8 Two migration documentaries from Taiwan[1]

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Documentaries and migration studies in Taiwan

Like South Korea, Taiwan has become a destination country for immigrants from many Asian countries in the past decades.[2] In the case of Taiwan, immigration flows and the resulting demographic transformation began to gather momentum in the 1980s with Taiwan's increasing economic investment in China and South East Asia.[3] Just as Taiwanese emigrants went to Japan in the 1970s and early 1980s for economic reasons, many immigrants from China and Southeast Asian countries now come to Taiwan with the hope of escaping dire economic situations back home.[4] As some chapters of this book show, the large migration flows have led to a significant demographic transformation in Taiwan and generated new social issues for study.

In this essay, we use two Taiwanese documentaries to address the following relatively under-explored issues in migration studies: 1) perspective and predicament of the Taiwanese husband in brokered transnational marriages, 2) the question of agency in the micro-social relations of inter-cultural partnerships, and 3) indigenous migration within Taiwan, which has also constituted an important field of research but is seldom considered comparatively with studies of transnational migration. *My Imported Wife* (2009, directed by Tsai Tsung-lung) is a documentary about the tough challenges of transnational marriage for a 40-year-old Taiwanese man with cerebral palsy and his young Cambodian wife. The other documentary is *Libangbang* (Chinese title: *Ching Wen's Not Home*, 2000, directed by Kuo Chen-ti), which deals with the migration of indigenous people in Taiwan. The migrant subjects in the two documentaries are socially disadvantaged minorities struggling for survival in adverse conditions. They migrate with the hope of improving the economic situation of their families back home. To facilitate the dialogue with the other chapters of this book, our main focus is *My Imported Wife*. The discussion of *Libangbang* will be relatively short, since it is much shorter and less complex than *My Imported Wife*. *Libangbang* will serve here as a sample to generate a comparative approach to the migration issues discussed in this chapter.

The two documentaries not only challenge the stereotyped representation of their migrant subjects as helpless, oppressed victims, but also draw attention to what I call "the cosmopolitanism of the underprivileged." As defined by Robert Fine, cosmopolitanism is 'a social form of right' in its external manifestation, "realized

in particular institutions, laws, norms, and practices."[5] Subjectively, cosmopolitanism designates a form of consciousness that recognizes rights "as a social form of the subject in the modern world"[6] and the necessity for all human beings to struggle 'for mutual recognition as equals in the context of our multiple differences.'[7] The idea of the cosmopolitanism of the underprivileged points to the agency of the underprivileged. The two documentaries provide a perspective on the micro-social relations in migration, showing us how the underprivileged migrants (and their partners) actively negotiate with inhuman forces in their pursuit of alternative life scripts.

My Imported Wife: "Am I treated like a human?"

The documentary *My Imported Wife* (2003) takes us into the private family space of a Taiwanese husband and his Cambodian wife. Unlike most migration representations that take the immigrant wives as the main focus, this documentary presents an in-depth portrayal of the Taiwanese husband. We learn from the director's voice-over that Huang is a 40-year-old man with cerebral palsy who sells flowers for a living. We also learn that Huang "wanted to have a family, but couldn't find a wife. So he went to Cambodia, and took a foreign bride." He paid the marriage agency US$20,000 to marry 18-year-old Navy. She married with the hope that she could improve the situation of her impoverished family in Cambodia and help them build a house.

Thus, we have a couple quite representative of brokered transnational marriages in several respects. First, the marriage is implicated in an "institutionalized profit-oriented social context."[8] Second, most Taiwanese husbands are socially disadvantaged, but not impoverished[9] – for, in addition to the significant sum paid to the marriage broker, US$20,000 in the case of Huang, they are usually expected to provide continuous financial support for their wives' families.[10] These Taiwanese men turn to Southeast Asian women either because they have difficulty finding a bride domestically[11] or because they subscribe to the traditional concept of gender roles, with which fewer and fewer Taiwanese women comply these days.[12] Third, commodification is key to the problems of transnational marriage. As Lan Pei-chia remarks, "People who emigrate to work are usually not the poorest; they need to have some money and education to initiate the journey. Those who marry to emigrate are relatively impoverished; they have little to invest but themselves."[13] Although this sweeping generalization may not hold true for all immigrant wives, it does fit quite well with the financial picture of Navy.

The documentary begins with a fight between the couple. It captures the marriage in crisis and reveals the issues at stake for the couple:

Navy: She's [the mother-in-law] right.
Huang: Then why do you take my money?
Navy: I know...

Huang: Why do you want my money? Do you take me for a human being? What do you want with my money?

Navy: I know you're human.

Huang: When has she treated me like a human? Just ask her. I'm telling you they're not really poor.

Navy: They're not poor. Really? Then why else would I marry to Taiwan? Because of poverty, that's why I got married [and came] here. I dare you to come out and say it.

The beginning scene marks the commodity status of the immigrant wife. Her choice of the transnational marriage is imbedded in the broader context of uneven international economic development and the marriage industry that feeds on this imbalance. However, Navy appears very articulate and tough rather than a voiceless, helpless victim of transnational marriage. Neither does the Taiwanese husband assume the overwhelming dominating role in their marriage relationship. Another interesting thing to note here is that while many related studies focus on how immigrants' rights and humanity are jeopardized,[14] the opening scene reveals that the human status of the Taiwanese husband is also cast in doubt. The Taiwanese husband's protest indicates that the male party in a transnational marriage may be equally plagued by questions of humanity and commodification in transnational marriages.

Indeed, throughout the documentary, we see a deeply troubled and insecure husband who suspects that his Cambodian wife married him for money and would leave him without regret if he lost his job. As the documentary unfolds, we see Huang trying to resist the role of "rich Taiwanese son-in-law" that, in his view, turns him into a commodity in the marriage. The deep-seated worry about his jeopardized human status propels him to make scenes in front of Navy's relatives. To find a solution to the money problem that is ruining their marriage, Navy tries to find a job, to gain some financial independence. However, the attempt is obstructed by Huang, as is often the case with many transnational marriage couples.[15] Huang suspects that she would run away if she found a job, for the stereotypical image of "money-grabbing, runaway foreign brides" is widely disseminated in Taiwan.[16] Paradoxically, as Navy is deprived of the opportunity to secure a financial income of her own, she is forced to ask for money from him, which further deepens his suspicion that his wife is simply using him as a cash machine. The vicious cycle places the couple in a difficult dilemma. "Am I treated like a human?" The very beginning of the documentary thus dramatizes and complicates the question of humanity that often lies at the heart of migration studies.

The documentary is structured basically by two major journeys. One is the journey Huang and Navy undertake to her home village in Cambodia three years after their marriage. The couple's journey to Cambodia is followed by a trip to Taiwan by Navy's mother, which worsens the couple's already tense relationship. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is in his most seemingly triumphant moment as a powerful husband *vis-à-vis* his wife and the poor in-laws that Huang is shown to be most vulnerable to the threat to his status as a human. In shots

taken in Cambodia, Huang is shown always surrounded by Navy's relatives and friends. We see him distributing gifts and money in the villages. In a scene showing Huang inside the mother-in-law's home, Huang remarks bitterly that everything in it was purchased with his money. Instead of securing for Huang what Wang Hong-zen calls "masculinity"[17] for Taiwanese men, these moments in Cambodia reveal how such masculinity remains a problem for the Taiwanese husband.

A hotel receptionist, an old friend of Huang's, offers an analysis of Huang's psychological complex in an interview:

> He feels insecure. He lacks confidence That's why he's like that... His attitude is really wrong. It makes no difference whether he marries a Taiwanese or a foreign woman. It ends up all the same. He's afraid she likes him for his money, not for what he is... If someone is very nice to him, he would suspect that she is after something.[18]

While the Taiwanese husband is continuously tormented by the fear that he is nothing but a cash machine to his Cambodian wife and her relatives, the Cambodian wife, on the other hand, feels she is being treated as subhuman because of her family's poverty. Both feel that they are treated as a commodity rather than as a human being. The in-depth portrayal of the psychological effects of commoditized transnational marriage makes this documentary particularly valuable for migration studies.

The narrative ends with a whole set of questions posed by the director's voice-over, coupled with shots taken in Cambodia and Taiwan:

> Taiwan and Cambodia. City and countryside. Forty years old and twenty years old. Huang Nai-hui and Navy. Can the distance between them be bridged? Are there still battles of trans-national marriages going on in corners invisible to us? When can the Taiwanese prince and the Cambodian princess live happily ever after?

A very bleak prospect for the couple indeed.

Significance of multi-layered ending

It is noteworthy that, strictly speaking, this narrative ending is not the ending of the documentary. It is followed immediately by inter-titles, telling us that the couple fights less after the mother-in-law goes back to Cambodia and that "Perhaps the battles will continue... But happiness exists in such moments." These inter-titles are accompanied by a picture of a smiling Huang and Navy. In contrast to the gloomy picture we find in the first ending, the second ending opens up the possibility of happiness. It is implied that transnational marriages are just like all other marriages, with ups and downs throughout.

Indeed, a 2010 study shows that "compared to Taiwanese native married women, fewer married immigrants had stressful life events or depression, and they reported (a) higher QOF (quality of life)."[19] The research included interviews of 1602 married women, of which 801 were immigrant wives and 801 were domestic married women. The immigrant participants were between the ages of 16 and 50, "the mean length of residence in Taiwan was 6.58 ± 3.87 years, and most had low education and low employment rate." The research finds that "after controlling for putative confounding factors, the immigrants still had better psychological QOF and a lower prevalence rate of depression."[20] Although more studies are needed to consolidate the conclusion reached in this particular study, it alerts us to the problem of assuming that all transnational marriages are inevitably worse off than those with both spouses from the same country.

Following this "second ending" is another ending constituted mainly by two film clips. As the conventional list of the names of people involved in the making of the documentary runs at the bottom of the screen, we also see two film clips running on the upper part of the screen. One film clip shows a smiling Huang making comments on their roles in the documentary. "We are the directors, best actors, best male and female actor; all at the same time! We laugh when we want to laugh; we cry when we want to cry. It seems we are making a TV soap opera." The other clip shows Navy speaking excitedly. "See how pretty it is! Hey, you'll air the film in Taiwan when it's finished? My Cambodian friends would be very happy to see it on television. I'll call my friends to spread the news when you set a date to put on the air."

The two film clips serve as a comment on the film itself. This meta-ending calls attention to the influence documentary has on self-representation. Huang and Navy were conscious of their participation in the filming process and that what they said or did would contribute to the meaning of the documentary. As the documentary filmmaker and critic Trinh Minh-ha points out, "The truest representation of oneself always involves elements of fiction and of imagination, otherwise there is no representation, or else, only a dead, hence 'false,' representation."[21] This does not mean that the documentary is pure fiction. The point is that the idea of a "pure" documentary is unsustainable.[22] The filmed subjects often consciously choose what to present to the camera and how to present it.[23] The final ending of the documentary implies that the filmed subjects are highly conscious of the power of media and may use it for their own interests. In the documentary, we see both Huang and Navy vigorously voice their opinions in defense of themselves. Both refuse to accept what they see as inhuman treatment that impinges on their human rights.

This opens up the question of agency of the underprivileged in transnational marriage. The underprivileged immigrant wives exert their agency not simply in what Wang Hong-zen calls the "hidden spaces of resistance" (e.g., manipulating intimate relations with their husbands and threatening to leave Taiwan);[24] many Southeast Asian women choose cross-border marriage because they imagine Taiwan to be a place where they can be more or less free from the givenness at home.[25] The exercise of imagination, in Arjun Appardurai's view, is essential to

"the fabrication of social lives" and resistance to "the givenness of things."[26] As Appardurai remarks, "Lives today are as much acts of projection and imagination as they are enactments of known scripts or predictable outcomes."[27] The projection of a new life in Taiwan is not possible without a cosmopolitan outlook that presupposes an openness toward the world. On the other hand, many socially disadvantaged Taiwanese men find in brokered transnational marriage the prospect of marriage denied to them in the local marriage market. Imagination generated by transnational information flows may create an ideological illusion, but it also powers the projections of alternative lives that open up possibilities heretofore unimaginable to the underprivileged.

Huang and Navy are shown developing a cosmopolitan outlook not simply because they travel across borders, but also because they exhibit what Gerard Delanty defines as a "cosmopolitan imagination" that makes it possible to develop new relations between the self, the other, and the world in moments of openness.[28] In Delanty's view, what characterizes cosmopolitanism is not "mobilities–networked relations organized in new kinds of spaces and temporal processes."[29] Rather, it is the creation and articulation of communicative models of world openness.[30] While mobility generates transnational experiences, it does not necessarily bring into presence a cosmopolitan outlook which suggests "a moral and ethical standpoint." The key here is a negative self-perception among actors, for "cosmopolitanism signals a condition of self-confrontation and incompleteness."[31] For immigrant wives such as Navy, openness toward cultural differences is key to survival. For Huang the Taiwanese husband, on the other hand, this negative self-perception becomes apparent as he is forced to confront his long-standing sense of insecurity.

In the documentary, the family space of transnational marriage is shown to be a cosmopolitan space, where a husband and wife from very different backgrounds constantly negotiate with cultural differences in the pursuit of their dreams. Both the husband and wife are compelled to see their own culture from another perspective and subject many of their assumptions to critical scrutiny. To borrow from Jacques Derrida's discussion of the question of the foreigner, the foreigner is not simply a "being-in-question," as noted so often in migration studies, but is "also the one who, putting the first question, puts me in question."[32] Coming from another culture and speaking an unusual language, the foreigner "shakes up the threatening dogmatism of the paternal *logos*."[33] In other words, the question of the foreigner demands new practices and new understanding of what constitutes the self.

Seen in this light, *My Imported Wife* goes beyond representation of the victimhood of the underprivileged in transnational marriage. It explores the pursuit of cosmopolitan rights in an age of transnational capital flows. The documentary shows that what really matters for the couple is the question of their human status. The couple's fights are conducted in terms of the discourse of the human. One crucial defining feature of such discourse is the prohibition of "the instrumentalization or technologization of human beings—the use of another human as a means rather than as an end itself..."[34] As this documentary reveals in profound depth, the human, in Pheng Cheah's words, does not exist outside and independently of instrumentality, but is "materially constituted by instrumentality."[35]

It is arguable that the pursuit of human status drives Huang and Navy into brokered transnational marriage. Huang hopes to overcome his social disadvantage (cerebral palsy) that renders him "less than human" and not on a par with other male competitors in the local marriage market. Navy, on the other hand, seeks to overcome the constraints of impoverishment. Moreover, as we see in the documentary, the continual fights between Navy and Huang actually stage negotiations for the constitution of humanity in a marriage relationship so deeply involved in the inhuman forces of commodification.

As a discourse on transnational marriage, *My Imported Wife* provides much food for thought for migration studies. First, in choosing transnational marriage, the underprivileged may not be simply helpless victims, but agents trying to change their lot in life. They should be understood, as Michel Foucault says, as "investors": "migration is an investment; the migrant is an investor. He is an entrepreneur of himself who incurs expenses by investing to obtain some kind of improvement."[36] Indeed, the director Tsai points out in a telephone interview that not all immigrant wives come to Taiwan because their families are poor. As Isabelle Cheng's chapter in this book shows, many Indonesian immigrant wives choose to come to Taiwan because of ethnic clashes in Indonesia. In other words, they become migrants in pursuit of other life possibilities. Finally, if a cosmopolitan outlook signifies a stance of openness towards the world and a willingness to engage negative self-perceptions through cross-cultural encounters, the parties involved in transnational marriages may be seen as engaging in cosmopolitanism in a sense. The case of Huang and Navy challenges the traditional theoretical links among transnational mobility, class, and cosmopolitanism.[37] Cosmopolitanism is not an exclusive privilege of the elite class, though the risks and stakes involved in the practice among the underprivileged, such as work exploitation and sexual assault, are often much greater than when practiced by the elite class.

Libangbang: "Does he want to come back home?"

To demonstrate how the cosmopolitanism of the underprivileged takes place not only in transnational space but also within domestic space, we now turn to *Libangbang*, a relatively short and less complex documentary of thirty-six minutes directed by Kuo Chen-ti. Our analysis of the documentary will also, accordingly, be brief. In contrast to the strong rhetoric of *My Imported Wife*, *Libangbang* can be characterized as a lyrical film. It was shot on Orchid Island, a small island off the southeastern coast of Taiwan with a population of 4,000 people. Most of the island's inhabitants are *Tao* indigenes. The documentary portrays the daily life of an indigenous couple. Their eldest son, Ching Wen, migrates to Taiwan for work and sends money back to help his family. This is very much like what Navy does in *My Imported Wife*. Structured as a visit to the indigenous island at a time when the traditional fishing season was about to begin, this short documentary moves along with casual chat between the director as a visiting guest and her hosts, Ching Wen's parents. The interview is interwoven with shots of the indigenous

way of life, such as women working in a taro field, indigenous men fishing using traditional methods, meal preparation, and house-building.

Libangbang, the English title of the documentary, is the *Tao* word for flying fish, the totem for the indigenous tribe on Orchid Island. The English title thus identifies the documentary as a film about the indigenous culture on the island.[38] The Chinese title, *Ching Wen Is Not Home*, however suggests another reading of the documentary. *Ching Wen Is Not Home* poses the question: "Why is Ching Wen not home?" Significantly, the protagonist Ching Wen is absent from the documentary. There are traces of him throughout the film, including his oil paintings to be sent to Taiwan for sale, some photos of his family taken by him, sea pebbles he collected for work on the house, gifts he gave to his parents, the house he helped build but did not have time to complete, and old film clips of him making a traditional boat. These traces not only evoke memories of his presence on the island, but also underscore the point that he is no longer there. His parents miss him, but for some reason he has not come back home as he promised. The documentary ends as the fishing season arrives. The mother offers this monologue:

> The day before yesterday he called and said if he does not make it back by April, he will be back in May. I asked him to make it April. "March 15 on the lunar calendar will be the Crab Festival. Aren't you coming back?" He said, "Oh really? Yes, yes, I want to come back." I'm not sure if he really wants to come back or not.

The mother stops talking with a lonely (sad?) smile, as if she doubts that she will see her son again any time soon. Thus ends the film.

The documentary dramatizes the absence of Ching Wen and unfolds a typical story of indigenous migration to Taiwan. We learn from the mother that Ching Wen went to study in Taipei when he was 17 years old. Since then, he has worked for most of the time in Taiwan, as there are very few job opportunities on the island. Fishing is the only way to make a living for most of the indigenous men there. In the documentary, the parents keep waiting for Ching Wen to come back home to finish building his house, but his return is repeatedly postponed for various reasons. Although Orchid Island appears rather idyllic in the film, the documentary implies that the indigenous society is plagued by economic problems. Many young people go to Taiwan for work to help improve the financial situation at home.

As in the case of immigrants from Southeast Asian countries, uneven economic development is the underlying cause of the high rates of indigenous migration from Orchid Island to Taiwan. This scenario of migration thus invites a comparison with immigrants from Southeast Asian countries. Like migration from Southeast Asian countries, indigenous migration from Orchid Island to Taiwan is often understood as a forced movement motivated by economic reasons.[39] Another factor is the impact of modernity. Based on her fieldwork, Tsai Yu-yueh points out that the *Tao* people's world view has changed gradually since the 1960s.[40] For many young *Tao* indigenes, the traditional way of life is no longer satisfying.[41]

Migration to Taiwan is often taken as a move to open up possibilities. Again, we find here a parallel to the immigrants from Southeast Asian countries discussed above.

This hope of creating new possibilities in a new place can certainly be interpreted as an ideological illusion. But the choice may also suggest a cosmopolitan outlook. It means, as in the case of Navy in *My Imported Life*, breaking away from the constraints of one's lot at home. In other words, the indigenes choose not only to be "natives" but also to be cosmopolitans in their own ways, in spite of the risks and challenges involved in migration.[42]

Thus, we need to handle carefully the central question posed in *Libangbang*: "Why is Ching Wen not home?" The answer seems all too obvious: He has gone to work in Taiwan, for he wants to help gain more income for his family back home. Interestingly, the ending of the documentary film spawns another question that complicates the issue: Does he *want* to come back home? The documentary implies that perhaps Ching Wen has not been forced to stay away from home.[43] While Ching Wen's mother continues to hope that her son will come back home for good when more jobs are available on the island, we find through a recent interview with Ching Wen that he now lives most of the time in Taiwan, making a living as a freelance artist. For young *Tao* indigenes like Ching Wen, who have a higher educational background and more "cultural capital," the comparatively cosmopolitan environment in Taiwan seems more attractive. However, it should also be noted here that for indigenous cosmopolitanism to take place, it is not enough to have a cosmopolitan outlook. Many indigenes with lower education work as cheap, unskilled laborers in Taiwan. Mental and emotional stresses are a prevalent problem.[44] The complexity of the social problems generated by indigenous migration reminds us that cosmopolitanism is not simply a matter of subjective choices. The role of structural constraints should not be overlooked. The cosmopolitanism of the underprivileged is a strenuous battle against the inhuman forces that shape their material reality.[45]

Conclusion

The documentary format is often valued for its indexical capacity. Indeed, our study shows that documentaries provide an invaluable space of self-representation for the underprivileged. As Jay Ruby remarks, "Being able to hear people tell their stories and observe their lives instead of being told what they think and the meaning of their behavior clearly offers subjects a greater say in the construction of their image."[46] This is where documentaries can contribute significantly to documentary studies. At their best, documentaries as a mode of representation not only open up a space for the underprivileged to voice their feelings, but also shed light on the underlying psychological factors that should be taken into consideration in understanding this social phenomenon.

The two documentaries analyzed in this study remind us that the underprivileged have conflicting interests and different investments in self-representation. Making room for all these different positions and self-representations, documentaries provide a space of hospitality that welcomes the foreign.[47] Documentaries, understood in this sense, are a discourse of ethics: "Ethics is hospitality."[48] These two documentaries not only give us a glimpse of the cosmopolitanism of the underprivileged; they also demonstrate how the practice of creating a documentary is a practice of cosmopolitanism with the cultivation of an "ethic of hospitality" as the aim.

Notes

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2 Danielle Belanger, Hye-Kyung Lee and Wang Hong-zen, "Ethnic Diversity and Statistics in East Asia: 'Foreign Brides' Surveys in Taiwan and South Korea," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33.6 (2010): 1108.

3 Wang Hong-zen and Chang Shu-ming, "The Commodification of International Marriages: Cross-border Marriage Business in Taiwan and Viet Nam," *International Migration*, 40.6 (2002): 95; Hsiao-chuan Hsia, *Searching for a Haven* (流離尋岸) (Taiwan: Tang-shan, 2002), pp.163–70.

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5 Robert Fine, *Cosmopolitanism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p.xi.

6 Ibid., p.139.

7 Ibid., p.xiii.

8 Wang and Chang, "The Commodification of International Marriages."

9 Hsia, *Searching for a Haven*, pp.161–75; Hong-zen Wang, "Masculinity and the "Attractive" Transnational Marriage: Why Do Taiwanese Men prefer Viet Nam Women as Wives?" (男性氣魄與可「娶」的跨國婚姻：為何臺灣男子要與越南女子結婚?) *Taiwan Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (臺灣東南亞學刊), 3.1 (2006): 6–7.

10 Wang, "Masculinity and the Attractive Transnational Marriage", p.7.

11 Hsia, *Searching for a Haven*, pp.87–91.

12 Wang, "Masculinity and the Attractive Transnational Marriage", p.10.

13 Lan Pei-Chia, "Migrant Women's Bodies and Boundary Markers: Reproductive Crisis and Sexual Control in the Ethnic Frontiers of Taiwan," *Signs: Journal of Women in Cultural Society*, 33.4 (2008): 834.

14 Hsia Hsiao-Chuan, "Internationalization of Capital and the Trade in Asian Women—the Case of 'Foreign Brides' in Taiwan," in *Women and Globalization*, Delia Aguilar and Anne Lacsamana (eds.) (Amherst, NY: Humanity Press, 2004), pp.181–229; Lan, "Migrant Women's Bodies and Boundary Markers," p.834; Tsai Ying-Hsiu, H. H. Michael Hsiao, "The Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) for Foreign Workers and Foreign Spouses in Taiwan: A Portrayal," *Asia Pacific Forum*, 33 (2006): 1–31; Belanger, Lee and Wang, "Ethnic Diversity and Statistics in East Asia."

15 Wang, "Masculinity and the Attractive Transnational Marriage", pp.28–9.

16 Hsia, *Searching for a Haven*, pp.191–2.

17 Wang, "Masculinity and the Attractive Transnational Marriage."

18 To make the interviewee's meaning more comprehensible to our readers, I am presenting here a slightly modified version of the English subtitles.

19 Frank Huang-Chih Chou, Pei-Chun Chen, Renyi Liu, Chi-Kung Ho, Kuan-Y Tsai, Wen-Wei Ho, Shin-Shin Chao, Kung-Shih Lin, Shih-Pei Shen, and Cheng-Chur Chen, "A Comparison of Quality of Life and Depression between Female Marri Immigrants and Native Married Women in Taiwan," *Social Psychiatry & Psychiatr Epidemiology*, 45.9 (2010): 921.
20 Ibid., p.929.
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22 Stella Bruzzi, *New Documentary: A Critical Introduction* (New York and Londo Routledge, 2000), p.211; John Corner, "Documentary Theory," *The Art of Recor A Critical Introduction to Documentary* (Manchester and New York: Manchest University Press, 1996), pp.21–2.
23 Trinh, *Framer Framed*, p. 205.
24 Wang Hong-zen, "Hidden Spaces of Resistance of the Subordinated: Case Studies fro Vietnamese Female Migrant Partners in Taiwan," *International Migration Review*, 41 (2007): 719.
25 Hsia, *Searching for a Haven*, pp.112–120.
26 Arjun Appardurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalizatic* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp.54–55.
27 Appardurai, *Modernity at Large*, p.61.
28 Gerard Delanty, "The Cosmopolitan Imagination: Critical Cosmopolitanism and Soci Theory," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57.1 (2006): 27.
29 Ibid., p.32.
30 Ibid., p.35.
31 Ibid., p.38.
32 Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, Rachel Bowlby (trans.) (Stanford: Stanford Universi Press, 2000), p.3.
33 Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, p.5.
34 Pheng Cheah, *Inhuman Condition: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Righ* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p.4.
35 Ibid., p.263.
36 Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Graham Burchell (trans.) (Palgra Macmillan, 2008), p.230.
37 James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridg Harvard University Press, 1997), pp.33–36. Victor Roudometof, "Transnationalisr Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization," *Current Sociology*, 53 (2005): 114.
38 The main fishing season runs from March to June. The *Tao's* traditional rituals ar social organization are closely connected to fishing.
39 Tsai Yu-yueh, *Mental Disorder of the Tao Aboriginal Minority in Taiwan: Modernit Social Change, and the Origin of Social Suffering* (Taipei: Linking Publishing, 200 pp.205–206.
40 Tsai Yu-yueh, "Migration, Mental Frustration, and Modernity: The Social Origi of the Mental Disorders of the *Tao* Aboriginal People on Taiwan's Orchid Island *Taiwanese Sociology* 13 (2007): 19–21.
41 Tsai, *Mental Disorder of the Tao Aboriginal Minority in Taiwan*, pp.104–110.
42 Maximilian C. Forte, "Introduction: Indigeneities and Cosmopolitanisms," *Indigeno Cosmopolitanism: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-fir Century*, Maximilian C. Forte (ed.) (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), p.14.
43 The reality is more complicated than this simple dichotomy implies. Taiwan is r haven for job-seeking indigenes. In addition to poor working conditions, indige laborers face tough competition in the Taiwanese job market. The large inflows foreign laborers for manufacturing and construction industries in Taiwan since tl late 1980s have affected job opportunities for the indigenes. With more than 300,0 foreign laborers as job competitors, many indigenes suffer from unemployment. Tl unemployment rate of the *Tao* indigenes in 2007 was 18 percent, much higher than the 7.92 percent for other indigenous tribes and the 5.03 percent for other Taiwanese ethnic groups. ('Report on Indigenous Employment,' Taipei: Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan, 2008: p.2).
44 Tsai, *Mental Disorder of the Tao Aboriginal Minority in Taiwan*, pp.104–110.
45 Because of the uneven distribution of educational resources, more than 50 percent of the indigenes who work in Taiwan are junior high school graduates. They tend to take on unsteady labor jobs on short-term contracts with little prospect of social mobility or advancement. Low promotion rates, long working hours, low pay, and high-risk working environments are common features of these jobs.
46 Jay Ruby, "Speaking for, Speaking about, Speaking with, or Speaking Alongside," *Picturing Culture: Explorations of Film and Anthropology* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p.204.
47 Jacques Derrida. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes (trans.) (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p.10.
48 Ibid., p.17.

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9 Migration through the lens of political advertising

How Taiwanese parties discuss migration

Dafydd Fell

Over the past two decades, immigration has become one of the most salient issues in western party systems. Parties such as the Front National (France), British National Party (England), Progress Parties (Scandinavia) and Party for Freedom (Netherlands) have relied heavily on an anti-immigrant message to appeal to voters. In some countries these new challenger parties have made major inroads into the support base of older established parties. This was exemplified in how the Front National leader Jean-Marie Le Pen was able to come second in the first round of the French presidential election in 2002 and contest the one-on-one second round. Anti-immigrant appeals have often caused the mainstream political parties to pander to anti-immigrant sentiment by offering policies designed to restrict legal immigration and even limit the numbers of overseas students. In 2007 the British Prime Minister Gordon Brown responded to concerns that migrant workers were gaining the lion's share of new jobs created by projects such as the London Olympics by calling for 'British Workers for British Jobs'.[1] This was later exploited by the British National Party, which in 2009 ran a nationwide poster campaign (including in my own small town) showing three construction workers in helmets and the slogan 'British Jobs for British Workers'. On British news programmes, non-governmental organizations such as Migration Watch regularly warn audience of how the country is being swamped by uncontrolled immigration. More recently, the British Coalition government has implemented policies designed to restrict the numbers of fee-paying overseas students from outside the European Union. The topic has even permeated the cultural sphere, with countless films and TV dramas, such as *My Beautiful Laundrette* and *This is England*, centred on the migration issue.

When we compare the scale of immigration – both labour and marriage migration – to and from Taiwan with European cases, it is clear that migration has had an equal if not greater social impact in Taiwan. As large numbers of migrant spouses from Southeast Asia and China gain Taiwanese citizenship, they will become major political constituencies. The migration trends of the past two decades pose severe challenges to Taiwan's political elites. For instance, the commercialization of arranging foreign brides has served to reinforce the kind of patriarchal values that Taiwan's women's movements have fought to dismantle since the dying days of martial law. Similarly, the increasing