political, and environmental changes to influence the evolving practice. Hence, habitus links present and future that is implied in Hall's thought of *the becoming* (the second position); this also echoes his concept that identity is always evolving and changing.

In this practice-based research, because migration is such a crucial movement for the lives of my participants, especially my main subjects, it is understood that their capitals (positions) and fields (status) have been changed and shifted from their mother country - Taiwan to another land - Britain. In particular, they have moved from the society (social landscape) where they used to be part of the majority to another country in which they have become the minority. Moreover, the diverse differences between the cultures, the languages, and the politics in the two different "structures" have influenced my participants to adjust, adapt and transform their behaviours and attitudes. In addition, their own personal experience and different internalisation of these two "structures" and "systems" generate varied habitus with divergent and identical properties.

Under this concept, I primarily apply the cooking and eating practice in the project to investigate the Taiwanese identity through the actions in Britain since it is one of fundamental and daily aspects in the cultural practices. Each Taiwanese participant in the research has the same habitus of cooking and eating culture from Taiwan and bring it to Britain, particularly the food they prepare in the traditional Taiwanese festivals. Although the participants do not celebrate all the traditional Taiwanese fetes in the UK, they still consider some of them as very essential days for family and friends to gather, spread the culture as well as continuation and inheritance of their traditions.

In my feature documentary, ***Floating Home***, Lunar/Chinese New Year is the important traditional festival I had documented annually throughout the research period. The festival is a meaningful tradition for Taiwanese and ethnic Chinese. It is as important as Christmas for British and Westerners in terms of family reunion. The meaning of family reunion at Lunar/Chinese New Year is encapsulated in the tradition. Thus, everyone in the family sits together having meals with a round table because the pronunciation of reunion in most Chinese languages, including Mandarin, Taiwanese and Cantonese, sounds the same as "gather circularly." Since the four main participants dwell with their husbands and children in the United Kingdom only, most of their original family members are far away in Taiwan. As a consequence, they have attached very great importance to this tradition and gather their friends to celebrate. Like any tradition in all cultures, people tend to prepare various meals and dishes for this type of annual festival. The way the Taiwanese celebrate the Lunar/Chinese New Year is not much different in this concept.



Figure 12. A screen shot from the feature *Floating Home* shows how Yung-Fang Chen and her friends prepared the dishes for the celebration of the 2013 Lunar New Year

In the first celebration of Lunar New Year in *Floating Home*, the way **Yung-Fang Chen** and her friends prepared for the festival is to combine the diversity of Taiwanese traditions for the dishes. Although the New Year celebration is more for gathering, she invited her friends to prepare the meals together rather than her cooking alone. As the Taiwanese people that traditionally prepare for the festival are commonly homophonous to the wish and expectation for the New Year, she inserted the same idea to the celebration. In the celebration, the number of the meals **Yung-Fang** and friends prepared is ten, and the idea is from a type of traditional Chinese idiom, [shíquán shíměi] (十全十美) to describe the perfection for the next coming year. Furthermore, those dishes she also adopted have names mixed with Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Hakka idioms to endow with meanings and homophones that relate to the ingredients and food. For example, there was a

dish of Taiwanese radish cake in the celebration as **Yung-Fang** explained to the family and friends that the radish in Taiwanese articulation is homophonic to the pronunciation of 'good luck' in Mandarin.

On the other hand, **Claire Griffin** hosted another Lunar New Year celebration with the contemporary hot pot dishes in the ending section of **Floating Home**. Although she did prepare some additional meals such as Taiwanese traditional glutinous oil rice and few other small dishes, the hot pot was the theme in this annual festival. The family and guests surrounded with the simmering pot and plates of ingredients, they then put those ingredients to the pot and served themselves. Despite the convenience of contemporary hot pot, **Claire** did not employ the complicated metaphors to all the food she provided in the gathering for the celebration of Lunar New Year. Instead, her values of the actual meaning and the spirit of the annual commemoration is the same as **Yung-Fang** that both not only want to continue and maintain some important cultural practices with their current family and Taiwanese friends, but they also attempt to introduce and share this cultural notion and traditions to their local and international friends and family members.



Figure 13. A screen shot from the feature *Floating Home* shows Claire Griffin, her husband and friends having the hotpot for the celebration of the 2014 Lunar New Year

Through these two New Year celebrations, it is understood that the cooking is a product of cultural practice that is inherited from generation to generation. With my participants' migratory situation, they need to find the alternatives of ingredients and cooking ways to actualise the traditions, as Bourdieu suggests habitus is continuing and evolving in the material condition generations to generations (Bourdieu, 1984). Which means cooking is also part of the habitus that is transformed constantly with changing environments and social structures. Keya Ganguly in her book, *States of Exception - Everyday Life and Postcolonial Identity*, states the transformation of cooking in migrants' situation is a negotiation of environments (Ganguly, 2001). In other words, my subjects utilise their cultural method to cook traditional food with the alternatives of ingredients and cooking hardware that they can access in the UK. The ways of cooking from their

culture of origin can be transformed and mutated with different circumstances like how Luce Giard depicts the cooking manoeuvre as rules of action and models for behaviour that are touched and transformed on my participants, with their migratory situation (Giard & de Certeau et al, 1998).

Therefore, it is understood that the habitus of Taiwanese migrants in the UK has evolved and transformed. With the change of their economic, cultural and social positions (capital) in the migration, alongside their shifting statuses from majority to minority in the migratory life (field), their daily practices are also developed into a new form. Because the locals are the majority, Taiwanese migrants being the minority, they need to negotiate with the changes of the environment, social landscape and status then "cleverly" adjust their practice in Britain in order to survive and integrate in the host society. This "clever" adjustment they actualise in the UK can be theorised by the concept of Michel de Certeau's *Tactics*, which is the focus of next section.

2.4 The concept of Tactics

The third aspect of my methodology as well as the focus of my practical research reflects on Michel de Certeau's sociological approach in his book - *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984). This is a guiding principle to this research project, particularly through the concept of *tactics*. In the framing of the theory, the employment of *tactics* is not only for the analysis of the subject's everyday life, but it is also actualised in my own film making practice.

According to de Certeau, the way of operating and acting in the daily life - "*tactics*", which are a way of operation or manoeuvre that use "tricks" in order to achieve goals. He then applies *strategy* and *tactics* to further explain, which can be understood the difference between use of *power* and *space*. Strategy, has power to tangibly own a space to serve as its base. It presumes control that de Certeau calls 'the calculus of force-relationships' (de Certeau, 1984:xix), which is the same way administration and management generate a hierarchy with a group. Strategy is self-segregating that occupies a space to set itself up; the strategic leaders become the subject (inside the group) and the exterior distinct (outside the group such as, enemies, competitors, clients and targets) become the objects (ibid). On the contrary, the *tactics* contain much less power and unavailability of place. He then defines *tactics* as:

'... a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus... The space of tactic is the space of the other... It does not have the means to *keep to itself*, at a distance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection: it is a manoeuvre...' (de Certeau, 1984:37)

Thus, the *tactics* is *fluid and moving around*, as it does not have its own territory. Due to its fluidity, the *tactics* is also improvisational. It counts as little tricks because they do not stay in the same form; they morph and change to evade detection and therefore dissolution yet ultimately, they still achieve their goals. Although the process of tactical actions is loose and casual, the *tactics* gradually "insinuates" into the space; just like water or liquid can smoothly infiltrate or fill any container and space. In other words, *tactics* is an adaptation to the environment. This feature of flexibility from *tactics* echoes Zygmunt Bauman's concept of fluidity. Bauman suggests because fluids do not hold on any shape for a while and are constantly inclined to change shape, it is 'the flow of time that counts, more than the space they happen to occupy' (Bauman, 2011:02). As a result, the fluidity and flexibility of *tactics* means they rely and take advantage of "opportunities" at the time.

It is the power relation, which de Certeau terms 'microphysics of power' (de Certeau, 1984:xiv), that he refers to Foucault's concept of "discipline" implies privileged group and ruling class who own the *power and space* to set the rule and run social and state apparatus. This resonates Gramsci's hegemony that indicates the social fraction controlled by the ruling class, who are on the top of hierarchy, aim to 'eliminating dissent or interpreting criticisms of the government as signs of systemic power imbalances' (Ives, 2004:68). de Certeau then denotes that *tactics* is a reaction and action of the weak/suppressed²⁶, who are not privileged group, that allows them to 'manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them' (ibid). This can be

²⁶ See the definition of term on page 245

understood that the "common people", "ubiquitous", the "weak", the "margins" and the "oppressed" from de Certeau's concept are opposed to, not subordinate to the "upper class" and the "strong". And *tactics* to the weak, who are non-powerful, is the "ways of operating" with "opportunities" to manage and avoid the mechanisms of discipline and conformity in the daily practice.

The movement of Taiwan New Cinema for example, was an actualisation of *tactics* where the ordinary local Taiwanese filmmakers applied film as a medium with a less-resourceful financial support to insert and express the self-awareness of the Taiwanese in order to declare their own identity culturally and politically. It was not only functioning tactically against the authoritarian influence of the China-centric ideology brought by the KMT; it was also the tactics to oppose the hegemonic American culture embodied by Hollywood. The filmmaker tactically aimed to screen and showed their films in international festivals (at the specific timing) in order to get more recognitions outside the country. As a result, this cinema movement had become a crucial action in the movement of Taiwanisation, which was from an underground social react against the hegemony of Chinese culture implanted by the KMT then expanded further to a political liberalization (Cabestan, 2005:35; Kaeding, 2009:24). As de Certeau states, *tactics* is 'an art of the weak' (de Certeau, 1984:37) that cleverly utilises the time and reaches the goal by surprise.

Migrants, based on the understanding of power relation de Certeau frames in the "microphysics of power", it can be categorised in the sector of the weak. In particular, the focus group of this research - Taiwanese migrants, they are the minority to the locals and those international immigrants.

They are the so-called outsiders in the UK, whether they are the first or second generation of immigrants, physically, ethnically, and culturally they are different from the local in the British society. Moreover, the hierarchy of the world has been divided by the dichotomy: Western and Eastern, which is related to Said's Orientalism that the cultural hegemony of Western culture ignores the differences of all the "non-white" and conflate them under the concept of the "Otherness" (Said, 1978). The Western has culturally imposed certain images and stereotypes to the "Otherness" as the representations of subaltern, while Said suggests 'Oriental is contained and represented by dominating frameworks' (ibid:40). Subsequently, the identity of "Otherness" is inscribed on the physical image of migrants in Britain, particularly the ethnic Chinese and to the extent of Taiwanese migrants. This is the apprehension of the (South East) Asian migrants categorised as the weak in this research.

Therefore, I apply the concept of *tactics* in this project to look at the everyday practice of the Taiwanese participants in order to see how they tactically operate the practices in their migratory situation for the study of the Taiwanese identity in the United Kingdom. It is understood that their habitus has been transformed during their movements of migration from Taiwan to Britain. Their habitus is also continuously transforming during their experience living in Britain. For this practice-based research, filmmaking is used to document the characters from the three focus groups and examine the subjects' daily practices in order to see their on-going changing identity through evolving habitus. This allows an examination of that habitus, which is otherwise not particularly visible or tangible, and constantly shifting and evolving. I particularly focus on the areas of food and cooking, since the process of cooking is a strong visual

representation of ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese cultures. Furthermore, I examine the way the four main Taiwanese participants use languages - switching between Taiwanese Mandarin and English, especially in their dwelling, upbringing of children and how they use their bilingual ability to navigate their environment.

I also employ the idea of *tactics* to actualise the filmmaking process of my research with minimal financial and physical support. With a very minimal crew, I tactically insert myself and follow my participants with spontaneous improvisation in the process. The fact that this project is a practice-based research rather than simply a filmmaking project is key here. My participation in the films is not only a form or mode to present and represent the research, but it is also a hybrid method of observation, self-reflection and analysis woven into the investigation.

Being a doctoral student and independent filmmaker at an institution afforded me access to resources in the form of equipment and supervision over a longer time frame, within which I was able to spend time and go into depth instead of the quick turn over demanded by the commercial sector, which denies substantial depth into the subjects. Maintaining a relationship with my participants over a matter of years, filming regularly and responding to the significant milestones in their families' lives allowed for qualitative research that would not have been possible if I was governed by budgets, booking equipment and scheduling edits to a commercial time frame. I was able to fluidly and flexibly work around my participants, rather than forcing them to conform to my schedule.

The tactics of participants' everyday life

de Certeau claims various everyday practices such as talking, shopping, cooking etc, are tactical in character. The operations of these daily practices are what he terms:

'... victories of the "weak" over the "strong"...' (de Certeau, 1984:xix)

Which means, ordinary people use ways of operating to get away with things in the ruled and hegemonic society. Considering the migratory life of my main participants, it is essential to look how they tactically change and adopt their daily practices of the cultural integration in the host society alongside the maintenance of their original culture, particularly through food and cooking and use of languages.

In this research, I believe the participants' daily practice of *cooking* is the foundation of their (cultural) production in migratory life. Woodward points out food is a 'medium' that 'people can make statements about themselves' and 'may also suggest changes over time as well as across cultures' (Woodward, 1997:31). This is where they attempt to balance the cultural differences between their origins and the host society and turn it into a new kind of cultural practice. It is a visual, sensory, olfactory, chemical, edible process. The taking of ingredients and making something tangible that reminds them of home (tastes of home), and educates their children about their culture directly through sight, taste, smell. It is essential to their children experience and understand of being between two cultures (British and Taiwanese) or more (Brazilian, Mainland Chinese and South Africa). Although film cannot re-present the touch, smell, and the taste of the food, it is able to capture and show the *doing cooking* visually.

Cooking is cultural production, as well as nourishment, for survival. It is commonly understood that each race had depended on their environment and climate they resided in to develop their own cooking and eating habits in the place of origin. Once people found the best ingredients and ways to cook, they memorised how to make meals and passed the experience onto later generations. And the cooking and eating have merged to the way of life and habitus of each ethnic group. Thus, cooking is part of the cultural representations of each ethnicity on the earth; as Woodward identifies 'food consumption has a political dimension' (ibid).

Considering migration, migrants tend to take the mother cultures with them to the foreign places. In the case of ethnic Chinese migrants, like Lynn Pan describes, the cuisine is always with them wherever they go and even generated into a new style for commercial trade (Pan, 1991:316). However, the migrants need to find something similar to the original ingredients in the host country if they want to make the hometown food, or adjust to the host taste if they are making their food trade in the foreign country. As a result, the process of doing cooking of the migrants is the *tactics* to find the alternatives and achieve the goal - make the "authentic" hometown food with the host ingredients and taste.

Regarding the use of language in my subjects' everyday acts, being bilingual has become ingrained in their life in the United Kingdom. In the case of my Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese participants, learning and speaking English has become a necessity of their inhabitation in Britain. On the other hand, they still keep their own linguistic practices such as Taiwanese Hokkien, Taiwanese Mandarin and Chinese Mandarin while they reside in British society. In **Steve Cheung's** case,

the trilingual situation he grew up with is actually different from others as he learnt Hakka and English first, which he considers both as his mother languages, and later Cantonese for business purposes.

From de Certeau's tactical idea of an act of speech, he explains there are four elements as presupposes to make of enunciation and use:

'... realising, appropriating, being inscribed in relations, and being situated in time.' (de Certeau, 1984:33)

As these four elements are based on the principle of *tactics*, which explains that there is no fixed space for an act of speech because it constantly changes and moves, the act of speaking depends on time to hit the right words or languages. As a result, this pattern also could be applied to other physical circumstances. In relation to my approach, I then exercised the context of use, according to these four elements, to see how the subjects regularly switch different languages in appropriate times and circumstances to actualise what they try to achieve in the dwelling. Film, as an audiovisual medium, documents this process well and allows examination of something that is otherwise elusive and ever-changing.

The three Taiwanese women in this research, **Yung-Fang Chen**, **Maggie Chang** and **Claire Griffin** usually speak in English with their husbands and children in the domestic domain, as English is the common language in the family. However, the subjects also insinuate Taiwanese Mandarin into the conversations between them and the children, as they desire to influence the kids to understand their mother tongue to be able to

communicate with the families on the other side of the world. It is important for their identity to pass on their first language. The husbands catch and learn their wives' languages in their everyday life though most of the time the form of language they absorb is more rudimentary. At **Patty Pan's** house, the circumstances are distinct from the other three as both of the couples speak Mandarin though the use and accent of Taiwanese Mandarin Patty speaks is distinguished from her Chinese husband's. In the public sphere, all the participants have to communicate with locals and institutions in English in order to integrate into the host society.

According to those acts of finding the alternatives for food ingredients and interacting in different languages at different situations and locations, the *tactics* they operate could be labelled as **acts of adaptation and integration** in their life in Britain. Because they do not have the same power, fixation and solidity as local people, the actions of self-adjustments are in finding other ways to cook and learning. Using English to navigate the host culture and society are the *tactics* for them to achieve the goals - surviving and up-bringing their children in the United Kingdom to build their homes away from Taiwan.

The tactics and ethical consideration of filmmaking

Under de Certeau's concept of *strategy* and *tactics*, it also can be applied to filmmaking. As strategy requires on the space and power, the production studios can be seen as the purview of strategy, which forms an administration on a specific location to require employees to come and work inside the studio. On the contrast, *tactics* is an adaptation of environment without occupying spaces that implies the independent filmmaking, which is actualising filmmaking with

much less resourceful support, that constantly moves and travels to/with the actors and subjects to either find the right locations and wait for the perfect time to film.

In this research project, I apply de Certeau's concept of *tactics* in the manoeuvres of my filmmaking approach to negotiate the lack of financial support, time frame, consideration of filmmaking's interruption, participation and ethics in my research. These ways of operating not only allow me to follow the subjects, over a substantial period of time, but the research is also deepened by this attentive and responsive approach to the development of the relationship between filmmaker and participants. Hence, I apply an approach of visual scrutiny including approaching subjects with a very small crew, documenting participants' everyday life with portable camera and audio devices, and regularly planned visit with improvisation, so as to minimise the inconvenience and interruption that filmmaking can bring to a situation.

When documenting my subjects' daily acts, I initially exercised the idea of the field research, in my subjects' houses and workplaces to observe them with filmmaking equipment. Considering this is such an intimate approach, a minimum filmmaking crew, essentially my partner and I, helped reduce the intrusion of me as a filmmaker. Michael Rabiger stresses that 'a documentary is a record of relationships' (Rabiger, 2009:198). According to that, I regularly visited the participants in order to establish trust between filmmakers and subjects. The purpose of building a strong relationship is not only to make participants comfortable with filmmakers and cameras, but it also could lessen the disturbance and disruption of filmmakers' invasion to their privacy.

Secondly, based on the principle of scaling down the disruption, digital cameras were used, which are smaller and portable. Bigger cameras can formalise the filmmaker-participant relationship and attract more attention and possibly intimidate the participant (and their children) in the process, thereby maximizing the intrusion of the filmmaker on their everyday practices. Therefore, the smaller, more discrete DSLR camera, Canon 5D Mark III and a handy-cam, Panasonic HC-X900 were used to document and archive my participants' everyday life. This allowed an informality and an ease of movement, as well as the possibility of passing the camera to the participants, including their children, to have a go, in order to demystify the technology and make it less of an intrusion.

I obtained flexibility and mobility from using these smaller digital cameras to follow subjects in their individual, family and commercial activities. In the space of the catering business, owing to the tiny space of **Steven** and **Da-Chung's** kitchens, I compromised my limited space by operating the camera handheld with various camera angles in order to capture the process of making food and completing the cuisines. In my participants' domestic domains, although I focused on my participants in their daily actions, particularly cooking and importantly the interactions between the subjects, their partners and children to observe their multiple cultural lifestyles. These activities included sending and picking up their children at school and extracurricular activities, the food shopping, doing housework and cooking. As Silvia Federici states, unwaged housework should be recognised as labour that we are producing fundamentally in the everyday, but also the raising of children as the next generation of the labour force (Federici, 2012). Thus, my visual documentation of these practices makes visible these aspects of labour production

whether it's waged or unwaged in the everyday life of the participants.

Furthermore, the application of the interviews I employed in the research allows the participants to orally restate or represent their migratory and inhabiting experience in the UK through their memories. According to de Certeau, using memory is also part of *tactics* since memory always depends on circumstances and time to exhibit itself owing to the lack of its own totality and formation (de Certeau, 1984). He then uses an ancient Greek word, *kairos*, to explain the case. In the world of ancient Greeks, there were two words about time, *chronos* and *kairos*. While *chronos* refers to chronological or consecutive time, *kairos* implies a time lapse, a moment of inconclusive time in which everything happens. De Certeau exercises *kairos* to disclose the situation of 'right point in time' (ibid:82) to reveal memory's ability of the transformation of time and space. As a result, memory has a capability to reveal things with its flexibility of time and space (ibid).

Based on the time and space of transformation from my participants' memories, in the process of the interview, the narrations they provided could approach the actuality as much as possible although it is inevitably through their subjectivity. As de Certeau indicates memory is 'a detour by way of a past' or 'quotation', the presence of memory is 'characterized more by a way of exercising itself than by the thing it indicates' (ibid:79). Hence, under the capacity of memory, the narration of the interviews not only produces content, but it also constructs effects, whether it is actual or metaphorical.

However, the content of the interviews through the documentaries is captured and constructed by the filmmakers. The process of filmmaking offers the possibility of a more nuanced and detailed representation of the participants' experience, as opposed to a single narrator's commentary. The presence of the filmmaker, and filmmaking equipment, whilst always mediating the response of the participants, structures and frames their responses but allows them to speak directly so the viewer can experience both the similarities and diversity of their experience. The filmmaker selects, omits and structures the responses both to tell the story in the most direct and engaging way, but also with his own subjectivity in mind, consciously or unconsciously.

Because the undeniable subjectivity of the documentary making, as American ethnographers - D. Soyini Madison suggests, 'Doing field work is a personal experience' (Madison, 2012:09), my priority in this project is to discover the Taiwanese identity in the UK and engender a representation of Taiwanese people in the UK on film. The relationship between the participants and myself was carefully considered, and time was spent building up relationships and trust. Madison points out that

'... representing Others is always going to be a complicated and contentious undertaking.' (Madison, 2012:04)

Hence, I was cautious not to be too interventionist, or aggressive with the camera, rather I remained an engaged observer, who passed the camera to the participants, or let my partner take up the filming so I could engage more directly with the participants. I was fully aware that I came as an outsider to their lives, families and territories. A way of being open and accountable about what I was filming, and to

include the participants, was to let them view the footage and the outcome of the films during the filmmaking process in order to obtain their feedbacks of the production.

This is not something a filmmaker would normally do, as it can complicate and lengthen the process. But because their engagement was key to their participation and contribution to the project; also, I was afforded the time due to the research process, their involvement is important. This approach, which builds a collective ethical and inclusive approach towards relatively non-hierarchical filmmaking, where the power relation between participants and filmmakers is more equal, which is central to this project. Although I acknowledge that as editor and researcher, I am presenting the films as I have made them, the views, feelings, concerns of the participants have been taken into consideration during this process.

Accordingly, the *tactics*, approaches and manoeuvres I applied for the practical research are all in the ethical consideration for the production. As Ilona Hongisto suggests 'ethics intertwines with creating' (Hongisto, 2015:135), I then pondered the creative approaches with *tactics* to lessen all the interruptions and disturbances during the filmmaking process and aftermath as much as I could. Although I understand the power difference between the subjects and me in the filmmaking process could not be eliminated, my principle attitude in this project is to make the participants-filmmaker relationship as equal as possible. This corresponds to what Bill Nichols believes that 'ethical considerations attempt to minimize harmful effects' (Nichols, 2001:09).

Subsequently, in terms of applying the manoeuvre of *tactics*, the trajectories of the participants and the filmmaker intersect in this project with my visual presence in the

outcome of the films and the approach of the non-hierarchical filmmaking process. The immersion of myself in the subjects' families and lives engenders the interactions within the sense of being Taiwanese, which indicates the desire of gathering that overseas Taiwanese people look for the collective belonging on the foreign land. Therefore, in this practical research, the tactical operations that my Taiwanese participants take in the everyday practices are presented in my tactical filmmaking process to unfold our Taiwanese identities in the United Kingdom.

2.5 Rhizomatic path in filmmaking

The fourth aspect of the theoretical framework adopted for this research project is Deleuze and Guattari's theory of rhizome, which broaches the convergence of theory and practice and is fundamental to articulating my methodological approach. It is worth noting that the similarities between the concept of *tactics* and the idea of the rhizome as descriptions of the means are countering hegemonic power. As I employ the notion of *tactics* to actualise my filmmaking approach in the project in order to build a non-hierarchical relationship between the filmmaker and subjects, it is essential to bring out that the perception of rhizome indicates a structure developed with ramification instead of a pyramid.

Deleuze and Guattari introduce the concept of rhizome in their book - *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980) to describe a methodology that presumes a varied formation to work with the connections constructed by "lines" only to have its own dimensions, which they define it as 'directions in motion' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:23). Those connections from the line establish a complex structure like a 2-D **map**, if you look at it as a bird's eye view. This idea opposes to the tree-branch perception of knowledge, which functions in the hierarchy of the tree and root system from the mainstream notion of dichotomy, just as ginger's underground stem. As they define a rhizome,

'... as subterranean stem is absolutely different from roots and radicles... The rhizome itself assumes very diverse forms, from ramified surface extension in all directions into bulbs and tubers.' (ibid:07)

There are six principles of rhizome that Deleuze and Guattari outline the essential attributes in the ramified structure. The first and second principles are connection and heterogeneity, which indicates any point in rhizome 'can be connected to anything other, and must be' (ibid). The third principle indicates the attribute of multiplicity. They explain rhizome is constituted by numerous assemblages, which they exemplify each assemblage as a multiplicity - a "plateau". Plateau, the original term is an area of reasonably level high ground; they define it thus:

'A plateau is always in the middle, not at the beginning or the end. A rhizome is made of plateaus.' (ibid, 1987:24)

A plateau, Deleuze & Guattari expound that it has its own dimension composed by 'the line of flight' (ibid: 09). When it is treated as a substantive, a plateau 'cease to have any relation to the One' (ibid: 08). The first three attributes connote that each plateau in rhizome is an individual at the same level, not belonged and *subordinate* to the hierarchical system. Therefore, plateaus can always connect with each other in rhizome, a non-hierarchical structure.

The fourth principle of rhizome is attribute of asignifying rupture, which Deleuze & Guattari express a rhizome 'may be broken... but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines' (ibid: 10). This can be interpreted that each plateau in rhizome keeps moving and extending with its own drive and desire, which is its unconscious. This resonates Bauman's fluidity that liquid or fluids are constantly moving, even they are intermitted and cut by obstacles the fluids will find ways to move again. As Deleuze & Guattari signify 'the rhizome is precisely this production of the unconscious'

(ibid: 20). The fifth and sixth principles are cartography and decalcomania, which the duo point out due to the heterogeneity of each plateau, rhizome 'is altogether different, a map and not a tracing' (ibid: 13). This means, rhizome is the drive unconsciously urges each plateau to move, grow and intersect and interact with others in the structure. 'The map does not reproduce an unconscious closed in upon itself; it constructs the unconscious' (ibid), as Deleuze & Guattari emphasise the attribute.

According to those six principles, rhizome can be viewed as another approach opposes the traditional, rational and logical method to knowledge. This opposition is against the pyramid structure of power-knowledge relation introduced by Foucault, which he mentions 'power produces knowledge' (Foucault, 1977:27). In other words, rhizome is an action and reaction resist the conventionally hierarchical system. It can be seen as a collective of the weak as plateaus against a controlling pyramid ruled by the strong. It is the unconscious that let each plateau in rhizome tactically actualise **acts of adaptation** to find ways to grow, survive and connect in order to evade those "principles" set up by the ruling class.

I employ the same concept of rhizome to my further practical approach in this practice-based research. I term it as rhizomatic filmmaking. This rhizomatic approach here, can be viewed as bridging and ramifying a connection of each individual habitus through the tactical approaches, which is a non-hierarchical filmmaking gathering or assembling with a relationship of trust and accountability between filmmakers and subjects. Under the migratory circumstances of the Taiwanese participants in the research, the drive of bridging altogether in the rhizomatic approach is the unconscious of each individual as "the weak" that naturally connects together

to assemble and fight against or resist the hierarchy as "the strong".

Rhizomatic filmmaking

There are two facets of rhizomatic filmmaking: the rhizomatic approach and the rhizomatic structure, which is building a rhizome for the production. Rather than the arborescent, hierarchical structure of conventional commercial filmmaking, reflected on the auteur theory. This auteur theory enshrines a cinematic version of the "author-god", as Roland Barthes deciphers it in his essay about the relations between text, author and reader (Barthes, 1967), it is effectively in total control of the meaning of the film. The rhizomatic approach opposes the auteur theory on a structural level. In other words, a rhizomatic filmmaking practice does not have the director and producer at the top and the participants at the bottom. The participants and the researcher/filmmaker are on the same level, making connections between their experiences. In this project particularly, seeing similarities in the diasporic existence between me and other subjects away from our homeland - Taiwan. Thus, the participants and the filmmaker(s) in rhizomatic filmmaking I consider them are plateaus in the structure.

Because each individual in the social structure comprises various personal, cultural, and political backgrounds - habitus, each agent/person can be seen as a plateau. As each of them 'can be read starting anywhere and can related to any other plateau' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:24), the individuals and their connection can be seen as multiplicities intertwined in a rhizome. In rhizomatic filmmaking, each character in this project for example, is in the middle of their life, their life experience can connect to any point to others whether

they have identical or various personal histories. As a result, I identify each of the participants including myself as a unit of multiplicity - a "plateau" to study the Taiwanese identity in the UK.

More importantly, the rhizomatic filmmaking specifically in this practiced-based research, generates and relies on an ethically accountable relationship between filmmakers and subjects and is crucial to the form of documentary. In the rhizomatic approach, the filmmakers are not at the top to call and command the participants to come to the studios and be filmed for the production. Instead, the filmmakers see the same level between the subjects and themselves, approach and follow the subjects to document what happens in their lives. The filmmakers in the rhizomatic filmmaking are fluid and adjustable to adapt wherever the subjects live and go. Moreover, the filmmakers also immerse themselves into the participants' lives, being in part of the family or community. This accountable relationship is the key to make the rhizomatic filmmaking reachable and expandable.

The Taiwanese documentary - **Let It Be 無米樂 (2004)** co-directed by Lan-Chuan Yen & Yi-Tseng Chuang, in my interpretation, the way they approach four elderly rice farmers is similar to the rhizomatic filmmaking. They went to the city of Tainan, where is located at Southern Taiwan, and documented the subjects' life. Because one of the duo directors, Yi-Tseng Chuang is from the agricultural family, he understands the hard-working farming conditions and empathises with the subjects (Ai, 2010). The duo spent fifteen months to film the four elderly rice farmers and built a very close relationship with them. The crew followed the participants in their houses, paddy fields and temples to capture their wisdom of life and reflect

on the issue of the rice market when Taiwan became a member in the World Trade Organization.

Furthermore, it is clear through the interactions between the subjects and filmmakers that the duo created a non-hierarchical relationship, as the documentary naturally reveals and shares that the filmmakers immersed themselves into the everyday life of those elderly farmers. Their approach reveals the rhizomatic way of filmmaking in that the filmmakers see themselves on the same level as the farmers and Taiwanese people. The motive of linking filmmakers and the subjects is to make a voice for the marginalised and hard-working farmers, which forms a resistance to the control and ignorance of the enterprise and bureaucracy. This voice then is presented and represented through filmmaking.

This path is akin to British independent filmmaker Marc Isaac's approach. For his film, *All White in Barking (2007)*, he applied a similar methodology in visiting several subjects regularly with a small crew to develop a trusting relationship and be part of some participants' life events such as joining a conversation between a father and a daughter in the kitchen over a cup of tea to capture the crucial issue of his film: mixed racial relationships and racism. Isaac also reveals the actual the subjects' daily life and their sincere opinions about immigration in East London with a handheld camera, as he filmed on his own and favoured the close up and responsive camera style.

Although the process of practice in the films of Mark Isaacs, Lan-Chuan Yen and Yi-Tseng Chuang is to build up a trusting relationship between filmmakers and subjects, the relationship will not be completely equal since filmmakers need to operate the film apparatuses to gain or own the power to "capture" or

"shoot" events and people. The participants are commonly more passive to do what they have been told. As a result, the ethnographic method of - 'positionality' (Madison, 2012:08) encourages researchers to acknowledge the privilege and biases they obtain by "turning back" on themselves and their roles in the process. As Madison suggests,

'When we turn back, we are accountable for our own research paradigms, our own positions of authority, and our own moral responsibility relative to representation and interpretation.' (Madison, 2012:08)

I physically insert myself in the filmmaking process as my approach, whereas the filmmakers from those two films I mention above only used their voice to show their presence in the films. This is the difference between my films, ***Let It Be*** and ***All White in Barking*** that I am aware of the responsibility and, I even employ my physical appearance in the film to physically and metaphorically visualise I am the same level as the participants and part of Taiwanese migration.

I make a point of including scenes where the participants and myself sit down to eat together like the sequences at the 2013 Lunar New Year in the feature documentary ***Floating Home***, and the last sequence of ***Little Taiwan***. In the sequences at the 2013 Lunar New Year, I did not only document how **Yung-Fang** and her family and friends prepare and enjoy the dishes, but me and my partner were also invited as guests to celebrate the New Year since we and **Yung-Fang** are on the equal level as migrants, and Taiwanese people. It is also the same situation when **Da-Chung** invited me to have a little gathering and enjoy his food in his restaurant.



Figure 14. A screen shot depicts me, Da-Chung and his friends enjoyed a little gathering in his restaurant in Little Taiwan

As a result, sharing food is essential when working and filming, but it is not necessarily included in the film itself. In my films, this is a key scene to show how myself, my partner and the family I am filming with, are all on the same level, seated at the table, but also being part of their lives, as I am part of the migratory group. I was invited to share food and enjoy their children's important days with my participants, and I understand it was both a privilege and a signifier of my relationship with them. Thus, in the filmmaking process, I believe the filmmakers should be inclusive and accountable to the subjects even though they are more in control. And the application of rhizomatic filmmaking approach could be a way to refute hierarchy and hegemony of the process.

Rhizomatic structure of Floating Home project

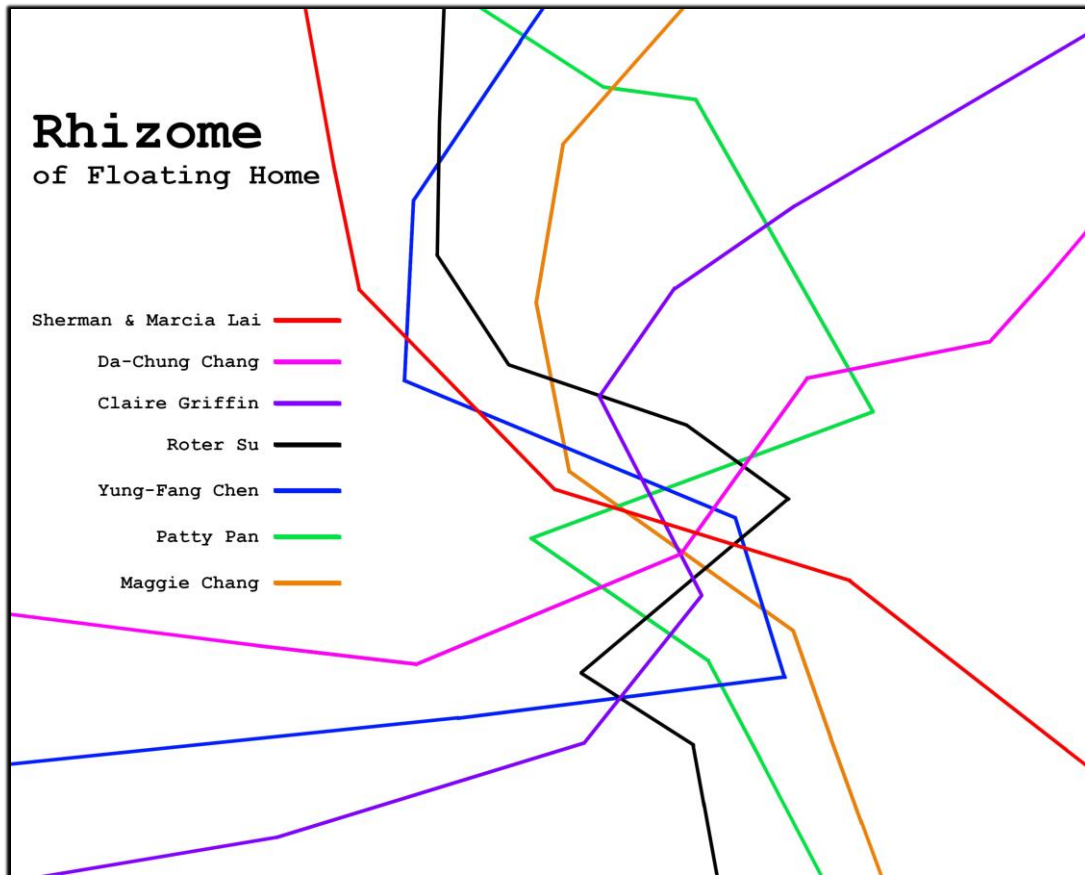


Figure 15. Rhizomatic structure of Floating Home

From **Figure 15.**, it illustrates a simplified rhizomatic structure of **Floating Home** from a bird eye view. It is constructed by lines only to produce a map. Each subject in the project is represented as a "line", as Deleuze and Guattari suggest "lines of flight" that can always be connectable and detachable 'in all of its dimensions' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:13). Every Taiwanese participant is also a "plateau", which is at the middle and a different phase of their lives in the migratory situation in Britain. Because each of us has the same cultural background, which engenders the sense of being Taiwanese in the UK, this becomes the drive

of the connections to all of us directly and indirectly, which are those intersections of the lines. This means those intersections of the lines constitute the research of **Floating Home**, and I use the film to archive this rhizomatic movement. Thus, rhizomes link us in our floating homes, tentatively, reaching out to build our own networks of shared experience to provide resistance against the homogenised stereotype generated by the host society and majority of ethnic Chinese in Britain.

Each film in the research project, through this rhizomatic structure, can also be viewed as a plateau to explore and examine the experience and difficulties that Taiwanese people in the UK encounter and solve individually and collectively. Each film represents each participant's life story and to the extent of their identity. Just as Deleuze and Guattari see their books as plateaus that can be read in any order, the films in the production of **Floating Home**, also can be watched individually, dipped into, re-viewed, defying the linearity of conventional narrative to other episodes. The films can be seen and encapsulated as a collective as well.

The feature **Floating Home** is constructed through me to connect the four main participants in order to illustrate the **acts of adaptation** the four Taiwanese female subjects operate for cultural balance and integration. Regarding the series, **The past, present and future**, it is through **Patty's** father and her marriage with her Chinese husband in the UK, which illuminates the acknowledgement of the root of the Chinese culture to Taiwanese people, with the expectation of their son as the next generation of ethnic Chinese in Britain. The episode of **In between the two cultures** depicts **Yung-Fang's** experience in dealing with the cultural difference between Taiwan and Britain; she especially exemplifies the contrast of the

postnatal care from her and her mother-in-law, also the contrast between how she and her husband raises their child in different ways.

Travel of the flavour and **Little Taiwan**, these two episodes show the variation and nuances between Taiwanese, Hong Kongese and Mainland Chinese to express the cultural identity of Taiwanese migrants in the UK through the commercial food trade. The vignette of **Crouch, hold and engage**, is about how **Jalen** overcame the problem of alienation and racism from the guidance of his mother - **Claire** and stepfather - **Greg** through playing rugby. Lastly, **A journey to an unknown stop** reveals **Maggie**'s vignette about the uncertainty that the Taiwanese migrants will face when they apply for the European permit or citizenship. An uncertainty that is heightened particularly due to Taiwan's lack of international recognition and the suppression from the government of the People's Republic of China.

Consolidation of theory and practice with rhizomatics

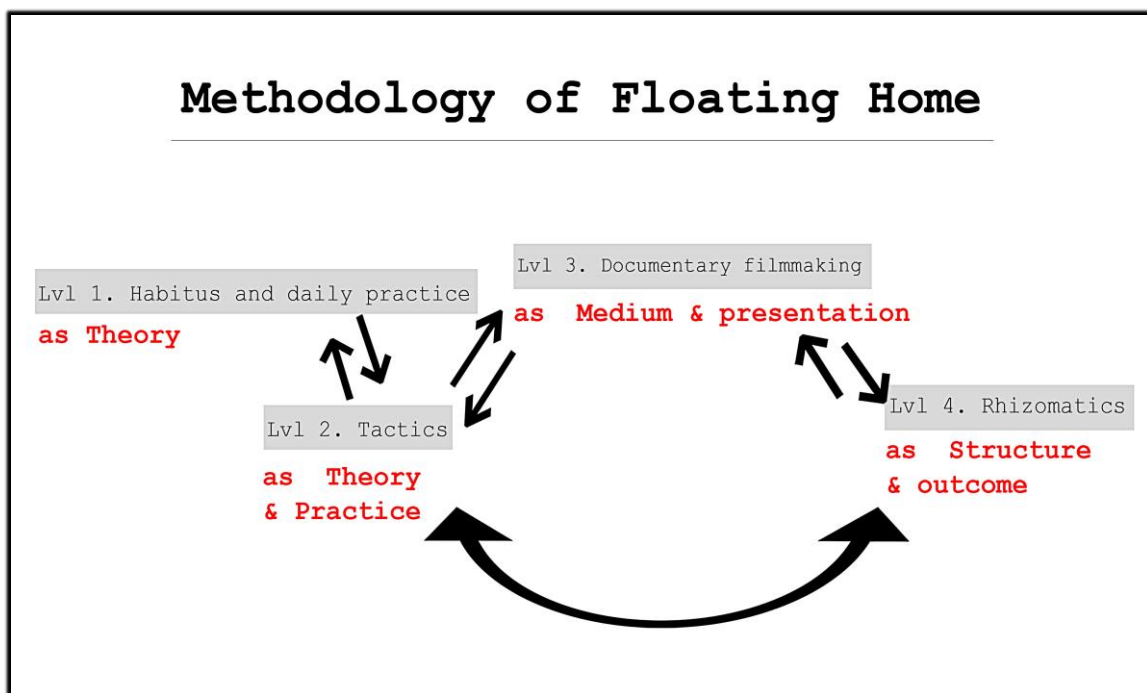


Figure 16. Four levels of methodology in the project of Floating Home

The application of rhizomatics in this project is the key to consolidate the four aspects, habitus and practice, *tactics*, documentary filmmaking and rhizomatics, in the methodology. From **Figure 16.**, it depicts Bourdieu's *habitus and practice* is the first level of the theory and practice to examine the identity of the individuals and the collective, in particular with Taiwan's historical impacts and each of the individual's migratory experience. Due to the transitions of the social landscape, economic position and social status from Taiwan to the UK, the structured habitus/disposition from Taiwan is evolving and transforming with those changes in the migratory situation in Britain, which corresponds to Hall's constantly progressing identity.

The second level is de Certeau's *Tactics*. Because the Taiwanese participants transform their social positions from the majority to the minority through the migration, I employ the concept of the "act of the weak" to theorise their daily practice in the UK as the **acts of adaptation**. Specifically, cooking food in the project is the focus to study the way the subjects make the alternatives to fulfil the needs of nostalgia; and switching languages is another emphasis to show they endeavour to integrate into the host culture.

Essentially, I operate my filmmaking practice with the *tactics* to approach and document the lives of the participants with very minimum equipment and crew. I am also fluid and mobile to adapt their domestic territories and schedules. As this research production is not a commercialised filmmaking and does not have enormous resources financially and physically as a hierarchical big-budget production. More importantly, the approaching method is to adapt the subjects' activities and lives instead of forcing them to come to the filmmaker. Hence,

documentary filmmaking is my third level of the theory and practice, which is to employ the film as a medium and produce through the tactical approach to visually present the participants' practice of everyday life in the UK.

Rhizomatics, on the fourth level of the methodology, is theorised and operated tactically to achieve the non-hierarchical filmmaking and construct a rhizome as the structure and outcome of the research. This non-hierarchical filmmaking process is the principle of the **Floating Home** project, which aims to produce a subterranean-stem structure in order to examine the evolution of Taiwanese identity in the UK through those daily practices via the *tactics*. Thus, the two intersecting tactical trajectories: the everyday practices of the subjects and my filmmaking approach are linked together and converged on me in the form of documentary filmmaking to establish a rhizome.

The purpose of this practice-based research is to unfold the Taiwanese identity in the UK through the documenting of their daily practice. Those so-called mundane and everyday practices are the details to express and show how the Taiwanese migrants actualise the **acts of adaptation** in order to survive and create a new home for their families. And this audiovisuals I have captured and edited could be a new image of Taiwanese's representation in the UK for the future. To investigate and build the representation of Taiwanese identity, I actualise the concept of *tactics* to investigate the subjects' everyday life. This is the focus of next chapter.

Chapter 3: Presenting the Taiwanese identity in the UK Analysis

Taiwanese people are one of marginalised migrants in the UK; they are not only outnumbered by other international immigrants, but they are also homogenised to the group of ethnic Chinese by the host society. In order to reveal what is the cultural identity of the Taiwanese in Britain, it is essential to look at the stereotypical representation of ethnic Chinese in the UK first. Then I will analyse those daily practices that the Taiwanese participants actualise in the film to examine how they operate the *acts of adaptation*. On one hand, the audiovisuals in the production depict their experience to adjust their cultural practice of origin to fit in the host society. On the other, the films also present their desires to maintain and continue their culture of origin to their children. The *acts of adaptation* those Taiwanese subjects operate also reflects on their cultural combination, which indicates their further hybrid cultural identity.

3.1 The stereotypical representation of ethnic Chinese in the UK

The representation of ethnic Chinese in general, particularly on the international media is stereotyped by the Western culture. In the UK, ethnic Chinese's representation is also significantly influenced by the precedent Hong Kongese immigrants, especially the catering business.

Through Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, the predominance of Western power has significantly influenced Westerners' viewpoints to all "non-white" ethnics. Said suggests Orientalism is extolled through the theory of Western dichotomy to divide the strong and the weak, the superior and

the inferior, the West and the East. The point of view of Western imperialism was to homogenise all the weak without justification. Orientalism is the product of this imperialism and colonialism through the power of knowledge to control, oppress and segregate the weak. What Said states is:

'...Orientalism was a rationalisation of colonial rule is to ignore the extent to which colonial rule was justified in advance by Orientalism, rather than after the fact. Men have always divided the world up into regions having either real or imagined distinction from each other. The absolute demarcation between East and West...' (Said, 1978:39)

The demarcation here also indicates the Western view of the weak as "strangeness", "them", and "Others". As Said points out, there are two aspects of the relation between "Us" and "Others" in Orientalism. One is the domination and unfamiliarity that Western is potent and Eastern is distant and beaten. Another is the imagination of potential threats to picture the Eastern as 'insinuating danger' (Said, 1978:57).

Hence, the creation of Yellow Peril was a moral panic stereotype about (South) East Asians, which was generated by the emerging competitive (and thus perceived "unfair") business clash between European empires and Japan and China in the 19th century. According to Benton and Gomez, in Britain, workers in the ports were the group afraid of the Yellow Peril the most; particularly the *Times* who predicted the Chinese could turn into the primary workman in both America and Europe in 1870 (Benton and Gomez, 2008:295). As a result, the Westerners felt a deadly threat posed to the whites by yellow gangs, who had only to "walk slowly westwards" to overwhelm Europe (ibid:293).

The character of Dr. Fu Manchu played by Christopher Lee in the films of *The Face of Fu Manchu (1965)*, *The Brides of Fu Manchu (1966)* and etc. is the precise example for the creation of Yellow Peril (Marchetti, 1993). Additionally, D.W. Griffith's *Broken Blossoms (1919)* perhaps is an early example of Western feature films to show the image of Chinese from the stereotypical representation of Chinese migrants in Limehouse in the early 20th century. In spite of the entire production was taken in Southern California and the male protagonist cast was not even an ethnic Chinese actor. It is worth noting that in cinema it was still acceptable for white actors to play Asian characters long after Hollywood had stopped blackface, which was a makeup used by white actors to represent black characters. On the contrary to *The Face of Dr. Fu Manchu*, *Broken Blossoms* expresses a slightly different point of view between the West and East. From Gina Marchetti's critical analysis, the film sees the violence, deterioration and exploitation from the Western patriarchy despite its 'perversity and spiritual salvation of Chinese character' (Marchetti, 1993:34).

Considering the history of the ethnic Chinese migration in the UK, the business of making food has had a strong appearance in the timeline. Since the practice of the ethnic Chinese cooking and eating shows the vision, sound, and smell from the process, the representation of the food is distinctive. A Video archive - *Chinese Restaurants (1965)* provided online by BFI Player²⁷ visually depicts the ways of cooking Chinese food in Hong Kongese style as well as interviews with local diners about their enjoyment of the authentic food at Birmingham

²⁷ Chinese Restaurants (1965), The Media Archive for Central England, the University of Lincoln, MACE acquires, UK:
<http://player.bfi.org.uk/film/watch-chinese-restaurants-atv-today-1965-1965/>

Chinese restaurants in 1960s. Hence this has influenced and established the social image for the individual and the collective of Hong Kongese migrants in the host societies, especially in those Chinatowns. It echoes to what Lynn Pan states in her book:

'Immigrant Chinese communities are bracketed in most Western minds with the sights and sounds and above all the smells of eating-places in Chinatown, and the one without the other almost does not exist.' (Pan, 1991:316)

As a result, Hong Kongese people in Britain generated a very strong image based on the overwhelming culinary trades since 1960s. Perhaps more influentially, the way they ran the business somehow created their hallmarks, self-imposed segregation and invisible social image, particularly in the takeaway business. As a takeaway shop does not need the best location in the city centre or on the high street, those Hong Kongese became one of Britain's most dispersed ethnic minorities (Benton and Gomez, 2008). Also, this type of business heavily relies on family labour with intensive preparation, most of the families lived "upstairs of the shop" for economic rationale (Benton and Gomez, 2008:125); it corresponds to what **Steve Cheung** states about his childhood situation in his interview (02:02-5, ***Beyond the frying pan***). This could possibly explain why the conclusion of James Watson's study about the ethnic Chinese residents in Britain is 'the least assimilated of all Britain's immigrant minorities' (Watson, 1977:193) though Benton and Gomez argue his findings did not necessarily apply to the wider group (Benton and Gomez, 2008).

Surprisingly, there are few British films about the takeaway culture generated by the Hong Kongese in the UK. **Soursweet**

(1998) directed by Mike Newell could be the most relevant one, which is adopted from the novel: Sour Sweet by Timothy Mo. As the comedy dramatizes a young Hong Kongese couple settling in London to create a new and better life, the film visually recreates the life in London's Chinese community in 1960s. Although the film depicts the awareness of the eccentricities of British and Hong Kongese cultures with the contrast of both ways of life, the film is ironically produced by British filmmakers and the main male and female protagonists are played by two Taiwanese actors, Danny Dun (鄧安寧) and Sylvia Chang (張艾嘉) respectively.

Besides their self-reliant image in the host society, those migrants from Hong Kong somehow generated an intangible border from other ethnic Chinese groups in the formation of the community. Language is one of the cultural aspects to distinguish the differentiations, people convey and communicate through language, which contains the relevance of the content is perceptive and reactive to the contextual conditions. Here, the idea of contextual conditions can be applied to the circumstance and social system. It means, under the same type of languages, cultures, nationality or ethnicity, it is easier for people to connect and communicate. Joan Kelly Hall explains how language connects to collective identity:

'... while we approach our communicative encounters as constellations of various identities, the particular identity or set of identities that becomes significant depends on the activity itself, our goals, and the identities of the other participants.' (K. Hall, 2001:33)

This could explain the reason overseas ethnic Chinese tend to stick with their own kind when they first arrive in other

countries. The longing of security in the foreign land is what they look for whether they are travellers or settlers. The feel of safeness within the ethnic group they belong, the ethnic Chinese migrants can communicate in the same language with commonality of culture, tradition, history and even sharing the same type of food. Pan reveals the grouping actions of the ethnic Chinese migrants:

'Grouping by dialect was the first and the most spontaneous of the characteristics of the overseas Chinese community, and the special sentiment of the emigrants for their home district was reflected in the remarkable network of native-place or dialect associations which they established in all the places in which they settled.' (Pan, 1991:20)

The early Cantonese migrants and those Hong Kongese established numerous Chinatowns in some cities of the United Kingdom such as London, Birmingham and Liverpool, have verified this mode of migration. A short TV archive featured by David Yip, *China Town (1981)*²⁸ significantly indicates how people from Hong Kong inhabited Liverpool in 1981. Furthermore, according to Pan, this type of migration can also be extended once they had developed a base in a foreign nation. The family of migratory ethnic Chinese then sent a young male relative back to China to fetch their relatives from their village of origin to help the migrated members of the family in order to share and develop more opportunities. When they arrived in the new nation, a community of families from the same native place was established. Most

²⁸ China Town (1981), Here and Now television programme, the University of Lincoln, MACE acquires, UK: <http://player.bfi.org.uk/film/watch-china-town-here-and-now-1981-1981/>

interestingly, this certain migratory movement became a life style. Pan stresses the way of migration as "chain migration":

'Back in the village, emigration became a way of life, with son following father or nephew following uncle as a matter of routine, in a process specialists call chain migration.' (Pan, 1991:18)

This type of migration has occurred in various countries, USA, Australia, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippine and etc. However, the circumstances in Britain and Europe, the ethnic Chinese migrants are much more scattered because of the way those Hong Kongese predecessors ran their catering businesses. In general, they were supported in labour and finance by their individual kinship back in Hong Kong. Plus, there were already some rivalry between Hong Kong Cantonese and the Hakka that even divided these two ethnic groups to locate in different areas or cities. In *Beyond the frying pan*, **Yim Kwon Cheung** and their family friend **Margaret Tse** mention that in the 70s most early Hongkongese settlers who located in London were Cantonese, whereas in the Midlands there were more Hakkas migrants (05:04-9, *Beyond the frying pan*).

However, the language of Cantonese was the dominant language within the Hong Kongese migrants, the Chinatowns and Chinese communities in the UK back then were full of Cantonese speakers. If other ethnic Chinese people wanted to blend into the community or have meals with better service in the restaurants, they needed to learn how to speak the language; otherwise they could not integrate into the community. Even Hakka people needed to learn it if they wanted to do business with or hire Hong Kong Cantonese chefs and staffs. As Lynn Pan points out the situation of ethnic Chinese migrants in the early days:

'Because migrants go where they are likely to find their own kind, the overseas communities evolved as places of strong linguistic affinities - Hokkiens with Hokkiens, Teochius with Teochius, Hakkas with Hakkas.' (Pan, 1991:16)

This corresponds to how **Da-Chung Chang** illustrates the phenomenon in the episode of **Little Taiwan**; around 1980s and 1990s, when he had meals in Cantonese or Hong Kongese restaurants in London's Chinatown, they would mock him or serve him with unfriendly manners if he did not know how to speak and understand Cantonese (04:09-30, **Little Taiwan**). As he also needed to work in the catering business, which was dominated by Hong Kongese, he learnt the Cantonese language in order to survive.

Alongside the dominance of Cantonese language, there were a few companies such as See Woo and Wing Yip from the culinary business who ventured into wholesale and retail of ethnic Chinese food, and have developed into major ethnic Chinese supermarkets in the UK (Benton and Gomez, 2008:140). Because those companies like See Woo and Wing Yip have initiated the business of food suppliers, they even branched out producing their own frozen food, sauces and kitchen appliances. Hence, as Hong Kongese migrants fund those major enterprises in Britain, the food products they imported are more of a Cantonese and Hong Kongese flavour, particularly thirty years ago. In the episode of **The Travel of Flavour**, **Marcia Lai** points out that there was no Taiwanese food in those Chinese supermarkets in Chinatown, London in the 1980s, only the ingredients for Hong Kongese food (04:17-41, **The Travel of Flavour**).

Through the interviews with **Marcia Lai** about the lack of Taiwanese food in those Chinese supermarkets in London's Chinatown around 1980s, and the dominance of Cantonese speakers in those shops and restaurants located in Chinatown before 2010 from **Da-Chung Chang's** interview, it marks Hong Kongese migrants in Britain to a pioneering and predominant position among the ethnic Chinese people. With their social image from the culinary trades, it is to say that those early Hong Kongese migrants generated a very stereotypical representation for themselves that was quite often misled and homogenised by the Westerners to treat the ethnic Chinese as a homogenous and monolithic group without understanding the nuances between the various ethnic Chinese groups.

Regarding the contemporary representation of Mainland Chinese people in British cinema, in their rare images of the UK mass media, they quite often appear as new migrants in the host society; most of the time the media positions their images as illegal and undocumented workers. Although the economic situation of Mainland China has improved since the 1980s, smuggling people to Europe has turned to a beneficial business in parts of the mainland (Benton and Gomez, 2008). Many illegal and undocumented Chinese migrants escaped from Mainland China to start a new and better life in Britain mainly driven by the economics. This could possibly explain the reason why the stereotypical image of Mainland Chinese migrants is often displayed as illegitimate workers in the British media.

A couple of indicative and infamous tragedies about the death of illegal Chinese migrants are the deaths of Chinese stowaways in a lorry at Dover in 2000 and the Morecombe Bay cockling tragedy in 2004. The feature film - ***Ghost (2006)*** - directed by Nick Broomfield on the later tragedy was based on

an adaptation of Taiwanese writer Hsiao-Hung Pai's book - *Chinese Whispers: The True Story Behind Britain's Hidden Army of Labour* (2008) to visualise and dramatize the issue of Chinese human trafficking and the poor working and living conditions of illegal migrants. The title of the film - "Ghost" here contains multiple dimensions. Firstly, it arouses the notion of the forgotten migratory lives from the Morecombe Bay cockling tragedy. Furthermore, it indicates those people from the unseen world of modern slavery in British society, like Pai terms the undocumented Chinese migrants as hidden army of labour. On top of that, "Ghost" is a Cantonese slang term - Gweilo (鬼佬) to describe Westerners, which is an inverted acknowledgement of the racism of the locals and the authorities that harass and exploit thousands of the (undocumented) migrants living in the UK²⁹.

The female protagonist - Ai Qin in the film is an illegal worker from southern China who is smuggled into England to search for better work opportunities for her family. She is physically, sexually and financially abused by the exploitation of "snakehead" - the head of smugglers in the UK. This representation of an illegal female Chinese character on the screen corresponds to another female character from a British mini TV series - *Run (2013)* - Ying played by Katie Leung. In the story, Ying has a very similar situation to Ai Qin though her job is to sell pirate DVDs on the streets. Although they are located in different areas - Ai Qin is in northern England and Ying is London - the images of Chinese undocumented female migrants in the UK mass media are usually invisible and unnoticeable and undertake unpleasant and

²⁹ Geall, Sam (2006), Britain's hungry ghosts on Open Democracy: https://www.opendemocracy.net/arts-Film/ghosts_4036.jsp

extremely low-paid work with the language barrier and a feeling of uncertainty and helplessness for the future.

In spite of the stereotypical image of Mainland Chinese people in the British media, the recent Chinese economic boom aided the increasing number of Chinese students studying in Britain contradicts this representation of uncertainty and helplessness. Although many students from Mainland China have studied in UK since the 1980s, the numbers have constantly risen and rapidly boomed after 2010. As reported by University UK, the percentage of Chinese students in three groups of international entrants: China, India, and other non-EU countries from 2008-09 to 2012-13, increased from 20% to 33%³⁰. This relatively connects to more Chinese investments and business in the UK, and relates to the increasing number of Chinese food products, supermarkets, superstores, takeaway shops and restaurants.

Claire mention in *Floating Home* that the increased access to ethnic Chinese food products and ingredients has occurred in the last decade. From her opinion, this is much easier nowadays to find ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese ingredients in the Western and Chinese supermarkets in the UK than ten years ago (58:13-50, *Floating Home*). Moreover, restaurant owner **Da-Chung Chang**, describes in the episode of *Little Taiwan*, the recent transformation of London's Chinatown, where the area has changed from the predominance of Hong Kongese to the rising popularity of Mainland Chinese investors and migrant workers. Mandarin has replaced Cantonese as the common language spoken in Chinatown (04:31-56, *Little Taiwan*). Hence,

³⁰ Statistics of International students in higher education: the UK and its competition:
<http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/highereducation/Documents/2014/InternationalStudentsInHigherEducation.pdf>

from **Da-Chung**'s narration, it could see that the present-day Mainland Chinese migrants start developing a new image of ethnic Chinese people in Britain. People from Mainland China has gradually taken over the position of preceding Hong Kongese people in Britain.

However, whether is the image of catering business generated by Hong Kongese people, the sad and tragic representation of undocumented Mainland Chinese migrants, or the new and powerful icons brought by the recent newcomers from Mainland China, they are not the images to represent Taiwanese people in the UK. Thus, next section I am going to analyse the Taiwanese subjects' daily practices through the films in Floating Home production in order to see how they adapt the UK environment and maintain their culture of origin at the same time.

3.2 The practice of daily migratory life

The films in this project, allow the study of the participants' practice of everyday life, they render it visible and tangible, whereas the normality and continuousness of everyday life can make it seem invisible and insignificant. In order to see the cultural identity of Taiwanese in the UK, with the migratory experience and transnational marriage of the main participants, their daily acts directly reflect on their habitus which is revealed through their *tactics* - ways of doing things in Britain, away from their homeland. Pierre Mayol in the book - *The Practice of Everyday Life Volume 2: Living & Cooking* states that a cultural practice is a somewhat coherent and fluent collection of elements, which are,

'... concrete and everyday (a gourmet menu) or ideological (religious, political), at once coming from a tradition (that of a family or social group) and reactualized from day to day across behaviors translating fragments of this cultural device into social visibility, in the same way that the utterance translates fragments of discourse in speech.' (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol, 1998:09)

In other words, if we employ Bourdieu's concept of habitus, the "behaviour" from each agent Mayol mentions above is comprised by the taste, tradition and ideology that are influenced and generated by the social structure and environment. The behaviour then through "practice" actualises in the everyday life, which an individual or a group consciously and unconsciously positions the identity in the network of social relations. Thus, it is understood that the identity could be unfolded by the study of the everyday practices to see what the specific group present and represent through their cultural activities.

Taking inspiration from Taiwanese New Cinema, where the filmmakers focused on ordinary people in everyday life and adopted the most common languages in the areas. The films were set in order to unfold the 'Taiwanese experience' (Udden, 2007b: 199) in the stories. Modernism and nativism were two major trends that shaped and outlined the movement, led by Edward Yang and Hou Hsiao-Hsien respectively. Specifically, "people and dwelling" were central to Hous' films (Kellner, 1998:109). The character's the filmmakers created were ubiquitous and commonplace heroes, and the narratives on how they navigate the banal practices of everyday life are vividly represented in the motion pictures. This emphasised the day-to-day experience of what it meant to be Taiwanese, and rendered it visible. Akin to Italian neorealism, which focused on the everyday struggle of ordinary people in post war Italy, it was a political act, making the everyday life visible and exporting this portrayal of Taiwanese identity to the international scene.

For example, in one of Hou's early works - ***Dust in the Wind (1986)***, the film illustrates a love story about a young couple from a village in the northern-east of Taiwan. As the despatched male protagonist keeps writing letters to his lover on an outlying island whilst he is in the military service, the female protagonist falls in love with the postman who delivers the post to her every day. In the end, the young couple do not get together. Whilst the story of the film is actually the scriptwriter, Wu Nien-Jen's autobiography, the director Hou uses Wu's working class background to create a visual working class world through framing the protagonist as a man coming from an impoverished miner's family up in the hills. The young couple's journey from their village to the city, it represents the contrasting lifestyles between city

life and village life. The transition between two different lives and places metaphorically shows the changes of the characters' habitus and the struggles of the village working class man living in the city. The scenes are illustrated mostly in the actual locations and reflected what ordinary Taiwanese youngsters in 1980s would encounter when they entered the city lives.

Moreover, in Edward Yang's films, although most the protagonists in his film live in Taipei, their occupations and social status are recognised as general people mixed with different classes such as office clerks, students, wanderers, etc. In the idea of revealing the cultural aspect in Taiwan, Yang also signified the cultural influences from the USA and Japan through the insertion of social activities in certain locations. For instance, in *Taipei Story (1985)*, Yang set the protagonist as a baseball player hangs around a Karaoke bar with contemporary Japanese style. This shows the cultural impact of post colonialism by Japan's imperialism not only on the social activities (being a baseball player), but also on the environment (the Karaoke bar). Additionally, he designed many scenes in *A Confucian Confusion (1994)* to show where the protagonists dwell in Taipei, such as T.G.I Fridays, clubs and a sports bar projecting a NBA basketball match on the wall to point out the consuming environment in modern Taipei and hint at the clash of Eastern and Western cultures in the capital (Yeh & Davis, 2005).

Interestingly, Edward Yang composed a lot of scenes to show his protagonists waking up in the morning to start the films; whereas Hou exercised many plots in films involved with dining, particularly in familial scenes. Correspondingly, the Taiwan New Cinema filmmakers sought to replicate and emulate what common people actually do via filmmaking. Hence, the New

Cinema filmmakers applied the idea of tracking the ubiquitous characters in the film tactically to show their trajectories of dwelling in the stories. Although their films are works of drama and would be categorised in fictional genres, the realist style - almost "documentary-esque" of the filmmaking style was the key to represent and reveal the actual history of Taiwan. Wen-chi Lin states in his analysis of Hou:

'Through the representation of those dwelling actions, it is distinctly real to reveal Taiwan society. The history of Taiwan is no longer stereotyped narrated in textbooks or authoritative declaration and slogan, but it was reproduced through the inevitably real existence of the daily practices from these common people in the society.'
(Lin, 1996:64)

Therefore, the New Cinema filmmakers paid much more attention on the dwelling of those ubiquitous characters, and those ordinary men function as a majority of "others" to operate as "the weak" in the society. From de Certeau's perception, the role of "anyone" or "nobody" creates a common place for the universal connection (de Certeau, 1984), the power of those general characters is delicate and yielding; however, the influence of everydayness from "the weak" repeats the daily actions and infiltrates the small intelligence slowly and gradually into the way of life in community and society. Eventually those repetitions of daily actions and intelligence become a common practice that everyone shares and acknowledges. This common practice is those common people's *tactics* to survive in the hierarchical society. Those New Cinema films dramatize and visualise the *tactics* that the Taiwanese common people do every day in order to live in the poor condition and situation. This also refers to the reason the films of Taiwan New Cinema, about ubiquitous characters'

stories to portray how do they live and speak in those banal daily acts, are significantly reflexive to the audience and representative to the Taiwanese identity back in 80s.

Subsequently, I chose to significantly employ the concept of *tactics* along with the inspiration of Taiwan New Cinema to document and observe my focus groups through their practice of everyday life. Although I chose the form of documentary to visualise and archive my research, my aim and intention was to focus on my subjects' daily acts through the lens capturing in certain aspects, specifically cooking food and speaking languages in both of my feature documentary and the series to see how they tactically operate the *acts of adaptation* in the UK.

Food

The process of cooking is akin to the process of filmmaking in my point of view. As the filmmaking process requires three stages: pre-production, production, and post-production, the cooking is a similar structure: the collecting and purchasing the ingredients, the preparation and all forms of cooking, and the way to serve and eat. Thus, before the service to people, collecting or shopping for the ingredients initiates the process of cooking. Nowadays, shopping has become the most common way for people to collect the ingredients.

The case for migrants cooking in foreign lands is more intricate as they need to adapt to the host environment and find the alternatives - ***acts of adaptation*** - to actualise the authentic hometown food. The *tactics* they operate are either to recreate the food with the local ingredients they can find from the host markets or they go to the shops run by their own fellows to purchase the imported country food. In the case of

Taiwanese migrants in the UK, **Claire** depicts that she thinks those Taiwanese married women in Britain are amazing because they will 'use the British ingredients to make Taiwanese food' when they are desperately homesick (55:24-31, ***Floating Home***). She further explains, due to the migratory situation, she has self-taught to learn numerous Taiwanese dishes in the UK that she would not make them before. In addition, she points out that 'the longing of hometown food to Taiwanese people is significant' (56:32-35, *ibid*) that she would try her best to satisfy her husband and children to make some specific food, particularly they had tried and liked the dishes when they were in a short-term holiday in Taiwan. This clearly indicates that the migrants operate *tactics* - ***acts of adaptation*** to find either similar or slightly different ingredients to recreate their taste of origin.

Taiwanese people and ethnic Chinese can also access to those Chinese supermarkets and grocery shops. With the development of Chinese grocery business alongside the rapid growth of the catering trades during 1970s and 1980s from those early Cantonese and Hong Kongese migrants, there were a few companies including See Woo and Wing Yip, from the culinary business who ventured into wholesaling and retailing ethnic Chinese food, and have developed into major ethnic Chinese supermarkets in the UK (Benton and Gomez, 2008). Even a few early-developed manufacturers such as Amoy Food Ltd. provided cooking sauces and condiments more widely in the West (Pan, 1991).

Nevertheless, as Hong Kongese immigrants funded those major enterprises in Britain, the food products they imported were more Cantonese and Hong Kongese in flavour, especially thirty years ago. In the episode of ***The Travel of Flavour***, **Marcia Lai** points out there were no Taiwanese food in those Chinese

supermarkets in Chinatown, London when she arrived at the UK in the 1980s, only the ingredients for Hong Kongese food could be found (04:16-23, *The Travel of Flavour*). The couple, **Sherman** and **Marcia Lai** have broadened their business into the import of Taiwanese food to Britain in recent years. Thus, in terms of collecting and purchasing the hometown ingredients for the Taiwanese participants, it is becoming less difficult to find the alternatives than before.



Figure 17. A screen shot from *Floating Home* shows Claire Griffin makes dumplings for her family's dinner

Regarding the preparation, cooking and eating of food, this culinary activity is fundamental to all human beings as well as other human actions in everyday life. In the case of Taiwanese culture, it had been significantly influenced by the impact of Chinese cultural since majority of Taiwanese people's ancestors are Han Chinese and the movement of Sinicization ran by the KMT during the period of the Martial law. Thus, a lot of Taiwanese eating philosophy is involved

with Chinese ways of thinking, particularly the traditional festival food such as dishes for the celebration of Lunar/Chinese New Year.

In this sense, my research project is slightly close to the topic of ***Pushing Hands (1992)*** and ***The Wedding Banquet (1993)*** since Ang Lee produced both films in the USA to disclose the clash and negotiation between Eastern and Western cultures. Lee represents a strong visual and dramatic conflict between the two cultures, just as a scene of ***Pushing Hands (1992)*** demonstrates where a Mainland Chinese father and his American daughter-in-law have a completely different way of cooking and eating in the kitchen. My work is not as dramatic as Lee's recreation; instead, my films reveal the sense of adaptation and negotiation between the two cultures in each main participant's family. The adaptation and negotiation from the Taiwanese subjects can be viewed as their use of *tactics*.

Furthermore, his visual representations of ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese food in the films also inspired me to employ this daily necessity to distinguish the cultural differentiation and connections. In ***Eat Drink Man Woman (1994)***, Lee reveals the cooking process of ethnic Chinese and Taiwanese dishes to visualise the outstanding images that he applied it as a medium and metaphor of the relationships between father and daughters. In my films, I document my participants through the food not only to link with each Taiwanese migrant in the UK, but they also spread out the Taiwanese culture to the host with their cuisines. **Marcia Lai** depicts her experience that she had influenced a Nigeria family, in particular the boy, who was inspired by her cooking and presented the dish to his class (13:49-14:45, ***Travel of the flavour***).

However, the everyday cooking in the subjects' domestic domains is somehow different from those gatherings of Taiwanese traditional festivals. In the circumstances of their transnational marriages, the style of food the Taiwanese female subjects prepare would not be one-dimensional (which would only satisfy the subjects' nostalgic satisfaction). Instead, they often make alternate meals between Eastern and Western cuisines, in particular with the hometown styles from both sides of the couples. In the case of **Patty Pan**, albeit she and her husband **Frank Gao** have similar cultural backgrounds, they do not stick to Eastern cuisines only for their daily meals. As a result, the kitchen is the space where they utilise their creativity, memory and crafty cooking skills everyday as Giard terms 'a very ordinary intelligence' (de Certeau, Giard & Mayol, 1998: 158).

Those cooking skills are applied through the kitchen appliances, which the subjects need to familiarise the tools. Although Bourdieu applies the "class consciousness" through the meaning of tastes and preferences to exemplify the notion of habitus to continue and evolve in the material condition generations to generations (Bourdieu, 1984:109), it is able to employ the same concept to look through the cultural identity via the everyday practice. In his book - *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Tim Edensor points out that we live with things or objects in the home that often need to domesticate, customise and situate those objects. As objects normally included in everyday practices, we organise, utilise and consume those objects with our dispositions, which our habitus has been developed by the environmental, social, familial influence with personal experience (Edensor, 2002:105).

In the case of four Taiwanese female participants, the tools and kitchen appliances in their kitchens indicate the transnational and intercultural influences for daily use. The four main subjects mix the Western and Eastern type of kitchen appliances in the space. The steamer, rice cooker and wok are alongside the frying pans, saucepans and casserole dishes. Regarding the tableware in the drawers, the participants also make a cultural combination such as knives, forks, and spoons, which are along with chopsticks and ceramic spoons. Hence, those intercultural combinations of kitchenware and tableware the subject used express the familial relations balanced between the two cultures and two ethnics in each family.

Therefore, based on the dual cultures my subjects have in their territory, those four Taiwanese women often apply their creativity in mixing two different types of cuisines or cooking practices, whether it is mixed in the ingredients or the cooking methods. Generally, they alternate turns in cooking Western and Eastern dishes in order to please their partners and themselves. The *tactics* to them for cooking domestically is to find a cultural balance between Taiwanese, British and their husband's culture. Interestingly, all the subjects and their partners are open minded to accept two distinct traditional foods with some diverse personal tastes. The participants would cook Taiwanese cuisines to the families such as Taiwanese beef noodles in soup, steamed, pan-fried dumplings, and etc. in order to share and pass their sides of the culture.

At the same time, the female subjects are also willing to learn how to make the traditional meals from their partners' cultures. **Maggie Chang**, for example, has learnt how to make some Portuguese and Brazilian food such as Bacalhau com natas (cod with cream) and Feijoada respectively in order to satisfy

her husband's nostalgia. In the case of **Yung-Fang Chen**, although it is not necessary for her to learn how to make some traditional English food like Shepherds' Pie or a Full English breakfast, she has memorised the recipe of a Sunday Roast with some tips from her parents-in-law. However, in terms of learning partners' traditional cuisines, the tendency of cultural balance is heavily leaning towards to the female side.

As Woodward mentions, the role of food is part of 'constructing identities and the mediation of culture in the transformation of the natural' which are essential in the cooking process into the kitchen (Woodward, 1997:33). Thus, the kitchen becomes an essential domain for each family, particularly for those who have open kitchens attached with dinner tables. Having breakfast, (sometimes) lunch and dinner on the dining tables is the crucial time for the family and the gathering that conducts each subject to produce not only food but also life and memories in the private spheres in the UK.



Figure 18. A screen shot from *Floating Home* shows Maggie Chang and her daughter Luna rolling out the flour to make breads

Language

It is understood that learning the host language for a migrant is a vital element in integrating in a foreign land because the migrant as the minority often needs to adapt him or herself to the host culture, the majority, in order to dwell safely. In other words, survive. Thus, language is an instrument to conduct human communication whether humans are in the same social system or in a diverse social structure. Moreover, as Bourdieu states, language is not only an instrument to communicate between the speaker and the hearer; it also indicates,

'... a symbolic relation of power between that the producer with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market) and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit.' (Bourdieu, 1992:67)

Hence, language from Bourdieu's viewpoint could be viewed as the product of a complex combination of social, historical, and political factors of formation (Thompson, 1995). This implies that the action of linguistic exchange is essential to migrants to immerse into the host culture.

In this research, all my participants have the ability to speak at least two languages whether it is Cantonese, Hakka, Taiwanese Mandarin or Hokkien alongside English. They are all aware of how vital a requirement their inhabitation in the UK is to their understanding and expression of the English language, which facilitates an approach, a familiarisation and an integration into the host culture and society. Meanwhile, they will be able to introduce, share and deliberate their cultures of origin after they gain the ability to speak English. Here, the linguistic situations of the subjects could be divided into two circumstances: the external and internal spheres for the diverse purposes.

In the external situations, apart from the gatherings with their Taiwanese friends in the UK, the four main participants are able to speak in English, which is the host language, to facilitate themselves residing, go shopping, and interacting with the locals. Through their *tactics*, the ***acts of adaptation*** they are taken to learn and adapt the host language is the way to actualise their aims: dwelling in the foreign land, integrating into the host society with their families, and ultimately building a new/second home in Britain. As those Taiwanese participants are the minority in the United Kingdom, they all need to use their *tactics* to infiltrate their mother language to their host friends. For instance, through the Taiwanese traditional festivals such as giving food or presents with traditional Chinese letters. Or another way, through teaching (Taiwanese) Mandarin in the local society, as

Yung-Fang Chen used to in Portsmouth. Furthermore, as their children currently grow up in the British society, English will be the prime language or even the mother language for them, like **Patty Pan** describes in *The past, present and future* (09:56-10:05, *The past, present and future*). Thus, in order to be able to interact and communicate with their children and other halves without a linguistic barrier, the subjects need to pick up English.

On the other hand, in the internal circumstances, those Taiwanese female participants tend to speak dual languages in their territories; this includes **Patty Pan** though she does not need to have conversations in English with her Mainland Chinese husband. Despite the communication with their Western husbands in English, those Taiwanese mothers tactically “insinuate” Taiwanese Mandarin into the conversations between them and children, because they are eager to pass their mother tongue to the next generation for the practical reason: to be able to understand and communicate with families on the island of Taiwan. Interestingly, their husbands have caught on and have learnt their wives’ language gradually while they are parenting the children in the everyday life. **Ben Gibbon** - **Yung-Fang Chen**’s husband describes the situation in the episode 3 of *In between the two cultures* that he has learnt the Mandarin from his daughter is ‘baby Mandarin’, which is not quite the same as the proper/adult one (08:04-11, *In between the two cultures*). This indicates that the Taiwanese subjects operate their *tactics* to teach and influence their children in the everyday life in order to continue and pass their culture of origin to the next generations.



Figure 19. A screen shot from *In between the two cultures* shows Yung-Fang Chen, Ben Gibbon and their daughter Jilly cross the road

Regarding the linguistic situation of the second generation of ethnic Chinese, **Steve Cheung** is the paradigm to show how they generally situate. As a second generation of Hong Kongese migrant, **Steve** expresses to me that English is his mother language although he communicates with his parents in Hakka and speaks to his chef in Cantonese which **Steve** self-studied by watching imported Hong Kongese TV series and films in 1970s and 1980s. However, he cannot read and write Chinese letters apart from his Chinese name despite having attended Chinese school in his childhood. This corresponds to what Benton and Gomez found in their book,

'... Chinese children exposed to an English-language education and aware of the role of language in ensuring upward social mobility put little energy into mastering Chinese.' (Benton and Gomez, 2008:336)

Benton and Gomez then suspect the outcome of the investment of time and effort of those ethnic Chinese parents sending their children to the Chinese schools. Here I like to argue about their findings; although the investment of learning Chinese languages might not be always successful to educate British ethnic Chinese in reading, writing and speaking in Chinese languages, the learning processes do support those second or third generations to understand the languages of their parents and grandparents.

According to **Steve Cheung** in *Beyond the frying pan*, he expresses:

'... it gives younger generation like my daughter to learn their roots... I don't expect her to read a letter or write a letter. But just have some background of her Chinese culture to know that you are from Chinese ethnic. You might look different from your friends at school but you know, that's the way it is.' (10:36-11:00, ***Beyond the frying pan***)



Figure 20. A screen shot from *Beyond the frying pan* shows me filming the interactions between teacher and students in a Cantonese class at Coventry Chinese school

In brief, through my subjects' practices of everyday life in Britain, it is understood that they operate the **acts of adaptation** in order to survive in the foreign land. They need to tactically find the alternative ingredients to make their hometown food for those traditional festivals such as Luna New Year. This reveals the way of cooking is part of habitus evolved and transformed by the negotiation of the environment in my subjects' migratory life in the UK. Besides, they also need to satisfy theirs and partners' nostalgia longings with the turns of swapping the different dishes from two sides of cultures in their families. In terms of the use of languages, the main participants require to be bilingual and be able to speak English to dwell in the host society. They then operate their bilingual ability to communicate with their partners and children in the transnational marriages. However, they

tactically insinuate their mother languages whether in the domestic domain or public space to their children in order to influence the next generation to be capable to understand and communicate with their families in Taiwan in Taiwanese Mandarin.

It is clearly that the main Taiwanese participants in the research actualise the *tactics* to be fluid and adapt the environment to the upbringing of their children. They operate their *tactics* to adapt the host culture and maintain and continue their culture of origin. This means they combine the two or three cultures into their practice to survive in Britain. This process can be seen as the process of generating a further hybrid culture from Taiwanese migrants. This is the focus I will discuss in the next section.

3.3 The evolving hybrid identities

Taiwan, the island itself and the habitants live on the land, have been through various imperial and colonial evasions. The foreign influences such as Spain, Netherland, Japan and China have had impacts on Taiwanese culture, particularly the two later cultures. With the effect of globalisation, the culture of the island has also absorbed a great impact of Western culture, mainly from the USA. Thus, the films produced during the movement of Taiwan New Cinema directly and indirectly show the hybrid elements in the Taiwanese social and cultural experiences. As Kellner states 'Taiwan was a unique amalgam of a modern and traditional society' around 1980s (Kellner, 1998:108). This could indicate the habitus the Taiwanese people carry is a hybrid signifier.

In this practiced-based research, through the *acts of adaptation* the Taiwanese participants operate in finding alternatives to dwell in Britain, they engender a combination of Taiwanese mingled with host cultures and a cultural influence from their partners in their UK life. Hence, the cultural combination from their dwelling and life styles could be viewed as another further cultural hybridity, which is related to Stuart Hall's the 'New World presence' (Hall, 1990:235). Before we talk about this further cultural hybridity, it is essential to look at the concept of hybridity first.

Hybridity is possibly one of the most significant concepts in the latest century. From the era of imperialism and colonialism, and to the period of cold war that followed and beyond, the theoreticians have attempted to form new theories with those prefixed terms, post-colonialism and post-modernism, etc. Those human movements have established the

transition of space and time, crossed and overlapped with various ethnicities to develop complex characters of cultural and ethnical identity. Thus, hybridity is often connected to the impacts of post-colonialism in our era.

The term of hybridity, according to Robert J.C. Young, originally was applied to bully those who are next generations of miscegenation, the crossbreeds. It was employed by the thought of eugenicists and scientific-racists to experiment with the differences between each human race in order to discover the question of different races are different species in nineteenth-century (Young, 1995). The concept itself developed over decades into the celebration of cultural mixture alongside the growing impact of globalisation in contemporary times. For the purposes of this project, I apply the term after Homi Bhabha's cultural perception that hybridity is the connection, the bridge, to link the cultural differences that then produces another space to position itself as to whether it is individual or communal.

Hybridity, from Bhabha's notion, is 'the emergence of the interstices' (Bhabha, 1994:02) that fills in the gap between the two or more cultures in the moments of cultural transformation. From the minority perspective, it is a continuous negotiation to compromise the authorised cultures and maintain their own through which emerges a cultural combination. On the other side, through the majority or the privileged, as Bhabha states,

'... it is resourced by the power of tradition to be reinscribed through the conditions of contingency and contradictoriness that attend upon the lives of those who are "in the minority".' (ibid:03)

Bhabha's theory of hybridity can be applied in numerous colonial situations such as French imperialism in Algeria, Spanish conquests in Mexico and Peru. Those colonised countries develop their hybrid culture that contains the dominant colonial influence and the local traditions. Through the political negotiation between the two or more cultures emerges something new through the process of "transformation" and "translation". Language is an appropriate example that 'overcomes the given grounds of opposition and opens up a space of translation: a place of hybridity' (ibid:37). In this sense, the current condition of Taiwan is also a cultural hybridity.

Contemporary Taiwanese culture as a hybridity

Although most Taiwanese people have been the majority and have had a predominant relationship with the aborigines on the island, they were a weak majority and unable to defend the powerful minority of the Japanese army and Mainland Chinese newcomers (the KMT). Hence, the identity of the islanders has been constructed and augmented, then constructed and augmented again through a different colonised sovereignty. Through the cultural development during these regimes, all the cultural elements have been blended in together and evolved to the style of life nowadays; but at the same time, there is some maintenance of old colonial cultures and buildings. For example, in Taiwanese Hokkien, there are quite a few words that adopt Japanese pronunciations to the local languages. Additionally, the building of the Taiwanese president hall was a historical site built by the Japanese government, which was used by the Governor-General of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period. While there are few Japanese cultural remainders in the culture on the island, the local culture has

also accepted and integrated with the dominance of the Chinese-centric policy that the KMT brought to the country.

On top of those, owing to the early political and business connections to the USA, during the year of Cold War, the culture of the island also has been hugely influenced by the cultural hegemony from the United States. The import of American products, sports, music, TV programmes and films, even the idea of learning a second language and studying overseas in the USA, have all been heavily fed to the Taiwanese and have gradually transformed into the trend and the culture. The cinema market in Taiwan is an indicative example of revealing how Hollywood dominates the market on the island. Udden points out that Hollywood's predominance in Taiwan is mainly through the investment, marketing and distribution. Hollywood distributors were earning close to 90 per cent of the total box-office in the market of Taiwan on their own; and the enterprise of Warner Brother even opened a cinema village in the city of Taipei, which was the single largest movie theatre complex in all of Asia in 1998 (Udden, 2007a); there have been more movie theatre complexes gradually built since then.

According to the hybrid culture Taiwanese people have established, they not only understand the connections of historical relations from each sovereignty brought by the cultures to the island, but they also absorb those cultures to reproduce their own, creating into a new one. This is what Bhabha addresses as the two main advantages of the position of hybridity:

'First, it acknowledges the historical connectedness between the subject and object of critique so that there can be no simplistic, essentialist opposition between

ideological miscognition and revolutionary truth... my second point - the function of theory within the political process becomes doubled-edged.' (Bhabha, 1994:38)

Bhabha's "Doubled-edged", the way I interpret here is, it is the identity crisis that people in hybrid culture will suffer. The chorological change of Taiwanese identity through the authorisation of the KMT is a precise example. In this project, it is clear that the Taiwanese participants come from a hybrid culture of a historical and colonial influence, which the identity of Taiwanese is still unsettled and fluid. When the Taiwanese people migrate to a new place and country where they still have to assimilate another culture in order to establish their identity again in the current location they are almost doubly hybridised. As the travellers and migrants without a politically dominant force will always need to adjust and adapt to the places and cultures where they settle. They are the minority who attempt to *tactically* survive with the majority. Hence, the cultural negotiation of their inhabitation, or in other words, the *acts of adaptation* I have pointed out in various times in this thesis which are significant and essential to the migratory dwelling in their cases.

Assimilation of contraries with Confucianist ideology

For the project's participants, the process of integration and the maintenance of their own cultures is the procedure of what Bhabha points out, 'assimilation of contraries' (Bhabha, 1994:56). This corresponds to one Chinese idiom we learnt in school in Taiwan, [rùjìng suísú] (入境隨俗), and the meaning is very similar to the English one: 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do.' The idea of these two idioms refers to what the

migrant needs to do to enter and accommodate local mainstream ways of living in order to immerse themselves into the host cultural norm. The process of "assimilation of contraries" can be viewed as the balance of the conflict between cultural integration and resistance, particularly the original ways of thinking of the migrants - their structured habituses.

As Confucianism had influenced numerous countries in South East Asia for centuries, the behaviour of most people there had been based on this doctrine. In other words, Confucianism is also part of their habitus as the objective background. This includes the morality and values the Taiwanese people received by the KMT's China-centric educational system. As the attention of Confucianism is to require "inner cultivation", or as Bryan Van Norden describes in the introduction of *The Ways of Confucianism* by David Nivison's: internalism (Norden, 1996:03), it determines people to develop a virtue or morality to approach a good way of life and a good way of being. Confucians aim to access a spirit of virtue known as *de* (德). From Xingzhong Yao's description, *de* (德) primitively implies 'a political and spiritual quality or ability, which was the "power" or "charisma" by which a king could rule the state without resorting to force or violence' (Yao, 2000:155). Under this notion with homophonic pronunciation, *de* (德) could be also defined as "to obtain" (*de*, 得) means that a good moral man is capable of obtaining the affirmation from Heaven and the ancestors to access all the supports for the life. Hence *de* (德) becomes an asset of virtue to the development of a person.

With this perception, the ethnic Chinese have inherited *de* (德) and developed it into diverse notions for the prevention of frustration by the complexities of external causes in order

to prevent the corruption of the mind. Therefore, the ideology of humility and good-behaviour have emerged in the ideology of the ethnic Chinese societies. However, this humility and good-behaviour under the sense of Confucianism somehow has over-developed in the ethnic Chinese social culture that has made people only abide by the law and behave safely. This kind of attitude leads to ethnic Chinese appearing much more passive, particularly when they encounter Western cultures in a foreign land. **Margret Tse**, the interpreter says in **Beyond the frying pan**:

'Most of Chinese are afraid of getting involved in anything. We would say 'forget it', even if things were broken.' (13:56-14:03, ***Beyond the frying pan***)

This could possibly explain the reason most ethnic Chinese avoid any cumbersome trouble even if they are bullied. Furthermore, this traditional ideology of humbleness from Confucianism also becomes a factor that hinders their dwelling and working in Britain. Through **Patty Pan**'s point of view in the feature documentary **Floating Home**, she exemplifies the difference in style of job-hunting in the UK between Westerners and Taiwanese. She depicts that most of time the Taiwanese tend to downgrade or not fully show their ability on their CVs, whereas the Americans and the British tend to exaggeratedly express their skills. Meaning the Taiwanese job hunters would often not be able to find a job in the UK due to their modest attitudes (38:26-39:13, ***Floating Home***).

Constantly searching for cultural balance as the tactics

The Taiwanese subjects in this research endeavour to integrate into the host society and articulate their national and cultural position at the same time. Through the everyday life

of the main participants, they tend to share and unfold information about Taiwan to their local and international friends. Essentially, because of their transnational marriages, they retain the same perception of the cultural balance from their domestic domain to their outward social activities. Thus, they are much open to adapt and be approachable with the locals.

On one hand, they aim to take part in the gatherings of their Taiwanese friends in order to address the longing for their homeland in the form of food, language and friendship. But they also encourage their children and husbands to familiarise themselves with the Taiwanese culture. The gathering at **Maggie Chang**'s house in the episode of *A journey to an unknown stop* shows their celebration of Duanwu/The Dragon Boat Festival. The sequence reveals that **Maggie** and her friends make rice dumplings/zongzi 粽子 and mix her Brazilian husband's barbeque to harmonize the Eastern and Western cultures.



Figure 21. A screen shot in feature *Floating Home* shows the celebration of Ethan's birthday party with Patty, Frank and their friends

On the other hand, the four main participants also tend to make local friends with a mixture of people between the regular participation of social activities and the attendance of house parties and celebrations. Birthday parties in this case are a good paradigm. **Figure 21.** shows the birthday party of **Ethan** (son of **Patty** and **Frank**) in **Floating Home**, his **parents** arranged and invited their Chinese, Taiwanese and English friends and colleagues to join the party. Although they did not serve any authentic Chinese or Taiwanese food at the party, they created an international event that included the children in a multicultural and multiracial environment. Children of different ethnicity at the party watched a Taiwanese children's TV program together without any language barrier. In addition, in the episode of **In between the two cultures**, the family of **Yung-Fang Chen** attended another birthday party of local friends at a social club showing the natives also having an open mind to accepting foreigners in their communities.

Furthermore, in the aspect of being involved in the local activities, I captured **Maggie Chang's** family taking the children out for Halloween in **Floating Home**. The parents followed and helped the children to select which houses were available for trick-or-treat in the residential area of Rugby. Although, the event of Halloween is arguably an American commercial import, the engagement of the activity is influential to the children and the participants to adapt to the way of life in Britain in order to assimilate into the host society instead of confining themselves. Additionally, most of the main participants are keen to encourage their children to join in the local extracurricular activities such as swimming classes, the youth rugby football team, and ballet school. In **Crouch, hold and engage**, **Claire** and **Gregory** encouraged **Jalen** to play rugby and state that he has benefited

from it not only in finding an interest and confidence, but also in gaining his own social networks and friendships through this team sport.



Figure 22. A screen shot in Crouch, hold and engage shows Jalen does the training with his rugby teammates

According to those activities mentioned above, it is clear that those four main Taiwanese participants in my research aim to be willing to engage in more social activities in the host society, encouraging their children to assimilate into the host culture, at the same time they themselves also profit from the participation of immersing themselves into the culture of the UK. Their reciprocal relationship with both cultures implies their *tactics* to constantly search for the cultural balance. Whilst they merge themselves culturally into the host culture through participating at these local activities, they also express their Taiwanese identity as cultural agents. Both by being there and interacting with

people thus participating in their own way where people will learn from them: who they are and where they come from and how they have adapted thus far. From those moving pictures in my project, they indicate the images of extroverted social activists, an opposite to the cultural stereotype of the ethnic Chinese society overseas: as 'introverted and self-reliant' (Benton and Gomez, 2008:291).

As a result, they are becoming another hybridity through those negotiated and alternative practices my subjects operate in their everyday life. Their identities have reformed again from the on-going evolving habituses that are not only the result of practical transformation and translation of the two cultures between East and West but they are also the appreciations of the historical relations from the two sides of the cultures.

These two aspects of cultural negotiations and historical appreciations in the hybrid identity refer back to Stuart Hall's "becoming as well as being" or the New World presence. As Hall indicates that the presence of New World is a metaphorical diaspora term to the hybrid identity that continually engender and regenerate themselves anew through transformation and negotiation with the influence of historical factors, social system and current circumstances (Hall, 1990). Hall states that,

'... the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of "identity" which lives with and through, not despite, by hybridity.' (Hall, 1990:235)

Thus, if we think about Taiwanese and British cultures as the two poles opposite each other, the main participants due to their cultural hybridity are placed somewhere in between these

two poles but towards their culture of origin slightly more. However, the second generation who were born in Britain and are growing up in the British culture, this next generation are also cultural hybrids but are influenced more by the host culture than my main subjects. **Steve Cheung** in the episode of *Beyond the frying pan* is an example of predicting how the children of the four main participants will become in the future. In addition, **Marcia Lai** mentions the huge difference of the way of thinking between her and her daughter who was born and bred in the UK. Through the experience of **Steve Cheung** and **Marcia Lai's** daughter, the second generation of Taiwanese migrants in Britain can be a further cultural hybrid but more towards British culture.

To sum up this chapter, it is understood that the representations of ethnic Chinese people on media generated by the Western culture is stereotyped and homogenised onto the entire group of ethnic Chinese. Whether it is the ingrained image of catering business by the preceding Hong Kongese migrants, the melancholy and subordinated appearance of undocumented/illegal migrants by Mainland Chinese, or the affluent and active representation of the Mainland Chinese newcomers, the representation of Taiwanese people in Britain does not quite fit in any of them.

Through the research production of **Floating Home**, I documented and captured those daily practices from the Taiwanese female participants to visualise and express their **acts of adaptation**. On one hand, they adapt the host environment and culture by finding alternative ingredients to make their hometown food and learning English to fit in the locals to survive. On the other, they *tactically* cook their own cultural food to the family and speak the Taiwanese Mandarin to their children in their private domains and public sphere, in order

to continue and pass their culture of origin to the next generations. Finding a cultural balance between themselves, family and host society becomes a constant practice to their everyday life. Furthermore, the Taiwanese participants pursue to blend into the host society by attending the social activities and inviting local friends to visit their private domains. This endeavour of cultural balance positions the Taiwanese participants into a cultural hybridity, which they appreciate and bridge the two cultures - Taiwan and Britain.

However, through those **acts of adaptation** they operate every day, their hybrid cultural practice positions them into an "in-between" space, which they are in transition from being Taiwanese to British, but they are stuck in between. The hybrid cultural identity of the participants is not visible and stable enough for them to represent their true identity in the United Kingdom. According to Woodward, the difference between ethnicity and race is that ethnicity distinguishes cultural and social differences between people, whereas race depends on fixed biology 'where visible and embodied differences might be seen to determine and circumscribe identity' (Woodward: 2002:146). Therefore, with the differences of physical appearance, people often stereotype that race is directly linked to the identity. In particular, the racism is based on those visible differences. Besides, due to the constantly evolving nature of the cultural hybridity, the feature of the participants' in-between identity generates the liminal and floating status of their identifications.

With the development of technology and the impact of globalisation, Taiwanese migrants in Britain can utilise the strength of the Internet to be fluid and gather around. With their desires, the Taiwanese people can connect with each other and ramify their own non-hierarchical community to

against the majority and get more recognitions in the United Kingdom. This possibility of Taiwanese people in the UK is my findings that I will disclose in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Floating in-between

Findings

4.1 Sandwich (wo)men and female dual role

Based on Bourdieu's concept of habitus, it is understood that the cultural hybridity the Taiwanese participants in the research bring in to the UK can be changed and transformed during their migratory life. The way they dwell in the UK is based on their original social background (Taiwanese culture) with a different *field* (they have changed from the majority to the minority) and *capital* (their economy and social positions are shifted). With the impacts of high technology on the light-weight Capitalism and globalisation, travel is no longer as difficult as in the past. Ever developing Technologies and infrastructure are allowing people to move across the globe more freely and more expediently than ever before as long as they have permission financially and politically. Hence, time and space have been compressed, not only the Internet contains these cyber spaces, but the flights also shorten the traveling time and distance in the physical world. This effect generates the journey for people cruising around from one place to another, and another, until they find the proper location where they feel they belong.

Once the migrants set foot in a new place, they will need to make an effort to integrate into the host society in order to initiate the process of belonging to the new space. Through the process of integration, it takes time for the migrants to infiltrate and for both of the different cultures to become familiar with each other. It is an active process; and it is made easier by the support of migrant communities to balance the conflict between the cultural integration and resistance.

The Taiwanese migration in the UK is smaller, thereby they have to integrate for survival because they don't have a large community to rely on. This project has been a study of the *tactics* employed in this active process and the creativity involved in forming a practice cross two or more cultures for raising families away from their homeland. However, since the compression of time and space simplifies contact and travel so much, travellers or migrants' connections to their start points, homes, are much more accessible to obtain. Peoples' nostalgia can be satisfied by the technology to some degree. So here comes the question: what is the process in the middle? How do those migrants identify themselves in between the beginning as the new comers and in the end as almost integrated inhabitants?

Liminality

Here I employ the concept of liminality by British cultural anthropologist Victor Turner that describes the circumstance in the middle of transforming. As he points out the liminal status and position that a person holds is ambiguous, vague and uncertain in the cultural space. He stresses that the liminal body is neither here nor there; the condition itself is in between the positions. Liminality is a term means a body, group, or item, which is in the middle of mutation, transformation, or reconstruction into something new. Thus, according to what Turner mentions, this circumstance could be also applied to the cultural evolution:

'... their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions.' (Turner, 1969:95)

In the case of the Taiwanese participants in the project of ***Floating Home***, through their migratory trajectories, their current statuses are in the process of changing between the home as the place of origin and the new desired home in another country. Although they are physically in Britain, the sense of the place they feel between the home of origin and "home" of the new place is distinct. The place here I mention, is not only the environment but also the people and the society that surround the subjects. How the individual acts and dwells is contrary to the locals in the foreign city that marks the difference and uniqueness of the migrant, or in other words, marginalisation. The marginalisation also corresponds to the photographs taken by Guyana born British artist Ingrid Pollard in the Lake District in 1988. The series of photographs simply generate a strong contrast between the common sense of the British or English in the countryside and the usual black experience in urban area she illustrated³¹. This reveals the effect of alienation to the migrants in contrast the common sense of the host society.

The sense of place the travellers and migrants feel about a space is a challenge to the common sense that the local peoples have developed whether it is the distinct physical appearance or the cultural practices. Generally, physical difference is the first and possibly foremost differentiation for the people to demarcate others and us instinctively. In this research, hence, even my main subjects have endeavoured to immerse and integrate into the host society; they are often noticeable in any type of environment in the UK. For example, those extracurricular activities or their social gatherings with the locals they have participated in, the children of my participants are "distinguishable" to their local friends; and

³¹ Ingrid Pollard Photography: Pastoral Interlude 1988 can be access on: <http://www.ingridpollard.com/pastoral-interlude.html>

normally they are the only "Asian" person in the group. It is not only that they are the minority in the group, but also the sense of place they have been given those activities generates the differentiation of their identity: they are the odd ones.



Figure 23. A screen shot from *In between the two cultures* shows Yung-Fang, her husband Ben Gibbon and their daughter Jilly surrounded by their local friends in a birthday party

Through the process of integration, they have gradually understood and adopted the host cultures; however, they have also continuously lost or neglected some Taiwanese cultural practices during their stays in the United Kingdom. The identities of the Taiwanese subjects are in the process of transforming; they are a liminal, transitional being, in between the identity of a Taiwanese and a British resident. In the feature documentary *Floating Home*, Yung-Fang Chen quotes her friend's comment that sums up this liminality:

'But we will never be a British. So, we are the in-betweeners, neither a Taiwanese nor British.' (65:33-7, Floating Home)

The way **Yung-Fang** uses the term "in-betweeners" for the situation shows the emergence of a liminal identity that understands both sides of her diverse cultural background, which makes the ambiguous status she currently has. The liminality of her identity is what she possesses while she attempts to evolve her identity in order to integrate into British society. Yet, she will never be included as a proper British person. She retains her ethnic background, cultural practices, and maintains her roots to keep the nostalgia present at the same time. Thus, she stands at the intersection between two cultures, the point between the two poles of East and West.

Third Space

In this project, I would like to borrow a term from one of the indicative films during the movement of Taiwan New Cinema - ***The Sandwich Man (1983)*** to characterise the situation. This is a joint-film that contains three shorts in the production. The first vignette of the production directed by Hou Hsiao-Hsien, which has the same title as the film, illustrates a jobless family man who resides in a small town in southern Taiwan. He finds work being a moving-advertising banner and dresses like a clown to earn incomes and support his wife and new-born son.

Through the plots, there are three levels of metaphors in the protagonist being the sandwich man in the film. Firstly, the male protagonist physically wears a sandwich board for the work. Secondly, he hates the job that makes him lose his dignity through dressing like a clown and hanging around the

streets doing this "inappropriate" work. Yet, he still needs to be a responsible family man and gain the required incomes in order to support his wife, son and family. Thus, the protagonist wears are in between his wife and the community/society. Thirdly, since the entire short film was presented in Taiwanese Hokkien, the short film could obliquely depict the Taiwanese culture and language suppressed in between the China-centric ideology brought by the authoritative KMT, and the cultural hegemony from the West and Japan.

Thus, with the concept of the sandwich man, visually and metaphorically, the identity of the Taiwanese participants is just like the "sandwich (wo)men" who stand in the middle either connecting the two sides or rejected from both sides. This status is visually inscribed on those daily practices of the Taiwanese subjects in the films. Their *acts of adaptation* domestically and socially generate their positions of cultural hybridity in the UK and become the spots they occupy.

This position is as Homi Bhabha suggests the Third Space and exemplifies the linguistic situation between the two different languages. He points out that the linguistic difference in any cultural performance could be dramatized in the common semiotic account of the disconnection between the subject of a proposition and the subject of enunciation. Through a third space, or interpretation, the communication between two languages with translation is not only represented in sentences, but it also acknowledges the cultural positionality that is a reference to a present time and a specific space (Bhabha, 1994). Hence, the Third Space plays an important role that harmoniously symbolises both the linguistic states and the particular indication of the articulation,

'... which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code.'
(ibid:54)

As a result, the Third Space is the position that the "sandwich (wo)men" assimilate and combine the two cultures with the intersection of the "in-between" circumstance. The "sandwich (wo)men" are the hybridity, always in the middle, being liminal. In essence, it is clear that Taiwanese people already have a hybrid position regarding their own identification. They have generated a third space by themselves with all those historical and cultural influences to create their own identity in Taiwan. Metaphorically, they are neither Japanese nor Chinese, and figuratively not Americans either.

Despite the problem of international legitimacy of the country of Taiwan itself (the name of Republic of China), plus the oppression of the People's Republic of China and insist of the One China policy³² supported by numerous countries including the United States³³, the Taiwanese have only raised their self-awareness to identify and define themselves in order to distinguish the position of Third Space they have occupied.

³² Cole, J. Michael (2015), discusses about the Chinese government succeeded in imposing limitations on people's ability to engage the island-nation that simply do not exist in his discussion of That 'One China' Policy Thing accessed on: <http://thinking-taiwan.com/that-one-china-policy-thing/>

³³ The US government states the United States and Taiwan enjoy a robust unofficial relationship despite they only recognise the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, acknowledging the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China. The U.S. and Taiwan relations can access on: <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35855.htm>

Furthermore, through the migratory experience of the Taiwanese participants, they have taken their cultural position to the UK and reformed their hybrid culture to a further hybridity - another *Third Space* they occupy in Britain. Thus, whether it is on the island of Taiwan or after the migration to the isle of Britain, the so-called cultural identity with colonial experience is always floating and constantly changing. This situation does not only happen in the condition of the first generation of Taiwanese migrants, but it also continues into the second generation even though they are more steeped towards British culture. Hong Kongese migrants are a good paradigm in this situation since they are the precedent of ethnic Chinese migrants in the UK for many years.

As **Steve Cheung** depicts his background in the episode of *Beyond the frying pan*, he was born and bred in the United Kingdom, English is more like his mother tongue and Coventry is his hometown, as he has a strong Coventry accent. However, his physical appearance and values are influenced by the domestic impact from his Hong Kongese/Hakka parents. In addition, the social status are also factors to shape his identity to construct him as ethnic Chinese, particularly his family business running the catering trade that forms a stereotype of the ethnic Chinese in Britain. On top of the point, the concept of cultural dominance that the host society has marked off the white and the "coloured" locals, which means he has been categorised as the Other. To quote Frantz Fanon, **Steve Cheung** inevitably 'has to wear the livery the white man has fabricated for him' (Fanon, 1952:17). Therefore, under this circumstance, **Steve** shares his experience of travelling to Hong Kong as an adult in the episode, that he realised he is not one of the locals in Hong Kong:

'... wake up in the morning, come downstairs and everyone is same! You know, every face is Chinese. I felt like home. It felt good. But obviously when I was start talking in English to some other friends, people would look at you and think oh~ You don't feel like home then because you're talking in English, you're not blending in with the community.' (15:06-31, *Beyond the frying pan*)

Although **Steve** accepts what he has become, a UK citizen, he has been framed as a dual identity: "British Chinese" that marks him on the border between the two cultures; he is neither a full British nor full Hong Kongese, or Chinese. The relation of British Chinese can be referred to what Hamid Naficy points out as the "politics of the hyphen" in the United States. This hyphenated ethnicity firstly brought up in 1889, and in 1915, Theodore Roosevelt who was making a speech to address the idea of anti-hyphenate Americans. This speech reflected the animosity towards the migratory wave in USA during the First World War. Since then this term becomes a way to indicate the "colour" Americans, in which the hegemonic power of the ruling class has homogenised those non-white Americans as Otherness. Naficy points out:

'The hyphen may imply a lack, or the idea that hyphenated people are somehow subordinate to unhyphenated people, or that they are "equal but not quite," or that they will never be totally accepted or trusted as full citizens...'
(Naficy, 2001:15-6)

Besides, the hyphenation could also signify a mind with two parts, an inevitably joint identity that combines the two cultures or nations to generate the ambiguity, the liminal condition. Therefore, through the examples of **Yung-Fang Chen** and **Steve Cheung**, it is understood that the positions of the

Taiwanese and ethnic Chinese participants are on the border between the two "poles" of Eastern and Western. The locals generally identify the migrants as the outsiders no matter how long they settle in the UK, even the second and third generation. However, **Sherman Lai** expresses in the episode of *Travel of the flavour* that he is optimistic about the dual identities, which he believes he is Taiwanese and British owing to his intimate connections on the both countries (15:18-43, *Travel of the flavour*).

Female dual role in family and diaspora

Since four of my main participants are females, their female role in the migration process becomes a multiple role, a hybridity occupying a Third Space. The daily migratory practice and child rearing make the female subjects to constantly keep the cultural balance between two cultures. As Tastsoglou and Dobrowolsky suggest that migrant women are making cultural identifications and connections transnationally, and are establishing their "home" into multiple places to 'challenge and contest existing, nation-state based notions of membership and make identity-based claims aiming at a richer and more multi-layered citizenship' (Dobrowolsky & Tastsoglou, 2006:06). In other words, the female migrants tend to 'build cultures of resistance and broaden solidarities cross-nationally' (ibid:07), specifically to their children.

For example, in episode of *In between the two cultures*, when **Yung-Fang** and her English husband **Ben** read a bedtime story with a Taiwanese children's book to **Jilly**, she speaks Taiwanese Mandarin to her daughter most of the time (09:27-10:00, *In between the two cultures*). In feature documentary *Floating Home*, while **Claire** makes and cooks dumplings for the

family dinner, she teaches her children - **Tristan** and **Bella** to understand the food in Taiwanese Mandarin by the chance (56:41-51, *Floating Home*). Here I do not mean that male migrants not make cultural identifications; in the research, they tend to present their cultural presentation to their business side. **Da-Chung Chang** for instance, he shows and preserves Taiwanese culture by decorating his restaurant. Those couplets, Asian plants, calligraphies and paintings in his restaurant are expressing his cultural identification.

In my PhD research, it is not necessary for the four main Taiwanese participants to be highly skilled migrants, but in their daily practices, they all actualise the establishment of cultural resistance in their domestic domains and reconfiguration of the national and cultural borders in the public sphere, even in their intercultural familial circumstances. For example, the dual roles that the four Taiwanese female subjects perform as domestic labourers in addition to their waged work and as builders of the cultural resistance in their private spheres.

Silvia Federici points out that housework is always viewed as hidden labour in Capitalism. In fact, she states that housework and the family are the 'pillars of capitalist production' (Federici, 2012:31), which includes the rearing of the next generation of the labour force. In this project, the footage of participants picking up their children from schools and extracurricular activities, cooking the meals and spending casual time and bedtimes with kids reveals the time-consuming and on-going jobs that my female participants perform everyday, most of them in addition to waged work outside the home.

However, here I refuse to see my participants' daily acts of the children's upbringing as somehow inherent to women's nature. In my perspective, the female tends to build the safe place for their families through the daily practices and endeavour to construct the warmth and comfort of shelter to feed the nutrition to the family members physically and spiritually. Child-upbringing and childrearing, as Woodward suggests, are diverse across cultures. She explains that 'motherhood is subject to social, economic and cultural practices and systems' (Woodward, 1997b:240). Which means, the understanding of motherhood through cultural practices varies in different cultures to consider good or bad mothering. In the episode of **In between the two cultures, Yung-Fang** describes her experience of explaining and negotiating with her mother-in-law about postnatal care and childrearing (03:27-04:38, **In between the two cultures**). It indicates she endeavours to find the cultural balance on the child-upbringing.

Moreover, bell hooks claims the home - as 'a site of resistance' (hooks, 1990:42). This place of resistance, particularly to migratory families, is a crucial site for organising and forming political solidarity like hooks exemplifies in the political revolution of African Americans in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s (hooks, 1990). Although the racial bullying and discrimination my main participants and their children face cannot be compared to the continuing struggles of African Americans, the homes my subjects build are still the places that resistance is built, in the midst of oppression and domination of the host society, which Hooks states as

'... the site for resistance undermines our efforts to resist racism and the colonizing mentality which promotes internalized self-hatred.' (ibid:45)

In the case of the intercultural marriages of my main participants, their domestic cultures are more towards "cultural negotiation" as Bhabha suggests (Bhabha, 1994). He applies the term of unhomeliness (ibid:13) to imply the circumstance of cross-cultural initiations to conduct the archetypal colonial and post-colonial condition in the domestic domain. Here, I only employ the concept of the domestic balance of the cultural politics in this project instead of utilising the term of unhomeliness and the situation he exemplifies.

As I mentioned in the cooking of their everyday practices, the food my subjects prepare is not only needed to be satisfied to their nostalgic needs, but they also take care of the appetite of their partners. This becomes a cultural combination for their children. In the case of house décor of my main subjects, they attempt to balance a good combination of two cultures in the houses, in particular the case of **Yung-Fang Chen** and **Maggie Chang**. For example, on the bookshelves in **Yung-Fang's** house, there are numerous books mixed with two languages, English and Taiwanese Mandarin, whether they are for adults or children. Additionally, on **Figure 22**. it is a screenshot from the feature documentary ***Floating Home***, which indicates in **Maggie's** living room, a couple of black doll statues of Taiwanese indigenous stand along with two toys of the iconic London red bus on the top of shelf.



Figure 24. A screen shot from *Floating Home* indicates Maggie's décor in her living room, which are a black doll statue of Taiwanese indigenous stands along with an iconic London red bus

However, the decoration of my subjects' houses does not always remain the same; it changes seasonally and is followed by two cultural and traditional festivals. According to Taiwanese tradition, around February the additions of the Chinese couplets for the Lunar New Year often appeared on the door of my subjects' houses. **Figure 25.** is a screenshot from the episode of *Crouch, hold and engage* that shows **Claire** keeps the couplets on her door and directly expresses her and her family's identity through the decoration of the house to the public. The screenshot showed at the front cover of the thesis is the moment I even captured the ritual of giving children the red envelopes at **Yung-Fang's** house in which forms part of the celebration for this annual festival in the feature documentary *Floating Home*. The film reveals her parents-in-law actively joined in the Taiwanese tradition and expressed their

cultural appreciations. For the host cultures, on the other hand, they decorate differently with different traditional festivals. Christmas for example, every subject in this project sets up the Christmas housedress and tree before the end of December, even in **Steve Cheung** and **Patty Pan**'s houses with non-Western relatives.



Figure 25. A screen shot from Crouch, hold and engage demonstrates Claire's house door with a couplet on it

The indication of dual-cultural house decorations shows that the participants endeavour to mingle with the two cultures in the family. They aim to construct a cultural combination of Eastern and Western traditions in order to retain and continue their own cultures while they attempt to blend into the host society. Accordingly, the domestic domain becomes a political field that generates confusion and connection: an "in-between space" to make 'the world-in-the-home' (Bhabha, 1994:15). This

is why Bhabha believes home becomes a miniature of the world in this modern day:

'The recesses of the domestic space become sites for history's most intricate invasions. In that displacement, the borders between home and world become confused; and, usually, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting.' (ibid:13)

Thus, the home for my subjects turns into a bridge, which connects private and public, past and present, the psyche and the social, and creates a cultural combination from the negotiation of the cultural differences between East and West in those domestic affairs in everyday life. The home in Britain for the Taiwanese female participants is not only a place with cultural resistance that they provide to their children, but it is also a site that they let their next generation embrace two different types of cultures between Taiwan and the West.

In short, the third space indicates the Taiwanese subjects are in-between, as they are in transition from being Taiwanese to British. However, they will never become a "proper" British nor getting back to be a "full" Taiwanese; they are always liminal. This liminal situation, internally reflects on their female role to fight against the stereotype of housework and upbringing children to get recognition, as they are actually doing the labour work, whether is waged or unwaged. Externally, the liminal position resonates on their struggle of Taiwanese identity crisis internationally. Hence, they can be seen as "sandwich (wo)men", who are continually squeezed in the middle between two cultures and marginalised by the majority.

This liminal situation could be enhanced by the development of technology, as the time and space have been compressed by it nowadays. On one hand, the Internet and the transportation reduce the boundaries of borders and continents, which it is a lot easier to get the hometown food or go home. Migrants' nostalgia could be easily satisfied. On the other, Migrants can carry their memories of home digitally and virtually communicate with the family members on the other side of the globe. The liminal circumstance they obtain could be stimulated by the strength of the Internet and kept them floating. This is the issue I will analyse next section.

4.2 Liquid/Floating/Fluidity

'Fluids travel easily... The extraordinary mobility of fluids is what associates them with the idea of "lightness"... We associate "lightness" or "weightlessness" with mobility and inconstancy: we know from practice that lighter we travel the easier and faster we move.'

(Bauman, 2000:02)



Figure 26. A screen shot from *Travel of the flavour* shows numerous containers shipping to the UK

The trend of globalisation significantly affects the movements of travel and the modes of migration. As Bauman suggests modernity has been transformed from a "heavy" stage to a "light" weight, space has been shrunk and time has been compressed (Bauman, 2000:09). The shot of the containers in *Travel of the flavour* (see **Figure 26.**), which is inspired by Allan Sekula - *Fish Story* (1995), depicts the impact of globalisation reforming the space of the sea and the sky. The

influence disperses the various goods, the food and even the cultures from different continents. Additionally, the shots of transportation, trains and airplanes, in the feature and the series of this practical project imply the movement of migration. Through these images, it is understood that technology magnificently changes the way people dwell and move across the globe.

Thus, since the food of the homeland is a lot easier to import (and export) now, the need of the national food is much more accessible in larger quantities. **Sherman** and **Marcia Lai** run their distribution business of importing Taiwanese food into the UK and Europe, whatever food they import from Taiwan, the products are packed in a container, delivered to their company and stored. They then will customise and repack those either into larger or smaller parcels, which are then delivered to Chinese supermarkets, Chinese retailers and online customers around the UK. Amazingly, the entire business has been done by the operation of the Internet and phone calls across the globe. Such a powerful and instant commercial operation is one of impact of globalisation; and the Internet is key. What Bauman addresses about the global impact of contemporary Capitalism is:

'Capital can travel fast and travel light and its lightness and motility have turned into the paramount source of uncertainty for all the rest. This has become the present-day basis of domination...' (Bauman, 2000:121)

Owing to the impacts of globalisation, the logistics of importing goods has developed significantly and internationally. Along with the flow, the invention of the preserved, ready-cooked and frozen food has also considerably influenced and changed the way of cooking/consuming whether in

merchandising or home-made food. This means the common people do not spend time to grow plants and breed livestock for the food; they just need to purchase those ready-peel vegetables and fruits, and ready-cut meats. The convenience of those "ready ingredients" means people spend a short time for collecting and shopping for those products in order to spend less time and labour in the preparation of cooking the actual food. **Steve Cheung** states in *Beyond the frying pan* and supports this view:

'We've adapted to modern life. So, for example, we buy the frozen chips now, and the frozen pastry we buy that in. And you can buy ready-cooked meats. So, it's a lot easier nowadays.' (07:13-30, *Beyond the frying pan*)

Based on Bauman's notion, the ability of "lightness" nowadays allows people to move more flexibly across the globe. If we look at the contrast between the precedent of migrants who attempted to gather their own fellows before modern times and the new comers who prefer chasing their own individual satisfactions without any political and military barriers indicates not only what Bauman suggests of the evolution of capitalism in that things have developed heavy to light weight, but it also implies the differentiations of dwelling between the "old" and the "new" migrants. In other words, the longing for home is expressed in a different way due to a change in the capitalist system; the predecessors endeavoured to establish an extended family overseas, whereas the new migrants tend to build their own individual home in the foreign land because the nostalgia is much easier to satisfy through light weight capitalism. And there is profit to be made from it.

Thus, through light-weight capitalism, things become accessible and portable. Family photographs are a good paradigm in my visual works of this research to unfold the multiple functions. According to Susan Sontag, photography is a versatile medium that not only signifies the instant access reality but it is also 'an instrument of memory' (Sontag, 1977:128). Since none of us can possess the past, photography is one of the ways to reach and visualise the personal history; owing to the power of the image, the photographs contain the immediate accessibility to possibly feel the reality of the past. This is the reason Sontag depicts the camera offering the possibility of acquiring a record with all ages of subjects (ibid:129). In my research project, this implies each family employs the printed photographs to document the chronicle of the family, especially for the growth process of their children. This corresponds to what Sontag stresses in her book,

'Through photographs, each family constructs a portrait-chronicle of itself-a portable kit of images that bears witness to its connectedness.' (ibid:05)

Due to the light-weight of photographs, they could be viewed as a portable memory that migrants can carry around to wherever they settle. If we look further to the on-going developing technology, the digital photographs take the portability further beyond what the memory and printed media can where millions of photos can be stored on the Internet - the "cloud". Hence, the decorations of photographs in my participants' house perhaps are the most essential adornments in their territory.

Commonly the living rooms and aisles are the places my subjects attach their family photos. Those photos display the

connections of dual cultural loves with each side of grandparents, parents and the mixed-race children. In particular, my participants display children's photos and portraits to memorise and fetishize when they were infants. Some of subjects also keep their family photo albums to memorise the continuation of the migratory generations in the UK, especially in the case of **Yim Kwong Cheung** and **Steve Cheung**. Their photos summarily indicate their familial histories from 1970s to 2000s, as **Figure 27**. visually presents, which means the photographs on the walls or in the albums connect the past and the present of the binary cultures and social backgrounds for the family.



Figure 27. A screen shot in the episode *Beyond the frying pan* shows a picture that Steve Cheung as a child with his siblings in front of the takeaway shop from a Cheung's family photo album

In this sense, I document the family portraits of all the participants in this research project to *re-present* their personal histories and memories along with their oral

interviews. For my participants, those photographs either hung on the walls or collected in the photo albums are their memory lanes, portable personal histories whereas for me, as a spectator in this practical work, those snapshots are the instant experience and history from the subjects. This refers to Sontag's idea that the photographs are not only able to indicate the visual records, but they are also capable to transform into an anticipatory relation between the past and the present, a mental image. As a result, photography also becomes an instrument to reproduce and recreate what Bhabha terms "interstitial intimacy" (Bhabha, 1994:19).



Figure 28. A photograph on Maggie's wall shows Maggie alongside Luiza as an infant - taken from documentary *Floating Home*

The inclusion of those photographs in my project films, **Figure 28.** for example, is an important element that seeks to capture these portable personal histories, which the families keep in view, a visual record of their familial networks that bring those separated by geographical distances together. This

means, the audience could experience what I have been through with the permission of the subjects in the movement of my visual works. Even the instant experience from the photographs of my participants is transmitted through my camera; the sense of the real and the past can be reproduced and recycled to the audience. And that is what Sontag points out in the crucial employment of photography nowadays:

'Photography does not simply reproduce the real, it recycles it - a key procedure of a modern society.'
(Sontag, 1977:136)

Therefore, from Bauman's concept of liquidity and the portability of light-weight modernity, via the photographic record of the participants' migratory experience, to the camera movements with my physical presence in this project, the word "floating" here can be referred to a present progressive verb to indicate my subjects and I are floating, drifting and moving around in the era of liquid modernity. The compressed time and space combined with the lightness and weightlessness supplied by light-weight capitalism deforms and decreases the nostalgia desire for home and reforms the way of building a new home in the globe for the migrants.

Due to this mobility, people are capable of moving from one place to another; this could explain why Bauman describes what he feels at home as everywhere 'in spite of there is no place he can call home' (Bauman, 2011:03). The uncertainty of this mobility that some of my Taiwanese participants face means they are ever prepared to migrate somewhere else again. In the feature documentary, *Floating Home* and the episode of *A journey to an unknown stop*, **Claire** and the couple **Maggie** and **Jorge** respectively state they would like to go back to Taiwan

if the circumstances in Britain were not good enough for them and their children to stay.

4.3 Rhizomes, minoritisation and becoming

Through the celebration of Taiwanese traditional festivals in the subjects' houses, which are captured in the images of my films, it is understood that my Taiwanese participants endeavour to gather their own people to cook, enjoy their hometown food and share their culture with their local and international friends in these gatherings. Since friendliness and touching qualities [rénqíng wèi] (人情味) are essentials of the cultural practices that Taiwanese people are to have a reputation for, during these gatherings the participants extol Taiwanese culture through their hospitality whether it is in their houses or in public spaces. However, the idea of a cohesive Taiwanese community in the UK is somehow very subtle.

Although some institutions of Taiwanese authority and private organisations in the UK have arranged and attempted to form Taiwanese communities; instead, these attempts have usually turned into a set of social gatherings. Most Taiwanese migrants in Britain are scattered around and inhabit individually. The connection is not as strong as other foreign communities, for example the Hong Kongese of central London. As Benton and Gomez classify the Taiwanese as a group of new ethnic Chinese migrants, who have a high education and work in high-end industry and the professional field but do not essentially and strongly bond together (Benton and Gomez, 2008:59). **Patty Pan's** opinion in the feature documentary **Floating Home**, is that she believes the primary problem of forming a Taiwanese community in Britain is the very small population of the people settled in the United Kingdom. According to Taiwan's institution of The Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, the number of ethnic Chinese in the UK is about 250,000, accounting for 0.4% of the total UK population. Taiwanese migrants are only 2% of the 250,000, whereas

migrants from China including people from Hong Kong and Macao accounted for 58%³⁴. If we look **Figure 7.** about the population of overseas-born residents in Britain again (page 75), the number of Chinese residents (assume it is including people from Hong Kong) is 197000 approximately; and the number of Taiwanese residents is 45000 approximately. This clearly indicates that in Britain the Chinese dwellers are 4 times more than the Taiwanese residents.

Interestingly, **Patty** also points out another reason why Taiwanese people are very self-reliant in the UK, which is that Taiwanese are a kind of people that have a sense of safety in any environment. She further explains that if she needed to live alone in the UK without any Taiwanese family, relatives or friends, she would survive. This could be extended to say that Taiwanese people generally are capable of actualising the *acts of adaptation* to immerse into the host culture and society. Possibly because the multicultural circumstances Taiwanese people have been surrounded by for decades, particularly those coloniser cultures such as the Dutch, Spanish, Japanese and Chinese and also with the cultural hegemony from the United States during the period of Cold War.

Taiwanese people tend to be more open-minded and tolerant to more different cultures. Besides, because they have lived under occupation by these powers and still do by China who refuses to acknowledge Taiwan's independence. Therefore, they are used to living undercover and practising their cultural identity in the privacy of their own dwelling. In other words, they are more flexible in the cultural aspect to accept the

³⁴ Data information of ethnic Chinese in UK (2014), The Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, ROC Taiwan can access on: <http://www.ocac.gov.tw/OCAC/SubSites/Pages/VDetail.aspx?site=601bab46-e9a4-4f81-98f1-a1e97d4b01d6&nodeid=1306&pid=6572>

enforced cultures and are more capable to generate a cultural combination. The ingredients in the hot pot from the 2014 Lunar New Year celebration at **Claire Griffin's** house in feature documentary **Floating Home** are a good example to reveal the hybrid taste of the Taiwanese, which include Japanese, Korean, Chinese and Taiwanese ingredients and food.

Furthermore, under the conceptualisation of contemporary Capitalism, Bauman cites the individual as the priority of the trend with the concept of the 'value-obsessed' (Bauman, 2000: 61). He states the world is full of "possibilities" that have been employed by capital to stimulate people to consume those possibilities. As Bauman suggests, the light-weight Capitalism makes 'the greatest conceivable satisfaction' (ibid: 62) available to the individuals. Thus, the individual under the capitalist system comes before the society, the collective, the community; in other words, the individual is more important than the group.

Patty's perspective, owing to these two reasons: small populations and the possession of a sense of safety, makes her think the Taiwanese settlers in the UK are not coherently communicative enough to form a physical community at the moment. However, through the processes of undertaking this research I believe the forming of Taiwanese communities in the UK is still in progress through the establishment of a subtler, rhizomatic structure that perhaps is not immediately visible to the host culture.

Taiwanese community form with a rhizome - the becoming

A rhizome is a horizontal and non-hierarchical structure without specific order and arrangement. It is the opposite to the pyramid - the arborescent structure that has a distinct

position to distinguish the high and low levels. As it is non-hierarchical, and each of unit as a plateau that is always in the middle; each of plateau is on the same level to be connectable, detachable and expandable. Thus, through the model of the rhizomatic approach and the structure of my filmmaking practice in this project, each participant is a plateau that can connect with any subject and any other subject. As a rhizomatic approach of filmmaking is to make a non-hierarchical relationship between filmmaker and participants, operating the *tactics* is an essential act, as *tactics* are the act of the weak.

In this sense, the movement of Taiwanisation then can be viewed as gradually developed by the horizontal and non-hierarchical system and structure, which the ordinary Taiwanese people as "the weak" through the rhizomatic pattern formed by the self-realisation of their identity and by their wills to resist and fight against the state apparatus i.e. "the strong". On the contrary, in the authority, there is a vertical hierarchy, a tree-like or pyramid structure, each unit and department of the political organisation is stacked up from the bottom to the top: creating a hierarchy of power and dominance. As a pyramid, the bottom is always wide and thick but the top is always narrow, thin and pointy. This means the small number of the ruling class stands on the top to dominate, rule, and control the social structure in the system of stratification. There is a phrase in Chinese idioms, high above [gāogāo zàishàng] (高高在上) to describe how the ruling class or elites occupy on the top of social pyramid being aloof and remote.

However, with rhizomatic structures the power from the crowd, "mass", "mob", the group of plateaus are spread horizontally, extended and ramified by the underground principle and

subterranean stem to establish and weave connections in all directions with diverse dimensions. They follow the unconscious, which is the will and desire, to gradually gather people and build networks (taproots) of their own instead of following the hegemonic system of authority. As Deleuze and Guattari suggest,

'... the rhizome is alliance... the fabric of the rhizome is the conjunction... This conjunction carries enough force to shake...' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:27)

As a result, the rhizomatic structure of Taiwanisation indicates the cultural awakening of Taiwanese people in 1970s and 1980s. The movement of Taiwan New Cinema was also a rhizomatic approach since it was initially an underground, grassroots movement, a low-key reaction against dominant authority, that gained recognition when exported. As Deleuze and Guattari state, the rhizome is intertwined with philosophy, literature and art works to articulate people's wills and representations:

'A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles.' (Deleuze and Guattari, *ibid*:08)

Based on the pattern of Taiwanisation, the Taiwanese people in the UK are also ramified by the subterranean principle to gather their own people in all directions. Taiwanese settlers in the UK have endeavoured to gather and form the alternative communities by the social networks on the Internet. The online and private group on Facebook - "Taiwanese mummies in the UK" (台灣媽咪在英國) is a community formed out of necessity and

support. It is significant that it is mothers who reach out to find their fellow migrant contemporaries.

Indeed, this is where I looked for, and found, participants. The people in the group tend to gather together in or nearby the areas where they inhabit for those Taiwanese traditional festivals and the gatherings at birthday parties whether for the group members or their children. They then often cook dishes and bring it to the gatherings to share in order to satisfy the nostalgia for the group. Hometown food is the instrument to connect them with their families and children. These types of actions could be viewed as the collective expansion of the main participants' celebrations of traditional festivals and also be referred to as the interweaving "line" of a rhizome, which is illustrated on **Figure 29**.

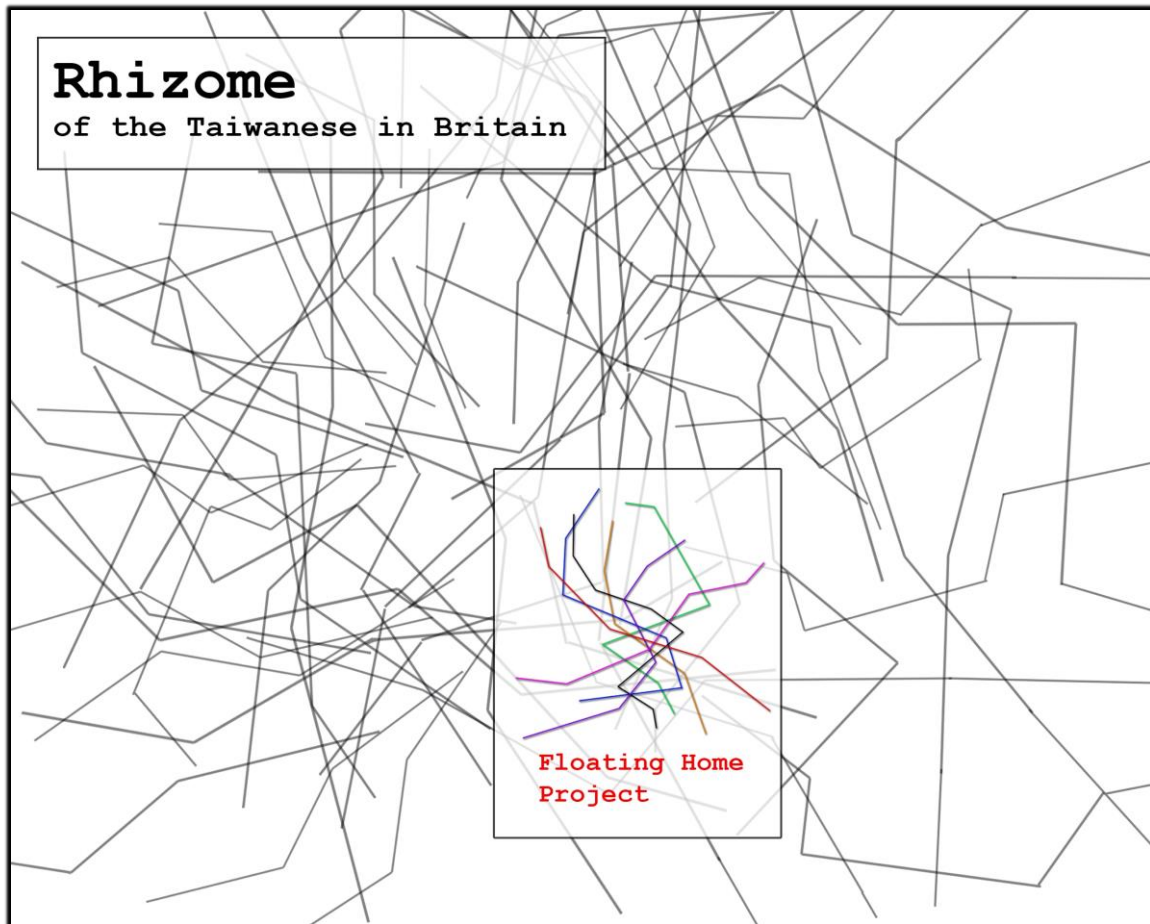


Figure 29. Rhizomatic structure of the Taiwanese in Britain

Hence, from those gatherings, the Taiwanese people in the UK connect with each other from an unconscious desire – the longing of nostalgia and the sense of being Taiwanese. This longing unconsciously urges Taiwanese people in the UK to congregate, assemble, and gather together without any force. This implies those Taiwanese mothers tactically utilise the Internet as a tool to fabricate their own interconnections with many dimensions in the UK instead of relying on the Taiwanese authority, or above ground sanctioned outlets. I believe the motive and the drive of the **Floating Home** project is also from the longing of the coherence and nostalgia to spur me to proceed with this research project. This means

project **Floating Home** is part of the process to fabricating the non-hierarchical Taiwanese rhizome in the UK.



Figure 30. A screen shot in episode Travel of the flavour illustrates Taiwanese people having their hometown food in the 2012 Taiwanese food festival in Camden

In relation to the coherence of the Taiwanese in Britain, **Sherman Lai** points out, in the episode of Travel of the flavour, the purpose of constructing a Taiwanese Food Festival was to strengthen the connection of Taiwanese people in the United Kingdom. The application of food in the festival not only enhances a unity or a community for the Taiwanese, but it also allows people from Taiwan to broaden the visibility of their culture. This significantly links to the way **Sherman** and **Marcia Lai** run their Taiwanese food company. They promote Taiwanese food to the Taiwanese and the ethnic Chinese in the UK, but their other consideration is to introduce and spread Taiwanese food to the host society with certain national and cultural symbols and concepts. Thus, their tactical idea of

promoting Taiwanese is to organise numerous free food tastings sessions across the United Kingdom, especially in those major ethnic Chinese supermarkets such as the Wing Yip. Since their first free food tasting sessions, they have run over hundreds of food promotions throughout the whole country (12:49-13:00, ***Travel of the flavour***) with the aim of making Taiwanese culture more visible, testable and approachable to the host communities.

Subsequently, food then becomes an essential cultural production to fulfil the nostalgia of Taiwanese people but also help share and introduce Taiwanese culture to Westerners and internationals. The tactical marketing plan of Taiwanese food promotion from Taipei corresponds to this concept via the smell and flavour in order to distinguish Taiwanese food from the stereotypical Chinese food from Westerners' perspective. And how **Marcia Lai** describes her response to what she has experienced in those events of free food tasting is remarkable:

'There are a lot of interesting interactions between people. And different ethnic groups can enjoy the same food. I feel that the food creates a good communication and connection between people. I didn't expect that at all' (14:24-43, ***Travel of the flavour***)

Thus, the food connects the friendliness and touching qualities of Taiwanese people in the UK and not only urges the migrants to gather together, but it also triggers the rhizomatic actions for the visibility of the Taiwanese. Since we, Taiwanese people in the UK are the minority, this kind of accumulation for Taiwanese migrants is probable, innovative and "becoming". Like Deleuze and Guattari address,

'... the majoritarian as a constant and homogeneous system; minorities as subsystem... The problem is never to acquire the majority, even in order to install a new constant. There is no becoming-majoritarian; majority is never becoming. All becoming is minoritarian.' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:117)

The concept of minoritisation - becoming by Deleuze and Guattari corresponds to Stuart Hall's "becoming as well as being", which he indicates another term - the presence of a "New World" that is not powerful in terms of the territory (Hall, 1990:234). However, the presence of a "New World" creates a new space to decentre the dominant identity that is generated by imperialism, Orientalism and hegemony to actually unfold difference, diversity, and hybridity (Hall, 1990:235). Thus, it is understood that those actions within the rhizomatic system of Taiwanese people are displacing the dominant identity - (ethnic) Chinese to become Taiwanese.

In short, Taiwanese migrants in the UK are such a minority, however, they tactically utilise their eating culture to establish a subsystem. The forming of a rhizomatic network requires time to fabricate because it is a non-hierarchical and signifying system 'without an organizing memory or central automaton' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:23). Due to the way, the system develops without the territorialisation and stratification, rhizomatic growth counts on the establishment of "the weak" that relies and takes advantage on the time and "opportunities" to accumulate its strength and establish its own position through its *tactics*. Therefore, in my opinion, **the rhizome system is a collective of tactics** that connect and conjugate with each plateau in the subterranean structure to engender 'a specific, unforeseen, autonomous becoming' (ibid:118). The employment of food from Taiwanese migrants

allows them not only to actualise the cultural practice to present and introduce Taiwanese representation to the host society, but it could also be an essential part to enhance their coherence in order to elevate the plausibility of forming a physical Taiwanese community in the United Kingdom.

Conclusion

1. Emergence of identity under Chinese domination



Figure 31. A screen shot in feature Floating Home shows the sign of "Taste of Taiwan" on the shelves in the Wing Yip Chinese Supermarket at Croydon

Taiwanese people have experienced the influence of imperialist powers from Japan, America and China. They continue to negotiate what it means to be Taiwanese when China insists that their country is not independent. And yet it is this mixture of cultural and political influences that have both enriched and emboldened the Taiwanese identity (Cheng, Wang, and de Zepetnek, 2009; Amae and Damm, 2011). Remaining liminal, in between, fluid, has helped evade suppression. Cultural production has been instrumental in the emergence of a Taiwanese identity in the international scene.

Taiwanese identity emerges as a hybrid identity from the historical, colonial and political experience. As Hall and

Bhabha suggest, hybrid identity occupies a new/third space (Hall, 1990; Bhabha, 1994) to resist the domination of imperialism, Orientalism and the hegemony that imposes homogenised Mainland Chinese identity. A cultural realisation and awaken, Taiwanisation, the late 1970s movement of localisation was fermented by a subterranean structure, rhizomatic in nature from the influence of Taiwanese filmmakers and their recognition internationally as being from Taiwan, not from China. Significantly for this study, this rhizomatic approach expressed itself tactically through the cinema movement - Taiwan New Cinema.

Filmmaking was not only a vehicle for the New Cinema filmmakers in 1980s and 1990s to create and produce their creativity; but filmmaking was tactical in that they actualised an alternative, and essentially an aesthetically communicative, way to articulate and voice their opinions on social problems. As Kellner suggests, the New Cinema filmmakers used an 'innovative cinematic techniques to explore contemporary problems' (Kellner, 1998:104). The filmmaking in the movement is a cultural endeavour, but it is also a political act, which is a reaction of Taiwanese people as marginal to operate tactics and be fluid to find a way to express who they are, and to be heard. The social realist drama of the films combined with a pared down neo realist style in cinematography and location filming, let the New Cinema filmmakers gain attention in the international scene. Their films comprise the visuals of the hybrid culture in Taiwan influenced by the colonial and hegemonic cultures. This indicates the Taiwanese culture suffered by the hegemonies but still found a way to emerge and articulate their identity - a combination, a hybridity. Hou Hsiao-Hsien winning the Golden Lion award in 1989 at the Venice Film Festival was a subtle and undeniable acknowledgement of the existence of Taiwan as a

producer of films that were different to those of Mainland China and Hong Kong, a striking out against the hierarchy and authority of China (the KMT and the PRC).

The international reception of the work of this small group of filmmakers was a turning point for Taiwanese people, putting them on the map to reclaim their own identity internally and fight for it externally and internationally. The fact that this was done through cinema, visual storytelling, rather than through politicians and governments, underlines the importance of cultural production in a country's identity. The filmmaking spurred the underground activities, but the New Cinema filmmakers also influenced and stimulated by other artists at the same time. Each artist and activist was connected, intertwined and interwoven with the unconscious to structure a rhizome, which can be seen the movement of Taiwanisation. This cinema movement parallels those Kurdish films, such as **Sürü** as known as **The Herd (1979)** produced by Yilmaz Güney in Turkey, and **Turtles Can Fly (2004)** made by Bahman Ghobadi in Iran. They also utilised drama to deliver and share their own people's stories and identities through cinema. As Deleuze and Guattari point that rhizome constantly builds 'connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:08).

Therefore, this project draws on the ability of film to communicate the sensibilities and subtleties of identity, which cannot necessarily be captured by the written word alone. It echoes the Taiwanese New Cinema filmmakers' articulations of the specificity of Taiwanese identity, but by foregrounding the experience of real people through documentary rather than creating characters through the use of fiction. The aspiration of this research is to disclose a

different way of thinking about Taiwanese cultural identity, through filmmaking to constitute a representation **by us** (as opposed to *of us*) to enhance Taiwanese cinema and further to establish British Taiwanese cinema in the future.

As Stuart Hall points, identity is about 'questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being' (Hall, 1996:04). It resonates the identity of Taiwanese people in the UK has more intricacy rather than being reduced it down or being homogenised. This intricate relationship reflects on Taiwanese migrants, who carry their habitus from Taiwan to the UK and transform it in order to adapt British society. Their *tactics* is the **act of adaptation** to acclimate to the host culture but maintain their culture of origin at the meantime. It is a journey for them to search for their longing and belongings, particularly under the political oppression of China and minimal international recognition, where the identity of Taiwanese people in the UK is always in a never-ended process, being liminal and floating between Taiwan and Britain, as the becoming.

2. The contribution of the research

In **Floating Home** project, the main theories I employ are de Certeau's *tactics* and Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome. I not only apply them to theorise and analyse the Taiwanese subjects' daily life and the groups' casual gatherings; I also actualise *tactics* and rhizomatics onto my filmmaking approach.

The path of *tactics* I exercise on the filmmaking can be seen as **an individual and personal approach**. As *tactics* defined by de Certeau is 'a form of legerdemain' (de Certeau, 1984:37); in other words, *tactics* are a set of tricks that constantly find alternative ways - being flexible and fluid - to achieve

goals. It is a manoeuvre of the common people, the oppressed, the weak, who do not have power to occupy a space to run business and do things. *Tactics* is opposed to strategy, which is a method about control and barricaded inside its own space.



Figure 32. A screen shot in feature Floating Home depicts me showing the footage I shot to Ethan and Patty

In this practiced-based research, based on my lack of financial and physical support, working outside of the commercial film infrastructure, *tactics* to me is to be flexible and fluid to approach the participants and follow them with their schedules. As this research is not a studio based project, *tactics* is the approach of the alternatives to achieve goals. Which means, I bring the camera to approach and document the subjects, not they come to me to *be filmed*. Thus, me and my partner normally capture their daily practice with handheld cameras; and be spontaneous to cook with them, send or pick up kids to schools, and involve in children's birthday parties. This allows me to immerse their environment, family

and life to be part of them, share the food and build a strong relationship with each other.

This kind of filmmaking is similar to what Chris Berry calls - on the spot realism or jishizhuyi - in Chinese Cinema. Berry further explains on the spot realism often constitutes 'hand-held camera work; location shooting; the signalling of spontaneity... synch sound and muddy sound; natural lighting; amateur actors and so on' (Berry, 2009:119). On the spot realism, perhaps brought up by a Chinese documentary filmmaker, Wu Wenguang 吳文光, who is best known internationally as one of the founding figures in Chinese independent documentary (Berry, 2006:134).

In Wu's essay, DV: Individual Filmmaking (2006), he describes how he spent time with a traveling performance troupe in China, and used a DV camera to document them. He gave up the way he used to see the "proper" documentary making with a huge budget and bunch of crewmembers and equipment. Instead, he used only one DV camera and immersed into the participants' life to document them. He and his participants shared the life styles during the shooting time, including the DV camera. The way he filmed his participants as he describes, he distances himself 'even more from professional filmmakers' (Wu, 2006:138).

What I found the most similar aspect of Wu from my approach in this research is, he believes documentary is not only about film or art, but it should also 'have a direct relationship with the reality that we live in every day, a relationship with social work' (ibid). Which means, both of us care about people and dwelling, that we only use cameras and filmmaking skills to follow the participants' life. And this way of documenting people's life is also part of our (as filmmakers)

life. Although I could not hand around the camera to my participants to let them film (me) like what Wu did (due to the participants' attentive considerations to their children), I endeavoured to let them watch the shots I had done immediately. Additionally, I am willing to appear in the films, just as all the participants are willing to be part of the production. This implies that each individual (the participants and the filmmaker) connected and interacted during the research period, and me as the researcher utilised cameras to document these "gatherings" in our life.

As a result, under the sense Wu describes, it can be seen each of participants including me - the filmmaker in the production as a "plateau", which Deleuze and Guattari suggest as a multiplicity, interweave and connect with each other. The reason we gather around and connect each other is we are driven by the unconscious, which can be read as the sense of being Taiwanese in the UK. There is no different level between filmmaker and the participants; each of subject in the film is treated as a respectful individual in this non-hierarchical pattern. And the filmmaking with its function of capturing moments is becoming a medium to record through the filmmaker's eyes and document the developing process of rhizome. This is what I term the approach as rhizomatic filmmaking, and it can be seen as **an approach to the collective with a ramified structure.**

A rhizomatic film making model

A significant outcome of this research has been the identification of a rhizomatic film making model that is not only producing a non-hierarchical film production, but it also engenders a series of interactive individual episodes within a rhizomatic structure. This rhizomatic film making model

produces an inclusive and all-around path to present a representation generated by subjects themselves. This is from my methodological approach in locating participants and including them in the process of filmmaking. But integral to this was my role as an active participant in the rhizomatic process and having my own Taiwanese identity in common with the participants.

This model of filmmaking would not be possible under commercial conditions of short turnarounds and instantaneous delivery. The rhizomatic filmmaking model *requires time and care*, and attention to the point of view of the participants. The model was possible here due to the specific nature of a practice-based PhD. The use of the research period to film over years, to edit and reedit, and to show the participants the results to ensure that they were happy with their representation. This approach would horrify a commercial director - handing approval over to the subject! Final cut is the most prized thing for the auteurist and commercial filmmakers alike (the former are more likely to have it than the latter, for whom the producer has it).

The methodological process of archiving, of regular filming with the participants generated inclusive and accountable relationships and familiarity from which to produce films that express the experience of the group. As Renov points out the camera supplies durable, lightweight, portable and instantaneous results, it obtains a dual capacity with the essayistic approach that 'is both screen and mirror, providing the technological grounds for the surveillance of the palpable world, as well as a reflective surface on which to register the self' (Renov, 2004:186).

Which means the rhizomatic filmmaking can be the reflective digest in the process. As the strength of digital filmmaking is the easy preserve of footage, the footage I shot in the research can be viewed, reviewed and recycle later. This strength enhances the flexibility of the non-linear editing nowadays. In particular, the essay film Corrigan and Renov point out, this kind of genre is part of the process of thinking (Corrigan, 2011; Renov, 2004). Through the footage captured on the participants' public experience, and the interviews of their personal expression, the filming process can be examined spontaneously with the participants. During the editing process, the filmmakers can review the footage not only to observe it again, but they are also able to study the shots, and most importantly, reflect to the filmmakers themselves. This resonates Wu's perspective about documentary that he considers it as an "image writing", which is the 'thoughts and feedback on personal emotions and perspectives of the world reflecting on and with images'³⁵. This is the reason the way Wu sees the footage or rushes is "paragraphs" (Wu, 2006:139).

This is the main contribution of the research that the filmmaking is a key element in a practice-based research. Those audiovisuals are not only the medium to record and preserve what happened during the research period, the films are also the essays and articles to deliver what the researchers/filmmakers attempt to articulate and express their thinking process. In line with **Floating Home** production, the films of feature documentary and the documentary series are the articles I have written through the images to express my thoughts and my findings. Most importantly, the filmmaking is

³⁵ 'Documentary is an image writing' - Wu Wenguang talks about Folk Memory Project, the web page can access on: http://www.funscreen.com.tw/feature.asp?FE_No=1556 (in traditional Chinese)

also a factor in the research to perform a reciprocal role not only for the researcher/filmmaker's life experience, but also for the participants' life journeys.

My experience as the filmmaker, and as a Taiwanese in Britain, being registered on this reflective surface is significant. I have gone from eschewing the camera at the beginning of the research, to being a visible participant in the films. Through the articulate interviews of the participants, I have shared and learned more about my own identity as a Taiwanese migrant. I have been struck by the capacity of my fellow country (wo)men in helping me find a home from home, sharing cultural rituals, birthdays, new year celebrations, meals and ideas. It is to them that I dedicate this project and thank them for their insight and generosity with their time and participation.

Therefore, the singularity of the approach from this research is the most fruitful experience to me in the research that not only progress the realisation during the approach of filmmaking experience, but it also provides an opportunity to reflect on my own living experience in the UK. To answer the second secondary question, it is possible to say, the rhizomatic filmmaking can be a model of filmmaking process that can record and express the experiences and tensions of marginalised people, in which the filmmakers will process a non-hierarchical approach. Moreover, this rhizomatic filmmaking model could be employed in future projects on other marginal or minoritarian communities. Although this research is not flawless and exhaustive, I believe it contributes a passage for Taiwanese people in Britain to have our own image and voice, to represent ourselves and possibly to be seen by the host and the Westerners in the future.

3. Optimism of the becoming

Through capturing and examining the participants' migratory experience, this project is able to reveal the cultural identity of Taiwanese as more apparent when examined closely over a sustained period, but somehow marginalised or relatively invisible compared to other ethnic Chinese migrant communities due to its small population, and disparate scattering.

By virtue of the cultural and linguistic aspects with historical British-colonised backgrounds, Hong Kongese migrants had an ascendant position under the British colony which meant Cantonese was prevalent in ethnic Chinese communities in the UK in the past. However, the Chinese economic boom has led to an increase in Mainland Chinese newcomers in Britain, making Mandarin the dominant language in the ethnic Chinese society. This means the identity of Taiwanese people in the UK are not only liminal between the UK and Taiwan, they are also marginalised between Hong Kongese and Mainland Chinese, and still homogenised by the host country.

Moreover, globalisation has considerably influenced migration by the development and utilisation of technology. With the concept of light-weight capitalism - liquid modernity, Bauman mentions the compression of time and space in the globe. People are able to travel relatively more easily, to contact and access each other more expediently and acquire the food and goods of their homeland much more conveniently. Where there are diasporic communities, there is the opportunity for markets and profit. The Internet facilitates these opportunities and both monetises commercial opportunity and facilitates connections between people. The Internet both

allows the flourishing of a rhizomatic structure between disparate groups missing home providing a virtual social forum, but also it offers the opportunity to commercialise the nostalgic desires of missing one's homeland.

Food is a significant element of migrant experience and Taiwanese migrants, like other migrants, perform their cultural particularity through it to assemble their own people, and experience the taste of home and share their culture with the locals. Their experience under Chinese domination, has prepared them to flourish in a rhizomatic way, making connections underground, reaching out, but not necessarily making them visible. A subtle practise of culture that does not draw attention to itself.

Regarding the third secondary question, the answer is Taiwanese people are in the process of displacing the predominant Chinese identity they have been associated with and lumped in with to express themselves as Taiwanese. Although they are one of many minorities in Britain, and as other minorities, through the rhizome they continuously build their own network in the host society. This rhizomatic system is a collective of *tactics* by connecting disparate Taiwanese through language, food festivals, cultural events and so on. It takes time to find the opportunities to accumulate the strength and engender its own position, as Deleuze and Guattari point out, the minoritarian is always in the process of "becoming".

From the beginning this project has actively functioned in a rhizomatic way, from finding the participants, to filming regularly with the families across the four years, to the editing processes and dissemination of the finished films. The filmmaking has captured and communicates this previously

overlooked, somewhat invisible, disparate yet active and creative process of maintaining the Floating Home of Taiwanese identity. And herein lies the project's original contribution to knowledge: the films, filmed over a four-year period, communicate lived experience of Taiwanese migrants and the specific rhizomatic filmmaking approach facilitates the detail and richness of this communication. The text of this thesis frames the methodological approach and presents the findings of the research, but the films will endure as documents of specific experience and have the ability to transcend the academy and reach non-academic audiences.

What is the cultural identity of Taiwanese migrants in the UK?

To answer the main question of this research, it is essential to look at how the Taiwanese migrants operate their cultural practice in Britain. The collected films of this project reveal a real and detailed insight into the participants' daily practice. It indicates the female participants in this project are building their own homes in the UK through their *acts of adaptation*. They are cautious not to completely give up their culture of origin. Instead, they are generating their cultural identifications and connections inwardly and outwardly from their homes.

The role of transnational marriage, through Bhabha's concept, for the four main Taiwanese subjects engender the home as a mini world without a border between private and public places. In other words, they constantly run the practices of everyday life with the idea of cultural balance in both the domestic domain and the public sphere. They are actively managing their own, and their families' cultural production, reaching out and maintaining traditions in this other context. They are

floating boats, floating to connect the other cultures, rhizomes, making lateral connections to multiple plateaux.

That means a **further hybrid identity** emerges from the cultural hybridity on the island of Taiwan through the *acts of adaptation* of Taiwanese migrants in the UK. Woodward's view that identity travels with belonging (Woodward, 2002:168) corresponds to the Taiwanese participants in this research that they have found the sense of belonging enough to build their homes in Britain whether it is temporary or permanent. Although the hybridity bridges the gap between the two poles of the Eastern and Western cultures, the instability of Taiwanese' identity can neither fully transform to British nor be able to turn back as solely Taiwanese. Hence, through the migratory experience, the identity of Taiwanese people in Britain will always be liminal, particularly the first and second generations.

With the impulse of minoritisation from the rhizomatic structure of Taiwanese people in the UK, the people are eager to show and express their true identity against the identity that either is imposed by other ethnic Chinese or homogenised by Westerners. From those casual gatherings with their own people, the host and international friends, through the food festival they have organised for years, to those marketing *tactics* of food products attached with the logo and slogan of Taiwan, Taiwanese people in Britain endeavour to break the stereotype and generate their own image and representation in order to stand out for their true selves. This project is a contribution to this ongoing effort.

Because the process of constructing a subterranean structure takes time, it is the time that matters since the rhizomatics process is "always in the middle" and in constant flux. Hence,

the rhizomes we build in the UK are not visible yet (or only visible to those who need them, or know about them), but therein lies the strength of the rhizome. How can something that is constantly evolving, always in the process of becoming, be captured, appropriated, stopped. Liquid flows around obstacles, rhizomes extend from the middle outwards. This is a positive and optimistic process.

Finally, the undertaking of this research has been fundamental to my understanding and practice of my own Taiwanese-ness. The films themselves provide a record of our rhizome, and whereas I do not make the bold claims of the Taiwanese New Cinema, I do believe that they document the specificity of living in Britain as a Taiwanese, and share our experiences. I am ever hopeful in this age of uncertainty, that liquidity can be a useful tactic in this liquid modern world. A place to float, constructs our homes among our loved ones, and shares our experiences.

4. Further study

It is understood that Taiwanese people in the UK are a marginalised minority. As the minoritarians need to accumulate our strength and develop our own representations against the majoritarians through the rhizome. However, the political status of Taiwan still remains ambiguous and unrecognised internationally. With the risen economy of China in recent years, the government of the PRC has had more power to oppress Taiwan politically and internationally; and could even possibly unify the island by force. In particular, the DPP party won the presidential election on the island in 2016 that intensifies the relationship between the two countries, as the

new female president - Ing-wen Tsai and her party have the tendency of actualising the independence of Taiwan³⁶.

Moreover, the dominance of the Mainland Chinese in the UK has facilitated them in taking over Chinatown and the Chinese markets from the Hong Kongese predecessors; they have even started investing and building a business district at London's Royal Docks. In addition, since Britain voted to withdraw from Europe in the summer of 2016, the United Kingdom could be tending towards isolationism developing further opposition towards migration and immigration.

These uncertainties for Taiwanese migrants in the UK could potentially bring future issues. It is not only the problem they might exile or migrate to some other countries but is not their home; but they could also be assimilated by the Chinese economic and political forces. Thus, the identity of the Taiwanese in the UK is an on-going topic to follow, document, present and represent in the future.

Thus, as Deleuze and Guattari suggest the rhizomatics is always related to the arts production and creation to the social struggle (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:08), the minority people apply the form to produce, perform and represent their own perspective and identity. Indeed, this research project is also part of the rhizomatic process of Taiwanese people in the UK; hence, I determine to expand the process through the filmmaking even further in the future.

³⁶ Taiwanese youngster supported the new leader, who is the first female president in Taiwanese history: <http://time.com/4183442/china-taiwan-tsai-ing-wen-first-female-president/>

Film as an art form is uniquely placed to work with, respond to, record movement, re-present the world and represent the identity. As Hamid Naficy points out,

'A film may be regarded as the performance of the identity of its maker.' (Naficy, 2001:282)

Whilst certain considerations must be made when making films regarding the styles, the themes, and the ways of presenting the productions; equally as important is the way that the filmmaker dedicates, inscribes and inserts their will, perspectives and identifications in the whole process.

As a result, being a filmmaker, articulating through the craft is a way to express my voice through this medium of my experience as a Taiwanese to offer a voice recognisable to other Taiwanese people in the UK to express our own identity. Just as Kurdish Iranian director Bahman Ghobadi and Taiwan New Cinema filmmakers, I endeavour to employ the cinema to deliberate and enunciate our own identity for my people.

According to Mackendrick, one of the crucial elements of drama is tension, which leads an audience to feel not necessarily the conflict, but also the curiosity, suspense and apprehension in the imagination (Mackendrick, 2004). Inspired by Taiwanese New Cinema, I also champion those seemingly banal, ubiquitous and therefore fundamental areas of cultural specification based on my and my subject's characteristics and migratory experience in the UK which I feel could be dramatized and performed in a drama series for my future projects.

Based on the inspiration of Taiwan New Cinema filmmakers such as Hou Hsiao-Hsien and Ang Lee, I believe the form of drama

and the fictional story could be a passage that is approachable, compelling, entertaining, and metaphorical to audiences, including the non-marginalised. These drama films could build on this research by developing complex characters beyond the stereotype of the ethnic Chinese as the 'ultimate Other' or 'model minority' that were deemed to be tame and better adjusted (Benton & Gomez, 2008:351). I hope that my visual work will inspire people, audiences and academics to acknowledge the hybrid culture we possess as a unique Taiwanese culture instead of a homogenised and imperialised identity based on the "ethnicity" as Chinese.

National identity crystallizes outside of the country of origin, becoming at once fiercely expressive, nostalgic and besieged all at once. I would propose that future study could include the distillation of the participants' experiences into developing a set of drama films that could extend these narratives and contribute to a genre of films of migrant experience - a broad genre that includes such diverse works as *West Side Story (1961)*, *La Haine (1995)*, *Girlhood (2014)*, *Illegal (2010)*, *The Last Resort (2009)*, *Stranger than Paradise (1984)* to name but a few.

In terms of migratory experience and crossing borders between the cultures and countries, this idea is similar to Ang Lee's early works despite the fact he is located in the United States and I am in United Kingdom. His early works were focused on the issues of diasporic identity in between Eastern and Western cultures through the everyday life within families and the so-called Chinese values (Dilley, 2015), particularly the trilogy of the fatherhood (Yeh & Davis, 2005:182), *Pushing Hands (1992)*, *The Wedding Banquet (1993)*, *Eat Drink Man Woman (1994)*.

Dissemination - the films beyond the project

The films of **Floating Home** project themselves stand alone as documentaries on migrant experience. During the course of the research period they have been programmed in screenings and I have spoken about them at research events. Beyond the PhD, I am investigating the possibility of an exhibition in a gallery space. As well as sending a selection off to film festivals and investigating opportunities for broadcast, both in the UK and Taiwan.



Figure 33. A photo shows me and Yung-Fang Chen had a speech before the screen of Floating Home Series at Coventry University on 8th February, 2017. Photo provided by Culturae Mundi

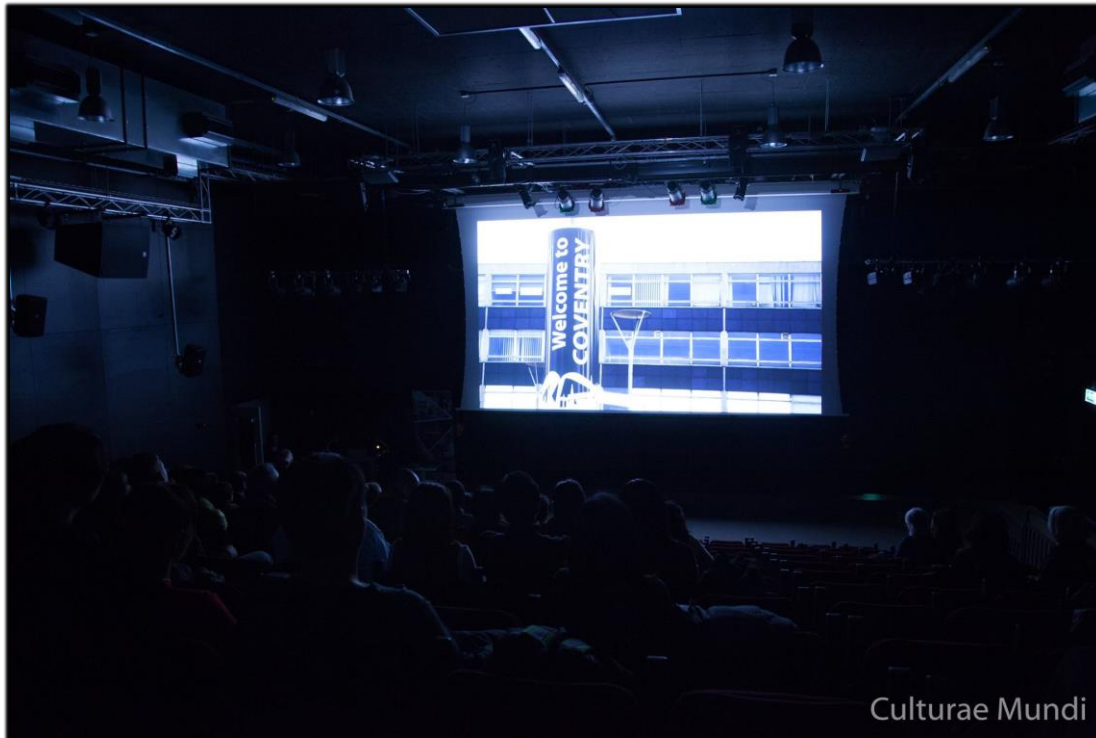


Figure 34. A photo shows the screen of **Floating Home Series** at Coventry University on 8th February, 2017. Photo provided by Culturae Mundi

To demonstrate the reciprocal nature of the relationships built around this project, I have made arrangements for the premiere of the **Floating Home Series** to take place at Coventry University in February 2017. This screening took place the films not only to the Taiwanese community but also the ethnic Chinese groups, who helped me embark on this project. This is important to involve the participants and the community, just as I shared rushes and discussed edits with them during the production process. The participants' point of view on how they have been portrayed has been taken into account and an ethics of inclusivity has been instilled in my methodology.

In addition to the premiere, *A Journey to an unknown stop* and *In between the two cultures* have been included in a curated screening entitled *Film maker in the Family* at the BFI

Southbank in September 2016, alongside other films that examine the intersection of filmmaking and family life.

Appendix: Definition of terms

1. Migrant:

According to Oxford dictionary, "migrant" as a noun is referred to a person who moves from one place to another, particularly for finding work or better living conditions.

2. Minority:

From Oxford dictionary, "minority" as a noun, means the smaller number or part, especially a number or part representing less than half of the whole.

3. The weak/the oppressed:

Weak, in accordance with Oxford dictionary, it is an adjective that describes lacking power or influence. Oppressed, is an adjective to describe subject to harsh and authoritarian treatment.

It can be viewed as the ideology of the politics. As Andrew Heywood states, 'politics is power, the ability to achieve a desired outcome, through whatever means' (Heywood, 1994:60). The power relation that can be implied to Gramsci's hegemony to indicate the social fractions, which resonates Heywood's perception that 'political power is rooted in the class system' (ibid). Which means, the imbalance of power relation in the social structure indicates the upper/ruling class is the most powerful and strongest class in the social level, whereas working class is on the other side of the pole. And middle class is somewhere in between these classes.

Heywood states, politics 'takes place whenever and wherever power and other resources are unequally

distributed' (ibid:61), this could extend to the "common people", "ubiquitous", the "weak", and minority, who do not have the power, material resource and influence as equal as the "strong". Migrant, in this case, can be also categorised in the sector of the weak, as they are outsiders of the host society and country. As Marx and Engels state in *The Communist Manifesto* ([1848] 1976), they suggest this kind of power (politics) is 'merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another' (Marx and Engels, [1848] 1976:371). Hence, the "common people", the "weak" and minority under this concept, often can be viewed as the "oppressed".

4. Hybrid and hybridity:

Hybrid, according to Oxford dictionary, it is an adjective that indicates a thing made by combining two different elements.

The term of hybridity, in accordance with Robert J.C. Young, was utilised to bully those who are next generations of miscegenation, the crossbreeds at first. It was employed by the thought of eugenicists and scientific-racists to experiment with the differences between each human race in order to discover the question of different races are different species in nineteenth-century (Young, 1995). Homi Bhabha takes hybridity to the cultural perception and points that hybridity is the connection, the bridge, to link the cultural differences that then produces another space to position itself as to whether it is individual or communal; it is 'the emergence of the interstices' (Bhabha, 1994:02) that fills in the gap between the two or more cultures in the moments of cultural transformation.

5. Imperialism:

Through Oxford dictionary, imperialism is referred to a policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means. In other words, it is a supreme power. Edward Said, applies the term more widely to interpret any system of domination and subordination constructed by an imperial centre and its periphery (Said, 1994:09).

6. Globalisation:

Sankaran Krishna suggests in his book - Globalisation and Postcolonialism (2009), globalisation 'can be seen as the accelerated spread of a free-market-based, capitalist style of production over an increasing swath of nations on this planet' (Krishna, 2009:02). This indicates the conventional country borders being open up and losing the boundaries in a modern world. Globalisation can also be seen as a multidimensional process constructed by complex, often contrasting interactions of global, regional, and local aspects of social life (Steger, 2003:02).

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