Durham E-Theses

National identity (re)construction and negotiation and cosmopolitanism in the intercultural study-abroad context: Student sojourners from Taiwan in the UK

HUANG, SHIH-CHING

National identity (re)construction and negotiation and cosmopolitanism in the intercultural study-abroad context: Student sojourners from Taiwan in the UK

Shih-Ching Huang

Abstract

This exploratory study investigates how national identity is possibly (re)constructed, negotiated, and expanded during sojourners' study-abroad experience, focusing on the student sojourners from Taiwan in the United Kingdom. Situated within the framework of social constructionism, the study is based on an interdisciplinary foundation which draws on the fields of identities, nationalism, intercultural communication, study-abroad, education and cosmopolitanism. It involves 20 international students from Taiwan in qualitative interviews and thematic analysis guides the data analysis process.

The findings revealed a number of important points. First, the factors of homeland Taiwan and its cultures, schooling, family education, family history and the study-abroad experience are found to be integral to the national identities (i.e., Taiwanese and Chinese, ROC, identities) of the sojourners from Taiwan. Secondly, in terms of identity conflict management, especially with the mainland Chinese (PRC) peers, the dominating style as a way of defending the self-face and Taiwanese identity, and the avoiding tendency (i.e., avoiding arguments over the Taiwan-China political dispute) have been reported. Overall, the boundaries of being Taiwanese are drawn and re-drawn in accordance with the on-going process of communication with Chinese (PRC) and non-Chinese (PRC) in the study-abroad context in the UK. Last, whereas Taiwanese identity becomes particularly salient, cosmopolitan belonging is also found to be strong among many participants due to the cultural diversity of the study-abroad environment, although it is also contested for some.

The study contributes to the study-abroad literature in its discussion of national identities. Also, the findings offer insights for international educators to better understand the experience of students from Taiwan in the UK and for educators in Taiwan who handle pre-sojourn courses and/or training.

National identity (re)construction and negotiation and cosmopolitanism in the intercultural study-abroad context:

Student sojourners from Taiwan in the UK

Shih-Ching Huang

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctorate in Education

School of Education

Durham University

November 2015

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviations

CIT	The critical incident technique
CTI	Communication theory of identity
FNT	Face-negotiation theory
NICT	National Institute for Compilation and Translation
PRC	The People's Republic of China
ROC	The Republic of China
SA	Study-abroad
SIT	Social identity theory
SSFT	Student sojourners from Taiwan
TA	thematic analysis
UK	The United Kingdom

Declaration

This thesis is my own work and no part of the material contained in it has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

Statement of Copyright

Permission to exceed the word limit of 60,000 by 10,000 words has been granted for this thesis.

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1

Introduction

This qualitative study explores national identity against the backdrop of the intercultural, study-abroad (SA) environment in the United Kingdom (UK) in the case of the student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT). Specifically, the study aims to understand how national identities of the SSFT are possibly (re)constructed, challenged, negotiated and expanded in the SA context. It adopts a social constructionist approach and addresses issues pertinent to the realms of identities, nationalism, intercultural communication, SA, education and cosmopolitanism. The interdisciplinary foundation of the study enriches the discussions of these subject domains. Additionally, with the increasing popularity of SA, especially in the context of internationalisation in higher education, such a study is important in offering understandings of student sojourners' communication and identity change process in the light of the SA experience.

In this chapter I introduce the background to the research topic and the importance of this study (section 1.1), and the researcher's positioning (section 1.2). Then I highlight the research objectives (section 1.3), clarify the key terms in the study (section 1.4) and provide the overview of the entire thesis (section 1.5).

1.1 Background to the research topic

The early colonisation of Taiwan occurred in 1624 when the Dutch settled in the Southwest of Taiwan during the Maritime Age when a number of European countries had begun the marine exploration to the East. The colonisation lasted 38 years until 1662. Before their arrival, the people

of Taiwan were comprised primarily by local tribes[1] and limited numbers of Han-Chinese (Hsu,

1996). As described in *Taiwan: A New History* (2007), even with such seeming proximity to

mainland China, Taiwan remained "obscure and relatively remote off the southeastern coast of

China for most of its history" (Knapp, 2007, p. 4). Ancient China did not claim the jurisdiction over

Taiwan until 1684 when the Emperor Kangxi (康熙) officially incorporated Taiwan into the

territory of the Qing Empire, the last dynasty in the history of Imperial China (Hsu, 1996). Yet, in

1895, Taiwan complete with the Penghu (澎湖) islands were ceded by the Qing dynasty to the

Empire of Japan at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), ushering Taiwan in the

Japanese ruling. Half a century later and facing defeat in WWII, the Japanese "General Ando signed

documents "restoring" Taiwan and Penghu to Nationalist China" (Lamley, 2007, p. 236, the

author's original emphasis), and the Republic of China (ROC) took over Taiwan and the Penghu

islands in 1945. Shortly after, Chiang Kai-shek and his army were defeated in the Chinese Civil

War (1927-1950) and fled south to Taiwan. For the following few decades, the people of Taiwan

were under the Chinese (ROC) nationalist regime and oppression (Huang, 2008). This will be

further discussed in section 2.1.

The Chinese (ROC) national movements implanting a Chinese (ROC) identity in Taiwan

has been particularly challenged by a multitude of the ethnic Minnan (閩南) group whose ancestors

arrived on Taiwan more than two, three hundred years ago from the province of Fukien (福建),

China. They particularly advocate the notion that, after two, three centuries, Taiwan has become

their homeland and their root (Hsueh, Tai & Chow, 2005). The national sentiment linked to the

homeland, Taiwan, is also observed by Wachman (1994, p. 27):

---

[1] The locals consist of Pingpu (plains) and Mountain tribes, the origin of whom is believed to be Austronesian peoples,
such as peoples of the Philippines, Indonesia or Malaysia (Hill et al., 2007).

> The hundred miles or so that separate Taiwan from the mainland also separate its people from the people on the mainland. Those on Taiwan have developed a sense of belonging to a group defined by residency on the island.

Hsueh et al. (2005) further contend that people on Taiwan are Taiwanese and that "the Taiwanese people are not the same as the Chinese people" (p. 121). However, such a claim can be contested, as Harrison (2009) remarks, "the proposal that 'we are the Taiwanese' is confronted with a multiplicity of challenges and counter-arguments from the People's Republic of China [PRC]… [and] the global" (p. 123). Currently, China (PRC) still claims sovereignty over Taiwan and has not renounced the use of force to take it back (Sui, 2013).

According to Martin and Nakayama (2010) from the field of intercultural communication, conflicts may easily arise when there is a strong disagreement between one's sense of self and others' perception of who you are. Then what do such premises mean to a student from Taiwan studying abroad, especially in the interpersonal communication context? Below I offer my own sojourn experience, which gave rise to this study.

This study is informed in part by my own experience as a student sojourner, beginning in 2005 when I decided to undertake a Master's degree in TESOL in the UK. Prior to my sojourn, although I was taught in school to be a "proper Chinese (ROC)" (see section 2.1, China-centred educational paradigm, Wang, 2005), never in my life had I been required or needed to think about whether I was Chinese (ROC) or Taiwanese until my SA experience when I undertook a one-year master's degree in Liverpool. During this period, the identity challenge descended on me on a formal occasion during the students' presentation of their dissertation proposal, with all of the supervisors and course director present. As I was presenting a research topic on the analysis of English textbooks in Taiwan, I also naturally paraphrased the topic as "textbook analyses in my country" in my speech. A middle-aged male Chinese (PRC) visiting fellow then raised his hand, and said "Taiwan is not a country". On the spot, I was taken aback at his directness of the statement

which denied my fundamental right to express who I am in such an open, intercultural educational environment. Considering that it might be impolite to other teachers present, I believed I should not lash out at him, and I was young, so I did not know how to reply properly. In the following confusing seconds where everyone was surprised, a female English teacher eventually broke the silence and told the Chinese (PRC) fellow that this was irrelevant (to the focus of the presentation).

After this personal incident, I became aware of how the political conflict between China (PRC) and Taiwan/the ROC could affect interpersonal and intercultural communication in the SA context. I also began to reflect on many questions (e.g., who am I, why did this situation occur, how should I tell other people who I am and how am I supposed to handle this kind of conflict in the future). None of these matters had previously occupied my thoughts.

A few years later, I returned to the UK to further my studies (as a Doctor of Education student), and continued to hear stories of the conflict or argument between student sojourners from China (PRC) and the ROC/Taiwan. Further, a news report (New Tang Dynasty Asia Pacific News, 2009) online stated, in the SA context of South Korea, when a female sojourner from Taiwan brought the national flag of the ROC along with her on stage to receive a Korean language competition award, more than 30 Chinese (PRC) international students instantly swooped on the stage and were about to attack her. These stories and my own experience eventually helped me realise that the potential confrontations and conflicts between the two groups of student sojourners are on-going problems in the SA environment. Then I began to question whether issues such as the aforementioned conflicts, and how the SSFT negotiate and possibly (re)construct their national identities during the sojourn experience, have been empirically investigated and discussed in the SA literature.

Regarding the SA literature, both Block (2007) and Jackson (2008) indicate how issues related to second language acquisition, cross-cultural psychology, international education and

intercultural competence have drawn more attention over the last two decades. Among the few

studies delving into national identity, Block (2007) observes, by drawing on Wilkinson (1998),

Isabelli-Garcia (2006), Murphy-Lejeune (2003) and Piller and Takahashi's (2006) research, that the

kind of nationalism exhibited by European and Japanese student sojourners is not as strong as that

of American students in SA contexts. Yet, Dolby (2004, 2007) found that American students abroad

have also negotiated their American identity differently (i.e., embracing the American self and

becoming patriotic and defensive versus a middle path of American identity negotiation) at different

time periods. Additionally, Jackson's (2008) in-depth accounts of the short-term sojourn experience

of students from Hong Kong in the UK illustrated that the participants developed a heightened

awareness and appreciation of their "core, central" Chinese self and/or Hong Kong Chinese identity

(p. 196). In the light of the above studies pointing to divergent findings and due to the paucity of the

SA literature exploring national identity, both Dolby (2004, 2007) and Block (2007) call for more

attention focusing on the discussion of national identity in the SA research domain. In particular,

Block (2007) urges that, "most crucially, there simply need to be more studies, and more involving

different nationality combinations as regards sending and receiving countries" (p. 185).

When reviewing further SA literature, specifically focusing on the sending country of

Taiwan, I found that there appears to be no study to date addressing the issue of national identity in

the SA context in the case of the SSFT. Existing studies focused on the SSFT reflect the major SA

research interests—second language acquisition and cross-cultural adaptation—and they tend to

employ quantitative methods. For instance, Ying and Liese (Ying, 2002, 2005; Ying & Liese, 1990,

1991) have conducted a series of cross-cultural adaptation studies based on a longitudinal design

following approximately 200 Taiwanese international students from before their departure to the

US. They examined factors predicting cross-cultural affiliation (Ying, 2002) and acculturative

stressors (Ying, 2005), and used pre-arrival variables to predict post-arrival adaptation and

depression (Ying & Liese, 1990, 1991). Additionally, investigating 112 Taiwanese students also in

the US, Dao, Lee and Chang (2007) found that the sojourners' perceived English fluency mediated the effects of acculturation level on depression. Further to cross-cultural adaptation in the receiving country of Canada, Kuo and Roysircar (2006) scrutinised the effects of adaptation factors on acculturative stress and ethnic ties of 201 Taiwanese sojourners. By and large, these studies have predominantly focused on one particular aspect of cross-cultural adaptation—psychological well-being—typically using the quantitative method of the Likert scale which offers limited access to the lived SA experience of the SSFT.

The few qualitative studies that I found, which focused on how the SSFT make sense of their SA experience, tended to concentrate on their academic success/difficulty and social interaction in the receiving countries of Australia and the US. In Australia, while Wang, Singh, Bird and Ives (2008) looked into the academic learning experience and coping strategies of 21 Taiwanese nursing students, Hong and Hee (2015) explored the SA experience of 8 Taiwanese sojourners in a one-month nursing exchange program. Although Hong and Hee (2015) reported the findings of homesickness and culture shock, they failed to discuss the underlying drive of the national self. Similarly, investigating the SSFT in the US and using primarily interviews, Swagler and Ellis (2003), Yen and Stevens (2004) and Wu's (2014) studies all generated findings that point to the importance (and problems) of language (English) competence and social interaction with the local students (Americans) during their SA experience. Yet, they neglect to give importance to and discuss the participants' national identity (re)construction through cross-/intercultural communication in the SA environment, despite the fact that the issue was reported by their participants. For instance, a participant in Hong and Hee's study (2015, p. 4, my emphasis) reported:

> This exchange has given me the time to decide exactly who and what I want to be. I think it is personal growth. Having the opportunity to travel overseas has given me *greater awareness of my own national identity*.

Yen and Stevens's study (2004, p. 305), to take another example, also presented a report where a student sojourner from Taiwan stated:

> America is not my paradise any more, but I know I can learn from my experience being here. Studying abroad also makes me see my own country differently.

National identity (re)construction in the course of the SA experience is made palpable by these data, yet is never the focus in the above studies. Hence, although these studies provide significant contributions to the existing SA literature of cross-/intercultural living in focusing on the SSFT in different receiving countries, they have, to a large extent, neglected to first understand their participants, fundamentally regarding who they think they are, how they negotiate their national identities abroad (e.g., the potential conflicts they may experience) and/or what possible influence the SA experience may exert on their sense of self (e.g., identity change process). In this light, it appears that none of these studies comes close to unveiling scenarios such as my SA experience, the stories I heard and the experience in the news item I highlighted above. Additionally, none of the studies addresses the SSFT in the receiving country of the UK, instead focussing mainly on the US, Australia and Canada.

Overall, leading researchers have called for more studies that examine national identities in different SA environments (e.g., Block, 2007; Dolby, 2004, 2007). Considering that there is a dearth of understanding of this research topic in the SA literature in general, and the SSFT in the receiving country of the UK in particular, I embarked on this empirical research journey of learning about and representing the students' lived experiences of national identity negotiation and (re)construction in the SA environment in the UK. Furthermore, the study is situated in the framework of social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 2009) to understand the student sojourners' experience, and also draws on theoretical underpinnings from the fields of nationalism, intercultural communication, SA, education and cosmopolitanism (see chapter 2).

1.2 Researcher positioning

As the researcher's perspective and positioning are important to qualitative, interpretive inquiries, I introduce in this section my background and positioning in relation to this study in order for readers to understand the researcher's subjective relationship with the research topic.

As a sojourner from Taiwan at the age of 35, I had grown up in the educational background on Taiwan distinguished by Wang (2005) as the China-centred educational paradigm which advocated and enforced a Chinese (ROC) nationalism (see section 2.1). I also come from a family background that is pro-ROC and supportive of the Kuomintang (KMT). I used to be a supporter of the KMT myself, but as of now, I do not retain any particular preference for a specific political party in Taiwan. In the course of conducting this study, I have been mistaken or accused of being a DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) supporter simply because I discuss Taiwanese identity. I should thus clarify the misalignment between national identity and political parties. To render national identity as directly and undoubtedly linked to the political party that one supports is to undermine the complexity of national identity. Metaphorically and ironically speaking, some people in Taiwan tend to say that political election is to choose a less rotten apple in the basket full of rotten ones. I also prefer this way, rather than choosing the given apple in the given colour of the basket (different colours representing different political parties in Taiwan). In addition, I discuss national identity of the SSFT in the SA site on the grounds that my own SA experience has helped me gain understanding and identification of the Taiwanese self. Therefore, I set out to understand the experience of other SSFT in the UK. However, I do not impose a Taiwanese identity on the SSFT in general, and in particular I respect my participants and how they account for themselves (e.g., how they consider themselves as both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese, see section 4.1).

Furthermore, although I consider and introduce myself as Taiwanese, I also, in line with Byrd Clark and Dervin (2014) and the fluid nature of identity, regard myself as in the process of

becoming. I am not constantly fixated on having a strong Taiwanese identity. During the course of carrying out this study, at times I was so much moved by my participants' reports that the hot-blooded sentiment of the imagined Taiwanese community was searing. At other times, I also grew ashamed of being Taiwanese myself and had complete contempt for some people in Taiwan (e.g., "Taiwan gutter oil scandal," 2014). The scandal revealed that the population of Taiwan has been unknowingly consuming the cooking oil mixed with waste recycle and animal feed oil. This incident represented only the latest among several major food safety scandals which fuelled my contempt for the government which failed to protect the welfare of its people. All of these aspects have influenced this study and my subjective involvement in it. Yet, as the study has been in progress for more than three years, I also have had ample opportunities to reflect on and revise my work in order to be more objective and rational. I continue to discuss my reflexive accounts in section 3.7.1.

1.3 Research objectives

This study has general and specific objectives. Generally, considering that the topic of national identity is under-researched in the SA context, as discussed in section 1.1, this study has an exploratory nature, aiming to explore national identity in the SA environment and focusing on the SSFT in the UK. More specifically, the study aims to understand how the national identity of the SSFT is possibly (re)constructed, negotiated and expanded in the light of their SA experience in the UK. This specific objective serves as the research foundation guiding the direction of the study and the research questions. Within these frames, three research questions have been constructed by reviewing the relevant literature (chapter 2), and the answers to them can thus contribute to the existing literature and provide implications for the SSFT in the UK, and possibly other student sojourners. The three research questions are listed below:

RQ	For the student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) who are studying in the UK:
1	What is integral to their (re)construction of national identity?
2	How do they communicate and negotiate their national identity in the international and intercultural study-abroad (SA) environment in the UK?
3	Does the transnational and/or intercultural experience, in this case the SA experience, pave the way for the development of cosmopolitan identity? If so, why?

Table 1-1: An overview of the research questions

1.4 Key terms

In this section, I clarify important terms used in this study. Considering that the concept of national identity is rather complex and tied to various theoretical approaches, I discuss nationalism, nation, state, identity, national identity and national identity (re)construction in sections 2.1 and 2.2. Below I focus on introducing how I use the term, "Chinese", which transpired to be rather problematic in this study.

1.4.1 Clarifying the use of "Chinese"

The term, "Chinese", when translated into English, can be problematic. In its general sense, the word "Chinese" can refer to ethnicity, culture, language and national community. Further, the unspecified use of the word can include a wide range and variety of people across the world (e.g., people from China, PRC and from Taiwan/the ROC, Singaporean Chinese, Malaysian Chinese, American born Chinese, and so forth). To avoid ambiguity and confusion, in this study I use "Chinese (PRC)" to refer exclusively to mainland Chinese (PRC). This is because the national communities such as Hong Kong and Macau have diverged from that of mainland China (PRC) due

to the long-term isolation and separation (Dong, 2014). Coupled with this is the reason that people from Taiwan (e.g., the participants in this study) would usually utter "Xiang gang ren" (香港人: Hongkongese) when they specifically refer to people from Hong Kong. They would use "Daluren" (大陸人: mainland Chinese) and/or "Zhong guo ren" (中國人: Chinese) to refer to mainland Chinese (PRC), although the meanings of the latter can differ. Moreover, I also use "Chinese (ROC)" to specifically refer to people from Taiwan/the ROC, owing to the historical complexity (see sections 1.1 and 2.1) and the findings of this study where two participants also reported to be both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese. Although I strive to convey the meanings generated in the study and the data in a clear way, sometimes it remains difficult to be succinct without further indication. For instance, Chinese culture is neither exclusive to Chinese (PRC) nor to Chinese (ROC). Thus, I try to keep the several Chinese domains as specific as possible throughout the thesis by using Chinese (PRC), Chinese (ROC), Chinese culture, Chinese ethnicities and Mandarin Chinese.

With regard to terms related to Chinese/China, the PRC and ROC, their different meanings involved in Mandarin Chinese and the English translation will be further discussed and clarified in section 4.1, as these differences are found in the data.

1.5 Overview of the thesis

In this opening chapter, I have narrated my own SA experience as the initial drive of the study, and this is paralleled by the lack of studies exploring national identity in the SA context in general and in the case of the SSFT in the UK in particular. These give rise to the general and specific objectives of the study. In the ensuing paragraphs, I briefly outline the focus of each chapter of this thesis.

In chapter 2, I review the relevant, interdisciplinary literature and discuss the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. Section 2.1 focuses on nationalism (i.e., Anderson, 1991; Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983a, 1983b; Hroch, 1998; Smith, 1991; Triandafyllidou, 2001) and its application to the case of Taiwan, considering the historical and educational background of Taiwan. In section 2.2, I discuss the social constructionist (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) approach to identity in general, and accordingly, how I treat national identity, which is constructed and reconstructed through intercultural communication in the social environment (tertiary socialisation). I further outline the limitations of the SA literature in understanding national identity in the SA context, and argue that the intercultural SA environment is an appropriate site to observe national identity in the (re)making, especially through how it is communicated and negotiated abroad. I then draw on Ting-Toomey's face-negotiation theory (2005), Hecht, Warren, Jung and Krieger's communication theory of identity (2005), and George Herbert Mead's concepts of "I" and "me" (Mead, 1962) to understand identity negotiation. Furthermore, in section 2.3, I discuss the possibility for identity expansion, e.g., in developing other supra-national identities, such as international, intercultural and cosmopolitan identities. I eventually focus on the discussion of cosmopolitan identity, drawing on the formulations of Beck and Sznaider (2010), Appiah (2005), Nussbaum (1997, 2006) and Turner (2002). Last, I present the research questions which have emerged from the discussion in each section of literature review. Three specific questions are thus shaped accordingly.

In chapter 3, I introduce the qualitative nature of the research which is guided by social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 2009) and employs the method of interviewing (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 2003, 2011). Building on these methodological foundations, I illustrate the procedures involved in data collection and the thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I use NVivo 10, a software for qualitative data analysis, to help organise large amounts of data. Last, particularly important to the augmentation of the trustworthiness, credibility

and authenticity of the study are the discussions of researching multilingually (Holmes, Fay, Andrews & Attia, 2013), member checks of the data and translation, the reflexive accounts and pilot study.

Chapters 4 to 6 present the findings of the study which address the three research questions respectively. In chapter 4, I explore national identity (re)construction in terms of who the participants think they are, i.e., Taiwanese, Chinese (ROC) or both. I also offer insights into the factors central to their sense of the national self in the light of their SA experience. In this process, I pay close attention to how they now conceive their homeland educational and cultural experience as well as their SA experience, and how these have influenced the (re)construction of their national identities.

In chapter 5, delving further into the participants' SA experience, I specifically focus on the process of their Taiwanese identity negotiation in the UK. I unveil the problems and conflicts they tend to experience when negotiating their Taiwanese identity during their sojourn in the UK. Additionally, chapter 5 sheds light on the participants' conflict management styles in handling national identity confrontation and the underlying reasons. As I analyse the findings in relation to the theoretical premises discussed in Chapter 2, I demonstrate, in line with Mead's (1962) idea, how communication is an on-going process through which the boundaries of being Taiwanese are drawn and re-drawn. I also problematize the core assumptions of Ting-Toomey's face-negotiation theory (2005) and collectivism, discussing issues pertinent to the avoidance behaviours.

Chapter 6 presents the discussion of the findings concerning the cultivation of cosmopolitan identity in the SA context. During their sojourn, the SSFT interact with their classmates, flatmates and friends from different cultures and, to varying degrees, they move closer towards their national self in a different or new light by means of intercultural comparison. As the participants grow patriotic responses, they also develop cosmopolitan belonging and responsibilities due to the

intercultural SA environment. Yet, the notion of cosmopolitanism where everyone is equal remains contested for some. The chapter thus offers insights into the debate between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in global spaces through the case of the SSFT in the UK SA environment.

Chapter 7 draws conclusions to the study, highlighting the major findings and answering the three research questions. I also discuss the theoretical, methodological, educational and practical implications of the study. Then I identify the limitations of the study and offer suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

As introduced in Chapter 1, the current study aims to explore national identity in the study-abroad (SA) context in the case of the student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) in the United Kingdom (UK). Specifically, the study looks into how the national identities of the SSFT are possibly (re)constructed, negotiated and expanded in the UK SA environment featuring international and intercultural communication. Two major areas of literature are thus involved in this chapter: 1) national identity and the case of Taiwan, and 2) national identity in the SA context, including its (re)construction, negotiation and expansion. The discussion of these areas is outlined below.

In section 2.1, the concepts of nationalism, nation and state are covered. Applying these theoretical premises, I analyse the case of Taiwan with a focus on its historical and educational background. This lays the basis for the preliminary understanding of the SSFT. Then I discuss identity, national identity and its (re)construction, national identity in the SA context and national identity negotiation in section 2.2. The SA context is identified as a specific site to observe national identity as it is negotiated, constructed and reconstructed through intercultural communication with others. I also point out that presently there is a lack of understanding in this area. Furthermore, in section 2.3, it is indicated that national identity can also be contested and challenged in the international, intercultural SA context. This may also lead to identity expansion, for example, developing other supra-national identities such as cosmopolitan identity. Last, in section 2.4, I summarise the main points in each section and the emerged research questions.

2.1 Nationalism

Considering that national identity would not come to existence without nationalism, the nation and state, in this section I begin by discussing nationalism along with the concepts of nation and state.

These concepts are then illustrated together with the case of Taiwan with a focus on the historical and educational background.

In spite of the rich, substantial literature dedicated to the issue of nationalism, there is no established consensus on its definition or origin yet. Nationalism can be referred to as the ideological movement of a pre-modern "ethnie" (Smith, 1991), the national revival/movement (Hroch, 1985, 1998), a political principle and national sentiments (Gellner, 1983), imagined, cultural artefacts of a particular kind (Anderson, 1991) and so on. A spectrum of factors ranging from cultural, historical, territorial to political, ethnic and social ones all come into play. In a sense, this is inevitable as different scholars from different domains bear different approaches. At the same time, what makes the issue rather controversial is, I believe, that the formation and movement of nationalism differ in different cases. Hobsbawm (1990) also observes that the attempts to establish objective elements/criteria for nationhood, such as common history, language, and/or ethnicity have often been made, but "all such objective definitions have failed" as exceptions can always be found (p. 5). For these reasons, the analytical literature review of the case of Taiwan below draws on the scholarly theories that are not only considered as authorities in the field but are also deemed relevant and useful to the discussion of Taiwan's case. Additionally, as nationalism is inextricably intertwined with nation and state, they will be discussed together.

From the modernist discourse, nationalism, nationality and national identity are recent, modern phenomena due to Industrial Revolution and the age of Enlightenment (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983b). For Gellner (1983), nationalism and national identity are both the means and the product of capitalism in the course of modernisation. On the way to the capitalist world economy, nationalism, as "a political principle" (Gellner, 1983, p. 1), served to unite the individuals within the political boundary of a given state in the name of the nation and by means of national/high culture. By the same token, nation is as much as created/invented by the state (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983a, 1983b) as it is imagined by the people (Anderson, 1991) when

both intend to reach the same end. That is, "the political and the national unit should be congruent" (Gellner, 1983, p. 1). This is the orthodox notion of the nation-state: one political unit mapping onto one homogenous national group. Nevertheless, its legitimacy has been challenged, as described by Anderson as "the crisis of the hyphen" between nation and state (1996, p. 8, cited in Buchanan & Pahuja, 2004, p. 139). The uncertainty lies in whether or not the political unit can represent the entire population within the nation-state borders. That nation-state is losing its sway manifests itself in the growing inability to make the political and national planes congruent (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009; Hutchinson, 2005; Triandafyllidou, 2001). This is because many states contain more than one national group nowadays such as the UK or Taiwan/the Republic of China (ROC) where some believe they are Chinese (ROC) while others consider themselves Taiwanese (Huang, Liu & Chang, 2004). Instead, the term, *national state*, referring to "a state organised by the norms of its dominant nation", and at the same time acknowledging that "almost all states have national or ethnic minorities" (Hutchinson, 2005, p. 5), is preferred in this study.

Nationalism or national movement, according to Hroch (1998), can be represented by two trajectories of national state. First, State-centred (political) one as from state to nation-formation (national state = State + Nation). Gellner (1983) and Hobsbawm's (1983a, 1983b) theories of nationalism find their expressions particularly in this political-oriented type. Secondly, National-centred one as from nation to state (national state = Nation + State). Miroslav Hroch (1985, 1998), a historical materialist, refers to this type of nation-forming as the "smaller nation" (smaller not in quantity, but the fact that it is not the dominant national group). Smith (1986, 1991) and Hutchinson's (2005) argument, from the ethno-symbolic school insisting on the link to pre-existing ethnic groups, are more in line with this type (National-centred). Most importantly, Taiwan/the ROC represents the case which has witnessed both types. The discussion below presents each type of nationalism along with a snapshot of the Taiwan case focusing on the historic background and education.

2.1.1 From state to nation

The state, according to Max Weber, is "the monopoly of legitimate physical violence" (Owen, Strong & Livingstone, 2004, p. 33). This ultimate force is the prerogative of the centralised, disciplined agency or a group of agencies in a society (Gellner, 1983). Its power, eventually, would be limited to certain geographical areas; thus, the notion of the state is bound to a confined territory. In other words, as Gilmartin (2009, p. 19, my emphasis) puts it, from the approach of political geography:

> States are usually defined as *legal* and *political* entities, with power over the people living inside their borders. In this way, states are associated with *territorial sovereignty*.

This type of nationalism implies State-centred politics, with its sovereign power to foster and reinforce a homogenous and unified nation, creating the imagination of we-nation as well as national sentiments (Penrose & Mole, 2008). More often than not, the *centralised education system*, imbued with the intended political propaganda of the state, plays an indispensable role in this cultivation (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1983a), making the population standard, desired national "products" suitable for the industrial society.

The period of the Kuomintang's (KMT) regime on Taiwan under Chiang Kai-shek and his son can be considered representative of this trajectory of nationalism. When he and the troops of the ROC suffered a crushing defeat in the Chinese Civil War (or commonly referred to as the Nationalist-Communist Civil War, 1927-1950), they fled south. At Kinmen (金門), they miraculously won a battle in 1949. In the name of the ROC, they claimed the jurisdiction over the main island of Taiwan and the archipelagos of Penghu (澎湖), Kinmen (金門) and Matsu (馬祖), and settled in. There were initially more than 6.5 million dwellers on the island by the end of the Japanese ruling period (1944/1945), later called *benshengren* (本省人). Added to this population

was about one million people brought on the island along with the KMT[2] (Knapp, 2007), referred to as *waishengren* (外省人). Regardless of their ethnic and national origins, be it Japanese, Taiwanese or Chinese, those originally living within the borders, previously belonged to the Empire of Japan, had to be "re-Sinicized" (Wang, 2005, p. 59). The ROC's "political legitimacy" dictates, parallel to Gellner's analysis (1983), that "ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones" (p. 1). In line with the modernist approach of nationalism which tends to view national identities in functional or instrumental terms in the course of modernisation, the Chinese (ROC) national identity on Taiwan was implemented as the mechanism through which the mission of the restoration of the ROC in mainland China could be sustained. Only by doing so was it possible that the existing 6.5 million benshengren, who had not shared the social, historical transformation (the overthrow of Qing dynasty) and, of course, were not involved in the Nationalist-Communist Civil War (1927-1950), would see the mission of retaking China, the mainland, as their own. Accordingly, school education on Taiwan became one of the most important propagandistic vehicles to inculcate the re-invented sense of the Chinese (ROC) patriotism.

From the late 1940s to 1990s, distinguished as the China-centred educational paradigm by Wang (2005), the ROC on Taiwan maintained a centralised system of school curriculum development, controlled by the appointed Curriculum Reference Revision Committee at the Ministry of Education (MOE). The committee prescribed the goals, time allocation, and implementation guidelines for each subject, based on which standard textbooks were produced by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT). Particularly pertinent to the Chinese (ROC) national identity fostering were the subjects of History, Geography, and the National Language/Literature (Liu, Hung and Vickers, 2005).

---

[2] The record can differ according to different references. For example, referring to Ping (1996), Lee (2014) mentioned that nearly two million Chinese (ROC) people immigrated to Taiwan between 1945-1949.

Before being able to evoke any national solidarity and sentiment, the state of the ROC, at the time, had to first lay the basis for the identification of the Chinese (ROC) nation, such as those constitutive elements proposed by Smith (1986, 1991), e.g., the pre-modern ethnic origin, the historic territory/homeland and common myths, memories as well as cultures. In the China-centred paradigm, when addressing "Our Territory" in the subject of Geography, the textbook along with the map shown indicated that China (ROC) encompassed mainland China, Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu islands and Outer Mongolia (Hughes, 1997) and that "Taiwan is located in the southeast of our country" (Liu et al., 2005, p. 122). The textbook referred to Taiwan as one of the provinces of China (ROC), and the mainland as the homeland to return to. Underlying this reiteration of the homeland is the fact that Japan was the conceived homeland for many people on Taiwan[3] (Lee, 2014). The lessons of the designated territory were delivered to create the imagination of the political community within which borders were all *our* nationals (Chinese, ROC). In the same vein, the students were taught to admire and love the vast rivers, mountains, and commodities of mainland China, all of which belonged to "us"; thus, "we" ought to claim them back (Wang, 2005).

Furthermore, in terms of the subject of History and National Literature, emphasis was placed on the ethnic continuity and common myths, memories and traditions. The first lesson typically emphasised that the islanders' ancestors came from Fukien (福建) and Kuangtung (廣東), provinces of China (ROC). Therefore, the people on Taiwan were, by nature, Chinese (ROC) who had responsibility for rescuing the Chinese (ROC) comrades, the blood-related super-family members, from the vicious Chinese communists (Hsu, 1996). It continued to praise the sophisticated Chinese culture which can be traced back to 5000 years ago, starting with the Yellow Emperor, a mythical

---

[3] An example can be seen in professor Yuan-tseh Lee's (李遠哲: 1937-), the first Taiwanese Nobel Prize laureate in chemistry. In his self-description, on the way home one day, when he, as a little boy, saw the Japanese army was packing and going away, he was nervous and rushed home to tell his father to pack quickly as well so that they could catch up with the army and ships back to Japan.

figure depicted as the earliest ancestor of Han-Chinese. Nurturing a primordial imagination (Connor, 1978), the subject of History functioned as an important basis for creating common historical and ethnic memories. In addition, in terms of the reading selected in the literary textbooks, the compositions and stories from Confucius and his disciples were profusely drawn on (Chen, 2010; Wang, 2005). That Confucian philosophy and its ways of thinking prevailed throughout the second half of the twentieth century on Taiwan shows the revival of the common Chinese culture and myths (e.g., Jordan, 1998).

Last, regarding the promotion of the national language, pupils were compelled to speak "in the official lingua franca, Mandarin Chinese – a language spoken at home only by the waishengren immigrants, and not by benshengren Taiwanese" (Liu et al., 2005, p. 109). The 1970s witnessed severe measures taking place, such as having to pay fines or to wear a sign of shame, to punish students caught speaking dialects, primarily Minnan (Tai-yu) and Hakka, by teachers or their fellow students in schools (Hsiau, 1997; Hsu, 1996). Although language should not be treated as a primary marker representing national identity, nationalism can be considerably mediated and disseminated by the common language (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1983).

It can be observed that Gellner's theory of nationalism is particularly useful in understanding the path of nationalism from state to nation, as in the case of the Chinese (ROC) nationalism on Taiwan. Nevertheless, according to Bechhofer & McCrone (2009), one of the criticisms of Gellner's work is that "if he is correct that the modern state has the power and capacity to manage nationalism as a secular ideology, it doesn't do it at all well" (p. 3-4). So, the kind of political/state-oriented nationalism prescribing congruence between one political and one national sphere does not always meet its end. This applies to the case under discussion. The China-centred educational paradigm before 1997 was used to raise a Chinese (ROC) national consciousness and patriotism, and its course and effect are described by Vickers (2009, p. 21-22):

From the late 1940s to the 1990s, Taiwanese youth were subject to a concerted campaign of Chinese nationalist indoctrination, in which schooling naturally played a key role.… Far from creating a longing for reunification with the motherland amongst ordinary Taiwanese, decades of patriotic indoctrination appeared to have had little if any effect.

The other path of nationalism as from nation to state is called the "smaller nation" by Hroch (1998), which formulates "under conditions of a non-dominant ethnic group" (p. 94), as is the case of the Taiwanese nationalism. It is Nation-oriented because it is "a phenomenon derived from the existence of that nation" (Hroch, 1985, p. 3). These are discussed in the following section.

2.1.2 From nation to state

The word, nation, according to Connor (1978), was derived from Latin, *nationem*, connoting breed or race. By the early seventeenth century, the term was used to describe "the inhabitants of a country" (p. 381). Based on such premises, nation in its simplest form, is a group of people sharing the belief in *common descent* and associating a sense of belonging to a particular *land* considered to be their own. However, for Smith (1991), ancestry and territory alone do not suffice. From his ethno-symbolist approach, a number of pre-existing "ethnies" (ethnic groups or communities), seen as cultural collectivity, become *self-aware* and are unified primarily by the multi-faceted attribute, i.e., "an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal right and duties for all members" (Smith, 1991, p. 43). Carrying political implications (common rights and duties), the nation in this respect appears to share the features of the state and is thus connected to it (Guibernau, 2004). This further confirms that it is rather difficult to examine the state and nation separately. Fundamentally, in addition to ethnic and territorial factors, historical, psychological, cultural, economic and political ones also play a role in the formation of a nation. Yet, refusing to read the nation as a fixed collection of attributes as such, Hroch (1985, p. 4-5), instead, reminds us that it is:

a combination of several kinds of relation (economic, territorial, political, religious, cultural, linguistic and so on) which arise on the one hand from the solution found to the fundamental antagonism between man and nature on a specific compact land-area, and on the other hand from the reflection of these relations in the consciousness of the people.

That is, a nation as the way it is today is a result of the long-term interaction between particular groups of people and their particular land, as an adaptive derivative. The nation thus represents one side of social reality bearing its historical origin, and each nation eventually takes the form of different constellations of elements (Hroch, 1985). Hence, in order to understand the case of Taiwan, the historical background against which Taiwan reached its present status cannot be ignored.

After the departure of the Japanese and prior to the administration under the ROC, some people on Taiwan maintained "a romantic and sentimental view toward China" (Hsueh, Tai & Chow, 2005, p. 120), for their ethnic origin of Han-Chinese as well as the nostalgia for the ancestral land, experienced during the Japanese ruling period. These people expected friendly gestures and fair treatment of their blood-related Chinese super-family. Nevertheless, when the Chinese (ROC) official, Chen Yi (陳儀), appointed as Governor-General of Taiwan, had arrived in 1945, his mismanagement led to severe corruption, unemployment and food shortages, leaving benshengren to live in a state of eternal bleakness (Hsu, 1996). A number of records also indicated that many military officials sent to the island often committed stealing, robbery, threatening, molesting and murder (Brown, 2004; Hsu, 1996; Phillips, 2007). These not only shattered the sentiment of those nostalgic people, but also underlay the trigger of the February 28 Incident in 1947, called 228 Incident or 228 Massacre[4]. It had incited the people to rebel and riot on the following days,

---

[4] In the evening of 27 February 1947, two agents from Tobacco Monopoly Bureau in Taipei disguised as customers buying cigarettes from a widowed cigarette dealer, and they confiscated all of her cigarette stock. Upon begging them to return some of the cigarettes to her, she was hit ruthlessly on her head by one of the agents with a pistol and she fainted. The crowd, already frustrated by the ongoing, increased unjust corruption and unemployment, enclosed the agents, and one of them directed the fire to the crowd and accidentally killed a bystander (Hsu, 1996). For more details, see Hsu, 1996, Brown, 2004 or Lee, 2014, chapter 2.

gradually spreading throughout the entire island, as a wave of self-awareness and self-determination of the habitat was raised and disseminated. Nevertheless, how Chiang Kai-Shek and the KMT had responded to the benshenren was a wholesale massacre. According to the *New York Times* on March 29 (Durdin, 1947) :

> [A]n American…said that troops from the mainland arrived there March 7 and indulged in three days of indiscriminate killing and looting. For a time everyone seen on the streets was shot at, homes were broken into and occupants killed.

The seeds of conflict and difference between benshengren and the ROC's sovereignty (waishengren) were deeply planted, further separating benshengren and waishengren for the coming decades on Taiwan. When examining social conditions under which a non-dominant ethnic group revived itself to be a nation in Europe, Hroch (1985, 1998) theorised three phases of the national movement, summarised here as: *a*) scholarly inquiry at the individual level, *b*) national agitation and, *c*) a mass national movement, nationalism established. Hroch's periodization, albeit his "smaller nation" indicates the involvement of a dominant group, prioritises the chronological national movements (a, b and c). Yet, it overlooks the shared conditions these minority ethnic groups may have faced, such as conflict, oppression or social exclusion. Indeed, conflicts play a major role in the process of nation-formation between pre-modern ethnic groups, as argued by Hutchinson who discusses several European historical cases in his work of *Nations as Zones of Conflict* (2005). In line with Hutchinson's argument, in the case of Taiwan under Chiang Kai-Shek's authority, divisions (between benshengren and waishengren) as the result of the historic conflict and oppression, such as 228 Incident, Martial Law and other high-handed measures, are what fed into Taiwanese national ideology and movement (Huang, 2008). In addition, bensheng Minnan groups (the South-Min speaking Tai-yu), whose ancestors arrived on Taiwan more than two to three hundred years ago, particularly advocate that Taiwan has become their homeland and they are Taiwanese (Hsueh, Tai & Chow, 2005). In 1986, the Democratic Progressive Party was founded

(DPP, the first opposition party to the KMT, which members are comprised of mainly bensheng Minnanese advocating separatism). In 2000, one of its leading members, Chen Shui-bian (陳水扁), was elected as the president and maintained his mandate from 2000-2008 on Taiwan. In Hroch's terms (1985, 1998), Taiwanese national movement should be considered in phase C (mass national movement), and it is still on-going. Below, I give a brief discussion of the major change in school education for the purpose of gaining the background understanding of Taiwanese identity construction.

The high school curricula underwent a major reform in the late 1990s, referred to as the Taiwan-centred paradigm (Wang, 2005). It was decided that a series of new courses, namely Renshi Taiwan (Getting to Know Taiwan), including history, geography and social studies were to be introduced in 1997[5]. For the first time, the curriculum and textbooks gave significant importance to Taiwan. High school students would learn about their immediate living environment, Taiwan, in the first year, mainland China in the second, and the world in the third. Some scholars postulate (e.g., Corcuff, 2005; Liu et al., 2005; Wang, 2005) that underlying this change of approach has been the shift from the promotion of envisioning a monolithic picture of Chineseness (ROC) to an increasingly awakening Taiwanese consciousness. Practically, this is done, for instance, by presenting the plurality of Taiwan's ethnic and cultural background [e.g. avoiding "Han-chauvinist writing style in presenting the Taiwanese aborigines unfavourably" (Wang, 2005, p. 72)], and by acknowledging the efforts of the Japanese administration and its contribution to the success of Taiwan's modernisation (Dawley, 2009; Liu et al., 2005).

By presenting the historical experiences and contacts with the Dutch and Spanish as well as emphasising the recent ties with the Japanese (Japanese ruling period, 1895-1944/1945) and

---

[5] In 1995, a new Commission for Editing New Junior High School Textbooks was established, and professor Yuan-tseh Lee (李遠哲: 1937-) was employed as the president of the team. NICT, accordingly, produced three standard textbooks for the Renshi Taiwan courses: Know Taiwan History Volume, Know Taiwan Society Volume and Know Taiwan Geography volume (Hughes & Stone, 1999).

Chinese (ROC on Taiwan, 1945-), the textbooks give importance to the cultural and ethnic diversity of Taiwan, rather than prioritising Han-Chinese as the blood related super-family. The homeland is no longer imagined as the place (mainland China) to go back to, but right under the feet of the pupils. The communist party representing the People's Republic of China (PRC) with whom the KMT had conflicts and fought, becomes the giant neighbour, the significant other to refer to (Triandafyllidou, 2001), rather than the despicable national rival. It can be said that the Taiwan-centred paradigm is creating, compared to the China-centred one, an input of an alternative worldview, e.g., of being Taiwanese (or both Chinese and Taiwanese), based on which the pupils of Taiwan construct their national identity. Hughes and Stone (1999) for example pointed out that neither the Society volume nor the History volume refers to "the people of Taiwan as "Chinese" in the political sense" (p. 986, the author's original emphasis). Nevertheless, there is no proof to claim that the new paradigm changes every pupil's national imagination from being Chinese (ROC) to Taiwanese (c.f., Hughes & Stone, 1999; Wang, 2005). This is because, I believe, the students do not simply arrive at school as a blank slate unless we overlook the significance of the primary socialisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Despite the different views, the more pressing conundrum, observed and raised by Liu et al. (2005, p. 111, my emphasis), reflects the present situation:

> [T]he textbooks were still *ambivalent* regarding the question of national identity. They avoid using the term "Taiwanese people", instead preferring the form "people of Taiwan"…. Should the people term themselves Taiwanese or Chinese? Discussion of national identity in curricula and textbooks remains ambiguous because these basic questions cannot be directly addressed.

To summarise, nationalism has been expressed in the two paths, referred to as the State-centred and Nation-centred. The former applies to the Chinese (ROC) nationalism on Taiwan under Chiang Kai-shek and his son's regimes. The latter, in this case, depicts the pre-existing belonging to the group (especially bensheng Minnanese) defined by their residency on Taiwan, who were

oppressed by the dominant national (Chinese, ROC) group, but who eventually gained national momentum as Taiwanese. These are also discussed with a snapshot of two different educational paradigms. Whereas the China-centred educational paradigm is regarded to have little effect (Vickers, 2009), the Taiwan-centred one is considered to be "the source of considerable confusion" (Liu et al., 2005, p. 127). Consequently, does this mean people in Taiwan neither consider themselves Chinese (ROC) nor are they Taiwanese? I suppose not. Affiliations with Chinese (ROC), Taiwanese, and Chinese-Taiwanese identity are found among graduate students in Taiwan, according to Huang et al.'s (2004) quantitative experiment. So, the educational paradigms discussed above would suggest that the role played by school education in national identity construction is limited in the case of Taiwan. How exactly is school education conceived in terms of national identity construction and what are other important factors? These issues are not fully understood and their in-depth exploration is indeed needed.

In particular, Hobsbawm (1990) contends that the studies of nationalism and national identity involve dual phenomena, that is, perspectives from both "above" and "below". The aforementioned scholarly theories of nationalism and national movements, such as Gellner's (1983) work, are considered to be from "above". Hobsbawm (1990) acutely points out that nationalism and national identity "cannot be understood unless also analysed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people….That view from below… by the ordinary persons who are the objects of their action and propaganda, is exceedingly difficult to discover" (p. 10-11). This implies a qualitative method to delve into people's ideas, feelings, experiences and stories so as to bring insights from "below" into the phenomena of nationalism and national identity. The subjective experience of what it means to be Taiwanese and/or Chinese (ROC) from Taiwan in the people's frame of reference is what this study attempts to come close to.

2.2 National identity: its (re)construction and negotiation in the SA context

In this section, I discuss the approach to identity and national identification this study takes, based on which I define national identity. Then I review national identity in the SA literature and draw on theories from sociological and intercultural fields to discuss how national identity may be constructed, reconstructed and negotiated in the intercultural and international environment.

2.2.1 Approach to identity

The term "identification" was first used by Freud in 1915 and six years later he further explained that "identification is the original form of *emotional tie* with an object" (Freud, 1921, p. 107, cited in Bloom, 1990, p. 28, my emphasis). His explanation indicates that identification, as the process of our identities in the making, is a mental construct derived from biological needs, primarily to survive in the social world. That is to say, emotional attachment to/identification with the significant other(s), as a survival mechanism, is a prerequisite to our identity. Additionally, identification is a process of identifying, signifying "a process of action and choice" (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009, p. 9). So long as identification is an on-going process, identity cannot remain static and fixed. Thus, one cannot investigate (national) identity without looking into (national) identification in terms of people's choices, actions and their underlying reasons, such as where one chooses to live or to contribute (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009).

To position my views of identity and identification in the broader context, they differ from the Enlightenment school of thinking, but come closer to the post-modern and sociological approaches to identities (Hall, 1996a). According to Hall (1996a), from the Enlightenment subject, the self is seen as a fully centred, unified individual having an inner core which remains essentially the same throughout one's lifetime. By contrast, the post-modern subject regards the self as "having no fixed, essential, or permanent identity" and is "formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us" (Hall,

1996a, p. 598). Between the solid, stable me and the amorphous and elusive self, there stands the sociological subject which posits the existence of the "real me" which inner core, nevertheless, is formed, modified, and represented in the course of social interaction (Hall, 1996a).

Alongside the link to human emotions and flexible nature of identity, how do we become who we are? According to Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 151):

> [T]he self is a reflected entity, reflecting the attitudes first taken by significant others towards it; the individual becomes what he is addressed as by his significant others. This is not a one sided, mechanistic process. It entails a dialectic between identification by others and self-identification, between objectively assigned and subjectively appropriated identity.

In line with Freud's notion of the human need to identify with the significant others, Berger and Luckmann (1966) further elaborate how we have come to be the way we are by pointing to an on-going interactive process. That is, individuals are not merely given a location in the immediate social world, but actively internalise it in the course of primary and secondary socialisation. Based on my reading, three particular elements pertinent to identity can be observed in the process: *1*) the socio-cultural references in the given social context, *2*) the cognitive monitor, and *3*) the communicative nature.

First, what is assigned by the significant others, who are the mediators of the social world, carries the socio-cultural references which can be *best* understood in the very social world. This implies that meanings would be re-defined and subject to different cultural interpretations, should one be situated in a different social location. Secondly, recognising social symbols and regulating behaviours require the macro cognitive monitoring system in operation. These two points coincide with Greenfeld and Eastwood's (2007, p. 256) notion of identity as:

> An aspect of one's cognitive map that concerns the configuration and structure of one's self in relation to the social world…. the aforementioned "cognitive map" is simply a typified, internalized form of the cultural blueprint for social order.

Based on the two points established above and Greenfeld and Eastwood's (2007) notion, it can be said that our cognitive operating system is comprised of internalised socio-cultural contents appropriate for the society/societies we live. In other words, the sense of who we are is the *subjective interpretation* of the socio-cultural ways of living and being mediated by the significant others based on their social norms. Last, Berger and Luckmann's (1966) "reflected entity" and internalisation suggest the communicative nature of identity and identification. This nature is also recognised by Hall (1996b) who regards identity as "the meeting point" between the subjectivity and social practices (p. 5). That is to say, identity can be considered as a channel of discourse, mediating between the self (along with the culture represented) and others.

As there are different aspects of the self, there can be different identities according to which individuals define themselves and relate to others. Often, people do this by grouping themselves into different categories, such as belonging to the same gender, class, religion, culture and/or national state. Although referring to identity in terms of categories falls into essentialism and may easily provoke stereotype, this way of addressing and discussing certain identities has become commonplace among scholars (Penrose & Mole, 2008). Among the multiple identities that we have, national identity is considered as essential as our "central identity" (Greenfeld & Eastwood, 2007, p. 271), considering that in most cases we communicate through and follow the national culture, norm and/or code of behaviour in the taken-for-granted manner (Billig, 1995; Hall, 1997). Yet, Holliday's (2010) seminal article discussing the complexity of identity demonstrates that the participants at times can also refuse to be pinned down to specific national cultural types, though nation is of great importance to them. Other identities such as religion, language and/or occupation are prioritised while national identity is downplayed on the basis of the social context as well as the interlocutor. In the light of Holliday's study (2010), while national identity can become salient in certain contexts such as the SA environment as argued in this study, I should also be aware that other identities and contextual factors play important roles.

I have discussed that identification is linked to emotional ties and governed by our cognition. As it is an on-going process, identities are thus dynamic, context-dependent and communicative in nature. At any given time, individuals can have a variety of interrelated identities which constitute the sense of self. These notions of identities underpin my approach to national state identification and national identity and are discussed below.

2.2.2 National state identification and defining national identity

Here I first establish that national identity can be approached and treated as a type of social identity. From this point of departure, this study can then discuss national identification as the formula: national state (State-oriented and Nation-oriented) + socialisation (primary and secondary). Then the definition of national identity will be developed.

The social nature of national identity is fundamental and has been repeatedly pointed out over time. For instance, national identity is regarded as a type of collective identity (Smith, 1991), a social entity (Hobsbawm, 1990), a cultural identity (Hall, 1996a), and one of the basic social identities (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009; Parmenter, 1997; Philippou, 2005; Triandafyllidou, 2001). As Parmenter noted (1997), national identity seems to be treated as one part of "the individual's spectrum of social identities, [and] it is constructed in a similar fashion" (p. 25). Similarly, looking at children's national identity construction, Martyn Barrett argues that there is "no theoretical consensus in the field about which theoretical framework might best explain the development of children's national identity" (cited in Philippou, 2005, p. 294). Extrapolating from different social theories such as social identity theory (SIT) and social identity development theory (SIDT), Barrett's series of studies on national identification all point to its socially constructed nature (Barrett, 2005a, 2005b; Barrett, Lyons & del Valle, 2004; Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2011). Following their examples, this study also treats national identity as a type of social identity and is constructed as such. So its construction is not a once-and-for-all process, but subject to on-going

social interaction and (re)construction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009), as highlighted in section 2.2.1.

As established in 2.1, two different trajectories of national state have been discussed and a state can be home to multi-/dual nations. By the same token, there can be at least two different paths guiding national identification: State-oriented and Nation-oriented. While the dominant national group would experience both, a non-dominant national group is more likely to be attached to Nation-oriented identification. If Berger and Luckmann's (1966) idea of socialisation is taken into consideration, both types are fundamental to the understanding of the process of national identification. To begin with primary socialisation, starting from around 3 years of age, children's ethnic awareness emerges, "particularly accompanied by a verbal label, that is likely to facilitate social categorisation" (Nesdale, 2004, p. 227). They begin to realise that they are a member of a particular group. Activated by self-categorisation at around 4, children show ethnic in-group preference. Other studies have also shown that children show less preference for the traditional national enemies of their own nation before and around the age of six (Barrett & Short, 1992; Clay & Barrett, 2011). From Berger and Luckmann's point of departure (1966), during primary socialisation, the construction of national identity develops from the identification with a particular national group, which is normally represented by the parents/caretakers at first. This includes internalising the social norms, values, and traditions as well as the cultures of the national group mediated by the parents (Barrett, 2005a, 2005b; Barrett et. al, 2004). Thus, one's association and affiliation towards a particular national group/ethnic group(s) (and the way of living) to which one's emotional ties develop (Nation-oriented), is more likely to happen in the primary socialisation. By contrast, secondary socialisation denotes "the internalization of institutional or institution-based sub-worlds" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 158). As highlighted above, Gellner (1983) argues that the centralised education system plays an indispensable role in promoting and disseminating particular nationalist movement, national culture and national awareness. So, I link secondary

socialisation to the public education, and propose that the State-oriented national identification tends to happen at the phase of secondary socialisation.

In this way, national identification is the interplay between primary socialisation (national group) and secondary socialisation (state). In the scenario of one nation coinciding with one state, the national group can experience both phases in a taken-for-granted manner. Yet, in the case of an oppressed non-dominant national group, inconsistency may occur between primary and secondary socialisation. For example, bensheng Minnanese (see section 2.1) children experienced the China-centred educational paradigm. In this case, Berger and Luckmann (1966) contend that the world internalised in primary socialisation is much stronger than that in secondary socialisation. This is because, first, our emotional ties to the significant one(s) in the primary socialisation are usually stronger. Secondly, the reality is interpreted in order to stand in a continuous relationship with what has already been internalised and constructed in primary socialisation. However, new childhood studies (e.g., Guo, 2014) show that early socialising and developmental theories tended to confine children to their dependent or subordinate status. Guo (2014) indicates that the emphasis on the roles of the family and school as socialising agents fails to consider "the active role of children and the diversity of social contexts, ie. how actively children are involved in their own socialisation" (p. 19). For instance, very young children are capable of making their caregivers to satisfy their own needs in a way that is comfortable for them. Additionally, in migrant families, it was also found that children may take more "responsibility in mediating their parents' lives or in shared activies with their parents" (Guo, 2014, p. 27). Hence, we ought not to forget that, eventually, the type of information which is attended to and internalised is determined by "the child's own perceptual and *attentional* processes. These in turn are influenced by the child's *cognitive, affective* and motivational processes" (Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2011, p. 14, my emphasis).

2.2.2.1 Defining national identity

Taking my approach to identity and the two paths of national identification into consideration, this study thus puts forward a preliminary definition of national identity:

The *subjective interpretation* of the identified national elements, such as the particular culture, ethnie, family and national history, territory, religion, symbols and et cetera…, which is *emotionally charged/attached*, but stays dormant and banal unless *activated* in a given social context.

Considering that different national groups can reside in one state, I thus propose the "subjective interpretation" to accommodate the self as coming from the dominant national group or the non-dominant national group. The interpretation is governed by the cognition map and sense of belonging (emotions) through discourse in social interaction, as highlighted in section 2.2.1. It is an ongoing process, constructed and reconstructed in accordance with the surrounding social environment, as national identity is "maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations", argued by Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 194). Two interrelated points here deserve further exploration for the purpose of discussing national identity in the SA context: the importance of *the social context* and the sense of *reconstruction*.

First, national identity cannot be seen as merely a self-construct, but its meaning becomes particularly salient in certain social contexts. As Ross (2007) argues, "the identity of 'national' may be dominant in certain contexts (and in certain periods), but at other times local identities (of city or region) may become more significant" (p. 293). This suggests that the reference point for comparison alters in accordance with the different contexts where one is situated. Within the national borders, national identity is banal; it is the suggestive we/us and they/them as "the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building" embedded in the habits of our social life (Billig, 1995, p. 8). Border-crossing would often involve communication with culturally and nationally different

others. Indeed, the important role of culturally and nationally different others in understanding the sense of self has been either implied or emphasised by many (e.g., Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009; Collier, 2009; Gellner, 1983; Hall, 1997; Hutchinson, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Triandafyllidou, 2001; Turner, 1999). Considerably relevant is the thesis proposed by Triandafyllidou (2001). She incorporated the role of "a Significant Other (Other group)", whose "presence is salient, either because it threatens (or is perceived to threaten) or inspires the ingroup", into the theoretical perspectives of national identification (2001, p. 3). Triandafyllidou contends that the Significant Other is a prerequisite for the construction of national identity, for it provides the crucial point of reference against which the in-group nationals draw the boundaries and define as well as redefine themselves. So, it is in this sense that national identity becomes relative, constantly in the making based on to whom one is compared. This is also how Hall's (1997, p. 21) sense—"You go around the entire globe: when you know what everyone else is, then you are what they are not"—is played out in the national identification.

Secondly, not only is a different social world marked by different structures and/or languages a fertile ground for cross-national comparison, but it also alludes to another layer of socialisation. Concerning the acquisition of knowledge about societies other than the one of which a child first became a member, Berger and Luckmann (1966) imply the existence of another mode of socialisation (p. 150-151):

> the process of internalizing such a world as reality - a process that exhibits, at least superficially, certain similarities with both primary and secondary socialization, yet is structurally identical with neither.

Based on this consideration, Byram (2008), researching foreign language learning/teaching in intercultural and cross-cultural studies, proposed "tertiary socialisation" (p. 113-114):

> Teachers and others can help learners to understand new concepts (beliefs, values and behaviours) through the acquisition of a new language, new concepts which, being juxtaposed with those of the learners' other language(s), challenge the taken-for-granted nature of their existing concepts.

Although Byram emphasises that tertiary socialisation has a prescriptive purpose, the concept adopted here is not confined to language teachers' course planning. The difference between Berger and Luckmann's alteration (1966) and Byram's tertiary socialisation (1992, 2008) is that the former rejects what has been constructed previously while the latter embraces the notion: "For, by methods of comparison and contrast, it involves a critical review of both sets of values and modes of thought" (1992, p. 11). In this sense, the notion of reconstruction here is not confined to changing one's national identity from one national group/national state to another, but, in most cases, it refers to gaining new meanings/perspectives with which one re-examines and re-defines his/her national self.

All in all, the international, intercultural educational environment is such a context which can serve as an interface where the communication, (re)construction and maintenance of national identity can be observed against the background of the intercultural/international communication and comparison with a range of other students, teachers and local people. So, the notion of national identity discussed above also underpins the choice of the SA environment as an appropriate research site to study national identity and its (re)construction. In this site, the boundaries of national identity can be re-examined, re-drawn and re-defined by methods of intercultural communication and comparison with "Significant Others" (Triandafyllidou, 2001). Under these circumstances, the meanings of the national self may become relatively evident, especially in the cases where more than one nationalism is involved in a state, such as Taiwan, as covered in section 2.1.

Having discussed national identity and the sense of (re)construction, I further point out the need to study national identity in the SA research domain below.

2.2.3 National identity in the SA context and its negotiation

First, I briefly cover existing literature on national identify in the SA context and I concentrate specifically on the SA studies investigating the SSFT, pointing to the paucity of research looking at the issue of their national identity and its negotiation. Also more investigations are needed to come closer to the understanding of national identity during the SA experience. Next, I draw on theories from sociological and intercultural fields to shed light on how national identity is possibly negotiated in the intercultural sphere.

As highlighted in chapter 1, there is a dearth of the SA literature exploring national identity generally and the few studies delving into national identities point to the divergent findings. Employing written surveys and ethnographic interviews, Wilkinson's (1998) findings show that contacts with French people led a female American student sojourner to stereotyping as she communicated through the perspective of her American self. The participants' American identity became "a salient label" in France (Wilkinson, 1998, p. 32). Similar findings can be found in Isabelli-Garcia's study (2006) which explores extra-linguistic factors pertinent to oral communication skills and accuracy. Of four American students in Argentina, three of them showed a strengthened sense of their national identity and strongly preferred the American ways in comparison to what they witnessed in Argentina. One of the students constantly showed his view of the American society being "morally superior to that of the Argentines" and gradually refused to speak Spanish (Isabelli-Garcia, 2006, p. 247). Drawing on these studies, Block (2007) remarks that underlying these students' responses is "default American national identity" (p. 172) and that national identity emerges as "a subject position trumping all others when student's individual sense of self is thrown into crisis" during the SA experience (p. 170). Similarly, Jackson's qualitative study (2008) on the short-term sojourn project of students from Hong Kong to the UK also found the enhanced sense of the national identity, i.e., the Hong Kong/Chinese (PRC) self. By contrast, following 50 European students for one year abroad, Murphy-Lejeune (2003) showed that national

categorisation became less important for the participants as the differences have been recognised by them as being driven by the individuals' personality (p. 112). In addition, Piller and Takahashi's (2006) ethnographic study of 5 Japanese female students in Sydney also revealed how important it was for the participants to transform the national self into "a 'White' native speaker … and to find a White native-speaker boyfriend" (p. 78). Further to these contradictory findings, Dolby (2007) contends that national identities are re-negotiable in the intercultural interaction. In one study, Dolby (2004) showed how American identity became particularly strong in the SA context in the aftermath of September 11. By contrast, later in another study, she also found that some students did not want to be identified as "bad Americans" but forged "new ways of being Americans" (Dolby, 2007, p. 146) by investigating 50 American undergraduates studying in different countries for one semester.

The studies discussed above demonstrate that national identity is one of the first to be impacted on during the SA experience. Yet, it remains unclear whether national identity becomes particularly strong and salient in the SA context, as Wilkinson (1998), Isabelli-Garcia (2006), Dolby (2004) and Jackson (2008) suggest, or it may be undermined as in Murphy-Lejeune (2003) and Piller and Takahashi's (2006) studies? How is it negotiated? In addition, Dolby (2007) emphasises the importance of exploring national identity in the SA context, and criticises that much of the SA literature centres on outcomes of language acquisition, academic outcomes, and professional development. She thus promotes "the relevance of national identity as a paradigm for understanding the study-abroad experience" (Dolby, 2007, p. 152). In line with Dolby (2007), Block (2007) also calls for more studies exploring student sojourners from other national backgrounds at different receiving countries.

Reviewing the SA literature specifically focusing on the SSFT, I found that quantitative studies tend to investigate factors linked to cross-cultural adaptation while qualitative studies delve into academic success/failure and social interaction, leaving the issue of national identity

unaddressed. In terms of quantitative studies, Ying and Liese (Ying & Liese, 1990; Ying, 2002, 2005) have conducted a series of research on Taiwanese student sojourners' cross-cultural adaptation. The project was based on a longitudinal design following approximately 200 students at postgraduate level from before their departure to the United States (US). Using pre-arrival variables to predict post-arrival adaptation, they showed that the depressive level was associated with higher pre-arrival depression, and that initial adjustment in the host country was predicted by higher self-assessment of English language ability (Ying & Liese, 1990) and social support/affiliation (Ying & Liese, 1991). Similar results are shown by Dao, Lee and Chang (2007) whose study revealed that the perceived English fluency mediated the effects of acculturation level on depression by investigating 112 Taiwanese also in the US. Moreover, Kuo and Roysircar's (2006) quantitative study examines the effects of adaptation factors on acculturative stress of 201 SSFT in Canada. In line with Ying and Liese (1991), Kuo and Roysircar (2006) report that satisfying social relationship and friendship had negative impact on their acculturative strains, and that a strong social tie with co-ethnic members promotes students' emotional well-being. Ying (2002) continued to scrutinise the extent to which factors, such as personality, knowledge, attitude and skill, would link to cross-cultural affiliation (i.e., friendship with the Americans). The results indicated that half of the participants had a mostly co-national network, and one-third had an equal representation of co-nationals and Americans in their network. The cross-cultural relationship was predicted by the ability to speak English, greater understanding of the United States and a positive attitude toward forming friendship with Americans. Overall, these studies all point to the factors of (perceived) English proficiency and social affiliation in mediating SA adaptation. In other words, they pre-dominantly look into personal related factors to predict the cross-cultural adaptation in the SA context. However, how the SA experience, representing a different world of socialisation and replete with intercultural communication, may, in turn, influence the identities of the SSFT and their negotiation are not addressed.

Further, qualitative studies focusing on the SSFT also tend to neglect to explore the topic of national identity, though they provide the participants' words of how they make sense of their SA experience to enable the readers to gain access to the lived SA stories. Wu's (2014) phenomenological research explores 12 SSFT in the US using interviews, and the findings revealed that the language and cultural barriers have led to limited interactions with Americans. Swagler and Ellis (2003) tried to understand factors leading to a better and/or more difficult SA experience of the SSFT in the US. They found that confidence in English and cross-cultural and co-national affiliation are important in cross-cultural adjustment. Minor themes were reported such as the student sojourners' nostalgia for Taiwanese food, cultural differences, and unrealistic expectations about what their lives would be like in the US. Similarly, investigating the pre-entry and early integration of the SSFT in the US, Yen and Stevens's (2004) study reported that their initial responses and experience in the US included factors such as disillusionment, homesickness, racial discrimination and loneliness. At the Australian site, Hong and Hee (2015) also showed similar findings of homesickness, missing Taiwanese food and culture shock when exploring the SA experience of 8 Taiwanese sojourners in a one-month nursing exchange program. These findings all point to the underlying drive of the national self against the backdrop of SA environments (also see chapter 1), which were, however, not recognised and discussed by the authors of these studies, though they provide significant contributions to the existing SA literature of cross-cultural living in the case of the SSFT in the US and Australia.

This study thus attempts to address the issues of the national identity (re)construction and negotiation of the SSFT in the SA environment in the UK, a receiving country of the SSFT which has not been covered in the literature. It thus not only responds to Block (2007) and Dolby's (2004, 2007) call, but also enriches the scholarly discussion on national identity in the SA environment in relation to Wilkinson (1998), Isabelli-Garcia (2006), Dolby (2004), Jackson (2008), Murphy-Lejeune (2003), Piller and Takahashi's (2006) findings.

2.2.3.1 National identity negotiation

Identity becomes particularly salient or contested in intercultural interaction as conflicts can arise "when there are sharp differences between who we think we are and who others think we are" (Martin & Nakayama, 2010, p. 162). Such a challenge is faced by the SSFT, which is also observed by Harrison (2009): "the proposal that 'we are the Taiwanese' is confronted with a multiplicity of challenges and counter-arguments from the People's Republic of China… [and] the global" (p. 123). This is the gap between the avowed and ascribed identity locations. Avowal is how "individuals portray themselves", whereas ascription is "the process by which others attribute identities to them" (Martin & Nakayama, 2010, p. 166). According to Collier and Hicks (2002), a common pattern of ascription is based on "initial negative, over-generalised, stereotypes about the 'Other'" (p. 210, the authors' original emphasis). So, the SSFT may see themselves as Taiwanese or as different from Chinese (PRC), but others may see them in different lights. The ascribed identity location challenges the former's avowed identity, and these conflicting views, thus, influence the communication.

Furthermore, Ting-Toomey's face-negotiation theory (FNT), initially proposed in 1988 and updated in 1998 and 2005, explains how an individual negotiates their face in face-threatening or identity-vulnerable situations in the intercultural environment (Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005; Ting-Toomey, Gao, Trubisky, Yang, Kim, Lin & Nishida, 1991; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). FNT proposed that the cultural value axis of "individualism-collectivism shapes members' preferences for self-oriented facework versus other-oriented facework" (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 73). When face is threatened in the conflict episode, self-face concern refers to the concern for protecting one's identity image; other-face concern is the concern for protecting and accommodating the conflict party's identity image while mutual-face concern points to the concern for both conflict parties' images and the image of the relationship. Particularly, Ting-Toomey reports (2005, p. 83):

In relating national cultures with face concerns, research reveals that while individualists (e.g., U.S. respondents) tend to use more direct, self-face concern conflict behaviors (e.g., dominating/competing style), collectivists (e.g., Taiwan and China respondents) tend to use more indirect, other-face concern conflict behaviors (e.g., avoiding and obliging styles).

In other words, the SSFT are predicted to incline to adopt avoiding and obliging styles, under collectivist cultural values, for the concern of other-face in conflicts. Would these results apply to national identity negotiation of the SSFT, especially in the light that national identity is believed to be overriding other identities (e.g., Dolby, 2004; Isabelli-Garcia, 2006; Wilkinson, 1998)?

More often than not, identity negotiation is, I believe, more complex than the one proposed by FNT. Particularly, the cultural division of individualism-collectivism is criticised for falling into essentialism, leading to stereotypes (Holliday, 2011, chapter one). Additionally, the discourse voicing around the inconsistency between avowals and ascriptions can be "complex, paradoxical, and sometimes brought up in-group conflict as well as in-group/out-group conflict" (Collier & Hicks, 2002, p. 210). Thus, Collier (2005, 2009) from the critical perspective, contends that identity communication cannot be appraised without the considerations of broader social hierarchies, power and contextual constraints. Bearing these factors in mind, I continue to review other relevant theories which explore the complexity and dynamics of communication.

When identity communication is examined closely, it is often based on *how we conceive* what others make of us through the first-hand experience in the course of communication, as in Mead's term of "me" (the known). Me is the social/learnt self, "the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself [and herself] assumes", emerged within and through social interaction (Mead, 1962, p. 175). It is "me" which perceives/assumes the ascribed identity location and self-image, feeding these back to "I" which "is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others" and directs "me" (1962, p. 175). This concept of Mead (in his term, "the mind": me+I) helps elaborate on the communicative nature of national identity and is closer to the perspective of identity this study takes. That is, the sociological approach of the existence of the inner self (the

mind) whose core ("I") and image ("me") are formed and modified in the course of social interaction, as highlighted in section 2.2.1. Furthermore, when the notions of "I" and "me" are extended to the collective senses of the self, social identity theory (SIT), a widely accepted conceptualisation of social group categorisation/behaviour commonly associated with the work of Henri Tajfel and John Turner (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), lends itself well to the current discussion. SIT demonstrates that individuals internalise a social group membership as part of their self-concept, and this naturally leads to social group comparisons which consist in in-group favouritism and out-group bias. The positive and distinct characteristics attributed to the in-group over the out-groups are readily identified as the quality of the self, functioning as a source to enhance one's self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). All in all, one's image and action can be frequently taken as representing the entire national group he/she belongs to when communicating at the international and intercultural context. That is, what responses "I" decides to show is no longer conceived as merely personal, but can be readily taken as representing the nation or national culture behind (e.g., if I do this, they will think Taiwanese are like this). By the same token, the positively perceived national characters can be attached to "me". When "me" is assumed to be denied by others, it can be regarded as a disrespect for the national group. Hence, it is likely that the boundaries of national identity are drawn and re-drawn in accordance with these terms in communication abroad.

Moreover, taking the two paths of "me" and "I" further, Hecht, Warren, Jung and Krieger's communication theory of identity (CTI, 2005) establishes four layers of identity and points out the negotiable nature of identities (as in Dolby's, 2007, "middle path" sense of national identity highlighted above). CTI developed out of a line of research investigating African American and Mexican American ethnic cultures and identities. Borrowed from the postmodern view of the multiple-centred self, CTI sees the self as in the personal, enacted, relational, and communal layers. In other words, identity resides in a person, communication, a relationship, and/or a group. One may decide to enact or not enact his/her national identity on different layers and this causes the

discrepancy or contradiction between and among the different layers of identity. These discrepancies are recognised as an "identity gap" (Jung & Hecht, 2008; Jung, Hecht & Wadsworth, 2007). For instance, if one's national identity as a group identity is repeatedly silenced in communication, such an identity gap may affect the individual's well-being and may lead to depression and emotional stress (Jung & Hecht, 2008; Jung, Hecht & Wadsworth, 2007).

To summarise, identities, as the cognitive understanding of our surroundings driven by emotional ties, are dynamic, context-dependent and communicative in nature. It is thus important to understand the identification process, in terms of how identity is communicated in what context. I have also showed that the process can be seen as the interplay between primary socialisation (national group) and secondary socialisation (state). Considering that there are two different paths of national identification (State-oriented or Nation-oriented), I propose to regard national identity as the subjective interpretation, which is emotionally attached to a range of interpreted elements such as culture, ethnie, family and national history, territory, religion, symbols and so on. So, what is important to the subjective national self? Furthermore, due to the importance of the social context to observe national identity (re)construction and negotiation, I suggest that the SA context is an appropriate site, for it abounds with international and intercultural comparison. Considering that the issue of national identity negotiation is under-researched in the SA literature, I draw on theories from other fields to lend support in the discussion of national identity negotiation. Face-negotiation theory (Ting-Toomey, 2005) predicts that Taiwanese students tend to adopt avoiding and obliging styles for other-face concern in conflicts; however, I surmise that how individuals communicate their identity may be more intricate and sometimes paradoxical. Additionally, based on Mead's (1962) concepts of "I" and "me", one's responses in communication can be interpreted as representing the national group, sometimes leading to others' stereotypes (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For this reason or other contextual factors, individuals can then choose to enact or not enact their national identity, according to communication theory of identity (CTI, Hecht et al., 2005). CTI

is useful in suggesting that one can choose not to enact his/her national identity in the conversation for certain reasons, but this does not necessarily undermine the national identity residing in the person. So, under what circumstances and with whom would the SSFT choose to enact or not enact their national identity in the communication during their SA experience? How is their national identity negotiated? These questions will also be addressed in this study.

In this section, I showed that national identity may be particularly strong in the SA context, and accordingly, the SA environment becomes the adequate site to study national identity negotiation. By contrast, in the next section, I demonstrate that other identities may also be cultivated or promoted in the international and intercultural spaces.

2.3 Challenges to national identity and the possibility of identity expansion

Whereas some studies, discussed earlier, reported the stronger national identity of the student sojourners' (e.g., Dolby, 2004; Isabelli-Garcia, 2006; Wilkinson, 1998), others point to the likelihood of developing other supra identities, such as international identity (Arrow & Sundberg, 2004), intercultural identity (Kim, 2001), intercultural citizenship (Byram, 2009) and cosmopolitan identity (Beck & Sznaider, 2010; Block, 2002; Jackson, 2011). So, in this section, I first show my awareness that national identity can also become problematic and contested in the intercultural environment by drawing on Holliday (2010, 2011) and Piller's (2011) argument. Then I look at the challenge to national identity and identity expansion as developing other supra identities. In doing so, the literature reviewed is not confined to that of the SA, but is also drawn from domains such as cross-/intercultural communication and cosmopolitanism. Finally, I focus my attention on cosmopolitan identity because its notions are closer to my belief in the possibility of us all identifying with a broader group, that is humankind along with our shared environment.

Despite the scholarly interest in the phenomena of nationalism, national state and national identity in general, some scholars venture to cast doubts on the importance of them against the backdrop of the globalised world. From the standpoint of critical cosmopolitanism, Holliday (2011) contends that the commonly known cross-cultural differences derived from different national cultural backgrounds may not be viable. This is because even within the territory of each national state a great degree of cultural diversity can be witnessed, such as what Holliday (1999) refers to as, "small culture", characterized by "relating to cohesive behaviour in activities within any social grouping" (p. 241). Small culture can be shared between a group of friends or in a family, and the number of small cultures one can belong to may, thus, be countless. Communication between people from different circles of small culture can be misunderstood and misinterpreted, so in this sense, all communications can be regarded as intercultural. Holliday (2010, 2011) finds it problematic to label people from different national states, from which point to predict and explain their behaviours. Instead, he proposes "a grammar of culture", an underlying universal cultural process which is "common across national boundaries" (Holliday, 2011, p. 135). National states and national cultures are treated solely as individuals' resources. Furthermore, in line with Holliday, Ingrid Piller (2011) criticises the essentialist views of the nation "as the foundation of culture", which are not useful to the appreciation of difference and diversity (p. 68). Information sorted out and displayed according to the classification of national state, Piller (2011) argues, may easily incite stereotyping, further putting people into boxes. Especially, in an age characterised by globalisation, she remarks that national identity "has lost some of the sway it once held" (p. 68). Holliday and Piller's arguments offer a different way of thinking, challenging the existing framework of cultural features linked directly to national states. Nevertheless, "the passport identity", discussed by Piller (2011, p. 69) as having the practical use and power of national identity, manifests itself as a form of grouping people into different national states where "legal documents" such as passports are issued. Instead of regarding national identity as losing its sway, I believe it is relatively more appropriate to

say that it may be challenged, negotiated or expanded in the international and intercultural environment as shown in the ensuing discussion.

2.3.1 The challenge of developing other identities

There may be a leap from the national boundaries (re)drawing against culturally and nationally different others, as discussed before, to the recognition of a more inclusive supra identity, as "we" plus "they". The latter is in stark contrast to the principle of the in-group/out-group relationship that strengthens the national in-group identity and solidarity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). So, some may see a supra-national identity, such as cosmopolitan identity, as "understood to be those outlooks, behaviours and feelings that transcend local and national boundaries…and deemphasising territorial ties and attachments" (Norris & Inglehart, 2009, p. 181). For instance, using quantitative methods to analyse data covering over 90 societies from World Value Survey and European Value Surveys, Norris and Inglehart (2009, p. 193-196) reported:

> [L]iving in a cosmopolitan society was strongly related to less nationalistic
> orientations…nationalist identities are weaker in the most globalized societies, such as the
> Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden, which are characterized by dense networks of
> cosmopolitan communications.

This wide-scale research suggests that the imagination of "we national group" is superseded by the "we" super-family human group". Does this also apply to student sojourners in the SA context where students tend to stay for a short period of time? Extrapolating from his case study of two adults from Japan and Taiwan using qualitative interview, Block (2002) concludes that "cosmopolitan identities arose" (p. 1) from prolonged stay in the SA context (an L2, a new and different cultural setting). In the case of the Taiwanese sojourner in Block's (2002) study, she refused to associate with other Taiwanese student sojourners because she did not like their behaviour, but was rather very fond of British culture. However, these do not undermine "her strong feelings about being Taiwanese" (Block, 2002, p. 13). How should this case be explained in the

light of Norris and Inglehart's study (2009) where "nationalist identities are weaker" as people grow more cosmopolitan?

While some may see the sense of challenge to national identity as implying "an undoing or, at least, a loosening of any previous ties", such as those ties to their national state (Guilherme, 2007, p. 81), others, however, do not necessarily see it in the same light. Many studies discussed below either argue or report that more intercultural and transnational experiences help foster a broader sense of the self.

Byram (2008) observes that tertiary socialisation is likely to lead to the development of further social identities, such as international or intranational identities (e.g., an European identity), being "a sense of belonging to one or more transnational social groups" (p. 114). Fundamentally, *international identity* is one that transcends national boundaries, and Arrow and Sundberg (2004) postulate that it is an inclusive idea, including global identity, social identities and international ties. Global identity is represented by one's awareness of connecting to all humans (Arrow & Sundberg, 2004). At the same time we also recognise that humans have different social aspects (social identities). Thus, in some respects we are like some others but not all others. Additionally, having friends, relatives, and connections as well as travelling across the world, we develop international ties. These three can also be interrelated and contradictory (Arrow & Sundberg, 2004).

Furthermore, from the standpoint of cross-cultural adaptation, Kim (2001) accentuates that individuals are capable of acquiring *intercultural identity*: "an acquired identity constructed after the early childhood enculturation process through the individual communicative interactions with a new cultural environment" (p. 191). Having to adapt to a new, different cultural sphere, according to Kim (2001), one develops increased awareness beyond her/his original culture and develops insights into both the host culture and one's own cultures, provided that the adaptation process is successful. This idea of intercultural identity is similar to Byram's tertiary socialisation (e.g., new

concepts added to the existing concepts in a different social environment and the possibility of developing further social identities), though his viewpoint stems from foreign language teaching/learning. He emphasises the prescriptive nature, indicating that the desirable, relevant skills for developing the ability and competence can be trained vicariously in the classroom. Yet, his proposed *intercultural citizenship* is "not confined to foreign language teaching" (Byram, 2009, p. 328). The concept of intercultural citizenship is closely linked to that of intercultural competence, which underpins intercultural speaker. Running through these three concepts is the repeatedly emphasised ability, namely critical cultural awareness (Byram, 1997, p. 53), defined as follows:

> An ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries.

While the intercultural speaker is represented by more of a mediator between different cultures who "has some or all of the five savoirs of intercultural competence to some degree" (Byram, 2009, p. 327), the notion of intercultural citizenship involves more political and civic elements, requiring "engagement and action, at an international level as well as at a local, regional or national level" (2006, p. 127). These notions suggest that Byram would argue in favour of flexible and multiple identities and caution us about the limitation of a single, rigid identity.

Concerning cosmopolitan identity, some scholars treat the terms cosmopolitan and intercultural interchangeably, but I demonstrate that this may not be the case and, on the contrary, the two terms necessitate distinction as they involve different concepts. Scrutinising the language education policy in the UK, Starkey (2007) demonstrates that it often adopts the principles of cosmopolitanism and he links education of intercultural citizens to those of cosmopolitanism. Additionally, Guilherme (2007) states that "being an active cosmopolitan citizen does not start only beyond national borders … for this depends on 'the level of conscious awareness involved' in acting interculturally" (p. 81, the author's original emphasis), and she uses the terms cosmopolitan

and intercultural citizen alike. Drawing on Starkey (2007) and Guilherme's (2007) examples, Jackson (2011, p. 82) notes:

> The competencies of the "intercultural speaker", especially the "central concept of critical cultural awareness or savoir s'engager" (Byram, 2009, p. 327), resonate with those associated with cosmopolitanism (Guilherme, 2007; Starkey, 2007) and intercultural citizenship (Byram, 2008b). As intercultural speakers become more appreciative of other ways of being and the limitations of national identity, they may gradually come to view themselves as more sophisticated, cosmopolitan members of an interconnected, global community.

Jackson conducted ethnographic investigations (pre-, during and post-sojourn) and followed individual cases of English majors from Hong Kong travelling to central England for a 5-week sojourn. In her case study (2011), she seems to see a cosmopolitan as an intercultural speaker who has developed some degrees of Byram's intercultural competence. She believes that the experience of a well-designed SA program potentially offers a knowledge of the world that sojourners can use to develop or expand their identities. Nevertheless, although certain notions involved in Byram's model, such as the attitude of openness and curiosity, may resonate with those of cosmopolitanism, it is not difficult to find, with close scrutiny, that an intercultural speaker is essentially different from identifying oneself as a cosmopolitan. In particularly, as highlighted above, critical cultural awareness is defined as an "ability". However, identifying oneself as belonging to both the universe and his/her own national state does not necessarily predispose one to have a set of specific skills or knowledge of other countries and vice versa. Below I will focus on the discussion of cosmopolitan identity as well as define what it encompasses in this study.

2.3.2 Feeling and acting cosmopolitan

Rather than any ability or skill, cosmopolitanism is considered as a "sentiment" by Beck and Sznaider (2010, p. 637). Feeling like a cosmopolitan is a sentiment because it is rooted in the identification of what is good for the cosmos. It is the broader category of "us" humans living in the cosmos. A cosmopolitan is defined here based on Beck and Sznaider's notion (2010, p. 637):

[C]osmopolitanism relates to a pre-modern ambivalence towards a dual identity and a dual loyalty. Every human being is rooted by birth in two worlds, two communities — in the cosmos (that is nature) and in the polis (that is the city-state).

The principle of Beck's "this-as-well-as-that" (Beck, 2002, p. 19), as the subjective feeling or identifying oneself as belonging to the human community as well as his/her national group at the same time, is how this study considers a cosmopolitan. In other words, in addition to national identification, a cosmopolitan would also believe that "the world is, so to speak, our shared hometown" (Appiah, 2005, p. 217). Moreover, in reconciling national and cosmopolitan identities (this-as-well-as-that), Kwame Appiah portrays the national identity as an ethical self who has thick relations with certain communities while the cosmopolitan identity as a moral self who has thin relations, such as human obligations, with strangers. Since the idea of belonging to everywhere can be seen as rootless or too abstract, some postulate a thin/cool constitution of cosmopolitan identification (e.g., Turner, 2002: cool loyalties; Appiah, 2005: thin relations).

Feeling as belonging to two worlds differs from *acting cosmopolitan*. The latter, in this study, is translated into, for instance, virtues by Turner (2002), morality and ethics by Appiah (2005) and capacities by Martha Nussbaum (1997, 2006). For Turner (2002), cosmopolitanism expresses a set of virtues, including "care for other cultures, ironic distance from one's own traditions, concern for the integrity of cultures in a hybrid world, openness to cross-cultural criticism" (p. 60). Living together in the natural world, cosmopolitans recognise their connections to humankind and humanity; thus, human rights are fundamental to Turner's cosmopolitan obligation (2002). The link to human beings underpinning the conception of cosmopolitanism has also been pinpointed by others. For example, Beck and Sznaider (2010, p. 638, my emphasis) state:

Being part of the cosmos means that every man and every woman are *equal by nature*, yet being part of different states organized into territorial units (polis)…creating 'patriots' of two worlds who are at the same time *equal and different*.

Giving importance to both human morality, equality and diversity, Appiah (2005) also proposes a number of attributes which are encapsulated and organised as follows: 1) seeing the world as our shared hometown, 2) recognising persons as having equal worth, 3) valuing human life and diversity, 4) respecting human dignity and autonomy, 5) having a way to listen and talk to different others, and 6) working for the good of the places, regardless of whether it is one's own national state or not. Moreover, Nussbaum (1997, 2006) proposes to cultivate cosmopolitan citizens by means of developing three capacities, namely critical self-examination, human identification and narrative imagination. Identifying with humankind allows one to care for different others, thus treating everyone as moral equals. Through narratives of literature and arts, one would be able to develop empathy, tolerance and respect and at the same time, deepen one's critical self-examination. Based on the acquisition of the three capacities, Nussbaum (2006) envisions a world which shares universal principles of human right as well as social justice, and which celebrates autonomy and democracy.

Taking Turner, Appiah and Nussbaum's ideas into consideration, this study proposes that people act as a cosmopolitan by: 1) working for the good of the shared environment, 2) recognising our link to humankind, expressing concerns for all different others and respecting their autonomy as we are all moral equals, and 3) carrying out self-examination by keeping certain distance from one's own traditions from time to time. The first point primarily emerged from Appiah's (2005) emphasis of treating territories of any national state as the shared hometown, paying equal care, respect and concern for the environmental issues as it is our own. Nussbaum (2006) further extends this to concern for other species of animals who co-exist with humans on Earth and should have the same right to live as humans. Convergence among the three scholars rests on the second point of recognising our connection to humankind and we are thus equal. Whereas Appiah promotes the celebration of cultural and local differences, Nussbaum's attempt focuses on understanding the differences in order to establish a global accord of human rights and values (Naseem & Hyslop-

Margison, 2006). Turner's (2002) standpoint is more in line with Appiah, for he also accentuates the respect for cultural diversity. The last point is derived from Nussbaum's (2006) proposal of critical self-examination to develop empathy and tolerance to culturally and nationally different others. This corresponds to Turner's (2002) idea of keeping distance from one's own culture and tradition. The distance is not confined to the physical distance, but keeping a more flexible and objective mind to evaluate oneself and his/her national state in order to prevent ethno-centrism and to keep an open mind to others' culture.

The notions of feeling and acting cosmopolitan can be viewed in Table 2-1 below.

Feeling cosmopolitan	belonging both to the local (national-state) and the universe, seeing the world as *our hometown* (human beings + the cosmos)
Acting cosmopolitan	1) working for the good of the places
	2) recognising our *link to humankind*, cosmopolitans express concerns for all different others and *respect their autonomy* as we are all moral equals
	3) carrying out *self-examination* by keeping certain distance from one's own traditions from time to time.

Table 2-1: Defining feeling and acting cosmopolitan

Overall, the challenge to national identity can be seen in the light of identity expansion, as a broader sense of the self and developing other supra identities. I have briefly discussed international identity, intercultural identity, intercultural citizenship and cosmopolitan identity before I focus my attention on the last one. Generally, is transnational and/or intercultural experience, in this case, the SA experience, likely to pave the way for such identity expansions, as identifying with both the cosmos and national group? In particular, Block's (2002) case study demonstrates that a Taiwanese student sojourner developed cosmopolitan identity and her national identity remained strong; Appiah (2005) and Turner (2002) point to a thin or cool loyalty to cosmopolitanism; Wilkinson (1998), Isabelli-Garcia (2006) and Dolby's (2004) studies suggest a strengthened sense of national identity while Norris and Inglehart's (2009) indicate a weaker one. How can these be explained in the light of the current study?

2.4 Summary and research questions

Reflecting the aim of the study ― to explore national identity in the SA context in the case of the SSFT, this chapter has drawn on seminal theories and studies pertinent to the three major elements: national identity: the case of Taiwan (section 2.1), national identity in the intercultural SA context (section 2.2) and challenges to national identity and identity expansion (section 2.3).

In section 2.1, I have discussed nationalism with its two different trajectories side by side, as from state to nation and nation to state. The modernist thesis of nationalism, featuring Gellner (1983), Hobsbawm (1983a, 1983b) and Anderson's (1991) orthodox theories, was applied to discuss the State-centred nationalism, as the case of Chinese (ROC) nationalism in Taiwan. Then extrapolating from the notion of Hroch's (1985, 1998) small nation as well as Smith's (1991) ethno-symbolic approach, I presented the Nation-centred nationalism and the case of Taiwanese nationalism. It has also been pointed out that it is the oppression and conflict which have led to the turning point between the Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese groups in the history of Taiwan. The focus on education has been discussed, using Wang's (2005) distinction of the China- and Taiwan-centred educational paradigms. Both were said to have either limited or ambiguous influence on the youth's national identity.

In section 2.2, it has been established that this study sees identity as our cognitive understanding of our surroundings, driven by emotional ties. At the same time it is dynamic, context-dependent and communicative in nature. National identity, as one of our identities, is also linked to other aspects of ourselves and certain factors (section 2.2.1). Moreover, national identity should be considered together with its construction, the on-going identification process in the course of social interaction. It is argued that the Nation-oriented national identification tends to happen at primary socialisation while the State-oriented one is more associated with secondary socialisation (via the state education system). Seen in this way, national identification is thus the interplay

between primary socialisation (national group) and secondary socialisation (state). Based on these premises, national identity is preliminarily defined as the subjective interpretation (State-oriented or Nation-oriented), emotionally attached to a range of interpreted elements such as culture, ethnie, family and national history, territory, religion, symbols and so on. I have also emphasised that national identity deserves particular attention in the social context where it becomes the salient reference point for comparison and thus subject to (re)construction. Abounding with international and intercultural comparison, the study-abroad context is identified as an appropriate site for tertiary socialisation and national identity (re)construction through international/intercultural communication. Then in section 2.2.3, I have identified that the issue of national identity is under-researched in the SA literature in general and so is existing literature focusing on the SSFT. More studies are needed to bring insights into how national identity is communicated in the SA context. I thus reviewed theories from other fields such as Mead's (1962) concepts and Social Identity theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) from sociology, face-negotiation theory (FNT, Ting-Toomey, 2005) and Communication Theory of Identity (CTI, Hecht et al., 2005). Whereas FNT predicts that Taiwanese students incline to adopt avoiding and obliging styles for the concern of other-face in conflicts, it was shown that the self in interaction comes under more sophisticated, complex and sometimes contradictory influences. Individuals can choose, according to CTI, to enact or not enact their national identity as their behaviours can be interpreted as those representing the national group.

In section 2.3, I have drawn on Holliday (2010, 2011) and Piller's (2011) argument to raise the awareness of how people are not confined solely to their national identity and culture, but are also capable of creating and representing different cultures and aspects of themselves. These indicate that national identity can become contested and challenged in the intercultural environment. The challenge to national identity extends beyond the weakening sense of it, expanding to the development of other supra identities, such as international, intercultural and

cosmopolitan identity. Finally, I focused my attention on cosmopolitan identity because its notion of us identifying with humankind along with our shared environment, based on Beck and Sznaider (2010), is closer to my belief of a supra-national identity. Then I also translated Turner's (2002) cosmopolitan virtues, Appiah's (2005) morality and ethics and Nussbaum's (1997, 2006) capacities into acting cosmopolitan. The premises of acting cosmopolitan are based on: doing good to our shared hometown, recognising our link to humankind and carrying out self-examination.

Last, the research questions have been fundamentally emerged and proposed in each section, and they can be seen in Table 2-2:

RQ	For student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) who are studying in the UK:
1	What is integral to their (re)construction of national identity?
2	How do they communicate and negotiate their national identity in the international and intercultural study abroad (SA) environment in the UK?
3	Does the transnational and/or intercultural experience, in this case the SA experience, pave the way for the development of cosmopolitan identity? If so, why?

Table 2-2: An overview of the research questions

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter illustrates how the research questions are addressed in the study, how they guide the data collection as well as analysis, issues related to credibility, and my own intersubjective relationship with the participants and the topic of study itself. I begin by illustrating the rationale for a qualitative study, the social constructionist approach and the method of interviewing (research design: sections 3.1-3.3). I also discuss issues related to researching multilingually, the data collection and analysis, and the trustworthiness of the study (sections 3.4-3.7). Finally, I draw on the pilot study I conducted to show the reasons underlying many decisions made in terms of the methodologies and methods across the chapter (section 3.8), and I conclude with a brief summary (section 3.9).

3.1 Rationale for a qualitative approach

An overarching qualitative research approach guides the current study for the consideration of the research topic and research questions. First, considering that the topic of national identities of the student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) in the study-abroad (SA) context is under-researched, I set out with the aim of exploration. That is, to understand and "focus on exploring, in as much detail as possible" (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 1996, p. 61), how the SSFT (re)construct, communicate and possibly expand their national identities in the SA context. Rather than seeking to generalise as in the quantitative practice, the qualitative approach would enable me to delve into the depth, thickness of the phenomena under investigation and to fulfil my initial purpose of exploring and understanding the dynamics of national identity in the SA context. Moreover, the key construct "identity", revolving around the research questions, profoundly relies on reports recounting issues

such as: who I am, and how I negotiate who I am with and to others through communication in the UK. These two statements primarily concern the participants' lived experience and *how* they (re)construct the sense of themselves and communicate in a new, different social world. In a similar vein, the key tenet of qualitative research is that researchers "seek answers to questions that stress *how* social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 8, the authors' original emphasis). Overall speaking, that qualitative research emphasises the socially constructed nature of reality and enables a stronger voice of the participants who give meanings to the social world they have perceived and experienced, comes closer to how I believe I can better address the phenomena under research.

3.2 Research paradigm: rationale for social constructionism

The research paradigm features "a net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological and methodological premises" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 13). The inquiry paradigms updated by Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011) appear clearer to me and I locate this study in "the constructionist camp", loosely defined by Lincoln et al. (p. 116). Fundamentally, it is represented by the key idea that there are multiple realities in the social world dependent on the interpretation of those involved. Concurrently, the realities are constructed, reconstructed, viewed and reviewed by the actors involved in the interaction, actively negotiating the meanings they create in the immediate social world. Inextricably linked to this ontological stance, the subjective, interpretive epistemology not only enables me to give priority to the subjective understandings of the participants, but also to co-construct meaning based on our interaction (Lincoln et al., 2011). In addition, the interpretive approaches heavily rely on naturalistic methods (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and qualitative methods, such as interviewing through which the inquirer and inquired shape one another (see section 3.3). Lincoln and Guba's naturalistic inquiry (1985) suggests methods that do

not involve manipulating the researched, and also the inquirer should avoid prior assumptions on the outcome on the grounds that findings are generated through the interaction between the researcher and researched. As such, as a researcher, I should also strive to ensure that knowledge produced in this study is reflective of the participants' perceived reality (see credibility in section 3.7.1).

More specifically, choosing social constructionism as the overarching theory underpinning this study is a decision based not only on the personal belief in the social construction of reality proposed by Berger and Luckmann (1966), but, most importantly, its theory application onto the exploration at hand. I will focus on explaining the latter. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), one's understanding of the reality and sense of his/herself are constructed in the course of social interaction: primary and secondary socialisation as well as re-socialisation. This points out that the reality construction is not a fixed, fossilised process but an on-going socialising one, as highlighted in section 2.2.1. Thus, theoretically speaking, the major construct "national identity" under investigation, internalised through socialisation in Taiwan and taken for granted at home, is subject to re-socialisation or another layer of socialisation in the SA context, marked by international and intercultural comparison. Being Taiwanese is, accordingly, negotiated and (re)constructed along with the new, different social world and the national boundaries are drawn and redrawn in the course of communication. Social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) underpins the overall research philosophies and the main research focuses—national identity (re)construction, negotiation and its possible expansion of a supranational-identity (cosmopolitan identity) in the SA environment—all of which are inevitably socially constructed through interaction. While this is how I approach the research issues under investigation, it is important to point out that other factors, such as individual human psychological factors (e.g., the mind and feelings), also contribute to the understanding of the sense of individuality (Jenkins, 2001).

3.3 Qualitative, active interviewing

If the researcher is interested in the participants' experience and "what meaning they make out of that experience", Seidman (2006) contends that "interviewing, in most cases, may be the best avenue of inquiry" (p. 11). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) also consider that accessing the perspective and experience of those involved in the target social site, such as the current case exploring the sense of national belonging of the SSFT in the SA site, is most often achieved through in-depth interviewing. Moreover, Anderson (2008) posits that research undertaken within a social constructionist framework places "a heavy focus on 'dialogue', 'conversation' and 'talk'" in the co-creation of meaning (p. 185, the author's original emphasis). Nevertheless, while this study can benefit from conducting interviews, this method also has limitations. For example, the size of the sample is limited (Wyse, 2014), especially taking the scope, time, budget and resources of the EdD study and the researcher into consideration. Compared to interviews, carrying out surveys would enable this study to generate a bigger sample size. Online surveys are nowadays user-friendly and are accessible for many people and participants. However, I consider that written responses may be limited in understanding this under-researched research topic, whereas face-to-face interviews allow me to probe and ask follow-up questions. Also, during the interview, the interviewer/researcher as well as the participants can negotiate, clarify and co-construct meaning.

In particular, in line with the constructionist camp, my interviewing approach is guided by Holstein and Gubrium's (e.g., 1995, 2003, 2011) constructionist approach. Holstein and Gubrium's philosophy of conducting qualitative interviews is represented by their proposed "active interview" (1995). It can be best illustrated by a comparison to what Holstein and Gubrium (1995, p. 38) call "standardized interviewing"—the question-response practice—with minimised influence of the inquirer. Major differences between the standardised and active interviewing are teased out below in terms of the different approaches to the role of the interviewers and the interviewees.

A traditional approach to interviews cautions the interviewer to keep conversational bias in check and to minimise any influence that the interviewer may exert so as to procure the "authentic" views, opinions and experiences of the respondents. The role of the interviewer is to excavate information by asking apt questions with an open-minded attitude but without actually participating in the conversation, for example, guidelines such as: "[t]he interviewer should not provide any personal information that might imply any particular values or preference with respect to topics covered in the interview" (Fowler & Mangione, 1990, p. 33, cited in Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 38). The interviewees, on the other hand, are conceived as "passive vessels of answers" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 70), merely responding to the given questions. By contrast, Holstein and Gubrium (1995, 2003, 2011) highlight a different viewpoint and practice of the interviewer and interviewee, advocating that both roles are "necessarily and unavoidably *active*" (the authors' original emphasis) in the interaction (2003, p. 68). The active interviewer's role is not only to ask questions and invite answers, but also to convey, cooperatively build up and negotiate the meaning. For instance, Holstein and Gubrium argue that "the mere identity of the researcher primed respondents' stories, positioning respondents in relation to how they might respond" (1995, p. 41). Particularly, my identity (the researcher's and interviewer's) as Taiwanese, introducing myself as Taiwanese and relating my personal sojourn experience in interviews can be seen as activities that "facilitate talk about relevant subject matters" and "productively engage respondents in the research task" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 41). My (the interviewer's) presence, introduction, questions and responses should not be regarded as "neutral, impersonal stimuli", but be considered as the interviewer's "narrative positions, resources, orientations and precedents for the respondent to engage in addressing the research question under consideration" (1995, p. 39). Additionally, the interviewees should also be treated as active participants who, as much as the interviewer, can actively construct their realities, contribute to the production of the interview data and negotiate the messages they want to convey. They should not be seen as merely vulnerable researched who are simply influenced and led by the interviewer, especially in this case where the target group is

represented by participants who have received higher education in the UK and are, presumably, capable of thinking independently and critically. By and large, Holstein and Gubrium's (1995, 2003, 2011) active interview primarily changes the conceptualisation of the interviewer and interviewee's roles. Rather than seeing the former as a possible contamination, the active interview approach acknowledges the socially co-constructed realities during interviews.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interview

In keeping with the active interview practice (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995) where the interview is conceived as a discursive occasion where both parties—the interviewer and interviewees—actively produce knowledge, I consider that a semi-structured interview design would offer a degree of flexibility during this process. Semi-structured interviews can be envisioned as being positioned between structured and unstructured interviews in the interviewing practice continuum. A structured interview is typically employed when the researcher is aware of "what he or she does not know and can therefore frame appropriate questions to find it out" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 269). By contrast, an unstructured interview tends to be used when the researcher is not aware of "what he or she does not know and must therefore rely on the respondent to tell him or her" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 269). A semi-structured interview flexibly makes uses of both structured and unstructured configurations to different degrees in accordance with the researcher's (and the research) needs. Additionally, Lichtman (2010) encourages the beginner researcher to adopt the practice of semi-structured interview also due to its flexibility in the course of interviewing. As a beginner researcher myself, I found it necessary to carefully prepare a number of core interview questions (e.g., revolving around national identity) on which I could rely during the interview. While I have also prepared some exemplars of follow-up questions, sometimes I asked questions that were not prepared (e.g., to clarify meanings). Therefore, I believe the flexible practice offered by the style of the semi-structured interview, where the researcher "has a specific topic to learn about, prepares a

limited number of questions in advance, and plans to ask follow-up questions" (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 31), would benefit this study and my condition as a beginner researcher.

3.4 Researching Multilingually

As a result of the pilot study I carried out (see section 3.8), I became more aware of the importance of certain issues (e.g., translation) arising from the different languages (Mandarin Chinese and English) involved in the study. I thus decided to refer to Holmes, Fay, Andrews and Attia's (2013) theoretical framework of researching multilingally because it consists in a holistic process which enables me to reflect on the dynamics brought about by the use of different languages throughout the entire research design. The framework encompasses an overarching three-step process to develop researcher awareness of researching multilingually and includes two conceptual dimensions, namely spatiality and relationality. I summarise the key points of the framework in Figure 3-1 below.

The first step of the possibility of researching multilingually was realised in the course of the pilot study (see section 3.8). The second step involves navigating and mapping the possibilities of the multilingual nature of the study. Two languages are intertwined in the entire study, ranging from myself as the researcher speaking English and Mandarin Chinese, literature review, the participants, the research site, the interview questions, the interview language, data extracts translation to the writing-up process. The final step of the framework revolves around making informed decisions about research design as well as the multilingual dimensions and the language(s) used for the representation of the study (Holmes et al., 2013). In terms of research spaces, the phenomena I investigate involve the target group who speak both English and Mandarin Chinese (mother tongue) in the SA context in the UK, where my project and institution are based. This means that I was likely to collect the data in Mandarin Chinese while writing and reporting in English

(representation). When it came to the researcher resources, although I am not a professional translator, I had been a part-time Mandarin Chinese teacher in a Chinese School in the Northeast of England for two years. I am, to a certain degree, competent in English/Mandarin Chinese translation. Yet, I found myself referring to both Mandarin Chinese and English online translators often to ensure the translation precision. Other informed decisions and the dimension of relationality are discussed across the chapter (particularly in sections 3.5.2 and 3.6.4) because they are closely interwoven with the entire research procedure and design.

Figure 3-1: Holmes et al.'s framework (2013) for researching multilingually

3.5 Data collection

In this section, I discuss major issues involved in the process of data collection which embraces: sampling (section 3.5.1), interview language (section 3.5.2) and interview protocol including rapport building, informed consent and ethical considerations (section 3.5.3).

3.5.1 Sampling

Among different strategies of sampling, purposive sampling, usually used in qualitative studies, leads me to recruit participants who have substantial knowledge of or experience in the issues under investigation. Gaining access to the "knowledgeable people" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 115), purposive sampling is also believed to "best enable the researcher to explore the research questions in depth" (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 154). In the present study, the population of the SSFT in the UK is the target sample. Initially, I aimed to involve the SSFT, over 18 years of age, studying in the UK for approximately 1 year, for they would, presumably, have rich experience of intercultural communication in the UK SA environment (the knowledgeable people). Their SA experience, communicating with culturally and nationally different others, and possibly handling conflict episodes made them suitable cases for the study. Nevertheless, most SSFT undertake a one-year postgraduate degree and many leave for Taiwan at the end of the academic year. For this practical reason, I had to change my plan, and look for participants who have been studying in the UK for approximately 10 months instead of 1 year, and who were available in summer 2013. This transpired to be no easy task either, on the grounds that at this time period the SSFT undertaking a one-year postgraduate program are usually engaged in meeting the deadline of the dissertation submission or preparing to move out of their accommodation and leave for Taiwan. To tackle the difficulties, I implemented the snowball sampling, asking for the first few participants to recommend or put me in touch with others belonging to the target population. In addition, although I prioritised face-to-face interviews which would enable me to develop rapport and observe the

body language such as gestures and facial expressions (Cohen et al., 2007), I also had to

compromise and two interviews were carried out through a VOIP (voice over internet protocol)

client due to the two participants' availability and preference. Overall speaking, I aimed to recruit

the target group available for face-to-face interviews in the geographical location of the Northeast

of England where the researcher and the research institute are situated.

Flyers were prepared, illustrating the purpose of this study and mentioning the small reward

of five Sterling pounds in the hope of encouraging participation (see Appendix C). The flyers were

affixed in a café in the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne where many SSFT would gather. Additionally,

an electronic version of the flyer was posted on a social network site allowing those who were

interested to reply immediately. In July 2013, I conducted the pilot study in which 2 SSFT

participated (see section 3.8). Then during the months of August and September, I managed to

recruit and interview 18 more participants, whose background information is summarised in Table

3-1 below, including those involved in the pilot study.

Participants (Pseudonyms)	Degree	Age Group	Ethnicity	Political Orientation or Party	Duration of the interview
Pilot Study					
(1) Miss Tao	Ph.D	1	Hakka	KMT	70mins
(2) Miss Ma	MA	1	Waishengren	Prefer not to say	125mins
Main Study					
(3) Miss Liu	MA	1	Minnanese &Waishengren	NPP	80mins
(4) Mr. Lee	MA	2	Minnanese	Light green	105mins
(5) Miss Su	MA	2	Minnanese	Prefer not to say	75mins
(6) Mr. Chiang	MA	2	Minnanese	NPP	125mins
(7) Miss Chen	MA	1	Minnanese	NPP	100mins
(8) Miss Yang	MA	1	Minnanese	NPP	105mins +10mins
(9) Mr. Liang	MA	1	Minnanese	NPP	100mins
(10) Miss Wang	MA	1	Minnanese	NPP	80mins
(11) Miss Wei	MA	2	Hakka	NPP	80mins
(12) Miss Wu	MA	1	Minnanese	DPP	105mins
(13) Miss Huang	MA	1	Minnanese	NPP	100mins
(14) Miss Ni	MA	1	Minnanese	DPP	100mins
(15) Mr. Feng	Foundation	1	Minnanese &Waishe-ngren	Prefer not to say	90mins
(16) Miss Pan	Undergraduate	1	Minnanese	NPP	90mins
(17) Miss Lin	Undergraduate	1	Minnanese	NPP	90mins
(18) Mr.Yeh	Undergraduate	1	Waisheng-ren	NPP	90mins
(19) Mr. Sun	Undergraduate	1	Minnanese	NPP	105mins
(20) Miss Hu	Ed.D	2	Minnanese	NPP	90mins
				Total: 1915mins	

Table 3-1: The overview of the participants' background information. First, age group is an indicator of whether the participants underwent the China-centred or Taiwan centred educational paradigm, discussed in chapter 2. Group 1 refers to those who were below age 30 (Taiwan-centred) while group 2 refers to those who were at around age 30 or above at the time of the interview (China-centred). Additionally, ethnicity and the political orientation were devised to understand their possible influence on the national identity (re)construction. These are supplementary information to the reported data. Highlighted in chapter 2, Waishengren are descendants of the people who came to Taiwan with the KMT between 1945 and 1949. Last, regarding the political orientation, NPP stands for No particular preference, the KMT for the Kuomintang (party colour: blue), the DPP for the Democratic Progressive Party (party colour: green). In Taiwan, it is common to refer to one's colour to show their political standpoint.

3.5.2 Interview language

Reflecting Holmes et al.'s framework of researching multilingually (2013), one aspect of the relationality dimension considers "which languages are in play" in the researcher-researched relationships (p. 296). The consideration of this is useful since the power relations between the two parties and their relative statuses may be mediated by the language they exercise in the interview (Holmes et al., 2013; Scollon, Scollon & Jones, 2012). On most occasions, the participants and I started to talk in Mandarin naturally upon meeting each other at the arranged location. Although we were located in an English-speaking context, English after all is a foreign (or second) language to both me and my participants; thus, the different levels of English speaking competence might have led to an unequal power relation. Speaking our mother tongue, I believe, would make us more equal and approachable to each other. Besides, upon hearing my Mandarin accent, the participants could recognise me as the same group member as the SSFT, based on which we could relate to each other. A few participants asked if the interview was carried out in English, considering it is a study conducted in an English institution. In order to allow participants' autonomy and avoid researcher empowerment, they were informed about their right to choose with which language they would feel more comfortable to talk. All interviews were eventually conducted in Mandarin Chinese at the participants' will. Though I had to later deal with the translation work and issues arising from it, I believed the participants could better express themselves in their mother tongue. Sometimes they also mixed a few words, phrases and/or sentences of English in their speech because they were aware that I could understand.

3.5.3 Interview protocol (rapport, informed consent and ethical considerations)

In most cases, the interviews were carried out in a postgraduate study room, a small enclosed space with only one table and three, four chairs. Whenever it was possible, I offered the participants drinks and tried to make them feel comfortable. I normally encouraged them to express what they

felt without worries. That establishing rapport is important is emphasised by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) in order to obtain the "deeper view of life" of the participants (p. 109). As an in-group member of the target sample population (SSFT), I had the advantage of developing rapport and trust with the participants on the grounds that I could relate to them and their experience through my own sojourn experience in the UK. In addition, many of them were supportive of this study which explores the national identities of the SSFT abroad and quite a few refused to accept the incentive that I offered at the end of the interview. Overall, I found most participants friendly and candid with me during the interview. We remained friends on a social network, and when I contacted them after one year for further confirmation of their reports (see section 3.7.1.1), many of them were happy to hear from me and replied to my email.

During the interview, I would first introduce myself, my background and the research in an amiable way. These actions would not only inform the participants about the purpose of the research and the researcher's rationale for carrying out the study, but also help to develop trust and rapport as with more information at hand, they might feel safer in knowing what was happening. Additionally, the interviewer's background can also be an "invaluable resource for assisting respondents to explore and describe their circumstances, actions and feelings" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 45). My experience of sojourning (in the same institution with some participants) in the UK as Taiwanese may in some way resonate with that of the participants. Accordingly, such an introduction of myself and the research can suggest relevant ways of thinking about and linking experience (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Then I would ask the participant to introduce him/herself if he/she did not mind. Some participants would start to talk about their sojourn experience and why they decided to come to study in the UK in detail while others gave a shorter self-introduction.

After the introduction, I moved on to explain the research and asked the participants to read the information sheet (see Appendix D). At the same time I orally emphasised again that the study has been approved by the School of Education Ethics Committee of Durham University and that the

interview would be audio recorded. Moreover, their rights were protected in the following ways. First, the participants were informed about their right to withdraw from the study at any point of the interview should they wish to. Secondly, they were guaranteed that their identities would be protected by the use of pseudonyms in the report and that their contributions (audio files) and personal information (bio-data questionnaires) would be used solely for the purpose of this investigation. In order to protect the rights of both the researcher and the participants, the informed consent stating the above points was provided (see Appendix E). When they had officially signed the consent, they were asked to complete a questionnaire about some personal information. The questions include nationality, gender, birth year, birth place in Taiwan, area of residence in Taiwan, political orientation (political party), ethnicity, type of course in the UK (see Appendix F). The overview of the bio-data can be seen in Table 3-1.

Last, in most cases, the aforementioned interview protocol is not included in the interview duration indicated in Table 3-1. However, in a few cases the duration of the interview did include it because the participants started to talk about their ideas and beliefs when introducing themselves. On these occasions, I interrupted them and informed them about the audio recording first, to which they agreed. After all these were done, I would ask if they still had any questions about the study. They normally asked questions during either our introduction or the explanation of the research, so at this point they normally did not have more questions but wanted to go forward with the interview. When proceeding to the interview questions, I began by showing the participants my passport. By doing this, I could relate to them more easily (e.g., discussing the new version of the passport with a micro-chip), and at the same time, they could be further assured that I am an in-group member of the SSFT, thus continuing in developing trust. Then, I would display that both the Republic of China (ROC) and Taiwan are written on the passport, and asked what they mean to the participants (see interview questions in Appendix A: question 1).

Concerning the data recording, the audio recording device failed on one occasion. I managed to borrow another device on the spot and continued the interview although I had lost some data for the past twenty or so minutes of the interview with Miss Yang. However, she was kind enough to be interviewed again for ten more minutes in a coffee bar on a re-arranged time (see Table 3-1). Having learnt from this lesson, I started to use two different audio recording devices instead of one, and the rest of the interview data were secured without further problems.

3.6 Data analysis

In this section, I introduce how I analysed the data in terms of what tool I utilised and what framework I used to guide the analysis. Below I discuss the rationale for the use of CAQDAS: NVivo 10 (section 3.6.1), the rationale for Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis (section 3.6.2), how I carried out the thematic analysis (section 3.6.3) and translation-related issues in the data analysis process (section 3.6.4).

3.6.1 The use of CAQDAS: NVivo 10

After the pilot study (see section 3.8), I believed I was in need of a qualitative data analysis software to help organise large amounts of data. Using a CAQDAS (Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis), NVivo 10 in this case, would benefit this study due to the following reasons. First, it is more likely to "ensure the work is of high quality, reliable and exhaustive" (Gibbs, 2014, p. 281) and its implementation facilitates systematic organisation, flexibility and transparency. A CAQDAS keeps the data, codes and data extracts "neat and tidy" and "easy to find" (Gibbs, 2014, p. 281). With the "code-and-retrieve packages" (Ereaut, 2002, p. 137), I can fast revisit and retrieve any codes and texts, which can also be organised in a hierarchy. Secondly, NVivo supports the analytic approach of thematic analysis, given that its functions match approaches to analysis "that

are concerned with the development of themes and with analysing data across cases" (Gibbs, 2014, p. 289). Last, the latest version of the software, NVivo 10, provides language support for Mandarin Chinese. In short, I believed these advantages deriving from the use of NVivo 10 would help me in the data analysis process.

3.6.2 Rationale for thematic analysis

Increasingly, thematic analysis (TA) is being used as an important data analysis method, as separate from content analysis and grounded theory (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012; Matthews & Ross, 2010; Bryman, 2012), and I decided to make use of TA due to the ensuing factors.

First, considering the exploratory nature of the study, I aim to gain a fundamental understanding of the under-researched topic of national identities in the SA context. TA is a flexible method for me to actively search for and identify meaning as well as "summarize key features" by means of chunking them into meaningful patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 97). The constructed themes would offer an initial understanding of the issues under discussion and fulfil the exploratory purpose of the study as TA is a "particularly useful method when you are investigating an under-researched area" (p. 79). Secondly, as my method of analysis should be driven by my research questions and the theoretical assumptions, TA can work with "a wide range of research questions, from those about people's experiences or understandings to those about the representation and construction of particular phenomena in particular contexts" (Clarke & Braun, 2013, p. 120). Concerning theoretical framework, TA can also be flexibly used within "a constructionist or critical framework, where language is treated as constructing and creating the meanings and "reality" evident in the data" (Clarke & Braun, 2014, p. 6628). Last, TA also allows for both inductive and deductive analyses (see section 3.6.3 Phase 2). By scrutinising the data in both approaches, I would be engaged in "a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86). In fact, Braun and Clarke (2012) also note that coding and analysis often use a

combination of both approaches because it is "impossible to be purely inductive, as we always bring something to the data when we analyse it" (p. 58).

Overall, Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2012) guidelines of the scope of TA are in line with the constructionist underpinnings as well as the exploratory purpose of the study, and, at the same time, facilitate different approaches of analyses. Below I explain how I carried out the analysis following the steps they proposed.

3.6.3 Doing thematic analysis

I followed the 6 phases of doing TA outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012), bearing in mind that analysis is a more "recursive" process rather than simply moving from one stage to the next (2006, p. 86). The recursive 6 phases are shown below in Figure 3-2:

1) familiarizing with the data

2) generating initial codes

3) searching for themes

4) reviewing themes

5) defining and naming themes

6) producing the report

Figure 3-2. Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis

Phase 1 familiarising with the data. I began to familiarise myself with the data by transcribing them verbatim. As argued by Lopez, Figueroa, Connor & Maliski (2008), "verbatim transcription— capturing the richness of the participant's narrations as he or she gives them—is a cornerstone of

most qualitative methods" (p. 1737). They also point out that interpretation at the transcribing stage can lead to "potentially significant problems with the understanding of the participants' experiences" (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 1731). Thus, by transcribing verbatim in the source language, I believe I was able to procure the richness of the participants' depictions by means of retaining their own frames of reference. The interviews, which ranged from 1.5 to 2 hours in length generally, were transcribed verbatim in the original interview language, Mandarin Chinese. In terms of the length of time, my experience of transcribing verbatim is similar to Lopez et al.'s report (2008), being approximately 10 hours to transcribe a 2-hour interview on average. Although it was time-consuming, I found it to be useful to start gaining initial ideas (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and retain the thickness of the data for coding and reporting later.

In terms of languages involved in transcribing the interviews, the major language used was Mandarin Chinese, as mentioned before; English was used by all participants at times and a few of them talked in Tai-yu (the dialect spoken by Minnanese in Taiwan) in a few words and sentences during the interviews. The participants did not speak in Tai-yu with me naturally because, I believe, they were aware that not all SSFT can speak Tai-yu since there are other ethnic groups (e.g., waisheng and Hakka groups) who do not speak Tai-yu in Taiwan. I noticed that Tai-yu and English were more used when the participants were narrating a conversation that happened with the speakers of these languages. For example, when the participants described what their parents told them, they sometimes used their parents' words in Tai-yu; so was it with English and with English speakers in the UK. I transcribed the few Tai-yu sentences and words using Mandarin Chinese words which sound similar to them, which is a way commonly used in Taiwan, and I transcribed English words and sentences as they were. With regard to the use of English during the interviews, the word "Chinese" was most frequently uttered and its meanings became particularly contested, and this will be reported in chapters 4 and 5.

Phase 2 generating initial codes. Once the transcripts of the data items had been imported into NVivo10, I started to conduct line-by-line coding. I coded the data twice ― firstly based on the inductive approach and secondly through the deductive one. Carrying out an inductive (data-driven/bottom-up) approach of analysis enabled me to gain access to "a knowable world and 'giving voice' to experiences and meanings of that world, as reported in the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 59, authors' original emphasis). During the inductive analysis, I actively identified features of the data that showed "repeated patterns of meanings" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 86) or that appeared "interesting" (p. 88). Thus, it would not only provide me with the opportunity to learn the breadth of the entire data set, but also to identify the particularities and richness of the data. Additionally, in the phase of the deductive approach (theory-driven/top-town), I examined and coded the data with my research questions in mind. A code refers to "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63 as cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 88). In the case of this study, the identified codes through the inductive and deductive approaches, in most cases, are similar. I believe this is because I designed the interview questions corresponding to the order of the three key research questions. It is advantageous to carry out both approaches because the scope of the inductive (data-driven) approach is broader, compared to that of the deductive (theory-driven) approach which is more focused. Whereas the latter specifically addressed the research questions, the former enabled me to rethink about the data. Thus, despite similar findings emerged through the two different approaches, the dual-method benefits, I believe, the study in terms of the researcher's awareness of the diverse voices surrounding the research topic.

To take an example of my process of coding, many participants reported that "I'm Taiwanese because of culture". They were then asked: "what kind of culture?". Many talked of the Taiwanese ways of living and habit and the Chinese cultural influence while some spoke of the Japanese heritage and the Western influence. According to these answers, I categorised them into

different codes and dragged similar descriptions into the same pattern/code (e.g., data related to Chinese culture into the Chinese cultural influence code). An illustration of the coding produced from NVivo can be seen in Appendix J.

Phase 3 searching for themes. Clarke and Braun (2013) clarify that, compared to the codes, themes are broader and are "developed from codes, rather than directly from the data" (p. 122), encompassing a cluster of codes that shares and describes a coherent and meaningful pattern/similarity in the data. The first steps I took were "sorting the different codes into potential themes, and collating all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89). For example, I organised different ways of communicating with the Chinese (PRC) peers that showed an avoidance tendency into the theme of "conflict avoidance". However, at other times it was not as straightforward as the foregoing because one sub-theme could be related to another but could not be incorporated, or a code could fit in different sub-themes. Since this phase required thinking about the relationship between the codes, sub-themes and themes, I made used of the model function in NVivo 10 to draw diagrams to help organise the ideas. Although it was only a few clicks of the mouse to deliver the command, it took a long time for the program to finally produce the diagram and for me to adjust it later because there were simply too many codes/nodes, considering that the transcripts of the interviews amounted to approximately 250,000 words. Fundamentally, similar codes/nodes were merged into a theme while those not fitting in anywhere at that moment were placed into what Braun and Clarke (2006) call miscellaneous themes, for further consideration and re-thinking.

Phases 4, 5 and 6. These stages are more recursive and interwoven than linear, requiring me to go back and forth to examine issues such as: whether or not the coded extracts "appear to form a coherent pattern" under a theme; whether or not the thematic map "accurately reflects the meanings evident in the data set"; whether or not the names of the themes capture the "story" that they tell; whether or not the developed themes "make an argument in relation to your research question"

(Braun & Clarke, 2006, pp. 91-93). I found phase 6 to be more difficult and complicated. When a candidate thematic map was actually being laid down and organised into a findings' chapter, it demanded a large extent of reshaping and fine-tuning in relation to the discussion, argument, existing literature, the scope of the thesis and the data extracts. In most cases, either certain themes and codes were merged with others or I had to eliminate them to make the argument more focused in order to address the research questions. Clarke and Braun (2014) indeed discuss this process where "[s]ome codes (and themes) will inevitably be discarded, because they do not fit the developing analytic narrative" (p. 6627). Moreover, at one point I re-analysed the entire data set to address the last research question (chapter 6), repeating the 6 phases. This is because the writing of the chapter did not happen until 6 months after the analysis. Eventually, I arrived at the similar findings to those identified half a year ago.

3.6.4 Translation

Referring to Holmes et al.'s (2013) three-step process (realisation, multilingual nature involved in the study and informed decisions on the research design and report), I grew increasingly aware that translation could profoundly threaten the credibility of the data representation. I therefore tease it out here and discuss the informed decisions I have made about translation-related issues (Holmes et al., 2013; Temple, 1997). This is also because "no such standards exist for translation of translinguistic qualitative research" (Lopez et al., 2008, p. 1729) while different approaches to the standards of rigor for other procedures, such as the data collection and analyses, can be found in numerous textbooks introducing qualitative studies. Temple and Young (2004) raise the questions as of "who does the translation", "when the language changes from that of the participants to written English" and "whether and how translation within the research process potentially introduces bias" (p. 163). These questions should be addressed in order to keep bias in check and to increase the degree of transparency and credibility of the study.

After transcribing, I analysed the data in the source language (Mandarin Chinese) and translation did not happen until the writing-up process. As the first step of the writing-up process, I had re-read what was coded under a particular sub-theme before I selected approximately 4 data extracts as the potential quotations to be inserted in support of them in the discussion. I then translated all these potential quotations. Translating the selected quotations from the source language to the target language after the data analysis was an intentional decision made for preventing the loss of the meaning of the data. First, Lopez et al. (2008) contend that translating interviews directly into the target language before analyses introduces "an element of bias" on the grounds that "how a word or phrase is translated can significantly alter the study's findings" (p. 1736). More precisely, in terms of Chinese-English translation, by demonstrating examples of untranslatability in phonology, character structure and figures of speech, Cui (2012) argues that "English belongs to the Indo-European language [family], while Mandarin Chinese belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language [family], so there exists the linguistic untranslatability" (p. 826). As much as the linguistic factor, cultural difference also plays an equally important role in affecting the Chinese-English translatability (Cui, 2012). An example of such emerged in the pilot study where the interview questions, translating from English to Mandarin Chinese, transpired to be problematic in the first pilot interview. The words in English "challenged" and "confronted" in Mandarin may have the indication of conflict on a larger scale (which situation many SSFT are likely to avoid). How individuals define what "challenge" and "confrontation" mean according to their cultural background would determine how they would answer the questions (see more details in section 3.8). Translation, by and large, represents a challenge in this study and should be addressed meticulously.

Overall, considering that meanings may be either slightly or considerably modified in the course of Chinese-English translation, I did not carry out the findings translation until the data reporting and writing-up process (e.g., in the findings chapters). Additionally, pondering on the

importance of representing the meanings the participants conveyed, I employed member checks to ensure trustworthiness of the translation (see section 3.7.1.1).

3.6.4.1 Translation style

When thinking of translation of the data extracts, the researcher can choose to adopt either "literal" or "free" translation. Birbili (2000, Different dimensions of potential translation-related problems section, para. 6-7) explains:

> A literal translation (i.e. translating word-by-word) could perhaps be seen as doing more justice to what participants have said and 'make one's readers understand the foreign mentality better' (Honig, 1997:17).…Researchers who decide to go for the more 'elegant' free translation, on the other hand, need to think of the implications of creating quotations that 'read well'. Even in one's own language, editing quotations always involves the risk of misrepresenting the meaning of the conversational partner (Rubin and Rubin, 1995:273).

I prefer the style of "literal translation". As mentioned before, I strive to adhere to what has been reported by the participants in its original flavor as much as possible (and my Taiwanese background as that of the participants also helps in this). Although the free translation style may be more "elegant" to read, the natural spoken discourses involving speech indicators, such as conversational fillers ("er", "eh" or "um"), incomplete sentences or repetition, are not necessarily less reader-friendly. Rather, I believe that they reflect a more genuine, natural impression of the interviews. Moreover, by translating from Mandarin Chinese to English, meanings may have been inevitably lost to some degree, due to Chinese-English untranslatability (Cui, 2012). More damage to the credibility of the data may be incurred by further editing. Thus, the data presented follow the literal translation style without further editing, but words and sentences are sometimes omitted when certain narrations were too long[6].

---

[6] I follow professor Jørgen Carling's instruction in showing this: "Ellipses *in square brackets* […] indicate omissions; ellipses *without brackets* indicate hesitation or unfinished sentences (2012, Section 7).

Further, in keeping with researching multilingually practices (Holmes et al., 2013), I present the data in their English translation, followed by the source language (Mandarin Chinese). By reporting the findings in this way, I acknowledge the words reported by the participants as well as ensuring a degree of transparency and authenticity in the data analysis and interpretation processes. Moreover, this enables the readers who have access to Mandarin Chinese to read the original version, thus facilitating the bilingual readability of the study.

3.7 Trustworthiness

Many scholars have raised the doubt about the appropriateness of the concepts of reliability and validity, developed in the natural sciences, in determining the quality of qualitative studies (e.g. Altheide & Johnson, 2011; Denzin, 2011; Kvale, 1996; Lewis & Ritchie, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Scott & Usher, 2011). Fundamentally, on the basis of the different ontological and epistemological stances of qualitative research, it "produces different types of truths, which means that social actors understand the world in different ways" (Scott & Usher, 2011, p. 151). Lincoln and Guba (1985) thus developed different criteria, namely credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability, corresponding respectively to the quantitative concepts of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity. Additionally, the trustworthiness of a research report "lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability" (Seale, 2003, p. 172). Although the four notions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) have been criticised because of their implicit, underlying assumption of the nature of research that is "objective, capable of replication and directly represents reality" (Scott & Usher, 2011, p. 154), many refer to these standards when discussing the rigor of qualitative research (e.g. Bryman, 2012; Cohen et al., 2007; Dray, 2005; Lee, 2014; Lewis & Ritchie, 2003; Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006; Tsai, 2008). I thus discuss the relevance of these concepts as I see fit but do not subscribe to all of them because "there is no

longer a single gold standard for qualitative work", argued by Denzin in his paper on the politics of evidence (2011, p. 654).

3.7.1 Credibility

Credibility can be referred to as whether or not the researcher accurately represents what the participants think and feel, and whether or not the method adopted yields what the researcher intends to find out (Cohen et al., 2007). Yet, Alfred Schutz cautions us that we can never feel exactly what others feel, but only understand others "on the basis of our own subjective experiences, of our own feelings of our own reasoning" (Eberle, 2014, p. 187). Besides, there is no independent and completely reliable access to everyone's reality (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003), so we can "never know the true nature of things" (Denzin, 2011, p. 654). Bearing these points in mind and that an interpretative practice can always be questioned, reviewed and revisited, I therefore explain, as much as I can, how I protect the sustainability of the evidence by different means in support of the claims in the findings. These include the ensuing: member checks, transparency and thick description, and reflexivity. In addition to these, I also include three interview transcripts in Appendices G, H and I for readers' review.

3.7.1.1 Member checks

First, I employed "member checks" in which the transcribed interviews and extracts I had translated were sent to the participants for review (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006, p. 274). Considering that the translation process can partially or entirely twist the meaning of the data extracts for presentation, I harnessed the participants' English language competence (since they were or had been international students). I sent the transcribed interviews and the translated data extracts to them electronically to seek their consent. More than half of them kindly replied and agreed to my translation while others either could not be reached or did not reply. One of the participants replied that my translation echoes how he usually talks in English, sounding like his own words. However,

another participant did not show a liking for my translation style, requiring me to quote his report in a more grammatically correct English style (I thus did so with his data extracts).

3.7.1.2 Transparency and thick description

Secondly, advocated by Lincoln and Guba (1985), transparency and thick description "allow the reader/enquirer to verify for themselves that conclusions reached by the researcher hold 'validity'" (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003, p. 276). I strive to provide descriptions of the data collection, analysis, transcribing and translating in detail and with examples in order to show the steps that I undertook and the rationale. Concerning the findings, I have inserted *rich* data extracts into the discussion in support of my analysis. This also corresponds to Holstein and Gubrium's (1995, 2003, 2011) practice of establishing credibility, in that it is established not only by showing "what" has been genuinely found, but also the "how" process (e.g. how social experience is created and given meaning). I thus related the discursive contexts of the interviews when possible, and reported what was said "in relation to the experiences and lives being represented in the circumstances at hand" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011, p. 162). By providing rich data extracts, I was able to demonstrate how the participants felt, how they constructed their reality and why, as well as to show the degree to which the interviewer and the interviewees understood each other. Additionally, presenting a thick description of the findings and contexts also permits readers to make judgments about the degree of transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

3.7.1.3 Reflexivity

I discuss reflexivity in the section of credibility because reflexivity in qualitative research enhances "the credibility of the findings by accounting for researcher values, beliefs, [and] knowledge" (Cutcliffe, 2003, p. 137, as cited in Berger, 2013, p. 3). Altheide and Johnson (2011) cast a symbolic interactionist perspective where "evidence is seen as part of a communication process that symbolically joins an actor, an audience, a point of view, assumptions and claims about the

relations between two or more phenomena" (p. 582). This is termed "evidentiary narrative" which interactivity is attained through the researcher's reflexive account. They thus propose "validity-as-reflexive-accounting (VARA)" which places an emphasis on "awareness of the process" of the qualitative work (Altheide & Johnson, 2011, p. 585). In addition to awareness, Byrd Clark and Dervin (2014) discuss how the notion of reflexivity can come to mean different things to different people, such as being critical and hyper-self-reflexive. Below I focus on recounting first the process of my becoming more aware and, secondly, hyper-self-reflexive with respect to my reflexive positionings (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014). First, I discuss my awareness of how a researcher's positionings may impact the research in three major ways: 1) the access to the research field, 2) the nature of researcher–researched relationship and 3) the lens for data analysis which are affected by the worldview and background of the researcher (Berger, 2013).

Berger (2013) recounted how her immigrant identity "greatly facilitated recruiting participants" (p. 5). However, being an in-group member of the SSFT in the UK at the time of recruitment, my experience of recruiting the SSFT at the time period was not as "greatly facilitated" as that of Berger (2013). Probably due to my being Taiwanese advertising the research of exploring national identity, most SSFT to whom I reached out were friendly. Yet, some did not have time at the busy summer period while a few of them, reluctant to participate, implied that I took advantage of this rather easier access and suggested me to interview non-Taiwanese. Nevertheless, once gaining the access (they agreed to participate), my experience reflected that of Berger (2013) where the in-group identity of belonging to the group of the SSFT helped me gain trust and achieve rapport (see section 3.5.3). Furthermore, concerning the researcher–researched relationship, my insider's position of being a student from Taiwan would, consistent with social constructionism (Gergen, 2009), affect *what* and *how* the participants want to share. This echoes Altheide and Johnson's (2011) idea: "[u]ltimately, evidence is bound up with our identity in a situation" (p. 586). Furthermore, by *having been there* as a student moving away from Taiwan and studying as well as

living in the UK, I believe I would be able to understand the participants' experiences and struggles better than a researcher belonging to other groups and without any SA experience. Nonetheless, this identity might also have carried the dangers of the participants withholding information they assume to be obvious to me as a blind spot that I and the participants shared (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014). Last, the data gathered was first influenced by the researcher–researched relationship and later filtered through my worldview as a female Taiwanese international student at age 35, sojourning in the UK for the past 5 years (also see hyper-self-reflexivity below). Although from the stance of natural sciences, this can be regarded as a bias or criticised as being "too subjective" (Bryman, 2008, p. 391), in my defence, "the research act is a social act" to unveil one facet of the social realities (Altheide & Johnson, 2011, p. 592). It reflects Denzin's (2011) metaphor of "trouble with the elephant" of Lillian Quigley's book where each blind man gains different versions of the elephant as "[t]ruth is always partial" (p. 654). Owing to this, should the study be conducted by another researcher from a different background or at a different time period, the findings may be different but they would provide readers with different perspectives.

Furthermore, Byrd Clark and Dervin (2014) highlight that hyper-reflexivity requires researchers "to be able to have the insight of your own positionings as well as how you are positioned and conceived by others" (p. 26). In recent reviews of an article extracted from this study that I submitted to a journal, one of the anonymous reviewers regarded the author as propagandising Taiwanese identity and recruiting pre-dominantly the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) supporters (as I did not include detailed accounts of the participants as seen in Table 3-1). Thanks to the review, I started to realise how my study can be possibly conceived by others and how it is important to provide my positionings and the details of the participants. As a student sojourner from Taiwan at the age of 35, I grew up in the background of China-centred educational paradigm (discussed in chapter 2) and my family members tend to be supportive of the KMT. At the time of writing this thesis, never once in my life did I vote for the DPP, but the KMT. I share the similar

experience with the participants in that many of them do not have a particular preference for any political parties (see Table 3-1), but we (I and the participants) identify ourselves as Taiwanese. This contradicts the orthodox thinking, as shown by the anonymous reviewer, whereby Taiwanese national identity is restricted to the political affiliation with the DPP in Taiwan. Moreover, I came into the research site, studying issues pertinent to the national identities of the SSFT because, based on my own experience of the identity challenge mentioned in chapter 1, I was interested in the experience of other SSFT, such as how they negotiate their identity and handle the potential conflict episodes during their sojourn. From this standpoint, I position myself as similar to many other academic researchers who are curious about the phenomena they are investigating (e.g., Dray, 2005). Yet, I became aware that "one could argue that research cannot be anything but political" (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014, p. 20). Thus, inevitably, my subjective positioning as Taiwanese and my actions of discussing Taiwanese identity can be seen by some people as promoting and representing it.

3.7.2 Transferability

Transferability indicates the extent to which the findings generated by one study can be generalised to another situation. However, I do not recommend over-generalisation for two reasons. First, as indicated above, my identity along with my active involvement in the study may have shaped it in presenting the Taiwanese perspective. In addition, an interview is a joint venture of rethinking of and reconstructing one's experience, and everyone's particular stories are different. Hence, owing to the small scale and the exploratory nature of this study, the responses gathered from twenty SSFT in the UK cannot represent the experience of all others as a whole. Yet, the findings provide invaluable insights into *what was* in one particular study of the SSFT in the SA context in the UK at one particular time in history, and the readers would be able to determine the degree to which they find parallels to their own experiences.

3.8 Pilot study

Conducting a pilot study was a decision made based on the following reasons. First, although interviews are considered as "conversations with a purpose" (Burgess, 1984, p. 102), which experience everyone has had, it was my first time to carry out interviews for research. I believe I was in need of practicing my interviewing skills. Secondly, based on the research questions, I devised a set of semi-structured interview questions which was modified several times; yet, these questions needed to be put into practice to see whether their answers could address the research questions. Haralambos, Holborn and Heald (2000) suggest that if interviews are to be used, "the questions may be tested to make sure that they make sense" (p. 998), especially to the interviewees. Last, I believe that carrying out a pilot study would help me notice what I had not previously expected and paid attention to.

I managed to recruit two students from the target group, Miss Tao and Miss Ma, whom I did not know before. Miss Tao was a second year Ph.D student while Miss Ma was undertaking a master's degree. I avoided interviewing any Taiwanese friends whom I already knew in the UK because this would probably not help me polish my interview skills should they try not to hurt my feelings in any way. After the pilot interviews, I immediately analysed the data following the same procedures mapped out for the main study so as to familiarise myself with the entire process of data collection, analysis and writing up. I wrote a report of approximately eight thousand words to discuss with my supervisor. The summary of the issues arising in the pilot study and their corresponding measures are described in detail below.

First of all, at the outset of the research, I decided to adopt critical incident technique (CIT, Flanagan, 1954) to understand if any particular critical incidents (i.e., identity conflicts) during the course of studying in the UK have led to a (re)construction of national identity. Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson and Maglio (2005) observe that the CIT has in the past 50 years evolved from being

tapped to observe human behaviour to study psychological states via retrospective self-report interviews. In particular, the technique focuses on "what happened, why it happened, how it was handled and what the consequences were" (Chell, 1998, p. 68). Thus, it not only allowed the incidents/conflicts to be viewed in context but also allowed me to better understand their dynamics. Nonetheless, both participants have never had any critical incident which "consequences are sufficiently definite to leave little doubt concerning its effects" (Flanagan, 1954, p. 327) or which makes a "significant contribution" to a positive or negative "change" (p. 338). Instead, they believed that the SA experience as a whole profusely influenced their national identity. For this, I eventually decided to take off the design of CIT in the sense that, though I still inquired about conflict episodes, should there be any, I did not see the incident as the only crucial factor influencing the participants' national identity and its (re)construction. Additionally, I added one question — overall, to what extent does the sojourn experience in the UK (and the experience of the incidents we have discussed above) influence your national identity — to the end of the interview for the purpose of within-method triangulation (e.g., see Appendix A question 15).

Secondly, the awareness of translation issues has been raised during the pilot study. The interview questions were originally designed and revised along with my supervisor in English, but they were later translated from English to Mandarin Chinese, as the participants might prefer to use their mother tongue. However, after the first interview, I realised the problem was not the word-by-word/sentence-by-sentence translation but the meaning and culture embedded in the words. For example, the words in English "challenged" and "conflict" can be translated into Mandarin Chinese as 被挑戰 and 衝突. Nevertheless, these terms in Mandarin may have the indication of conflict in a serious way (which situation the SSFT may be likely to avoid). In other words, this question involves how individuals define what "challenge" and "conflict" are according to their cultural background. Thus, it is possible that Miss Tao could not recall any such occasions because nothing had happened to her so far that could be defined as a conflict and/or being challenged. I therefore

decided that it is more useful to ask if one has experienced anything unpleasant or any occasions that have made him/her feel uncomfortable, rather than using "challenged" or "confronted" (see Appendix A: question 12 and Appendix B: question 8). This way was then tested out in the second interview and it elicited Miss Ma's response in reporting an incident that made her uncomfortable. Due to this, I was also made more aware of the aspect of researching multilingually when discussing it with my supervisor. I then applied Holmes et al.'s (2013) theoretical framework for researching multilingally, as covered in sections 3.4, 3.5.2 and 3.6.4. Additionally, some questions were also made more accessible and spoken, for they would be easier for the participants to understand. I include the revised questions and initial questions in both Mandarin Chinese and English in Appendices A and B.

Regarding the interviewing skills, I reflected on my own eagerness to intervene in the conversation when the first participant paused during the interview. However, I realised that my interruption might have prevented her from reflecting and talking more because "[b]y allowing pauses in the conversation the subjects have ample time to associate and reflect" (Kvale, 1996, pp. 134-135). In the second pilot interview, I intentionally left more space for Miss Ma to think. It transpired that our interview lasted more than two hours. With the improved questions and questioning, the second interview also generated more fruitful responses than the first.

Last, when I was analysing the data, I learnt how disorganised and complicated only two interview data could be. Owing to this, I decided to make use of the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo 10 (see section 3.6.1).

An overview of the pilot study can be seen in Table 3-2 below. Although the pilot study had some weaknesses, as discussed above, it was a very valuable exercise to go through nearly all the qualitative research steps and it raised my awareness in many ways. In addition to those mentioned above, it showed that interviewing was an effective way to investigate both participants' beliefs

system about their national identities and the influence of the SA experience in terms of national identity negotiation and (re)construction in the UK. They could verbalise how and why they were thinking and communicating in a certain way and meanings could be clarified promptly. Additionally, the interview questions generated rich data which enabled me to address the research questions.

Pilot Study	
Original ways & issues discovered:	**Corresponding measures:**
The use of CIT	Take off the design of CIT
Mandarin-English Translation	Apply Holmes et al.'s (2013) theoretical framework for researching multilingally (See sections 3.4, 3.5.2 and 3.6.4.)
Interviewing skill: eagerness to throw in the conversation	Allow pauses: Give ample time to associate and reflect
Massive data	Qualitative data analysis software (see section 3.6.1)

Table 3-2: The overview of the insights generated by the pilot study

3.9 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the grand theory of social constructionism underpinning the entire study, and the research method of semi-structured qualitative interviewing as well as the active, constructionist approach. On this research journey, I learnt insightful lessons by conducting a pilot study, and I re-conceptualised and re-organised the study accordingly. The data collection procedure has been illustrated in detail, including issues concerning researching multilingually, sampling, developing the interview protocol, ethical considerations and rapport. I also reported why I had employed thematic analysis, NVivo 10 and the literal translation style. Having discussed this methodological scaffolding, I moved onto presenting the steps I took to protect the trustworthiness of the study's findings. These include member checks and reflecting on my influence on the data collection and analysis. These steps all contributed to a thick description of the phenomena under

investigation and to the trustworthiness of the findings. These are presented in the ensuing three chapters – Chapters 4, 5 and 6. They are ordered according to the three research questions. Chapter 4 identifies factors contributing to the national identity (re)construction. Chapter 5 presents how Taiwanese identity is communicated and negotiated in the SA context in the UK. Chapter 6 discusses national identity and its possible juxtaposition with a supranational-identity, cosmopolitan identity in particular, fostered in the intercultural and international SA environment.

Chapter 4

National Identity (Re)construction

The three findings chapters (Chapters 4, 5 and 6) aim to answer the three research questions emerged in chapter 2 respectively. This chapter focuses on the first research question:

> *For student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) who are studying in the UK, what is integral to their (re)construction of national identity?*

To explore the (re)construction of the national identity of the SSFT, first I shall enquire who these sojourners think they are. As discussed in chapter 2, Taiwan has undergone the different nationalist regimes, namely the Chinese (the Republic of China, ROC) and Taiwanese nationalisms. Based on this consideration, in the interview questions, national identity was marked as the unknown, *X* and was first addressed. Then I proceeded to explore the underlying reasons and factors linked to their national identity (re)construction.

Addressing these issues, I discuss the findings below which unveiled both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese national identities (section 4.1). The (re)construction is found to connect to a number of key factors: education (section 4.2), homeland (section 4.3), culture (section 4.4) and the experience of study abroad (section 4.5). In section 4.6, I briefly discuss these findings as a whole and the important conclusions to this chapter.

4.1 Taiwanese and Chinese (ROC) identities

As the discussion unfolds in this theme, the participants revealed who they think they are in terms of their national self, and I uncover findings that showed meanings were mixed and varied across a spectrum including four dimensions. Whereas one dimension of the participants (two people) identify themselves as both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese (Dimension 1), 18 participants regard themselves as Taiwanese with different interpretations of the ROC (Dimensions 2, 3 and 4). To respect the two students' Chinese (ROC) selves in Dimension 1, I will refer to all of the participants as the SSFT, instead of Taiwanese. Below, I will first clarify different terms in Mandarin Chinese and their English translation, as used in the interviews, because their interpretations became immensely important in the participants' sense-making in the findings. These terms will be employed and discussed in the four dimensions which then ensue.

4.1.1 Clarification of the terms

The findings raised the issue of the translation, namely the Republic of China (ROC), which does not correspond to some participants' understanding of the reality and their sense of national state. Thus, for the purpose of clarification for the ensuing discussion, I will use the terms China, the Republic of China (ROC) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) in their pinyin of the Mandarin Chinese form as the way the participants uttered them in the interviews. Zhong guo (中國, China) in Mandarin Chinese literally mean "middle country" or "middle kingdom". It is considered as the abbreviation of both *Zhong* hua min *guo* (中華民國, ROC) and *Zhong* hua ren min gong he *guo* (中華人民共和國, PRC). Zhong hua min guo (中華民國, ROC) literally means "middle Chinese-ethnic people country". During data analyses, I realised that these taken-for-granted terms became important and problematic in that they and their translation were subject to different interpretations which, in turn, affected how the participants made sense of their national identities abroad, as discussed below.

4.1.2 Dimension 1: Being Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese

Participants in Dimension 1 identify with Zhong hua min guo and its translation, the ROC, which were defined by them as "the democratic China", as opposed to the PRC. They see the ROC as the legal sovereignty and the roots underlying their national identities, with Taiwan simply serving as the name of the island. They thus consider themselves Chinese (ROC), but would also identify themselves as Taiwanese, as a "nickname" and/or the "conventional name". Miss Su, teaching in a public school in Taiwan before her one-year sojourn in the UK, indicated how Zhong hua min guo (ROC) is "the correct name of the country. It's the title of the country on the official papers when we communicate with others (就是正確的國號阿，就是我們在做官方文件正式的溝通的時候最基本的一個國號名稱[7]。)" (Miss Su). When asked about the national state she feels she belongs to, she replied:

> [4-1] Miss Su: Eh[8]…should be Zhong hua min guo [ROC]. Actually we are public officers, public educators and we are paid by Zhong hua min guo [ROC]. And Taiwan is a convention and em…more like a folk custom which became a consensus internationally.

> 恩…應該是中華民國。其實我們是公務人員，教職人員，我們領的昰中華民國的薪水，然後台灣是一種約定成俗，而且，恩…比較民間的說法，然後也變成一種國際的共識。

Mr. Yeh, currently studying BA in the UK, responded in line with Miss Su:

> [4-2] Mr. Yeh: To me, Taiwan is just a title/name for everyone to get to know the place because the island is called Taiwan. You can't say we're the country of Taiwan sort of things because actually what you have entitled and enjoyed all comes from the government of Zhong hua min guo [ROC] […] I feel Taiwan is more like a nickname.

---

[7] In keeping with researching multilingually practices (Holmes et al., 2013), I present the data in their English translation, followed by the source language (Mandarin Chinese), to facilitate the bilingual readability of the study. However, the Chinese characters are not included in the total number of words in the thesis which I submit as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate in Education, considering that they are not part of the assessment scheme.

[8] I follow professor Jørgen Carling's instruction in my data report: "Ellipses *in square brackets* […] indicate omissions; ellipses *without brackets* indicate hesitation or unfinished sentences" (2012, Section 7).

> 台灣對我來講只是一個稱呼，讓大家更容易認識這個地方。因為這個島就叫台灣嘛，你不能說我們是台灣國什麼的，因為實際上你所擁有的享受的一切都是來自於中華民國政府 […] 我覺得台灣是 nickname 多一點。

Both Miss Su and Mr. Yeh regard Zhong hua min guo (ROC), compared to Taiwan, as more important and official. Yet, their Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese identities were context-related, especially on the occasions where they wanted to be distinguished from Chinese (PRC). In the UK, they tended to identify themselves as Taiwanese. When asked about how they normally introduced themselves in the sojourn period, they replied:

[4-3] Mr. Yeh: I'm from Taiwan. I'm Taiwanese. […] This would allow others to distinguish.

> I'm from Taiwan. I'm Taiwanese […] 降會讓人家比較好分辨。

[4-4] Miss Su: I would say Taiwanese, but it's just the conventional way. However, on certain occasions where I have to express my country and identity I will say Chinese. For example, when I go to some place, I want to take a tour guide. They may ask where you are from. I would say Chinese because the language helps.

> 我會講 Taiwanese，可是就是一種約定成俗的說法。可是在某些狀況下，我有必要表明我的國家和身分的時候，我會講 Chinese。例如我需要拿導覽，有時候去某些地方我要拿導覽，她會問你說是什麼國家的人嘛，我還是講 Chinese，因為那個語言還是幫助。

Miss Su saw the English term, "Chinese", as more inclusive, involving the language, ethnicity and nation. Owing to this, she does not mind being recognised as Chinese, as she reported: "I never think there's anything wrong with the fact that I'm Chinese (我從來都不會覺得我是 Chinese 有時麼不好)" (Miss Su). Interestingly, this is not the case for her when the English term "Chinese" is spoken in Mandarin Chinese: "Zhong guo ren (中國人)".

[4-5] *Interviewer*: How would you introduce yourself when speaking Mandarin Chinese here with Chinese ethnic friends?

Miss Su: I would say I'm from Taiwan.

Interviewer: Would you also say you are Zhong guo ren [people of China/Chinese]?

Miss Su: Em… no. Em, because it's the convention that upon hearing Zhong guo [China], most people would think it's Zhong hua ren min gong he guo [PRC]. Em, put it this way: the abbreviation of the two countries are the same, that is, Zhong guo [China]. So this has led to our problem today.

Interviewer: 那如果在這邊都是華人朋友的時候，說中文的時候你會怎麼介紹你自己?

Miss Su: 我會說我是台灣來的。

Interviewer: 那你也會說你是中國人嗎?

Miss Su: 恩…不會，恩，因為就是一種約定成俗耶，因為大部分人聽到中國，會把她想成中華人民共和國。 恩，這麼說好了，應該說這兩個國家的簡稱是一樣的，就是中國，所以造成我們今天的問題。

Like Miss Su, Mr. Yeh was also aware that the English term, China, can refer to both the ROC and PRC. According to the data, being Chinese involves the broader senses—the language, ethnicity, culture and nation— than its equivalent in Mandarin Chinese, Zhong guo ren (中國人).

Overall, although Mr. Yeh and Miss Su's reports showed that Zhong hua min guo (中華民國, ROC) as the official national state is considered more important than Taiwan, its abbreviation, Zhong guo, and translation, China, became contested for them. It is because they are aware that most people tend to refer to these terms as the PRC. This underlies the enactment of their Taiwanese identity which, for them, is taken as the conventional way or the nickname used abroad for distinction. But for them, Taiwan is primarily the name of the island, not their national state.

The rest of the participants all overtly reported that they are Taiwanese, though in their own terms. Unlike those in Dimension 1, they do not agree that they are both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese. According to the different interpretations and understandings of Zhong hua min guo (ROC) and Taiwan, three more dimensions have been observed and distinguished.

4.1.3 Dimension 2: Being Taiwanese and embracing its past (ROC)

Participants in Dimension 2 recognise the meaning and historical importance of Zhong hua min guo (ROC), registering that Zhong hua min guo (ROC) refers to Zhong guo (China). They acknowledge it as part of the history of Taiwan but it is in the past and no longer valid for them. It can be seen in the following reports from Mr. Chiang and Miss Wei, both of whom, in their late thirties, had been working in Taiwan before they decided to further their studies in the UK.

> [4-6] Mr. Chiang: Yes, so basically I feel the font of Taiwan [on the passport] can be enlarged and the Republic of China can be minimised because it's a piece of history. For our identity, we can explain to others that it's part of our history but it doesn't present who are we now.

> 對，所以基本上我昰覺得台灣的字體可以放大，Republic of China 可以縮小， 因為那是 piece of history，可是對我們的 identity 我覺得可以解釋給人家聽: it's part of our history but it doesn't present who are we now.

> [4-7] Miss Wei: Zhong hua min guo [ROC] is too, but it's long time ago. Because it's altering in every generation and every era. It's like when you were little, you might be called YaiYai; but when you have a baby, you may be called papa. And you can't say that YaiYai isn't papa. He was in the past, but he's now papa. So, now it is Taiwan.

> 中華民國也是，但是他是在比較久之前的。因為每一個年代，每一個時期都是會一直替換的，就像我們是小朋友的時候，你可能叫芽芽，但是你生小孩之後，你可能叫爸爸，那你不能說牙牙不是爸爸，他過去也是。但是現在他就是爸爸，那現在這個就是台灣。

The participants relegated the Zhong hua min guo (ROC) label to the past, but saw it as an important phase which witnessed as well as represented the history of Taiwan. For them, this phase has evolved and moved forward, along with their identity. They showed the awareness of the dynamic nature of identities which is defined and redefined across time and space, as in the socially constructed nature (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Hall, 1996a). Thus, Zhong hua min guo (ROC) has now lost its validity for them and failed to represent their national identity. The idea of enlarging the font of Taiwan on the passport (i.e., extract [4-6]) manifests itself as a way to express the importance of Taiwanese identity abroad.

4.1.4: Dimension 3: Being Taiwanese, severing ties with the ROC

Participants in Dimension 3 are also aware of what the ROC implies (i.e., China), and identifying with the ROC would be detrimental to the integrity of their Taiwanese identity, so they voiced their disregard for it. As I (the interviewer and researcher) showed my passport during the interview and asked about the meaning of Taiwan and the ROC written on the passport, Miss Chen, who has no particular preference for any political party, expressed her negative feelings towards the word China:

[4-8] *Interviewer*: What does the Republic of China mean to you?

Miss Chen: It doesn't mean anything. But I just feel unhappy when I see the word, China.

Interviewer: Why unhappy?

Miss Chen: When it's about this topic, I actually wouldn't prefer blue [KMT] or green [DPP], but I just loathe this word, China. […] I don't know. I only identify with Taiwan these two words.

> *Interviewer*: 那 ROC 對你來說有什麼意義?
>
> Miss Chen: 沒時麼意義，但是我就是看到 China 這兩個字我不開心。・
>
> *Interviewer*: 為什麼不開心?
>
> Miss Chen: 我對這個話題，其實我也不會說實麼我偏藍或是偏綠，就對 China 這個字很討厭 […] 我不知道，我只認定台灣兩個字。

Unlike the participants in Dimension 1, Miss Chen showed a strong identification of Taiwan, which is the only national state she recognises, rather than a nickname. So, identifying with the ROC would render Taiwan as merely a place, as of "a province of China". This was also pointed out by Miss Wu who is a DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) supporter, as indicated in chapter 3 (see Table 3-1). During the interview with her, not only was her Taiwanese identity well-articulated, but she was also very confident and firm about her ideas:

[4-9] *Interviewer*: What does Taiwan mean to you?

Miss Wu: Taiwan for me is my country.

Interviewer: How about the ROC?

Miss Wu: It's how other countries address us. When they don't acknowledge we are a country, they'd use the ROC. It's like when sometimes we have to choose our nationality; we can only find the option of 'province of China' that kind of feeling. If possible, it's better not to show the word, China.

> *Interviewer*: Taiwan 對你來說有什麼意義?
>
> Miss Wu: 台灣對我來說是我的國家。
>
> *Interviewer*: 那 ROC 對你來說有什麼意義?
>
> Miss Wu: 是別的國家對我們的稱呼,他們不承認我們是一個國家,他們就會叫 ROC。就跟我們現在有時候在選國籍的時候,就會看到 province of China 那種感覺。如果可以的話,就不要 show China 這兩個字會比較好。

In Miss Wu's reality, using the ROC denies Taiwan as a national state, and the ROC is merely a term to force Taiwan to be China or part of China. For the integrity of their Taiwanese identity, the ROC is rejected, as also indicated by Miss Wang (who has no particular preference for any political party): "after all I feel they [being Taiwanese and the people of Zhong hua min guo, ROC] are different (因為我覺得畢竟還是不一樣)" (Miss Wang). The difference lies exactly in the meanings they imply, as being Taiwanese as opposed to Chinese (ROC). So, in this dimension, being Taiwanese is to sever ties with China, be it the ROC or PRC.

4.1.5 Dimension 4: Being Taiwanese – Zhong hua min guo (ROC) is Taiwan

As a result of the participants' different interpretations, Zhong hua min guo (ROC) is recognised as their country but as indicating exclusively Taiwan, with no ties to Zhong guo (China, PRC). Among the three dimensions mentioned above, it can be observed how the participants―be they Taiwanese and/or Chinese (ROC)―showed the awareness that Zhong hua min guo (ROC) is linked to Zhong guo (China). Yet, this is not the case for the participants in this group. Rather, they see Zhong hua

min guo (ROC) as referring to Taiwan exclusively, oblivious of any references to Zhong guo or China. By the same token, Zhong guo or China, for them, refers to the PRC exclusively.

Miss Lin, for example, notwithstanding the words Zhong hua min guo (ROC) on her passport, talked of Taiwan as being the abbreviation of Zhong hua min guo. When asked if she was aware that Zhong hua min guo refers to Zhong guo (China), she replied that she only associated the latter with the PRC.

[4-10] Miss Lin: No! Zhong guo [China] is Zhong hua ren min gong he guo (PRC), so it's completely different.

Interviewer: Have you ever wondered why there's the word China in the translation of Zhong hua min guo [ROC]?

Miss Lin: I thought it's because of Zhong hua.

Interviewer: Oh…so you feel it's due to Zhong hua.

Miss Lin: Because it shouldn't be China! I always thought that our abbreviation is Taiwan because isn't Taiwan what is normally used?

> Miss Lin: 不是阿! 中國是中華人民共和國阿，所以完全不一樣。
>
> *Interviewer*: 你有沒有 wonder 過為什麼我們的 translation 裡有 China?
>
> Miss Lin: 我以為是中華。
>
> *Interviewer*: 喔…所以你會覺得是因為有中華的關係?
>
> Miss Lin: 因為中國應該不是呀! 我一直以為我們的簡稱是台灣，因為一般在用的時候，不是就說台灣嗎?

Also, Miss Pan revealed herself as sharing the same notion by pointing out the problematic English translation:

[4-11] Miss Pan: I personally think the translation isn't good! Zhong hua min guo [ROC] sounds nothing to do with Zhong guo [China], but there's a China in the translation so it may cause some confusion.

> 我個人喔，我覺得他翻譯得不太好吧! 像中華民國跟中國聽起來好像沒有什麼關係，但是翻譯上還是有個 China，所以可能就會混淆一點。

The words "Zhong hua (中華)", Miss Lin pointed out, refer to the ethnicity of Chinese; "hua ren (華人)" refers to people who have Chinese origins across the world, such as some Singaporeans, Thai, Malaysians, Indonesians, Asian Americans and so on. Yet, in English the word "Chinese" does not distinguish whether it is people from China (PRC) or ethnic Chinese with a different nationality or national identity. Thus, Miss Lin was convinced that owing to the sharing of the Chinese ethnicity and culture, the word China appears in the English translation of Zhong hua min guo (ROC) on her passport. Added to this is the fact that she was not aware that its abbreviation is China. The same applied to Miss Pan, leading her to believe that it is a translation problem.

I observed that the participants in this dimension predominantly belong to age group 1 (the younger group, below 30, defined in chapter 3), who had never linked Zhong *hua min* guo (ROC) to Zhong guo (China) due to the two extra words in the middle in the former term. This became evident when Miss Yang belonging to the same age group also reported: "but at the time nobody ever mentioned that its abbreviation is Zhong guo [China] (但當時也沒有人說過那個簡稱是中國)" (Miss Yang). So, their logic might have operated as: Zhong hua min guo is Taiwan, so we are Taiwanese (especially within the national borders, Zhong hua min guo needs not to be paralleled by its English translation, i.e., ROC). Being Taiwanese thus becomes self-evident, linear and unproblematic by regarding that Zhong hua min guo is Taiwan, and is completely unrelated to China. Some participants, having learnt that Zhong guo (China) is the abbreviation of Zhong hua min guo (ROC), still considered that Zhong hua min guo refers exclusively to Taiwan on the grounds that the concept of China representing Zhong hua ren min gong he guo (PRC) remained robust.

Overall, the findings have demonstrated how the terms (e.g., Zhong hua min guo, ROC, Zhong guo, China, Chinese, Taiwan and Taiwanese) are understood according to the participants'

subjective interpretations which affect who they consider they are (see Table 4-1 below). This shows the notion of national identity as the "subjective interpretation", defined in section 2.2.2, where it was also discussed that the interpretation is an on-going process, drawing and re-drawing against the "Significant Other" (Triandafyllidou, 2001) which, in this case, is China (PRC). This can be especially observed in Dimensions 1, 3 and 4. In Dimension 1, due to the same abbreviation "China", Taiwanese identity can serve as a distinction (e.g., extracts [4-3] & [4-5]). Additionally, referring to China as the PRC, the participants in Dimension 3 fiercely severed any ties with China while those in Dimension 4 raised the issues of translation and abbreviation. Moreover, it is also due to the dynamic, context-dependent and communicative nature of identity, highlighted in section 2.2.1, that exceptions to these dimensions can always be found. One particular participant (Mr. Feng) represents a specific case whose national identity considerably changed from Chinese (ROC) to Taiwanese due to his SA experience (see section 4.6). So, he identified with some key features of different dimensions. A few participants also at times showed mixed feelings about Taiwan and Zhong hua min guo (ROC).

Dimension	1	2	3	4
Different interpretations	• ROC is the official national state, recognizing中華民國 (Zhong hua min guo, ROC)=中國 (Zhong guo, China). • ROC is a different country from PRC & the abbreviation (Zhong guo, China) is contested. • Taiwanese is the conventional term/nickname for distinction.	• See 中華民國 (Zhong hua min guo, ROC) as a phase in the history of Taiwan, and it's now past. • We are now Taiwan.	• Not identifying with 中華民國 (Zhong hua min guo, ROC) altogether, severing any ties with中國 (Zhong guo, China). • Taiwan is my country and national state.	• 中華民國 (Zhong hua min guo, ROC) is Taiwan, not China. China refers exclusively to PRC. • It's the problems of translation and/or abbreviation.
National Identity	Chinese & Taiwanese	Taiwanese	Taiwanese	Taiwanese

Table 4-1: The spectrum of national identities

In short, whether Zhong hua min guo (ROC) is official, a piece of history, irrelevant or Taiwan, it is bound in the (re)construction of the meaning of Taiwan and the ROC (see Table 4-1). Whereas two participants professed that they are both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese, the other 18 were convinced that they are Taiwanese. The findings have also shown how the subjective interpretation can be shaped and reshaped by the languages, the meanings attached to the different terms and the Significant Other, namely China (PRC).

Next, based on the findings of these four dimensions, I will discuss factors (themes) contributing to the senses of being Taiwanese and Chinese (ROC). I begin by reporting the roles the school and home education played in the (re)construction of these four different dimensions.

4.2 The factor of education

When exploring the participants' explanations of their national identity in terms of education, the study unveils the data that showed two specific sources which influenced the participants' national identification: school and family education.

4.2.1 School education

I discuss the data below by linking the participants' self-proclaimed Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese national identities (developed in section 4.1) to the reported factors of their homeland schooling experience. Additionally, according to different age groups (group 1: below 30 and group 2: around and over 30, distinguished in chapter 3), the SSFT should have undergone different educational paradigms. These are divided by Wang's study (2005) into the China-centred and Taiwan-centred paradigms to indicate the education before and after the reform of the late 1990s (see chapter 2). These will be considered in order to explore the contextual factor (i.e., the educational ideologies) in the (re)construction process.

4.2.1.1 Chinese (ROC) national identity

The Chinese (ROC) identification was reported to be connected to the education the participants received in schools, especially knowledge concerning history in explaining who they are and where they come from. The part of the history more often reported as important to explain their Chinese national imagination is that of Zhong hua min guo (ROC). Mr. Yeh, for example, accentuated the importance of the history which underlay his understanding of the people's origin as the sense of being Chinese (ROC) in Taiwan:

> [4-12] Mr. Yeh: Because history can help you understand why we have got here. You learn where the starting point and the ending are. I may not be able to say where to start because I started in Taiwan, but for some generations, they started there [mainland China] and ended in Taiwan. And you can see the facts through history and get to know more about yourself, understanding the underlying reasons.
>
> | 因為歷史可以幫助你了解說我們為時麼會走到這一步,那你可以知道說從哪裡開始,從哪裡結束,你從哪裡離開。我可能不能說從哪裡開始,因為我一開始就在台灣。但是對於上一輩或上上一輩的人,有人是從那邊開始,在台灣結束。但你從歷史就可以看到說,ㄟ到底事實是怎麼樣,會更認可自己。 |
> | --- |

Compared to Mr. Yeh, Mr. Feng's understanding was based on not only the origin, but also the ownership of the territory of Zhong guo (China). Mr. Feng represents the case mentioned above as his Chinese (ROC) identity did not change until his SA experience. He used to believe that mainland China belonged to "us" and should be returned to Zhong hua min guo (ROC):

> [4-13] Mr. Feng: I used to long for the idea that the massive land of the mainland belonged to us, hahaha.
>
> *Interviewer*: Who taught you that's ours? Why did you think that's ours?
>
> Mr. Feng: because learning from the history, we were forced to relocate. We were the original owner of the country. […] At the beginning we thought we had the chance for those [territories of mainland China] to return back to Taiwan…it's returning to the ROC. Right, I thought like that at the time so that's why I said I was Chinese.

> Mr. Feng: 我以前嚮往的是那塊大陸的土地還是我們的，哈哈哈!
>
> *Interviewer*: 是誰教你說那是我們的，那你為什麼會覺得那塊是我們的?
>
> Mr. Feng: 因為以歷史上來學的話，我們是被迫遷出來的，我們是原本的國家 [...] 當初我們想說我們有機會那些會回歸來台灣的，就是回歸中華民國的。對，我那時候是降想的，所以我才會說我是中國人阿。

According to the background data collected and shown in table 3-1, both Mr. Yeh and Feng's families (either paternal or maternal side) belong to the waisheng group[9]. Their family history may have played a role in how they interpreted the history of the ROC relocation to Taiwan. Family history is discussed in section 4.2.2. Moreover, in Miss Su's case, her historical perspective corresponded to that of Zhong hua min guo (ROC), seeing Taiwan as the name of its territory. When I asked what Taiwan means to her, she answered that, "Em, actually from the historical perspective, it is a name of the location/area (恩，其實歷史的角度，她就是一個地區的名稱。)" (Miss Su). As an educator herself, she discussed the school education which has influenced her national identification. This is also evident because her Chinese (ROC) national identity is in contrast to her family background as from Tainan (台南), a place well-known in Taiwan for supporting the DPP and the independence of Taiwan:

> [4-14] Miss Su: Actually I studied in *XX* University which is a conservative university. Eh, actually I feel my personal perspective should also be rather conservative. I was born in Taipei, but my entire family are from Tainan so the political position can be guessed. But even in this kind of environment of the political standpoint, I could still foster my own perspective.

> 其實我念的是 XX 大學，它是很保守的學校，ㄟ其實我覺得我個人的觀點應該也是偏保守。可是我是台北出生，可是我們家的家族是台南人，所以大概可以猜想那個政治的立場是什麼。可是在降的政治立場裡面，我還是可以培養出我個人的觀感。

Running through Mr. Yeh, Mr. Feng and Miss Su's national interpretation is the internalised Chinese *origin*. Among them, only Miss Su went under the China-centred paradigm, which, as

---

[9] Highlighted in chapter 2, the waisheng group were brought on the island along with Chiang Kai-shek's army, as compared to the bensheng group who were the dwellers on Taiwan by the end of Japanese ruling period (1944/1945).

discussed in section 2.1.1, promoted the Chinese (ROC) nationalism and identity, maintaining among the citizens the idea of Zhong hua min guo (ROC) as the legitimate sovereignty of China living in the province of Taiwan. Such school experience is shared by Age group 2 including Mr. Chiang, Mr. Lee, Miss Wei, Miss Hu and Miss Su. Nevertheless, Miss Su is the only one in this group whose interpretation of national identity comes closer to what was promoted in the China-centred paradigm (see section 2.1.1). In contrast, although the Taiwan-centred paradigm was criticised as having a hidden political agenda of promoting an increasingly awakening Taiwanese consciousness, as discussed by Wang (2005) and Corcuff (2005) in section 2.1.2, Mr. Yeh's and Feng's reports showed the contrary. It is because what had been taught in school went under Mr. Yeh's and Feng's subjective interpretations. The point of individuals' interpretations becomes particularly evident, as discussed in the following section.

4.2.1.2 Taiwanese national identity

The school education was reported by many Taiwanese participants as having little or no influence, particularly for those in Dimensions 2 and 3 who reported either paying little attention to the class or giving more importance to the family education. Mr. Chiang and Miss Wei, both of whom shared key features of Dimension 2 (ROC as a piece of history) and undertook the China-centred educational paradigm, talked of having no interests in learning the Chinese (ROC) nationalism promoted in schools:

> [4-15] Mr. Chiang: Yea Yea Yea, fighting back to mainland China, beware of the communist spy around you.
>
> *Interviewer:* Then the period of time you received your education is pretty close to mine [the China-centred]. Do you feel you were influenced when you were little?
>
> Mr. Chiang: Although I was taught, I was not interested in the politics.

> Mr. Chiang: 對對對，反攻大陸，小心匪諜就在你身邊。

> *Interviewer*: 那你的年代也是跟我受到差不多的教育，你覺得自己有被影響嗎? 以你小時候來講。
>
> Mr. Chiang: 我雖然有被教，但是我對那個 politics 沒有興趣。

[4-16] *Interviewer*: How about those we had to learn on the textbooks such as Three People's Principles/San-min Doctrine? Do you remember how these described and addressed us?

Miss Wei: I don't remember. I just felt what's written was so bothering and hard-core memorising was needed. Then in the future we wouldn't need it for any use. Why learn such things?

> *Interviewer:* 那以前我們在課本上要學一些三民主義之類的，你記得上面學到是怎麼描述我們的嗎?
>
> Miss Wei: 我不記得。我只覺得上面寫得好煩，就要硬背，然後就是未來我們也用不到，為什麼要學這種東西?

They did not consider the lessons promoting the Chinese (ROC) nationalism, discussed in section 2.1.1, as being important to make sense of themselves in the high school. Instead, Mr. Chiang, Miss Wei and many others in Dimension 2 and 3 tended to report the importance of their family education and history, which will be discussed in the family education (section 4.2.2).

Furthermore, if the Chinese (ROC)/Taiwanese participants construed how Zhong hua min guo (ROC) relocated to Taiwan as their origin, it was interpreted by the Taiwanese participants as the end or separation point, especially those in Dimensions 2 and 4. Earlier, when Miss Lin talked of the abbreviation of Zhong hua min guo (ROC) as Taiwan, I was interested in whether she was aware of the history of the ROC:

[4-17] *Interviewer*: When you studied history in the high school in Taiwan, what did you learn?
Miss Lin: History of Taiwan, History of China, History of the world.
Interviewer: Why did we learn history of China, you think?
Miss Lin: Because we were separated from there.
Interviewer: Do you remember why we were separated from there?
Miss Lin: We lost the battle.

> *Interviewer*: 那你記得之前國中在台灣學歷史的時候，那時候學到的是什麼?
>
> Miss Lin: 台灣歷史，中國歷史，世界歷史。
>
> *Interviewer* 那你有沒有覺得我們為什麼要學中國歷史?
>
> Miss Lin: 因為我們是從那裡分出來的。
>
> *Interviewer:* 那你記得我們為什麼要從那裡分出來嗎?
>
> Miss Lin: 我們打仗打敗了。

Her answers showed her awareness of Zhong hua min guo's (ROC) link to China in the past, but she construed it as a separation point rather than an origin (e.g., as opposed to reporting that we came from there). The same notion was also reported by others. For instance, Miss Tao, a supporter of the KMT, also saw it as the separation point, so she recognised Taiwan, where she was born, as her national state:

[4-18] Miss Tao: I just know that we have been in charge of ourselves ever since the KMT arrived on Taiwan, so we separated from Zhong guo [China] more and more. When I was little, I felt I was born here so this is my country. Dalu [mainland China], for me, has always been another country and this is taken for granted.

> 就是知道以前國民政府來台後，我們就是自己管自己，所以和中國其實就越差越多。小時候就覺得我出生在這，這就是我的國家，大陸一直對我來說都是另一個國家，是一種 take it for granted 的。

Having learnt the history of the ROC in China, the interviewees in Dimension 4, like Miss Tao, Miss Lin and some others, tended to link Zhong hua min guo (ROC) as representing Taiwan which was separated from Zhong guo (China). The major difference between Dimensions 2 and 4 lies in the interpretation of the ROC. The data showed that the former group saw Zhong hua min guo (ROC) as their past (China) while the latter understood it as their present (Taiwan), but both have arrived at the same conclusion that Taiwan is the present and they are Taiwanese.

Although little influence of school education was reported by the participants on their formation of Taiwanese identity, they were very likely to have been influenced by the implied

discourse. Miss Wang pointed this out as she described that her sense of being Taiwanese was formed "imperceptibly", repeatedly implied in her school environment:

[4-19] Miss Wang: When we learnt geography and history in the junior school, we would say Taiwan…say we people of Taiwan blah blah blah…but would not distinguish on purpose. But it's like... I feel some understandings are like formed imperceptibly. They would say…"opposite dalu [the mainland]" sort of things…then "we Taiwan" so and so...

我們那時候國中有學地理歷史的時候，也是都會說台灣，就說我門台灣人怎麼樣，但是不會刻意去分。但是就是，我覺得有些東西是那種無形中就會有那種認知。他們就會說，對面大陸什麼之類的，然後我們台灣怎麼樣怎麼樣…

Probably due to the banal nature, as the suggestive "we/us" and "they/them" embedded in the conversation (Billig, 1995), not many participants have registered this. Miss Wang, instead, noticed that it was the reference of her teachers' distinction of the people on Taiwan and those on mainland China which contributed to her identification of the former group. Banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) is regarded in this study as having the holistic influence of drawing a frequent distinction between the ROC/Taiwan (we/us) and the PRC (they/them). By drawing constant comparisons, the participants' national identities have been constructed and reconstructed through the difference from the other, namely the PRC (Hall, 1997, Triandafyllidou, 2001).

As mentioned in section 2.1, whereas the China-centred paradigm is considered by Vickers (2009) as having "little if any effect" (p. 22), the Taiwan-centred one becomes "the source of considerable confusion" (Liu et al., 2005, p. 127). In this study, the case of Miss Su, being the only one who reported to be both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese under the China-centred paradigm, shows that the influence of schooling can be particularly strong as against her entire family's political position. Her case is also one that shows the inconsistency between primary and secondary socialisation, discussed in section 2.2.2. Yet, considering the accounts given by the others (e.g., extracts [4-15] & [4-16]) also undergoing the China-centred paradigm, it also shows that the school education does exert limited influence on their national identity (re)construction. Moreover, the cases of Mr. Yeh and Feng are also in contrast to the claim that the shift of the paradigm leads to the

creation of the Taiwanese consciousness (Corcuff, 2005; Hughes & Stone, 1999; Wang, 2005). Neither did the participants who underwent the Taiwan-centred paradigm report the school education as confusing. Rather, they have all arrived at their own sense of being Chinese (ROC) and/or Taiwanese. Overall, the findings suggest that the participants' subjective interpretations on what has been taught in schools cannot be ignored. The story of the relocation of Zhong hua ming guo (ROC) to Taiwan can be construed as the people's origin or the separation point. Most importantly, their interpretations might have been influenced by the earlier socialisation, as of primary socialisation in the early childhood environment or by the socialisation that came after such as tertiary socialisation (Byram, 2008), discussed in chapter 2.

Next, I discuss the factors of family education and family history as many participants' recollections of Taiwanese identification are associated with the primary socialisation which happened at home.

4.2.2 Family education and history

Family education is considered crucial, especially for the participants in Dimension 3 who do not identify with the ROC, and those in Dimension 2 who consider it bygone. Of particular importance are the family discourses of (1) the family history and life stories, and (2) the national identity, which have been voiced by the parents and relatives and internalised by the participants.

The significance of the family education was expressed by Miss Chen as "story-telling or chats, so you'd absorb the knowledge passed on by the family (就是會像跟你講故事,聊天一樣,就是會吸收家裡給你的知識那些什麼的。)" (Miss Chen). Through the family narration, the participants' link with the island emerged as a strong identification factor. Mr. Chiang related the history of his family as having more than 100 years in Taiwan, opening one of the first shops selling sweets in Hualian (花蓮) and moving from Hualian (花蓮) to Taipei (台北):

[4-20] Mr. Chiang: Then my [paternal] grandfather went to Taipei with my grandmother. They started the trade and continued to stay in Taipei. My mom and grandmom are from Hualian, but my [maternal] grandfather came down from Yi-lan [宜蘭]. The earliest shop of Hualian Mochi [a typical Japanese sweet made of rice, common in Asian countries] was opened up by my great-grandfather. Then everybody followed suit. […] So it's a piece of history.

> 那後來我爺爺跟我奶奶到台北來,他們就從商,所以就一直留在台北。那我媽媽是花蓮,我外婆是花蓮,但是我外公是從宜蘭下來的。最早的花蓮麻糬是我外曾祖父開始的,所以後來大家去學嘛 […] 所以就是 a piece of history 醬子。

Miss Liu, to take another example, reported the influence of her family education as the driving force of her personal growth. Her father's narration as an architect was particularly important in influencing how she has identified with the land of Taiwan:

[4-21] Miss Liu: I feel it's culture and family education. I feel family education is the driving force of my growth.

Interviewer: You just said your dad's very objective, so how did he influence you in this respect. Would he tell you that we are Taiwanese directly?

Miss Liu: He does. He's benshengren so he would insist more than my mom does. Because he grew up here [Taiwan], he would tell me that this spot used to be a traditional supermarket but now it's a skyscraper. And he's an architect so he would tell me that this building was constructed by him and that building was built by him.

> Miss Liu: 我覺得是文化和家庭教育,我覺得家庭教育是我成長的推手。
>
> *Interviewer*: 你剛說你爸爸是很 objective,所以他在這方面如何影響你? 他會直接說我們是台灣人嗎?
>
> Miss Liu: 他會呀。因為他本省人嘛,所以他有的堅持會比我媽多一點。因為他從小在那長大,所以他會告訴你說這以前是菜市場,現在變高樓大廈。然後他是建築師,所以他會說這棟是我建的,然後那棟是我建的。

In both cases, the family and life history passed onto by their family were internalised as their own to understand how they are related to the land they inhabit. Family history narration facilitates the participants such as Mr. Chiang, Miss Liu and others to create the imagined ties to their family (and family line) in the earlier times in Taiwan (Anderson, 1991; Smith, 1991). In addition to the family's history, in some cases the family's discourses also play a role in the Taiwanese

identification. Excerpt [4-21] above from Miss Liu revealed that her father would tell her that she is

Taiwanese. The same can be seen in Miss Yang and Mr. Lee's cases:

[4-22] *Interviewer*: How about family education? Would your parents tell you that you're Taiwanese or Zhong guo ren [Chinese]?

Miss Yang: Deeply influenced. Of course they say Taiwanese.

> *Interviewer:* 那家庭教育的影響呢? 爸爸媽媽會跟你說你是台灣人還是中國人?
>
> Miss Yang: 影響很深，當然是講台灣人。

[4-23] Mr. Lee: Anyway starting from when I was very little, I remember my parents would say: Taiwan, Taiwan. Or sometimes you see the news on TV talking about Zhong guo [China, PRC]; then my dad would say: look, you see Zhong guo is like that. Although they prefer the KMT party, I found that they make a clear distinction when they talk about Taiwan and Zhong guo. They think Taiwan is Taiwan; Zhong guo is Zhong guo.

> 反正從很小的時候，我有印象我爸媽就講: 台灣，台灣。甚至你看到一些新聞在講中國怎樣，然後我爸就會說，阿你看中國就是這樣。雖然他們政黨傾向是比較偏國民黨，可是我就會發現他們有時候在講台灣中國，他們其實是分得滿清楚的，他們就覺得台灣就台灣，中國就中國。

These examples revealed how in their families, the message of being Taiwanese would be overtly

stated, sometimes along with a clear distinction from Zhong guo (China, PRC).

The findings suggest that family is one of the most important sites for the Taiwanese

identification as a result of the importance given to the family history and discourse. As "the self is

a reflected entity" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 151), the participants' identity construction

developed from the identification with the Taiwanese group and Taiwan, which had been mediated

by their parents by means of family history narration. Then the family discourses about the way the

parents addressed themselves and how they positioned themselves when compared to China (PRC)

have become the participants' internalisation of these two dichotomous national groups and states

(Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Demarcations between Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) are drawn.

Overall, the participants who consider the discourses of family history and "we Taiwan and they

China" (Billig, 1995) more important, are more likely to be influenced by what has already been internalised in primary socialisation (e.g., see the ROC to Taiwan as the separation point).

To summarise, the factor of education as a whole, the family environment serves as the earliest site to primary socialisation for national identification as well as one of the first stages where the reflection and discussion of one's own identity are initiated. The examples above indicate how the family plays an important role in the interviewees' (re)construction of Taiwanese identity through family discourses and conversations of the family history, life stories and national identity. As the students had arrived at school with certain attitudes and ideas socialised in the family environment, the secondary socialisation happened in school was more likely to be in accordance with their interpretation (the ROC from China to Taiwan as the origin or separation) based on their existing views. Yet, the scenario of secondary socialisation outweighing the primary socialisation can also be witnessed in one case (Miss Su). The influence of banal nationalism can be found in both the school and family environment, constantly drawing the line between "we Taiwan/Zhong hua ming guo" and "they Zhong guo/China/PRC". Consequently, due to these reasons (and other factors below), the making of Taiwanese and Chinese (ROC) national identities cannot be determined exclusively by the school education, be it China-centred or Taiwan-centred educational paradigm discussed in chapter 2.

In the next section, the theme of homeland is of paramount importance, representing the participants' affection for and perception of the birthplace, Taiwan, where they were raised.

4.3 Homeland

In this section, I demonstrate that the data revealed that one of the most fundamental factors contributing to the participants' national identities is that of "tu sheng tu zhang" (土生土長: locally

born and bred) in the homeland, Taiwan. The affection for the taken-for-granted homeland becomes particularly salient in the SA context. This also applies to those who consider themselves both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese as the notion of the "homeland" for all participants is represented by Taiwan. None of the participants concurs with the China-centred educational paradigm which referred to the claimed homeland and territory as what is governed by China (PRC).

Homeland as being born and bred in Taiwan is profoundly connected to the sense of being Taiwanese. Miss Wang pointed this out in a taken-for-granted manner:

[4-24] Miss Wang: Because actually, first you were born in Taiwan and you grew up in Taiwan, and because actually you drink the water of Taiwan and you grew up eating Taiwanese food, so you are Taiwanese. And, em… I think these are the most important.

因為其實基本上，第一個你就是在台灣出生你在台灣長大。因為其實你是喝台灣的水，你是吃台灣的食物長大，那你受的是台灣的教育，所以你是台灣人。然後，恩…我覺得這是最主要的吧。

The idea that the homeland defines who they are is so strongly implanted in the participants' mind to the degree that another participant, Miss Liu, uttered in a straightforward tone: "being born and bred here, if not Taiwanese, what is it?! (你在這裡出生，在這裡長大，你不是台灣人，那是什麼?!)" (Miss Liu), when answering my question of why you think you are Taiwanese. Moreover, the taken-for-granted homeland becomes particularly precious and meaningful when the SSFT stand at a distance from it, as in the SA context. Undertaking BA in the UK, Mr. Yeh, for instance, realised his attachment to and affection for his homeland as a sense of security during his first year in the UK:

[4-25] Mr. Yeh: What I miss is Taiwan. The first time I went abroad, then I came back [to Taiwan] in Easter, I nearly kneeled down to kiss the land. […] I just felt I left you for so long. Because it's the place where you were born and bred, and then you left it. You just feel not used to it and not safe. Then when you come back, your sense of security is back.

Interviewer: So you feel Taiwan gives you a sense of security?

Mr. Yeh: I feel it's for everyone because you [were] born that way. You were born from that place.

> Mr. Yeh: 我是想台灣。我第一次出國，然後 Easter 回去的時候，差點沒跪下來親吻大地 [...] 就覺得我離開你好久了。因為自己土生土長的地方嘛，然後你又離開了他，你就覺得有點不習慣，不安全。然後你回來之後，你安全感回來了。
>
> *Interviewer*: 所以你覺得台灣是給你一個安全感?
>
> Mr. Yeh: 我覺得是給每個人，因為 you born that way. You were born from that place.

When what is taken-for-granted is once deprived, such as the homeland in this case, it becomes particularly important for many participants. At the same time, the meaning of the homeland has also been reconstructed, as not so much taken-for-granted in certain respects, but seen as the harbour for security that is dear to their minds now.

Yet, the term "homeland (家園: jiayuan)" may stir ambiguity in Taiwan as the imagination of the homeland differs, referring to either Taiwan or Zhong guo (China) for different groups. Some people (especially older generations of the waishengren group, see footnote 2) regard mainland China as the homeland. Others, however, consider Taiwan as their homeland, such as all of the participants in this study. For instance, Mr. Lee not only pointed out this divergence, but also emphasised his homeland Taiwan as representing his identity:

[4-26] Mr. Lee: I feel the reason as to why I am Taiwanese is because my ancestors emigrated from Fujian [福建] to Taiwan and we have been living here for hundreds of years. I feel our idea of Taiwan is different from the people who came along with Chiang Kai-shek because I feel this is my home, but maybe to them, it [Taiwan] is not their home.

> 我覺得我會是台灣人的原因，就是我的祖先從福建移民來這裡，在這裡生活了幾百年。我覺得這些人跟跟著蔣介石過來的人，對台灣的認知是不一樣的，因為我會覺得這就是我家，那對他們來講，可能不是我家。

Mr. Lee's depiction illustrated that his "primordial" emotional tie (Connor, 1978) is exclusively linked to his ancestors who relocated to where he considers home (Taiwan) now, but not those beyond the relocation. For him, the awareness of belonging is rooted in the homeland, Taiwan.

Additionally, he showed his awareness of a different idea of the "homeland" or shared territory for others on Taiwan, i.e., the waisheng group. This can be witnessed in Miss Ma's grandmother's case. Miss Ma, a descendant of the waisheng group, yet showed that her construction of national identity diverged from the family education as a result of her strong connection to the homeland where she was born and bred:

[4-27] Miss Ma: My grandmother came along with the ROC government to Taiwan to escape from the war so I have many relatives in dalu [mainland China]. […] I often listen to my grandmother talking about her story. […] So I would feel that my grandmother's home is there. […] my mom prefers to say that we are Zhong guo ren [Chinese] growing up in Taiwan.

Interviewer: What did you think back then? Were you influenced?

Miss Ma: When my mom said we are Zhong guo ren [Chinese], I felt I did not agree with it much because we already arrived in Taiwan and I grew up in Taiwan. And I felt I didn't know mainland China, why did I have to acknowledge you?! I identify with Chinese cultures, but I am not Zhong guo ren [Chinese]. I grew up in Taiwan so I should be called Taiwanese.[…] When I was little, I felt it depended on the birth place. I just felt I am Taiwanese and I knew my cousin is daluren [mainland Chinese]. I felt it's separated. Just that I still have some connections with dalu [mainland China], such as blood ties or cultures, but no matter what I wanted to be Taiwanese.

> Miss Ma: 我外婆是當初逃難跟國民政府一起來台灣的,所以我有很多親戚都在大陸 […] 我常會聽我外婆講以前的事 […] 所以我還是會覺得說外婆家在那裏[…] 我媽媽會偏好說,我們是中國人在台灣長大。
>
> *Interviewer*: 所以你小時候有被影響嗎?
>
> Miss Ma: 當我媽媽說我們是中國人的時候,小時候我會覺得我不太同意這句話,因為我們都已經到台灣了,而且我在台灣長大,所以我就覺得說我對中國大陸又不了解,為什麼我要承認你?! 我覺得我是秉持中華文化的人,但我不是中國人。我是在台灣長大的,所以我應該要被叫台灣人 […] 我小時候就是以出生地為準,我就覺得我是台灣人,然後知道表哥是大陸人,我覺得已經區分開來了。我只是跟大陸那還有一些連繫,比方說血緣或文化,但是不管怎麼樣,我要做我的台灣人。

For Miss Ma's grandmother and mother, China, complete with Taiwan as a province of it, is the homeland rooted in their construction. Their imagined community (Anderson, 1991) is the gigantic Chinese community with Taiwan being part of it. Nevertheless, Miss Ma, who reported not have been influenced by her family in this respect, prioritised the birth place, Taiwan, where she grew up.

She showed the awareness of her connection with the Chinese culture and blood ties, but which factors were overridden by her attachment and affection associated with the homeland Taiwan. As a result, her imagined homeland and national group are separated from the Chinese (ROC) and her grandmother and mother.

Overall, the homeland as a decisive factor to define "who I am" is taken for granted and at the same time the new meanings (i.e., a sense of security and stronger affections) of the homeland have been generated due to the SA experience. The latter corresponds to how I defined national identity in chapter 2: the identified national element(s) which is/are emotionally attached, but stay banal unless activated in a given social context. So the affections for the homeland is stirred in the SA context, and the new understanding of the homeland reciprocally feeds into the sense of being Taiwanese in the process of identity (re)construction. Furthermore, the factor of the migration to Taiwan not only plays an important role in seeing Zhong guo (China) as the people's origin or separation in the previous section, but it also affects how the participants see Taiwan. For the bensheng group, they are Taiwanese because the primordial ties are exclusively linked to the ancestors who arrived on Taiwan and gave them a new starting point on Taiwan. For the more recent migration such as the waisheng group, the relocation to Taiwan helps some of the descendants, such as Miss Ma and others included in this study, demarcate a point of difference: that is, they have grown up in Taiwan and are Taiwanese; they are not identical to some of their relatives who came from China anymore.

To summarise, the data indicate that the factor of the homeland as *being born and bred in Taiwan* is taken for granted and fused deeply in the sense of the participants' Taiwanese identity. The homeland, gaining importance and new insights during the SA experience, serves as a marker, delineating them from Zhong guo ren (Chinese, PRC) both within and outside the national borders.

Next, another crucial element emerging from the data which is tightly intertwined with the participants' sense of national identity is represented by the culture on their homeland.

4.4 Culture

Consistent with the argument and demonstration of Taiwan as being a multi-cultural national state by Hsueh at el. (2005), the data unveiled cultural influence brought by different periods of the history of Taiwan, which, in turn, led to the shared social, cultural, and traditional patterns identified by the participants as key to the (re)construction of who they are.

First, the data revealed that the cultural spectrum, stemming from the ancient and recent history of the island, ranges from the influence exerted by China, Japan and the Western society to the Confucian doctrine and the heritage of long lasting Chinese traditions. Secondly, the participants reported a strong link between the sense of national identity and these cultural aspects tied to what they consider as the Taiwanese way of interacting with and relating to others, the habits of drinking and eating, and the food culture.

A picture emerged of Taiwan as a multi-faceted society characterised by the co-existence of multiple communities bearing ethnic and ancestral differences. Mr. Chiang, for example, described Taiwan as a cultural melting pot:

> [4-28] Mr. Chiang: I would say Taiwan is a multi-culture country. That's part of our history. Japan possessed Taiwan, so did the Dutch. Spanish as well as Portuguese have been to Taiwan. We also have the aborigines and plus the Chinese part. So, basically we are mixed. So for hundreds of years, Taiwan has been a culturally mixed place. […] Taiwan is now a fledgling country because we have too many cultures which have been trying to make themselves heard. So you see the Hakka culture, Minnan culture, aboriginal culture, the Japanese culture and the American culture. So we have been mixing.

> 我會說台灣是一個 multiple culture 的 country，那是我們歷史的一部分。日本擁有過台灣，荷蘭擁有過台灣，西班牙也到過，葡萄牙也到過，那我們還有原住民，還有加上 Chinese 的部分。所以基本上我們是混合的，所以幾百年來，台灣一直是一個文化混合的地方 […] 台灣目前現在還在雛型，因為我們有太多的文化一直試著要發聲。所以你看客家文化，閩南文化，原住民文化，台灣受到日本文化，還有美國文化，所以我們一直在融。

The network of cultural, ethnic and historical backgrounds has led to an unavoidable cultural complexity on Taiwan. Mr. Chiang's understanding of the mixed cultures on Taiwan is also discussed in many references pertinent to Taiwan, mentioned in chapter two (e.g., Hsu, 1996; Hsueh at el., 2005; Phillips, 2007). It becomes central to the idea of a Taiwanese national identity as reflected by the variation of cultural sources, which is discussed below.

4.4.1 Chinese heritage

Some traditional Chinese ways of thinking and behaving were imported on Taiwan starting from the early migrations. Most importantly, Confucian school of doctrine appears to be considerably identified by many participants as a fundamental cultural influence in the way of thinking and behaving to preserve and pass on to the coming generations. Miss Tao, for example, pointed to the importance of filial piety to parents while Miss Liu emphasised that the influence of Confucian philosophy is not confined to Zhong guo (China).

[4-29] Miss Tao: I very much identify with the traditional culture like Confucius and Mencius […] I feel some people in Taiwan still preserve such tradition and virtue, like filial piety to parents kind of things.

> 我對傳統的比方說孔孟文化非常認同 […] 我覺得台灣有一部分的人還是保有這樣的傳統和美德，像要孝順父母之類的。

[4-30] Miss Liu: Confucius is from Zhong guo [China], but the heritage can be shared by all people. This stuff is in principle our background and we have followed its path all the way. This is also a unique Taiwanese culture.

> 就是孔子是中國來的，可是流傳下來的那些是全部人都可以去共享的。那些東西原則上是我們的 background, 然後我們一路遵循的路徑到現在。那個也是一個獨特的台灣文化。

As indicated in Picucci (2014) and Jordan (1998), Confucianism predominated in most parts of Imperial China, affecting the way people interacted and related to both their family and other members of society. The Chinese (ROC) communities migrating to Taiwan carried this heritage. For example, filial piety, reported by Miss Tao, can be observed in the children's sense of obedience towards their parents (Jordan, 1998; Picucci, 2014). Overall, many participants, such as Mr. Lee, Miss Ni, Hu, Yang, Wang, Huang and others, not only expressed their positive view towards the preservation of some traditional Chinese ways such as the Confucian thought, but also pointed to the idea that it is an important part of the Taiwanese culture that they highly identified with.

4.4.2 The Japanese influence

The Japanese component deriving from the Japanese ruling period from 1895 to 1945 comes not only in the observable architecture of buildings and constructions dating back to that era, but also directly from the participants' grandparents, who received Japanese education, speak the Japanese language and talked about stories of the period. In this regard, Miss Su and Mr. Feng reported that their grandparents would narrate their lived stories in the period. In particular, Miss Chen, who reported to be considerably influenced by the family education above, discussed how her grandmother was educated during the Japanese ruling period and how she associated a strong sense of safety and welfare at the time:

[4-31] Miss Chen: My grandmother received the Japanese education and at that time she liked it very much because she felt it was very…safe in Taiwan. Very safe. She didn't even need to close the main door. […] So she would keep telling me how good Japan is.

> 我奶奶她是受日本教育，可是那時候，她很喜歡受日本教育，因為她覺得當時日本統治台灣的時候是很…安全的，很安全的，她連門都不用關 […] 所以她一直跟我說日本有多好怎樣怎樣。

What Miss Chen described is consistent with the depictions of that historical period of Taiwan in Hsu (1996) and Lamley (2007). The participants' positive affections and ideas towards this past period of Taiwan being ruled by the Imperial Japan resulted from their grandparents' positive emotions tied to the period along with the stories they told. From the standpoint of interpretive theories, cultural identities are enacted in dynamic contexts, and "such contexts include and go beyond the immediate environmental context (such as who is interacting with whom in what location)" (Collier & Hicks, 2002, p. 208). The Japanese heritage and its influence are in this sense enacted and identified through the participants' interaction with their grandparents, who represented the window onto which the participants can feel connected to this historical period of Taiwan.

4.4.3 Western influence

A third cultural factor emerging from the data is the Western influence. Alongside popular cultures such as McDonald's, Starbucks and Hollywood movies, the participants associated the Western concepts such as liberty, freedom and democracy with regard to their national identities. Some participants such as Miss Su and Miss Chen, for example, discussed the importance of acting (and thinking) in accordance with one's own free will, which is a prerogative of democracy:

[4-32] Miss Su: If a national state has its own spirit, what we understand more is that of the West because the democratic system was developed in the Western society and then it spread worldwide.

如果說一個國家有它的精神的話，我們比較明白的是一個西方的精神，因為民主制度其實是西方社會發展而來的，然後它就遍佈到全球。

[4-33] Miss Chen: Of course I feel lucky that I was born in Taiwan. Don't know. Because when talking about Taiwan, I just feel it's primarily circling around the idea of freedom. Right!

當然覺得很幸運可以出生在台灣。 不知道，因為我覺得講到台灣，就覺得繞著自由兩個字轉的感覺。 對呀!

The influence of Western culture in Taiwanese society was also indicated by Swagler and Ellis (2003) in their study of the adjustment of Taiwanese graduate students in the US. While in the Taiwanese local culture, a co-existence can be witnessed among the Chinese, Japanese and Western cultural influences, the ideas of freedom of speech and democracy from the West emerged as a major point of distinction between Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) in the course of identity communication abroad. This will be further discussed in chapter 5 (section 5.3.2).

4.4.4 Taiwanese ways: Food culture, communication and interaction

The last factor bearing considerable importance is the reported Taiwanese ways of living, which has been influenced by the cultural factors mentioned above. More specifically, Taiwanese people's way of communicating, habits of eating and drinking, and their shared interest towards the food culture are central to making sense of being Taiwanese.

The idea emerges of the food culture not only as a strong uniting agent for different layers of Taiwanese society, but also as an important achievement which represents Taiwan abroad. Mr. Chiang, for example, accentuated that "Food is a very important part of our life (食是一個我們生活裡面很重要的一環)" (Mr. Chiang), and continued to explain:

[4-34] Mr. Chiang: That's why we tend to introduce Taiwanese food to others […] the food culture is a great achievement in Taiwan. Different cultures have reached different areas of Taiwan and this, along with the production of ingredients in different locations, led to some variations in such a small island.

所以我們會跟人家介紹台灣的食 […] 飲食文化是一個很大台灣的成就。不同的文化在台灣的不同地區占領過,還有食材的產地,所以讓一個小小的島,北中南都有些差異在。

Taiwanese significantly identify with their food and this can be observed in the fact that talks related to Taiwanese food frequently dominate their conversation and the way they introduce Taiwan abroad (further discussed in section 6.1.2). Taiwanese food generates strong feelings linked

with nearly all participants' longing for Taiwan, and this is also found in Swagler and Ellis (2003) as well as Hong and Hee's (2015) studies investigating the SSFT in the US and Australia respectively. These feelings are further amplified by the difficulty of finding in the UK products unique to Taiwan. For instance, Miss Lin, who left Taiwan after junior high school and continued her studies in Singapore and the UK, indicated how food was strongly linked with her idea of homeland:

> [4-35] Miss Lin: When I go back to Taiwan, I feel home because actually the ways of living here [UK] are very different from those on Taiwan. Then I will…how to say. My favourite fruit is guava, but you don't find it here at all. Even if it's guava in Singapore, it's not good. Every time I think about guava, I think about Taiwan.
>
> 我就是回到台灣就會有回到家的感覺,因為就是這裡其實跟台灣的生活方式就差很多阿。然後就是我會…怎麼講,我最喜歡吃的水果是芭樂,可是這邊完全沒有,就算是新加坡的也都沒有好吃的,就是每次想到芭樂就會想到台灣。

Moreover, central hubs for the presentation and appreciation of food and its diversity are the places selling food: traditional markets and night markets. They scatter across the island of Taiwan and are formed by hundreds of food stands. Taiwanese food and markets are salient cultural symbols which are not only identified but also given special meanings by the people. Miss Hu, for example, spoke of these places as the representation of the source of energy marking Taiwanese culture:

> [4-36] Miss Hu: I feel Taiwanese traditional market is a place full of energy. There may be the stink of fish, but I feel that's a kind of energy too…yes…it may be the touting of the seller who would use some funny Taiwanese slangs. Yes, like around our house there is a traditional market I like to go although it's crowded and hot and the floor is dirty. But I kinda love to go there.
>
> 我覺得台灣的傳統市場是一個非常有活力的地方,就是可能會有魚呀的臭味,但是我覺得同時那個是一種活力。對,就是可能小販的叫賣,他們會用一些很好笑的台灣的俚語。對,像我們家附近的傳統市場,我就很喜歡去,雖然很擠很熱,也覺得地上髒髒的降子,但是我就還滿愛去那裡的。

For Miss Hu, traditional food markets were home to the typical "Taiwanese-ness", and were one of the first images to come to mind while discussing what it means to be Taiwanese and her affections.

The general convergence towards traditional food markets is a reflection of the important roles the people and their food play in Taiwanese society, and these elements emerge particularly during the experience of living abroad.

In addition to their food, what it means to be and act Taiwanese are bound in communication, namely the communicative ways Taiwanese use to interact and talk with each other. For example, Miss Yang mentioned communicative patterns such as Taiwanese sense of humor, style of talking and relating to others:

> [4-37] Miss Yang : I still feel Taiwanese have Taiwanese styles; for example, in terms of talking, Taiwanese have the Taiwanese style of humour. […] I went with a group of Taiwanese to Venice last time, and that was the first time, since I was here [UK], I didn't hang out with people from any other countries. And that made me feel that [trip] is very Taiwanese. […] the ways we tell jokes and the sense of humour, how far we can go to say something or not.

我還是覺得台灣人有台灣人的 style，比方說在講話，台灣人有台灣人自己的幽默方式 […] 我之前去威尼斯玩的時候是跟一群台灣人，然後那時候是我來這邊第一次沒有跟任何其他國家的人一起，然後那一次我就是感覺這個很台灣 […] 很多講笑話的方式跟我們覺得笑點在哪裡，講話的尺度到什麼範圍，什麼可以什麼不行。

What Miss Yang referred to is an implicit shared communicative knowledge which she believed it is exclusive to Taiwanese. This involved implied rules determining, for example, how far it is possible to go when joking or how to express one's personal feelings in which contexts. By means of comparison, the participants realised what it means to be the Taiwanese ways of communicating and the way Taiwanese has come to be represented by the shared national culture, as argued by Hall (1996a), a system of cultural representation that is identified by Taiwanese as their own.

All in all, culture is defined as "a historically transmitted system of symbols and meanings, identifiable through norms and beliefs shared by a people" from the interpretive approach (Collier & Thomas, 1988, p. 99). By the same token, the history of Taiwan breeds the Chinese, Japanese and the Western cultural meanings that are transmitted and integrated into Taiwanese society and its ways of living, as demonstrated above. These cultural aspects have been internalised by the

interviewees and treated as part of themselves, indicating the psychological identifying process of emotional ties to (Bloom, 1990), for example, Chinese cultures, the sense of freedom, Taiwanese food and so on in the course of primary and secondary socialisation. The SA experience helped the participants see these cultural elements entwined in themselves and representing themselves by means of comparison; thus, these factors became more salient now. They emerged as national cultural symbols, presented and represented against the intercultural SA context (Hall, 1996a), enabling the participants to make sense of what it means to be Taiwanese. Furthermore, by being more aware of their national culture as a result of intercultural comparison in the SA environment, the participants can be said to essentialise the Taiwanese national culture, in Holliday's (1999) term "large culture", indicating "ethnic, national and international cultural differences" (p. 237). Such an essentialist view of making sense and realising Taiwaneseness may become an important basis abroad, but may also be challenged and/or reinforced in the SA context, which will be further discussed in chapters 5 and 6. More importantly, rather than seeing the cultural elements highlighted above as static components to represent Taiwanese, it would be more prudent, as Collier (1998, 2005) suggests, to see them as being enacted at different degrees on different communicative occasions. The enactment of different cultural aspects will be discussed in more details in the next chapter.

To summarise, the examples drawn above show the importance attributed by the participants towards the variegated cultural influence, including Chinese, Japanese and the Western influence as well as Taiwanese ways of living, which play a fundamental role in the (re)construction of being Taiwanese. It is important to indicate how these certainly do not fully represent the diverse cultures present on Taiwan, such as the local artistic production, Hakka culture and the native tribal groups. However, the four main reported cultural aspects in the data formed more consistent and shared patterns with which the participants have a deeper psychological bond, arousing feelings of

affection and nostalgia. They can thus be seen as the part of the national culture (re)constructed abroad.

4.5 The experience of study-broad (SA)

In this section, I discuss how participants revealed that they have gained a clearer/enhanced awareness of their Taiwanese identity as a result of the SA experience which spurs constant intercultural comparison and self-reflection. Additionally, this journey also involves challenges to their identity, eventually leading to the enhanced awareness and the importance of being Taiwanese abroad.

4.5.1 Comparison and reflection

For the participants, the SA experience of living in another country and interacting with people from different national backgrounds serves as a propeller into reflecting who they are and where they come from. Miss Su, for example, described how the SA experience enabled her to see her cultural background, and for Mr. Sun, his SA experience became a path to his Taiwanese identity exploration:

> [4-38] Miss Su: If I had never been abroad, I wouldn't have reflected on what constitutes my cultures. Maybe it's really because I left for the UK for one year, and I realised that the family and school education I received is the manifestation of the entire culture.

> 如果說我在這邊出生長大，從來沒有出國過，我可能不會反思我的文化的內涵是什麼。然後可能真的是離開了一年到了英國去，你會發現你所，就是我個人接受的教育，family 或者是學校的一些教育，它其實就是整個文化的涵養跟呈現。

> [4-39] Mr. Sun: I later on experienced this thing of identity was after I got to the UK. It's because of the contacts with all different kinds of people, leading me to realise…er… how we Taiwanese are like.

Interviewer: So you feel study abroad has stronger influence on you?

Mr. Sun: Em, yes.

Mr. Sun: 因為我後來就是體認到 identity 這個東西，是來了英國之後才體認到的，就是因為跟各種人接觸過，才會去發現，恩…我們台灣人是怎麼樣的。

Interviewer: 所以你覺得出國留學對你的影響反而是比較大的？

Mr. Sun: 恩，對。

For Mr. Sun, the sense of how Taiwanese are like was reflected during the SA experience by means of comparison. This is in line with what was discussed in chapter two (section 2.2.2), in that national identity becomes particularly salient in certain social contexts (Dolby, 2007; Hall, 1997; Ross, 2007). Miss Liu, for example, also accentuated the importance of comparison abroad: "You wouldn't think 'am I Taiwanese or not?' if you've never been abroad to see and to compare. You wouldn't know what the difference is". For Miss Liu, Mr. Sun and many others, by entering a nationally and culturally different space, the differences were marked and this enabled them to reflect on themselves and Taiwan through different lights. Intercultural comparison and self-reflection in the SA context are therefore key for the participants to define and re-define their national identities. To take another example, for Mr. Yeh, the importance of his Taiwanese identity outweighed his Chinese (ROC) identity by comparison with Zhong guo ren (Chinese, PRC) in the UK:

[4-40] *Interviewer*: After you went abroad, what aspects have influenced you most?

Mr. Yeh: the whole concept changed.

Interviewer: Is it concerning whether you feel Zhong guo ren [Chinese] or Taiwanese?

Mr. Yeh: Definitely Taiwanese. You wouldn't think about the issue of Zhong guo ren [Chinese] because you met Zhong guo ren so you would distinguish. Because…needless to say, you just come from different places and there are also some differences in your languages. Your accents and cultural backgrounds are completely different so you naturally and automatically…this is a natural situation in which you will sever [being Chinese]. This has nothing to do with politics. This is my personal understanding.

> *Interviewer*: 那你出國之後呢? 是哪方面影響你最大?
>
> Mr. Yeh: 整個觀念變了。
>
> *Interviewer*: 就讓你覺得是中國人還是台灣人降子?
>
> Mr. Yeh: 就一定是台灣人,就不會去想是中國人的問題,因為你遇到了中國人 所以你會把他區分掉。因為就,不要說什麼,你們就來自不一樣的地方阿,然後你們的語言上面也有一些不一樣,你們的 accent 你們的 culture 背景完全不一樣。所以你自然而然,自然而然,這是一個自然的情況,自然而然你自己也會切割掉。這跟政治完全沒關係,我個人的理解啦。

For Mr. Yeh, it was a natural process of feeling the differences by comparison, reinforcing his cognitive interpretation of belonging to the Taiwanese national community. Like Mr. Yeh, many participants drew on their differences from the Chinese (PRC) as a way to distinguish themselves, and this was also reported by Miss Su who reported to be both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese (see section 4.1.2). She expressed that the use of Taiwanese is a must for the sake of the distinction between Taiwan and China (PRC), though her Chinese (ROC) identity, in a way, was not undermined:

> [4-41] Miss Su: Taiwanese must clearly distinguish their own identity as Taiwanese instead of Zhong guo ren [Chinese]. Such awareness appeared as a result of the distinction from mainland China. Otherwise, I personally think the correct way is that we are all Chinese.

> 台灣人必須要清楚的區分自己的身分是台灣人而不是中國人,就是為了跟那個 mainland China 做區分,才有醬的意識出現。要不然我個人覺得正確的說法我們都是 Chinese.

Miss Su was also known by her good friends in the UK as Taiwanese and this will be further discussed in chapter 5 (section 5.3) concerning identity negotiation. Although Miss Su and Mr. Yeh believed that they are both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese (see section 4.1.2), their Taiwanese identity has gained more importance in the SA environment as their way to clarify who they are and who they are not. Overall, by methods of comparison and contrast, the participants have been (re)making sense of themselves during their SA journey, and this will be discussed in detail in the next two chapters.

In addition to the participants' active act of comparison and reflection, very often their strong awareness of being Taiwanese is also nurtured by the SA environment in terms of having to introduce themselves as well as Taiwan and having been asked or challenged.

4.5.2 Self-presentation and identity challenges

Abroad, the SSFT would often need to introduce themselves as of who they are and where they are from. In particular, they may experience the scenario described by Harrison (2009): "the proposal that 'we are the Taiwanese' is confronted with a multiplicity of challenges and counter-arguments from the People's Republic of China" (p. 123). The questioning and challenge also contribute to the (re)construction of national identity, and this can be seen in the following accounts. In Miss Wei's case, only until she had been asked to present her country did she start to think about the issue of "what Taiwanese are like":

> [4-42] Miss Wei: At the time I started to think about this more deeply because our intercultural communication class required us to do a presentation on our own country. Right, it was then I started to think how I should present my country. I feel, honestly, before coming here to study, you'd never pause to think what Taiwanese are like because you're used to it. It's like eating in that you wouldn't think of how many times you have to chew.

> 我那時候比較深入去思考這件事情的時候，是在我們上那個 intercultural communication, 然後就是我們每一個國家的人都要去present你自己的國家。對，然後那時候我就去思考說我要怎麼去present我的國家。我會覺得，說真的，我覺得在出國之前你從來不會去思考，台灣人是怎麼樣，因為你已經習慣了，就像吃飯，你不會思考要咬幾下。

Again, Miss Wei's report showed the taken-for-granted nature of national identity within the national border, unless activated under certain circumstances, and in this case, it was the presentation to introduce her national state, required by the module Miss Wei undertook in her one-year postgraduate course in the UK. In other cases, it is the ascribed identity that leads to Taiwanese identity exploration and clarification. Miss Hu, for example, who went under the China-centred

educational paradigm, often felt a Chinese (PRC) identity imposed on her during her SA

experience, and this raised her awareness to explore and clarify who she is:

[4-43] Miss Hu: I didn't like other people say that I'm daluren [mainland Chinese]. It should be because I was often being asked about this issue, so I started to think whether I'm daluren or Taiwanese. Oh, I am Taiwanese, so I have to explain to others clearly why…because back in Taiwan I didn't have such strong awareness telling me that I have to make others understand that I'm Taiwanese.

我也不喜歡被人家講說你是大陸人。應該是常常醬子被問，所以自己就會去想說我到底是大陸人還是台灣人。喔，我是台灣人，所以我要跟別人解釋清楚是因為怎麼樣怎麼樣 … 因為在台灣，以前並沒有那麼強烈的意識說我要讓人家明白我是台灣人。

Miss Hu did not like to be referred to as Chinese (PRC), and her (re)construction of national

identity developed through the rejection of the ascribed identity. It also became important for

her to explain that she is Taiwanese. Similarly, Mr. Feng was also ascribed a Chinese (PRC)

identity indirectly in the low murmurs in Mandarin Chinese when he first presented himself to

others in the class during his foundation year in the UK:

[4-44] Mr. Feng: At the beginning, like when I was in my foundation year, we had to get to know each other in class, and the majority was the Zhong guo [China] students. When I went into the classroom, the teacher asked me where I was from. I said I come from Taiwan. Then there were people at the back of the classroom murmuring 'isn't that Zhong guo ren [Chinese]!'. Yea…so it made me feel very uncomfortable. Right.

像我在讀foundation的時候，我們剛開始要互相認識大家嘛。可是中國人還是佔大多數，那當我進教室的時候，老師問我說你是來自哪裡的，然後我說我來自台灣，後面就有人小小細聲的說: 這也不就中國人嘛! 對呀…聽起來不是很舒服。對。

For the participants, having to introduce themselves in terms of where they are from, which did not

arise prior to study abroad, became a path for them to reflect on and enact their national identity. In

Mr. Feng's case in particular, his avowed identity as coming from Taiwan was violated, leading him

to feel "very uncomfortable". He used to consider himself Chinese (ROC) before his SA

experience, but the Chinese (PRC) classmates' denial of his identity autonomy rather made him

position himself towards the Taiwanese side of self:

[4-45] Mr. Feng: Ever since Zhong guo [China] can't accept the fact that although we are Chinese, we are different countries. They keep insisting that we're part of them. At this point, I started to be distant, feeling that I acknowledged that I'm Taiwanese.

自從就是中國不太能接受，我們雖然是中國人，可是我們是不同的國家，他們一直認為我們是他們的一部分，這時候我就開始漸漸的疏遠覺得說，我承認我是台灣人了。

Mr. Feng reported that his realisation originated from his first-hand experience of communicating with the Chinese (PRC) classmates who kept insisting that he is Chinese in his first-year sojourn in the UK. The denial and discomfort he suffered, instead, led to the emergence of his Taiwanese identity. Miss Ni also reported identity challenge and denial, eventually leading to the enhancement of her Taiwanese identity:

[4-46] Miss Ni: It [the study-abroad experience] made me understand how many people didn't share my belief in my identity and some even wanted to challenge my belief. I was a bit hesitating and wavering. But seeing such situations, I learnt that I have to work harder. I have a task, that is, to make more people recognise Taiwan, see the good sides of Taiwan and know that Taiwan is different from China. These would make me very content and satisfied.

讓我了解有多少人沒有 share 我的信念跟我的一個認同，而且還有人想要 challenge 我的念頭，我會有點徬徨。但是看到降的情況以後，我就知道我要更努力，我有一個使命: 我要讓更多人去認同台灣，看到台灣的好，然後知道台灣跟中國不一樣，這個就讓我很滿足了。

Their experience of identity challenges led to the need to distinguish themselves as Taiwanese and mark the difference from the Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the UK. At the same time, due to the denial to their avowed identity, they started to feel strongly about their being Taiwanese. These will be further discussed in chapter 5, accompanied by more examples.

All in all, intercultural comparison and self-reflection are not only key to the intercultural awareness and development, but are also important to make sense of the self, as tools for self-exploration (Jackson, 2011). The SA environment, abounding with international and intercultural comparison, enables the participants to reflect on their national identity and culture as seen in

extracts [4-38], [4-39], [4-40], [4-42] and [4-43]. Moreover, the act of comparing to the Significant Other (Triandafyllidou, 2001), namely China (PRC), within the national borders is further extended to outside of the borders as well as on the inter-personal communication context during the SA experience. As a result, the boundaries of what it means to be Taiwanese are drawn and re-drawn through the participants' contacts with the Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the UK, as evidently seen in Mr. Feng, Mr. Yeh and Miss Hu's cases. In particularly, the inconsistency between the avowed and ascribed identities leads to conflict episodes in the SA site, and this will be the focus of the next chapter.

To summarise, this section presented findings showing that the international, intercultural SA environment serves as an interface where national identity has been reflected, (re)defined and (re)constructed due to intercultural comparison. In addition, the SA experience was also paralleled by challenges to the participants' avowed Taiwanese identity, and these rather nurtured the importance of claiming their identity as well as distinguishing themselves from Zhong guo ren (Chinese). This section marks the factors leading to Taiwanese identity (re)construction, and it also serves as the gateway open onto the next chapter discussing how Taiwanese identity is negotiated and communicated in the UK.

4.6 Chapter conclusion

As seen in the discussion of this chapter, the SSFT are engaged in making sense of who they are, how Taiwanese are like and why they may be different from culturally and nationally different others, especially Chinese (PRC), during their SA journey. At the outset of the study, I aimed to explore national identity in the SA context, and the latter transpired to be one of the most important factors which has spurred the participants to reflect on their Chinese (ROC) and/or Taiwanese

identities. I thus, in line with Dolby (2007), argue that it is particularly useful and important to explore the issues pertinent to national identity in this research and academic site.

The findings unveiled in this chapter contribute to the debate of the educational reform in the late 1990s in Taiwan. The studies (e.g., Corcuff, 2005; Liu et al., 2005; Hughes & Stone, 1999; Wang, 2005; Vickers, 2009) mentioned in section 2.1 are primarily based on the scholarly discussion which drew on either the changes made by the reform or curriculum analyses. There is a lack of studies listening to the students who have in fact undertaken the different educational paradigms. The findings of this study show the limited influence of the school reform as both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese national identities can be found among the students undertaking different paradigms. Most importantly, the findings suggest that national identities are linked to a number of factors (i.e., the students' existing knowledge, their subjective interpretation and affections); thus, the school reform by its own does not necessarily breed Taiwanese or Chinese (ROC) nationalists.

Furthermore, the findings also uncovered the issue of the English translation of Zhong guo ren, "Chinese". In some cases, its broad senses as including the language, ethnicity and culture are useful to explain one's background. However, in other cases, its inclusiveness invites the problem of being pinned down as Chinese (PRC). Notably, this is not the case in Mandarin Chinese in which "hua ren (華人)" refers to people across the world who have Chinese ethnicities while "hua yu (華語)" refers to Chinese languages. Thus, the inclusiveness of the English term "Chinese" can be problematic due to its blurriness.

Overall, national identity is defined as the "subjective interpretations of the identified national elements" (established in chapter 2) and the findings have cast light on how the identified elements ranging from the different terms of the national state (Taiwan/Zhong hua ming guo/ROC), schooling, the history of Taiwan, the family education, the family history, banal nationalism,

homeland, Chinese culture, the Japanese ruling period, freedom and democracy to Taiwanese culture and food as well as the SA experience, have all played an integral role in the (re)construction of the participants' national identities. Unlike Gellner's idea of the state controlled education disseminating the high culture (1983) or Smith's emphasis of the ethnic group (1991), the findings show that national identity in the SA context comes closer to Hroch's (1985) notion discussed in chapter 2, in that it is the combination of several kinds of relation (e.g., culture, education and territory) and the reflection of these relations in the consciousness of the people. Most importantly, the meanings of these are not fixed and the same to everybody. Instead, these factors exerted their influence in accordance with the participants' *subjective interpretation*, which is based on their primary and secondary socialisation in Taiwan, and tertiary socialisation in the SA environment. By standing at a distance from Taiwan and meeting culturally and nationally different others, these elements are now emotionally activated in the SA context and are understood differently (e.g., the homeland, Taiwanese culture and food), all of which contributes to the dynamic nature of national identification. As the participants are making sense of themselves and seeing clearer the Taiwanese ways by means of comparison abroad, the boundaries of what it means to be Taiwanese are drawn and re-drawn through the participants' interpersonal contacts with nationally and culturally different others, especially the Significant Other (Triandafyllidou, 2001)—the Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the UK. Eventually, the acts of the national culture presented and represented (Hall, 1996a) become, simultaneously, those of essentialising how Taiwanese are like.

The enactment of being Taiwanese by which some participants have been challenged in the course of identity negotiation during their SA experience will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Taiwanese Identity Negotiation in the UK

Through the data discussed in the previous chapter, it has been possible to gain an understanding of what factors the participants considered as important in the (re)construction of their sense of national identities in the light of their study-abroad (SA) experience. It was discussed in section 4.5 that the SA experience represents one of the most important factors due to intercultural comparison and identity challenge. The process of national (re)construction happens as the participants' social self acts, reacts and draws the national boundaries in the course of communicating in the intercultural, non-Taiwanese SA setting. This chapter zooms in on this communication process, aiming at providing insights into the question:

> *How do the student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) communicate and negotiate their national identity in the international and intercultural study-abroad environment in the UK?*

Considering that all of the participants introduced themselves and preferred to be known as Taiwanese in their SA environment as reported in the interviews, including those two who believed they are both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese (i.e., Mr. Yeh and Miss Su, see excerpts [4-40] and [4-41]), I focus on addressing the research question in discussing Taiwanese identity.

In answering the research question, I discuss the findings below which unveiled three themes concerning Taiwanese identity negotiation. First I present under what circumstances Taiwanese identity is particularly enacted in the SA environment (section 5.1). The data also show how the participants would present themselves as Taiwanese, but avoid discussing the Taiwan-China (PRC) political dispute particularly with the Chinese (PRC) peers in the UK (section 5.2).

Then through inter-personal communication with nationally and culturally different others, the participants are able to draw and re-draw their national boundaries to clarify their being Taiwanese (section 5.3).

5.1 Taiwanese identity enactment in the UK SA environment

The data revealed that, in addition to identity expression as introducing the self as Taiwanese or coming from Taiwan, Taiwanese identity is particularly enacted due to challenges which stem from: (1) the confusion of nationally and culturally different others concerning Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC), and (2) the sovereignty of Taiwan.

5.1.1 Concerns for confusion (Taiwanese & Chinese, PRC)

The data showed that, due to the SA experience, the participants were well aware of the confusion scenario originating from their appearance, language and culture as "Chinese", and they expressed the need to clarify their Taiwanese identity. The use of the term "Chinese" not only created problems in their national identity (re)construction, as highlighted in the previous chapter, but also easily led some people in the participants' sojourn environment to see them as Chinese (PRC) and/or regard Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) as a single entity.

Very often, the participants' appearance and their speaking of Mandarin Chinese create the impression on others that they are "Chinese (PRC)". For instance, in Miss Pan's experience, the skin colour and the language became markers that led her to be pinned down as Chinese (PRC) by others in her immediate SA environment, and this made her feel upset:

[5-1] Miss Pan: Em, actually if you don't tell a foreigner, she/he would certainly feel that we are Chinese[10] once they see our skin colour. And they won't say Asian, they would say Chinese. Then in the eyes of Asian people, they see like if I am surrounded by a group of Zhong guo ren [Chinese, PRC], they would also feel I'm Chinese because I also speak Mandarin Chinese. This makes me feel quite …

Interviewer: quite what?

Miss Pan: It's the feeling of upset, a little.

> Miss Pan: 恩，其實如果你不跟一個外國人講的話，他一看到我們的膚色，而且他們肯定是會覺得是 Chinese。而且他們不會講 Asian，他們會講 Chinese。而且如果在亞洲人眼裡的話，他們看到，像我如果旁邊圍著一群中國人的話，他們也會覺得我是 Chinese 因為我講的也是，講的也是國語，這個讓我覺得挺那個什麼的…
>
> *Interviewer*: 挺那個什麼?
>
> Miss Pan: 就是 upset 的感覺，有一點。

Similarly, Miss Liu reported that her Russian flatmate directly pointed out the marker of the

appearance and showed the awareness of the two terms, Taiwanese and Chinese:

[5-2] Miss Liu: My flatmate said why we look identical with Zhong guo ren [Chinese] in our appearance. […] I have explained because he's from Russia and he's curious about why Taiwanese are addressed as Zhong guo ren [Chinese]. I explained to him how we got here [from China to Taiwan], and then he has also checked online. […] After he'd got to know more, he told me that now I wouldn't call you Zhong guo ren [Chinese].

> 我的 flatmate 有說為什麼我們和中國人長得一模一樣 […] 我有跟他解釋說這就是為什麼台灣會被視為中國的一部分，我有解釋因為他是俄羅斯來的。他就很好奇為什麼台灣人一直被稱為中國人。我就有和他解釋說我們是怎麼過來的，然後他有去上網查了一下 […] 他後來比較了解之後，他就說那現在我不會叫你中國人。

In both Miss Pan and Liu's cases, it seems that they were often otherised as Chinese (PRC) abroad

(Holliday, 1999; Holliday, Hyde & Kullman, 2004). In Miss Pan's experience, her identity was

reduced to a simplistic, pre-defined "Chinese" and her speaking of Mandarin Chinese was further

taken by others as evidence of her being Chinese (PRC). In Miss Liu's experience with her flatmate,

---

[10] Consistent with data reporting in chapter 4, I keep the term "Chinese" as it was uttered by the participants in the interview while I use pinyin "Zhong guo ren (Chinese)" when they spoke in Mandarin Chinese.

she could have been otherised due to her appearance if it was not for her flatmate's curiosity and willingness to learn the complexity of Miss Liu's avowed Taiwanese identity.

In addition to the appearance and language, many participants also reported their conversational concern in which the word "Chinese" was inevitably used due to the shared cultural elements:

[5-3] Miss Yang: This has an issue. Sometimes when I tell others that I'm going back to Taiwan to celebrate Chinese New Year, I am afraid that foreigners would be confused.

> 這個會有一點，有時候我跟人家說：I'm going back to Taiwan to celebrate Chinese New Year. 我就會怕外國人又搞不清楚。

[5-4] Miss Hu: Actually I often encounter this problem. Because some of my European friends or foreign friends don't understand, they'd ask me if I'm Chinese or… Because sometimes when I'm talking about something, I'd say 'we Chinese', but other times I'd say 'we Taiwanese'. Then they'd say, 'are you exactly Chinese or Taiwanese?' I told them that when I'm talking about the past, like cultural aspects such as Confucius and Mencius or literature stuff, I'd feel I'm Chinese. But if today you're talking to me about politics or economy or educational standpoints, like the daluren [mainland Chinese] having only one child so their family education is different from that of Taiwan. When talking about concepts that are more recent and modern, I'd say 'we Taiwanese'. But when talking about something ancient, I'd say we Chinese.

> 其實這個問題我常常碰到，因為我有些歐洲朋友，就外國人他們不懂，他們就會問我說你到底是中國人還是… 因為有時候我在講東西的時候，我會講 we Chinese。可是有時候在講某些東西時，我又會說 we Taiwanese。 那他們就會說那你到底是 Chinese 還是 Taiwanese？我就跟他們講說，當我在講以前的，比方說 culture 的部分的時候，比方說孔孟或文學這種東西，我就覺得我是 Chinese。但是如果你跟我談的是今天的什麼政治壓，經濟啦，或者是一些教養觀念，像大陸人都是一些獨生子女，他們的教養觀念跟台灣的教養觀念不一樣。在這種一些比較近代的觀念的時候，我就會說 We Taiwanese，但是在講到古代的東西，我就會說 We Chinese。

Whereas Miss Hu's Chinese cultural identity, "we Chinese", was enacted when the conversation focused on the shared culture and historical background dating back to ancient China, her Taiwanese identity represented the present time, leaving modern China out of the picture. It can be observed in their examples how the appearance, the discourses of the shared Chinese cultures and/or the language itself became a concern for the participants and a source of confusion for their interlocutors. As Bechhofer and McCrone (2009) explain, comparison and contrast with others

become essential tools for "delineating who (or what) they are not" (p. 7). Thus, the enactment as in clarifying who they are as well as who they are *not* was prioritised by the participants. For example, Miss Yang would make a distinction between ethnicity and nationality:

> [5-5] Miss Yang: Sometimes when they say Chinese, I'd say, 'ethnicity-wise, I am Chinese but nationality I am not' with a smile.

> 有時候他們會講 Chinese 的時候,我就會笑笑的說 ethnicity-wise, I am Chinese but nationality I am not.

From their examples, it can be seen that there is a need among the participants to clarify their Taiwanese identity due to the shared Chinese background which leads to confusion. Gradually, the boundary drawing between Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) becomes a necessity in Taiwanese identity negotiation, and this will be further discussed in section 5.3.

Whereas in most cases the participants were able to clarify and enact their Taiwanese identity, in a few cases such as the SA environment involving substantial paper work or online applications, the issue of "who you are" is frequently imposed and pre-defined by others in the tick-boxes they offer on the paper. Miss Pan, for example, questioned this system, commonly seen on Western websites (e.g., university application webpages) where the option "Chinese" is under the ethnic and race profile, and she helplessly expressed that she did not know what to choose.

> [5-6] Miss Pan: Actually every time I have to fill up people's group, I don't know which one to choose, so I think we should have our own identity, indeed.

> *Interviewer*: What do you mean 'people's group'?

> Miss Pan: Don't they have like Anglo-white or black or Asian that kind of things.

> *Interviewer*: Yes, that's race, right? Would you choose Chinese?

> Miss Pan: Every time I see this, I don't know which one to choose. […]

> *Interviewer*: Including those Singaporean and Malaysian hua ren [ethnic Chinese] also choose Chinese.

Miss Pan: Yes! They are Chinese too, so I feel the translation is really weird. Hua ren [ethnic Chinese] is not Zhong guo ren [Chinese].

> Miss Pan: 其實每次就是在填那個民族的時候，我都不知道要填哪一個耶，所以我覺得我們應該要有自己的 identity，的確。
>
> *Interviewer:* 你所謂的民族是指?
>
> Miss Pan: 像他們不是會有什麼 Anglo 白人，然後黑人什麼，什麼亞洲人那些。
>
> *Interviewer:* 對，那是人種嘛，對不對? 你會填 Chinese 嗎?
>
> Miss Pan: 我每次看到這個我都不知道要填哪個 […]
>
> *Interviewer:* 包括新加坡，馬來西亞的華人，也填 Chinese。
>
> Miss Pan: 對呀! 他們也是 Chinese，所以我覺得這翻譯得很奇怪，華人不是中國人。

It has been highlighted in chapter 4 that in Mandarin Chinese, "hua ren (華人)" refers to people who have Chinese ethnicities. Now the term "Chinese" was further compared by Miss Pan to those terms she encountered such as White, Caucasian and/or Anglo-Saxon. These terms suggest that people who speak English or move away from England or the UK do not have to be marked merely as English. Although in English, there is the term "Han-Chinese" to indicate the ethnicity, it is not commonly used (e.g., not on the university application webpages as pointed out by Miss Pan) and the participants reported to be easily labelled as Chinese (PRC). The general use of the term "Chinese" in English to refer to the culture, ethnicity/race, national group and language generates confusion, ruthlessly throwing a large number of people who share one of these features into the same cauldron of "Chinese". This can be regarded as strong evidence of otherisation (Holliday, 1999; Holliday et al., 2004), in that people from English speaking countries, while being aware of their identity complexity as embracing White, Caucasian and/or Anglo-Saxon, reduce the foreign others to less complex than they really are (e.g., they are all Chinese). As such, individuals who have an Asian appearance are easily attributed a stereotyped identity which denies their avowed identity and identity complexity.

5.1.2 Questioning the sovereignty of Taiwan and Taiwanese identity

The data revealed that Taiwanese identity is also particularly enacted in the confrontation of Taiwan as a national state, an experience shared by many participants during their sojourn in the UK. As discussed in section 4.5.2, at the basis of the confrontation was the Taiwan-China (PRC) political dispute, so most of the confrontations happened with the Chinese (PRC) peers but was not limited to them. In chapter 4, I focused on discussing how such episodes would contribute to the (re)construction of the national identities. Here I tease them out and concentrate on the confrontation and how Taiwanese identity is enacted in the course of communication.

According to the data, the confrontation often stems from the sovereignty of Taiwan along with the self-claimed Taiwanese identity. The testimony provided by the participants regarded both personal and non-personal experiences which took place in the SA environment. For example, Miss Lin, who spent her senior high years in an international school in Singapore and was undertaking her BA in the UK, narrated one of the arguments she had with the Chinese (PRC) students:

[5-7] Miss Lin: Shortly after I arrived here [the UK], I was dining with a group of Zhong guo ren [Chinese, PRC]. Then they told me that Taiwan belongs to Zhong guo [China], and I started to argue with them. I said Taiwan is a country and so on…

Interviewer: So was it males or females said that to you directly?

Miss Lin: Both. […]

Interviewer: And how did you reply?

Miss Lin: I said Taiwan is itself an independent country because we have a lot of habits and thinking that are very different from Zhong guo [China]. It's like Malaysia wouldn't say that Singapore belongs to them, even though Singapore was separated from Malaysia.

> Miss Lin: 就我剛來的時候跟一群中國人一起吃飯，然後他們就會跟我說台灣是中國的，然後我就開始跟他們吵，我就說台灣就是一個國家，然後什麼什麼的…
>
> *Interviewer*: 是男生還是女生會直接來降跟你說?
>
> Miss Lin: 都有阿。

> *Interviewer*: 那你怎麼回答?
>
> Miss Lin: 我說台灣是自己獨立的一個國家,因為我們有很多習慣阿,思想阿,就是跟中國都差很多。就像馬來西亞不會說新加坡是他們的壓,就算之前新加坡是從馬來西亞分出來的,他們也不會降說。

Boundary drawing between Zhong guo (China) and Taiwan has become an important way of enacting and defending Taiwan and Taiwanese identity. In particular, in Miss Lin's case, in addition to pointing out the difference, she also drew on her knowledge of the relation between Malaysia and Singapore to convey what she believes is the *separation* (see section 4.2.1) between Zhong guo (China) and Taiwan.

Additionally, in Miss Wei's case, she was involved in a language exchange with a student from Pakistan who also pointed to the language and skin colour as markers of being Chinese (PRC). Yet, unlike the confusion scenarios discussed above, Miss Wei's interlocutor alluded to his political support for China (PRC):

> [5-8] Miss Wei: He said, 'China is very good; why don't you want to be Chinese? Isn't your skin colour the same? Don't you speak the same language?' Then I was very angry. I said, 'what's your problem? Are the Americans and British both British? They also speak the same language and they also look not too different. So would you feel British are Americans?'[…]
>
> *Interviewer*: Then how did he argue back?
>
> Miss Wei: He didn't argue much. He just said, 'do you know Pakistan and China are in a very good relationship?'. I said, 'so what?!'

> Miss Wei: 他就說中國很好阿,為什麼你不想要當中國人? 你們的膚色不是一樣嗎? 你們不是講同樣的語言嗎? 然後我就非常的生氣,我說你有病阿? 請問美國人跟英國人都是英國人嗎? 他們也都是講同樣的語言呀,看起來也都是差不多阿,那你會覺得英國人就是美國人嗎? […]
>
> *Interviewer*: 那他怎麼反擊你?
>
> Miss Wei: 他到沒有什麼反擊,他就說你知不知道就是巴基斯坦跟中國的邦交是很好的? 我就說 so what?!

Miss Wei evoked the example of the Americans and British in addressing the skin colour and language markers, showing that a person's national identity is not confined solely to these two factors. Both Miss Lin and Wei's examples provide an insight into the core of the issue: the avowed identity does not match what is ascribed by the interlocutors, whose behaviour can be considered as committing face-threatening acts to the participants. Neither was the Taiwanese positive face (approval by others) provided, nor was the negative face (one's autonomy) supported in the communication (Brown & Levinson, 1987). This can also be observed in Miss Yang's friend, Miss Ting's, experience who was undertaking a language course in an institution in the UK:

> [5-9] Miss Yang: Every time we were divided into groups to do assignments, you had to write down your name and on the side, you always had to write your nationality. Don't know why, but the teacher required you to write your nationality. Ting was assigned to an all dalu [mainland China] students' group. And she wrote Taiwanese on the sheet and passed it on. Then the people from her group crossed out 'Taiwanese' and wrote 'Chinese'. When Ting found out, she was very angry and felt how they could do this! She was furious and she told the teacher about it. […] So at that time, they apologised to Ting. […] It's quite often that such things happen, and I often hear that Taiwanese and dalu [mainland Chinese] students split due to the issue of the nationality.

> 每次我們分組要做 assignments 的時候，你要寫你的名字，然後旁邊永遠都要寫你的國籍，不知道為什麼但是老師都要你寫國籍。Ting 被分到一個全部都是大陸人的 group，然後她就寫 Taiwanese，然後她的單子傳下去，傳到後來她們那組的人就把她的 Taiwanese 劃掉寫 Chinese。Ting 發現後非常的生氣，就覺得說他們怎麼可以這樣子! 他就很生氣的去找老師 […] 所以他們那個時候是對 Ting 做出道歉 […] 常常聽到台灣人和大陸人分裂的事情都是為了國籍的關係。

According to Miss Yang, Miss Ting's identity was publicly threatened and disrespected in the class. Instead of promptly arguing as seen in excerpts [5-7] & [5-8], she sought help from the higher authority, in this case, the class teacher. The Chinese (PRC) students' behaviour mirrored their belief of Taiwan as a province belonging to China (PRC), so "Taiwanese" should not appear after "nationality" on the paper. This was in stark contrast to the participants' avowed Taiwanese identity as their national identity. The incompatibility in conflict causes struggles and emotional charges (Putnam, 2013) and in these cases the responses are those of anger. Miss Wei reported that "I was very angry (我就非常的生氣)", seen in excerpt [5-8], and Miss Ting was "very angry and felt how

they could do this! (非常的生氣就覺得說他們怎麼可以這樣子!)" (Miss Yang), when she found out

that her own words acknowledging fundamentally who she is were disrespectfully crossed out.

Further, Miss Yang's report of how Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) students split due to the

issue of the nationality in excerpt [5-9] is also found to be the case for a few participants in this

study. Although some reported to continue to be friends with those who confronted them, others

shared their experience of eliminating contacts as a result of the confrontation. Miss Yang herself

reported an experience of the latter with a Chinese (PRC) classmate:

> [5-10] Miss Yang: One of the classmates told me insistently that Taiwan belongs to Zhong guo dalu [mainland China]. He asked me why I have to insist that Taiwan doesn't belong to dalu [the mainland]. […] Then I got surprised because at the beginning we were getting along and chatting. But for this we had an argument and were not in contact anymore.
>
> *Interviewer*: Why did he say you are insisting? Is it because of something you said?
>
> Miss Yang: Because I insist on saying that Taiwan is not yours.

> Miss Yang: 其中一個就很堅持的跟我說，台灣就是中國大陸的。他問我為什麼要那麼堅持的認為台灣不是大陸的 […] 然後我一開始被嚇到，因為我們一開始還滿好聊的，但直到這件事，我們吵了一架就再也沒有連絡了。
>
> *Interviewer*: 他為何說你這麼堅持?是你有講了什麼嗎?
>
> Miss Yang: 因為我堅持說台灣不是你們的。

Another example I draw on below was reported by Miss Chen who refused to be friends with a

Chinese (PRC) classmate who did not respect her avowed Taiwanese identity in the classroom:

> [5-11] Miss Chen: When doing the master's degree, we had a group discussion and at that time we were also discussing issues related to culture. Then we also said we're from Taiwan, and he and his friends were murmuring, but we could all hear it, though he thought he wasn't load. Then he murmured: 'Taiwan is Zhong guo [China], what Taiwan!' Just like that. We were very upset. […]
>
> *Interviewer*: So normally when you hear this, would you be friends with this person?
>
> Miss Chen: Everyone has something they consider extremely important. I consider these two words 'Taiwan' very important. You don't respect me like that. Why do I have to be friends

with you?! […] And he happened to live in the same accommodation. He's shorter than me. Once upon entering the elevator, I saw him. I just entered and then turned my head away.

> Miss Chen: 就是念 Master 的時候，就是我們有一個小組討論，然後那時候我們也是討論 Culture 的問題，然後我們也說我們是從台灣來的，然後他跟他朋友就在那邊很小聲的講，可是我們都聽得到，就是他認為很小聲，然後他就說：台灣就是大陸阿，講什麼台灣。就降，我們很生氣。[…]
>
> *Interviewer*: 所以通常你聽到醬子的話，你會跟這個人做朋友嗎?
>
> Miss Chen: 每個人都有自己認為很重要的東西，我認為台灣這兩個字對我來說就是很重要，你降不尊重我那我何必和你當朋友?! […] 而且他剛好又住 XXX，他比我矮，有一次進電梯的時候我就看到他在那，我就進去，然後就回頭避開。

The above cases showed how Miss Yang and Chen took their interlocutors' words, argument and/or murmurs as disrespect to their avowed identity. Their decision to eliminate communication with such parties alluded to their intolerance of identity gaps (Hecht et al., 2005), that is, they cannot tolerate the inhibition of their Taiwanese identity on the relational layer. Perhaps for them, identity is not communicated, but is communication itself as argued by the communication theory of identity (CTI, Hecht et al., 2005), discussed in chapter 2. Thus, if their highly regarded identity cannot be enacted and expressed, there is no communication at all.

Moreover, according to Ting-Toomey (2005), the dominating style emphasises conflict tactics that "push for a person's own position or goal above and beyond the other person's conflict interest" (p. 80). From the above examples, it also becomes evident that some participants employed the dominating style in the conflicts to protect their self-face, namely Taiwanese identity (e.g., extracts [5-5], [5-7], [5-8], [5-9] and [5-10]). The same can be said for their Chinese (PRC) counterparts who overtly and covertly challenged the participants' face (e.g., extracts [5-7], [5-9], [5-10], [5-11] and [4-44]). These indicate that the claim pointing to the collectivists' preference for avoiding tactics in conflicts, proposed by Ting-Toomey's face negotiation theory (2005), is open to debate when national identity is involved. In particular, Ting-Toomey points to the "avoiding and obliging styles" identifiable among collectivists such as "Taiwan and China respondents" to manage

and negotiate conflicts (2005, p. 83), discussed in section 2.2.3. Nonetheless, the findings discussed above would suggest that the avoiding strategy is not always the immediate, prompt response from both Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) students when their national identities are concerned. For some participants in this study, enacting their national identity (e.g., excerpts [5-7], [5-8], [5-9] and [5-10]) was often one of the first reactions to defend their self-face as Taiwanese.

In summary, in this theme I have discussed how Taiwanese identity is particularly enacted due to others' confusion and confrontation. The data showed how the participants' language, appearance and cultural background can be construed by others as Chinese (PRC) and how the indiscriminate use of the term "Chinese" may stifle their avowed identity and identity complexity. In addition to confusion, sometimes some participants were confronted with face threats (i.e., imposing the ascribed Chinese identity or denying their avowed Taiwanese identity). Their examples of the prompt response to defend their self-face as Taiwanese suggest that avoiding and obliging styles do not invariably predict Taiwanese behaviour in conflict management. From time to time, the confrontation can result in the demise of a friendship or the end of communication.

Yet, some participants have never had any experience of identity confrontation during their sojourn in the UK because they adopted the avoidance strategy from the very beginning while some of those who had experienced the conflicts also tended to avoid them later in their sojourn. So I tease out the theme of conflict avoidance to discuss its underlying reasons and strategies below.

5.2 Conflict avoidance

In this theme, I discuss data showing that while all participants reported that they introduce themselves as Taiwanese in the SA environment in general, many participants expressed that they would avoid discussing the political issue concerning the sovereignty of Taiwan in order to avoid

arguments particularly with their Chinese (PRC) classmates and/or flatmates. Below, I explore why they have arrived at such tendency and how they avoided arguments.

5.2.1 Reasons for conflict avoidance

The reasons for the participants to avoid arguments over the Taiwan-China (PRC) political issue in the communication with the Chinese (PRC) peers in the UK are summarised into four groups: (1) futility, (2) respect and understanding, (3) harmony of the friendship/relationship and (4) personal safety.

5.2.1.1 Futility

The first reason is represented by the participants' perceived uselessness of discussing the Taiwan-China (PRC) political issue. Mr. Sun, for example, believed it is useless due to the perceived impossibility for normal citizens to change the political situation:

> [5-12] Mr. Sun: I realised later on that it's actually meaningless to talk about this with daluren [mainland Chinese].
>
> *Interviewer*: Why?
>
> Mr. Sun: Because these people they…even after you come to a conclusion with them after discussion, they wouldn't exert any influence. The status of Taiwan in the world wouldn't change just because they consult with you. I feel the status of Taiwan in the world still relies on the efforts of the government.

> Mr. Sun: 後來我又發現，你跟大陸人討論這個其實沒有意義。
>
> *Interviewer*: 為什麼?
>
> Mr. Sun: 因為他們這些人…就你跟他討論出一個結論之後，他們這些人並不會去發揮什麼影響，就我們台灣真正在國際上的地位，不會因為他們這些人跟你一番討教之後有了變化，我覺得台灣在國際上的地位還是要靠政府來努力。

Additionally, Miss Yang, who reported her and her friends' identity challenge experiences above in excerpts [5-9] and [5-10], expressed how she later found it is useless to communicate with the Chinese (PRC) peers about the Taiwan-China (PRC) issue:

> [5-13] Miss Yang: But I later found that arguing about it is useless. Maybe you convince one person, but it doesn't mean you Taiwan is a country in their eyes because they just truly feel you're not a country from their heart.
>
> 可是我後來發現爭沒有用，可能你爭贏了一個人，但不代表你台灣在他們眼裡就是一個國家，因為他們就真心的覺得你不是一個國家。

Like Miss Yang, Mr. Sun and some other participants, when communicating with the Chinese students (PRC) during their sojourn, they felt that eventually they were still ascribed a Chinese (PRC) national identity despite their efforts in communicating with them. This is due to the existing macro-political situation today which, in the participants' consideration, would not be altered merely by their identity negotiation with the Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the UK.

5.2.1.2 Respect and understanding

Conflicts occur in spite of good inter-personal relationships and a few participants have learnt to keep silence with certain Chinese (PRC) peers as a way of showing respect. For example, Miss Wu, who is a strong supporter of the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) mentioned in chapter 4, recounted such an experience. When questioned about her nationality by a Chechen flatmate in their shared accommodation, her response angered her two Chinese (PRC) flatmates present:

> [5-14] Miss Wu: I replied that I'm not [Chinese, PRC]. I come from Taiwan and I'm Taiwanese. Then my best flatmate said, 'if you say that again, we will both get upset and want to hit you. Just don't mention this issue again'. She just said that. […] Then she was very upset and I know that I cannot mention this topic with her again.
>
> *Interviewer*: When your flatmate said that, you really shut up?
>
> Miss Wu: I really shut up because I feel it's not necessary to go that way. Also it's concerning the issue of an individual's self-cultivation. Right. Then I also have a bit of confidence. Because I feel that you [her flatmate] and we have the same standpoint [in opposing each other], but how come you can't digest those emotions. Why hitting people or that kind of

things?! I feel what she said [about Taiwan-China] is not right either, but I wouldn't have this kind of thoughts. I just respect. I feel this is the chief difference.

Miss Wu: 我就說我不是，我就是來自台灣，I'm Taiwanese。然後我最好的室友就講說：你如果再這樣講的話，我想我們兩個都會生氣，都會想要打你，就不要再講這個話題了。她就這樣講 […] 然後所以她就很生氣，然後我就知道說這個話題再也不能跟她提。

Interviewer: 那你室友當初那樣講，你就真的閉嘴嗎？

Miss Wu: 我就真的閉嘴，因為我覺得沒有必要降，而且那是個人的一個修養的問題。對，然後我也有一點自信，因為我覺得你跟我們都是同一個立場，可是你為什麼就不能把那些情緒消化掉，為什麼想要揍人或什麼之類的。我也覺得你們降講不對，可是問題是我不會有這種想法，我就是尊重，我覺得這就是最不同的差別。

In Miss Wu's case, her avowed Taiwanese identity was overtly denied by her good flatmates in front of their Chechen flatmate. Instead of defending her self-face, she decided to keep silence hereafter with these two flatmates as a gesture of respect. When identity on the personal level is hindered by the relation or the related others in the communication, this occasions the individual's identity gap (Jung & Hecht, 2008; Jung et al., 2007), discussed in section 2.2.3. The gap here is the inconsistency between Miss Wu's personal layer and relational layer of identity. Jung's studies indicate that identity gaps predict the individual's well-being and in many cases may lead to depression as the personal layer of identity is repeatedly silenced in the relationship. Nevertheless, Miss Wu was able to see her way of negotiation in a different light, as being on a higher level of self-cultivation that was above her Chinese (PRC) flatmates. This also showed that her avoidance style in conflict was not for the consideration of the others, but for her own identity image seen as being capable of respect and reason. This is in contrast to one of the core assumptions of Ting-Toomey's face-negotiation theory (2005), in that "individualism-collectivism shapes members' preferences for self-oriented facework versus other-oriented facework" (p. 73). The data in this study demonstrate that the avoiding style is also mediated by self-face concern. Evidently, Miss Wu's idea is also shared by some other participants such as Miss Chen and Wei:

[5-15] Miss Chen: Yes, I really feel it's not necessary. If really arguing, I'd feel your level is very low. There's no need for me to fight with you. Right. My cultivation/civilised level is higher.

> 對呀，而且就覺得沒必要壓。如果真的要吵的話，我就會覺得你們的 level 很低，沒有必要要去跟你吵架阿。對呀，我的文化水準比較高。

[5-16] Miss Wei: There's just no need for you to go…er…competing harshly for this thing. Because if I compete harshly and I'm just doing exactly what he does, I'd then feel I'm the same as him.

> 就是沒有必要為了這個東西然後你去… 恩…爭破頭，因為就是你去爭破頭，然後你去做跟他一樣的行為，那我會覺得其實我跟他一樣。

It can be seen that the intentional actions of showing disrespect for and violating others' identity were deemed lack of self-cultivation or not civilised; thus, Miss Chen and Wei were reluctant to be considered as acting the same themselves. The reports showed that they gave more importance to their self-face as a civilised, rational person. By the same token, Miss Wu's Chinese (PRC) flatmates' reaction of lashing out at her Taiwanese identity in front of their Chechen flatmate seen in excerpt [5-14] would also put the viability of collectivists' preference for other-oriented facework under question.

Furthermore, some participants showed their understanding towards their Chinese (PRC) peers, considering that the latter simply expressed what they had been taught in their schools back home. Mr. Sun for instance explained how he understands that some Chinese (PRC) students did not intend to "bully Taiwanese", but were simply acting on what they had been told throughout their life by their government and education:

[5-17] Mr. Sun: Once we were doing an activity in our class in which a piece of paper was placed on the wall and different groups had to go to see the paper and read it sort of activity. There were many pieces and it happened that one of it wrote Taiwanese xxx; there's the word 'Taiwanese'. […] Then he [a Chinese student, PRC] told the teacher that he had a problem. After that he said it loudly: 'I think this word is wrong'. He said this word 'Taiwanese' doesn't exist because it's not a country. […]

Interviewer: See. Then what did you feel about this incident?

Mr. Sun: Actually I knew at the time the reason why he behaved like that. It's not because he wanted to bother or bully Taiwanese, but because the education he received taught him that Taiwan belongs to them. I can only say it's their government's policy. Their education led to today's situation. I feel this has nothing to do with him personally, so I didn't want to argue with him.

> Mr. Sun: 有一次我們班上老師做那種小遊戲,就是牆上放一張紙,然後要分小組過去看那張紙,然後念出那張紙的英文之類的,因為放了很多塊,那剛好,有一塊上面就寫著 Taiwanese 什麼什麼,有 Taiwanese 這個字。[…] 然後就說老師我有問題,然後就很大聲的講:我覺得你這個字錯了,他說根本就沒有Taiwanese這個字存在,他說因為他們就不是個國家 […]
>
> *Interviewer:* 恩,那發生了這件事情你有什麼感觸?
>
> Mr. Sun:其實我那時候就知道他會降子是因為…不是說他本身腦子是想要弄台灣人,想要欺負台灣人,而是他受的教育就是告訴他台灣是他們的,那只能說是他們政府的政策,他們的教育造就了現在降子的情況,我覺得跟他這個人沒有關係,所以我也不想去跟他爭。

Mr. Sun and some participants showed their understanding that the construction of the Chinese (PRC) peers' national identity involves seeing Taiwan as part of an integral "we". The word Taiwanese and any reference pointing to Taiwan as an independent national state are inconsistent with their cognitive understanding of Chinese (PRC) national identity. Understanding this inconsistency for their Chinese (PRC) peers shows that the participants are practising their concerns for others. This layer of understanding also underpins the tendency to avoid argument over the political issue under discussion with the Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the UK.

5.2.1.3 Harmony of the friendship/relationship

Avoiding conflicts also becomes important in order to live in harmony and preserve friendships and relationships in the SA environment. Especially for the participants who held close friendships with the Chinese (PRC) students, stirring the conflict appeared as unnecessary and detrimental to their friendship. In Miss Wang and Ma's report, for example, avoiding mentioning the political issue enabled them to avoid letting the conflict come in the way of their friendship and care for each other.

[5-18] Miss Wang: Because there's no need for everyone to break off their friendship for this.

因為沒有必要為了這種東西大家撕破臉醬子。

[5-19] Miss Ma: I and my dalu [mainland Chinese] friends have a tacit understanding that we take care of each other since we're here [abroad]. There's no need to talk about this because it's rather hard to meet people here [in the UK] who understand a bit of your language and thoughts. Rather than being opponents, it's better to take care of each other.

我跟我的大陸朋友都很有默契的，就是說來到這邊就互相照顧嘛，沒必要談這個。 因為來這邊比較難碰到語言和想法都稍微通的人，與其是對立還不如互相照顧。

The thought and act to preserve friendships in spite of different political views were seen as beneficial for the participants' stability in the foreign environment. Living in harmony with their Chinese (PRC) friends in the UK, the participants' concern for maintaining the friendship shapes their behaviour to avoid the political topic. This is in line with Ting-Toomey's mutual face concern.

5.2.1.4 Personal safety

Another important reason for conflict avoidance was expressed by some participants as the concern for personal safety. It emerged particularly in cases where the participants were outnumbered and felt threatened. As Mr. Lee expressed his concern for the potentially irrational interlocutor in conflicts, Miss Huang spoke of her powerlessness to respond and argue back because she was allocated by the university an accommodation with three male Chinese (PRC) students in a flat:

[5-20] Mr. Lee: My first thought is that we're out-numbered. Because even if you try to be rational, you're not sure whether the interlocutor is rational or not. Right, so I feel sometimes you need to protect yourself.

我直接的想法是，人單勢薄阿，因為你即使要試著讓自己很理性，但是你不確定對方理不理性。對呀，所以我覺得有時候還是要保護自己。

[5-21] Miss Huang: Sometimes there are more dalu [mainland Chinese] students…just lots of them and Taiwanese are few. Sometimes I get the feeling of being bullied; like I live with three dalu males in the accommodation. How do I fight? Right?! And I am a girl…so I sometimes feel, if in that situation I can't talk, I feel a bit like being bullied.

> 有時候大陸同學比較多什麼的…就是人多，然後台灣人少的時候，有時候也會有一種感覺被欺負。像我跟三個大陸男生住，怎麼吵？對不對?! 而且我是女生…所以我有時候都會覺得說，如果在那場合，我不能講話的時候，我會覺得有點被欺負。

Their concern and experience pointed to their awareness of the potential conflict situation due to the Taiwan-China (PRC) issue in the SA environment in the UK. It is undeniable that conflicts can be seen as functional, stimulating curiosity or invoking change (Putnam, 2006). Nonetheless, sometimes they also lead to identity gaps, bullying and Miss Su's concern that, "if conflicts don't bring harmony but destruction, wouldn't it cause bigger problems, like war? (如果衝突沒有帶來和諧，而衝突帶來的是破滅的話，不是會有更多更大的問題，比如說戰爭?)" (Miss Su). In their cases, identity threats can be linked to physical threats, so the concern for personal safety is also an important factor mediating their avoiding tendency.

Overall, the examples above demonstrate how meaninglessness, respect and understanding, preservation of inter-personal affiliation and safety are the principal reasons for the participants to steer away from potential arguments over the political issue with the Chinese (PRC) peers in general or with certain ones (e.g., good friends). Many participants also reported a combination of these reasons. Therefore, the underlying reason for conflict avoidance with the Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the SA context is not represented by merely one dimension such as self-face or other-face, but different combinations of the reported reasons in different contexts.

The avoidance tendency is paralleled by a number of conflict management strategies developed to prevent the argument from escalating. Below is a report of the tactics employed by the participants particularly with the Chinese (PRC) students during their sojourn in the UK.

5.2.2 Avoidance strategies

In exploring strategies employed by the participants to avoid argument over the Taiwan-China (PRC) issue with the Chinese (PRC) peers during their sojourn in the UK, three different ways are

identified to form more consistent patterns in the data. These are: tacit/mutual agreement between the two parties, employing amiable ways and silencing the self.

5.2.2.1 Tacit/mutual agreement

The data revealed a tacit or sometimes mutual agreement from both parties (Chinese, PRC and Taiwanese) to avoid discussing the Taiwan-China (PRC) issue, primarily for the purpose of not endangering existing inter-personal affiliations. This has already been observed in Miss Ma's excerpt [5-19] above, and I further present Mr. Lee and Miss Ni's personal experience. Mr. Lee related how he found himself to be in line with one of his Chinese (PRC) classmates:

> [5-22] Mr. Lee: I would like to know some things but wouldn't touch the issue of sovereignty particularly. There's even a classmate who told me directly that we can talk about everything but politics.

> 會想要知道一些事情，可是並不會特別去觸及有關於主權這一塊，因為甚至有一個同學直接跟我講說：我們不談政治，但是什麼都可以談。

Additionally, Miss Ni also narrated an experience of her boyfriend who was chatting with a female Chinese (PRC) student who claimed that Taiwan is part of China (PRC). While her boyfriend was drawing the difference of how Taiwanese have a different passport and can enter many countries without a visa, the Chinese (PRC) student replied:

> [5-23] Miss Ni: Then the girl said, 'this is the propaganda of the Western countries'. She immediately said it's because the Western world is united to pull Taiwan away. That's why they give such special offers. Like this. Their ideas are like this. […] But because of this, she right away blocked my boyfriend [on a social network] after their chat. […] Only when I finally met this girl after six months did we untie this knot. Then we talked about this and we both felt that we were so silly! Like why we would have some prejudice for some political stuff and have some sensitively unpleasant moments. So we then avoid talking about it.

> 然後那個女生就說: 唉呀，this is the propaganda of the Western countries. 她會馬上說就是因為西方世界想要聯合他們把他們拉走，所以他們才給他降的優惠。醬子，他們的想法就醬子[…] 但是因為這件事情，後來他跟我男朋友聊完後，他馬上就封鎖我男朋友了[…] 過了六個月後，我才真正見到那個女生，才開始打開心結。然後他就跟我聊天，談到過去兩個人就覺得說，阿我們都好傻喔! 就是為什麼會為了一些政治的事情，有一些偏見，然後有一些敏感的不愉快，所以就會避而不談。

Miss Ma, Mr. Lee, Miss Ni and some other participants and their Chinese (PRC) friends thus seemed to delineate the conversational limit beyond which they would not cross, maintaining the relationship in the safe, harmonious zone. By not mentioning politically sensitive issues concerning Taiwan-China (PRC), both parties save their self-face, other-face and mutual face and at the same time reduce their incompatibility.

5.2.2.2 Amiable ways

Another type of communicative strategy emerging from the data is represented by an amiable attitude employed in replying to and addressing the Chinese (PRC) peers in the UK. The amiable ways can be dynamic and context-dependent, so they differ in different participants' report. In Miss Wang's case, this was carried out by paying attention to the terminology used:

[5-24] *Interviewer*: May I interrupt a bit. Can I ask, concerning the terminology, if you feel you're Zhong guo ren [Chinese]?

Miss Wang: I don't feel so.

Interviewer: Because you just said 'inland compatriot'. You know what I mean?

Miss Wang: Oh I understand. Maybe it's because I've been abroad for long, sometimes you don't talk in a way that's too much… It's like inland compatriot doesn't make them [mainland Chinese] feel so rough or uncomfortable sort of…

Interviewer: 打岔一下，可以問你一下，就是用語的問題，你覺得你是中國人嗎？

Miss Wang: 我不覺得阿。

Interviewer: 因為你剛說內地的同胞，你懂我意思嗎？

Miss Wang: 喔，我懂。因為可能出來久了，就是出來有時候話不要講得太…就是內地同胞，就是讓她們感覺不會那麼強烈的不舒服什麼之類的…

Miss Wang was undertaking a one-year postgraduate course in the UK. She does not identify herself as Zhong guo ren (Chinese) as clarified above. Despite this, by using terms that sounded friendlier or closer to her Chinese (PRC) friends, Miss Wang was creating a *grey area* of identity

negotiation, as sending ambiguous messages unless clarified otherwise. Similarly, Miss Hu might also leave such impressions on her interlocutor in her amiable response:

[5-25] Miss Hu: When I just came here [the UK] last year, a daluren [mainland Chinese] said, 'oh..family, family'. Then I just, 'hehe' [smiling].

我去年剛來的時候就有大陸人說: 喔，一家人，一家人。 然後我就，呵呵。

Yet, unlike Miss Wang and Hu, some other participants may reply in friendly ways, but tend not to leave a grey area for the ascribed Chinese identity. In excerpt [5-5], it has been mentioned that Miss Yang would smilingly clarify that in terms of nationality, she is not Chinese. Moreover, Miss Huang, who discussed her concern for personal safety in a flat with three Chinese (PRC) male students in excerpt [5-22], shared below her negotiation in one episode of identity threat via an amiable attitude:

[5-26] Miss Huang: At the time of our National Day, 10th of October, I changed my [social network] profile on which I put our national flag which it's written 'I'm Taiwanese'. […] Then when I got back home, my flatmates [two Chinese males] were mocking me. They said it's written Taiwanese and they were laughing. […] I said, 'what are you laughing at? What's so funny?' He said, 'if I am Shenyang, he's from Shenyang by the way, can I say I'm Shenyang*ese*?!' […] He meant that can't be used. It's like it can only be used when it's a country.

Interviewer: So how did you…did you argue or?

Miss Huang: I didn't fight with him because I live with him so I didn't want to. But I replied that, 'there's nothing funny about it. If you say Taiwanese to some people who are more knowledgeable or to some foreign businessmen, nobody would laugh. People who laugh may show their lack of experience, so maybe you shouldn't laugh next time'.

Interviewer: Did he reply?

Miss Huang: No, because I said with a smile.

Miss Huang: 我們國慶日的時候，十月十號的時候，我把我的 XX 的 Profile 換成我們的國旗，然後國旗上面有寫 I'm Taiwanese [...] 然後後來我回家，我的室友就拿我開玩笑。他們就說你那上面還寫 Taiwanese，他們在那邊笑 [...] 我說你在笑時麼？有什麼好笑？他說如果我昰瀋陽，他是瀋陽人，我可以講說我昰瀋陽 ese 嗎?![...] 可是他的意思就是說，不可以降講，其實就有點影射這是國家才可以用的東西。

> *Interviewer:* 那你當時是怎麼跟他~~有跟他吵起來嗎還是?
>
> Miss Huang: 我沒有跟他吵,因為我跟他住在一起,所以我不想跟他吵,可是我有回他,我就跟他講說:我覺得這沒有什麼好笑的,我就說如果你跟一些比較有知識水準的人講話,一些有在做生意的外國人,你跟他講Taiwanese沒有人敢笑。我說會笑的人,可能代表他可能沒什麼經驗喔,所以你可能下次不要笑。
>
> *Interviewer:* 那他沒有回你嗎?
>
> Miss Huang: 沒有,因為我都笑笑得講。

By sending friendly gestures, Miss Wang and Miss Hu were creating a grey area (excerpts [5-24] & [5-25]), spurring their interlocutors to consider that they embraced or did not disagree with the ascribed identity, though on the personal level they identify themselves as Taiwanese (Hecht et al., 2005). In contrast, in Miss Huang and Yang's examples, they chose not to allow this grey area of communication, and clarified their positions by showing an amiable face and carefully choosing the words. Thus, despite using the agreeable attitudes to avoid fights or arguments, the messages and impressions the SSFT choose to create can differ to a large degree.

5.2.2.3 Silencing the self

The data also revealed that a few participants would refrain themselves from enacting their identity in the presence of certain Chinese (PRC) peers due to the latter's protest. Miss Wu's experience mentioned in excerpt [5-14], where she decided to "shut up" in front of her flatmates, represents one significant case here. Miss Wu was able to learn to become more submissive in response to her Chinese (PRC) flatmate in the intercultural environment in which she found herself. Her claims to learn to respect due to international and intercultural education will be discussed in the next chapter (section 6.2.3). Moreover, Mr. Sun also related to a scenario where, in echo of the "anti pro-Zhong guo (China)" current in Taiwan at the time, he, as the chairman of a Taiwanese international student society on a social network, was going to host an anti-Zhong guo (China) activity, which was protested by his Chinese (PRC) flatmate:

[5-27] Mr. Sun: He's [the flatmate] very upset. He said, 'we live underneath the same roof and in front of me you're going to host this anti-Zhong guo [China] stuff. Em, I feel I'm not comfortable with you' sort of things. Then he just said it directly. Then after talking, alright, we [Mr. Sun and his Taiwanese friends] decided not to go public with this activity. We'd just do it privately.

Interviewer: Was it due to the flatmate's protest? […]

Mr. Sun: Yes. That's right. But what my flatmate said is not wrong either. We are friends. We don't have to slap his face in front of him [metaphor]. We can just do it privately, and don't tell them.

Interviewer: So you and this flatmate, normally you're fine with each other as long as you don't discuss this area?

Mr. Sun: Yes.

Mr. Sun: 他就很不高興,他說: 我們住在同一個屋子下,你現在當著我的面要舉辦這個反中國的東西,恩,我覺得我跟你不舒服降子。然後他就直接拿出來講,那後來講一講就是,好,這個活動我們就不要公開化弄,我們就私底下弄一弄就好了。

Interviewer: 就是因為那個室友的抗議是嗎? […]

Mr. Sun: 對,是沒錯。但是我室友說得也沒有錯,我們是朋友,我們沒有必要在他的面前就打他的臉降子。我們可以私底下弄一弄就好,不要告訴他們。

Interviewer: 所以你跟這個室友,基本上平時都沒有問題,只要不要討論到那塊就好了?

Mr. Sun: 對。

In Mr. Sun's case, it can be seen that he and his flatmate normally employed the strategy of

tacit/mutual agreement so as not to engage in the issue of Taiwan-China (PRC) dispute while in

certain circumstances such as in excerpt [5-27], he decided to refrain himself from showing open

support for his Taiwanese position in front of his flatmate.

By and large, all three strategies share the common element of avoidance. In particular, the

avoiding style involves "eluding the conflict topic, the conflict party, or the conflict situation

altogether" (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 80). The findings discussed in this section show the general

tendency of avoiding the conflict topic of the Taiwan-China (PRC) issue rather than the conflict

party. Moreover, by applying Hecht et al.'s different layers of identity (2005) discussed in chapter

2, it is evident that in many cases presented above, the participants would or have learnt to prevent themselves from enacting their Taiwanese identity on the relational layer with their Chinese (PRC) friends in general or with certain Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the UK. Those who chose to enact their identity on the relational layer reported to handle it cautiously with an agreeable attitude. Overall, the participants used a combination of these strategies in accordance with different contexts and interlocutors.

In summary, it can be observed that the avoidance reported in this section does not definitively prevent some participants from enacting their Taiwanese identity. Instead, many of them negotiated their ways through avoiding the conversation going further with the political, sensitive Taiwan-China (PRC) issue (the conflict topic) which might often degenerate into arguments and fights. The avoidance strategies the participants employed involve mutual/tacit agreement, responding in an amiable way and silencing the self. Underpinning their avoiding tendency are their experiences of feeling useless to discuss this issue with their Chinese (PRC) peers, showing respect for and understanding of them, preserving the friendship with them and concern for personal safety. These demonstrate a multi-dimensional concern, for self-face, other-face and mutual face in the conflict management.

This section shows that, in contrast to section 5.1.2, the break-up with the Chinese (PRC) student sojourners is not the only outcome between Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) students in the SA environment in the UK. By avoiding discussing the political issue of Taiwan-China (PRC) dispute, both parties can be closely affiliated. It is also through the close contacts with the Chinese (PRC) peers during the SA experience that the SSFT are made more aware of what makes Taiwan and themselves as Taiwanese different from Chinese (PRC). Throughout chapter 4, the findings indicated the participants' frequent acts of drawing comparisons with the "Significant Other" (i.e., China, PRC). Additionally, seen in section 5.1.1, due to the shared ethnic, cultural and language backgrounds, it becomes particularly important to draw the boundaries between Taiwanese and

Chinese (PRC) in order to clarify the participants' avowed national identity. So, in the next section, I discuss this process of boundary drawing in communication in the SA context.

5.3 Boundary drawing via communication

The data uncovered that the participants tend to draw on a number of differences between Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) in negotiating and clarifying their identity. A spectrum of differences was identified in the reports of their communication with the Chinese (PRC) peers in the UK, including: language (section 5.3.1), government configurations/democracy (section 5.3.2) and ways of communication (section 5.3.3). Some of these differences were not only observed by the participants, but were also reciprocally pointed out by culturally and nationally different others during their sojourn in the UK.

5.3.1 Language

The participants reported salient differences in spoken Mandarin Chinese through their first-hand experience of conversing with the Chinese (PRC) students during their sojourn. Miss Chen and Ni, for example, pointed to a different tone, accent and usage of the language. Whereas Miss Chen found the Mandarin Chinese spoken by some Chinese (PRC) students noisy, the latter party would consider the former's speaking as being too gentle, as reported by Miss Ni:

> [5-28] Miss Chen: I don't like the accent of daluren [mainland Chinese] because I feel isn't it good to talk like us with a gentle tone?! Why do they have to… [imitating the tongue curling sound]?! It's very noisy.
>
> | 我不是很喜歡大陸人的腔調，因為我覺得像我們降講話很溫柔不好嗎?! 為什麼一定要降… (捲舌音)?! 就會覺得很吵。 |
> | --- |

> [5-29] Miss Ni: For example, their pinyin and their terms because their usage of words and phrases are often completely different. And they also especially mock our accent, saying that the way we talk is way too sweet and gentle and that too often we add the sound of 'oh' or 'la'

169

sort of things in the end of the sentence. Their dalu [mainland Chinese] accent sometimes is so heavy that the curling sounds are all mixed together. I can't even understand but have to ask them to please say it again. All these are gaps, yea.

比方說他們的拼音，還有學他們的用詞，因為他們常常講話的用字遣詞是完全不同的。然後他們也會特別的嘲笑我們的腔調，說我們講話很嗲阿，然後動不動後面就會加一個喔或啦，類似醬子。他們的大陸腔有時候重到捲舌都捲在一起，我聽不清楚，還要問他們說可不可以請你再講一次。那個都是一個隔閡，對呀。

Participants in this study have all experienced this layer of difference and it is reciprocal with the Chinese (PRC) students as both parties can readily distinguish each other by speaking Mandarin Chinese in the UK. Consequently, this becomes one of the important sources from which the participants draw the national boundaries. Miss Yang also reported a personal experience in which the vocabulary divergence of Mandarin Chinese transpired to be the indicator of the different national identities in her conversation with her Chinese (PRC) classmate:

[5-30] Miss Yang: Like they [Chinese, PRC] say 'da yin ji' [photocopy machine] instead of 'ying yin ji'[photocopy machine spoken by Taiwanese]. So sometimes when I didn't understand, I asked what it meant. Then he'd [her Chinese classmate] explain. But at the time I replied in a bossy air saying that none of us would say that. The underlying meaning categorises us Taiwan as a country and you're another country. We use different things.

像他們會說打印機，不是影印機。就有什候我聽不懂時，我就會說這什麼意思? 然後他就會解釋。但我那時就會很 bossy 的說: 我們沒有人降講的。這話的背後其實就已經歸類說我們台灣是一個國家，你們是另一個國家，我們用不同的東西。

Some participants, such as Miss Yang and Ni, found it difficult to understand the Mandarin Chinese spoken by their Chinese (PRC) peers and vice versa. Through speaking Mandarin Chinese in the UK, not only did the participants come to realise such differences in the language, but the differences have also been enacted as a marker in the communication, marking their "gaps" and/or national identity. A number of studies (Britain, 2013; Liao, 2008) suggest how the phonological and semantic variations derive, among other factors, from the geographical distribution of a given language, which assumes diverse characteristics across separated communities. By the same token, the Mandarin Chinese used in Taiwan has become a distinct variety bearing a multitude of

differences which do not only regard accents and tone, but also allowed for the birth of new idioms,

vocabulary use and semantic differences. These mark a readily identifiable divergence from the

Mandarin Chinese spoken in the Zhong guo (China, PRC), as reported by the participants.

5.3.2 Government configurations/democracy

A factor to which the participants attributed a crucial importance in enacting Taiwanese identity is

by drawing the differences in government configurations between Taiwan and China (PRC). Many

participants drew on their first-hand understanding of the Chinese (PRC) students to convey how

Taiwan is an independent political entity having freedom of speech and democracy, which factors

also underpin their (re)construction of national identity discussed in chapter 4. Miss Chen, for

instance, spoke of her experience of being asked by Japanese students about the difference between

Taiwan and China (PRC):

> [5-31] Miss Chen: Some Japanese asked me this question. I told them that like we can use [a particular online social network] but they can't. And if they in some social networks […] talk something negative about their government, their messages will be deleted for sure. But we have freedom of speech. […] My former flatmate also told me that the reason his father sent him to study abroad is because his father wanted him to see the world outside. Er…why other people can…how to say…like what the differences are. His father told him that he can't say whatever he wants in Zhong guo [China] because something bad may happen anytime. So this is very different from Taiwan. So sometimes I would also explain in this way to some of my friends who have doubts.

> 有些日本人問我這個問題，我就跟他們說：像我們可以用 XX，他們不行。 像如果他門在社群網站 […] 如果他們說了一些不好的話，對於他們的政府，他們的訊息都會被刪掉，一定會被刪掉。但是我們有言論的自由 [...] 而且我之前的前室友，他也跟我說過，他爸爸為什麼送他出國，也是因為他爸爸希望他可以到國外看看， 恩，為什麼別人可以…怎麼說阿，就是有什麼不同。他爸爸也跟他說過，他爸爸沒有辦法在中國這個地方隨便亂講話，因為可能隨時會有什麼不好的事情發生之類的。所以這就是跟台灣有很大的區別，所以有時候我也會降去解釋給我有疑問的朋友聽。

Miss Chen's report is a typical example in demonstrating how the communication with her Chinese

(PRC) flatmate has become part of her repertoire of narratives in boundary drawing between

Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC) when communicating with others (non-Chinese, PRC) in the UK. In

this way, the realities are created and recreated by and through the communication, as postulated by Mead (1962), discussed in chapter 2. Below, Miss Yang talked of how she witnessed the difference in the level of democracy and freedom in a media classroom with a Chinese (PRC) classmate:

[5-32] Miss Yang: I remember when I was taking a module about media, in one of the classes we discussed whether having one monopoly medium is better or having many different media. […] It was generally agreed that the second way is better. But all of a sudden a male Zhong guo [China] student with his face kinda red and upset raised his hand. […] He said, 'firstly, when there are so many different newspapers to choose from, it's bothering because you don't even know which one to choose. If there's just one, it's simpler. And secondly, who says we don't have freedom?! You can choose to buy it or not to buy it'. Then the whole class was silent. I guess everyone was a bit taken aback by this. […] I feel…having different news media is a way to get to know different perspectives instead of just knowing things from one perspective, which, you then choose to take or not.

> 我記得我那時候有修一門 media 的課,然後有一次我們在討論哪一種媒體制度比較好,是一個媒體獨大,還是有很多不同的媒體[…]然後大家都同意說第二種方式比較好。然後突然有一個男的中國學生,然後你就看他滿臉通紅 [...] 他就說:第一,當有這麼多不同的報紙要選擇,會很煩,因為你不知道要選哪一份,如果只有一份報紙的話,那就簡單多了。然後第二,誰說我們沒有自由?! 你可以選擇要買或是不買呀。他就降講,然後整個教室突然很安靜,全部的人都傻眼 [...] 我覺得…有不同份報紙是讓你看到不同的意見或聲音,而不是說只是只有一種角度和意見,然後你選擇要不要去接受他。

The way freedom of speech is allowed by the government and exercised by the citizens naturally create the basis for a cultural environment and a way of thinking which are perceived as increasingly divergent between the two countries. The examples illustrated above shed light on the participants' process of differentiation from the Chinese (PRC) peers through participating in the intercultural, international and educational environment in the UK.

In addition to the foregoing, the participants' boundary drawing as Taiwanese being different from the Chinese (PRC) is also reciprocated in various conversations with nationally different others during their sojourn. Miss Chen narrated her experience with her friends from Thailand:

[5-33] Miss Chen: Some of my Thai friends had already known some Taiwanese people before they met me. Sometimes when we hung out together and happened to see their country-fellows on the street, then they asked, 'are you from China?' sort of things. And my Thai friends would immediately say, 'no no no, she's Taiwanese or she's from Taiwan.' sort of things.

> 還有一些泰國朋友，他們之前就認識台灣人，所以有時候我跟他們一起的時候，也是會遇到一些泰國人，就他們的朋友，然後他們就會問說 are you from China 什麼的，然後我朋友就會很急忙的說：no no no, she's Taiwanese 或 she's from Taiwan 什麼的。

On many occasions, Taiwanese were identified as Chinese (PRC) due to the appearance and language markers as discussed in section 5.1.1. However, many participants' experience also coincided with Mckinven's study (2011) which discusses that in the intercultural and international educational environment, some non-Chinese (PRC) students do not consider Taiwan as belonging to China (PRC). A similar experience was also reported by Miss Su whose friend from Thailand defended her Taiwanese identity:

[5-34] Miss Su: A female friend from Thailand who's dating a guy from Zhong guo [China]. Then they happened to talk about her friends, including me. She said, 'I have a good friend who's Taiwanese'. And the Zhong guo guy said, 'Taiwan is a province of Zhong guo'. Then my friend was defending me, and I thanked her for that. She argued something like, 'you can't control people from Taiwan and Taiwanese can go to Europe without a Visa, but you China can't'. Then the response of the Zhong guo guy was quite interesting. He said that, 'even it's not now [Taiwan is not China's], it will be in the future'. This shows that they know clearly that it's not now.

> 一個女生朋友，泰國人，他跟一個中國男生約會。然後他們聊到這個女生朋友的好朋友們，那我也包含在內嘛，她說: 我有一個好朋友是台灣人，那那個中國的男生就說台灣就是中國的一省。然後我朋友就是幫我捍衛，然後我就跟她說謝謝你幫我捍衛醬子。然後就說什麼可是你們現在不能控制台灣的人，然後台灣的人去歐洲可以 visa free 可是你們 China 不行。然後那個中國的男生的反應滿有意思的，他說就算現在不是，以後也是。就是表示其實他們明顯的知道現在不是。

It was reported in chapter 4 that Miss Su believed that she is both Chinese (ROC) and Taiwanese, and she identified with Zhong hua ming guo (ROC). Yet, in this narration she related in the interview, she was known by her friend as Taiwanese and she appreciated that her friend was defending her Taiwanese identity against the idea "Taiwan is a province of Zhong guo (China)". Additionally, she was particularly interested in the response of her friend's date, "it's not now

[Taiwan is not China's]", because it made her understand that "they know clearly that it's not now".

So, her idea of being Taiwanese was reciprocated not only by her Thai friend, but also by "the other", namely the Chinese (PRC). This was also reported by other participants who believed that some Chinese (PRC) peers also showed awareness of the independent sovereignty of Taiwan. For instance, Miss Wang and Chen reported such experience:

[5-35] Miss Wang: Actually I met quite many [Chinese, PRC]. They don't like their own government that kind of things. I even have some friends who told me that, 'I want to immigrate to your Taiwan so much. How can I immigrate to Taiwan?'

> 其實我遇到還滿多，他們也不喜歡他們自己的政府什麼之類的，我甚至還有一些朋友說：我好想移民到你們台灣喔，我要怎麼移民過去？

[5-36] Miss Chen: One group/school is very aggressive, which believes that Taiwan belongs to dalu [mainland China]. Why do you have to be like this?! blah blah blah. But the other group/school thinks that 'wow, it's so good to have the green little passport [the passport of Taiwan/the ROC], I want it too'. You know some people even asked me, 'can I marry you?' sort of things because he wants to become Taiwanese.

> 就是有一種是很激進派的，他就認為台灣就是大陸阿，你為什麼要降?! 然後實麼實麼的…可另外一派就認為，哇，有綠色的小護照好好喔，我也想要。甚至有些人跟我說: 我可不可以娶你降之類的話你知道嗎?! 因為他想要成為台灣人。

Miss Su, Wang, Chen and a few other participants who shared the similar experience thus believed that their avowed Taiwanese identity was also supported by some Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the UK, owing to the latter's responses (e.g., immigrating to Taiwan through marriage). This plays an important role in reinforcing the participants' sense (Mead's "I") of being nationally independent and different from Chinese (PRC) as their social self ("me") is reciprocated by others in the communication (Mead, 1962).

5.3.3 Different ways of communication

By engaging in intercultural living and comparison in the UK, the participants draw the boundaries of being different in their ways of communication as being more polite and indirect while Chinese

(PRC) are perceived as being relatively direct and having less consideration for others in public. Miss Wang offered an account which delineated stark differences between what she considered as "mellow" Taiwanese style as opposed to the "straightforward" Chinese (PRC) way of communication:

[5-37] Miss Wang: Because we Taiwanese are mellower [express their emotion in an implicit way] […], are more implicit and reserved. And sometimes when we want to refuse other people, we wouldn't say directly that I don't want to. We would be more indirect. This is certainly a huge difference compared to the inland compatriots [mainland Chinese].

> 因為我們台灣人比較內斂 […] 就是會比較含蓄，然後有時要拒絕別人的時候，也不會直接說，我不要，就是會比較微宛一點。那當然這也是一個很大的不同，就是跟他們內地的同胞不一樣。

Miss Wang then continued to give an example that she witnessed:

[5-38]. Miss Wang: It's like if you're indirect, they [Chinese, PRC, students] don't understand because they are very direct. […] I have a male Taiwanese friend who has a car here, and there's an inland girl [Chinese, PRC] who speaks in a very straightforward way. She needed to move a very heavy PC. Normally, we would just take a taxi to move it because we try not to bother others. But the inland people would think that anyway you have the vehicle so she asked the guy directly if he can help her and pick her up. Then our Taiwanese guy wanted to refuse but felt embarrassed, so he did it in an indirect way saying that he's not sure about his availability sort of things. He didn't tell her: 'No, I can't'. Then in this way the inland people would think that you didn't refuse me so it meant okay, so she just kept waiting for him. But actually the guy didn't want to take her and he felt since she had time to wait, why didn't she just deal with it herself independently?!

> 就是你很微腕的話，他們不見得會聽得懂，因為他們非常的直接 […] 我朋友一個男生他是一個台灣人，那他是有車子，然後一個內地的女生，因為他們內地的女生講話都非常大刺刺，非常直接。然後他就是要搬一台電腦，很重，那一般人我們就可能說自己坐計程車，就盡量不要去麻煩別人。那他們內地的人就是覺得說，反正你有交通工具，就問看看嘛，就直接說：那你可不可以來載我，那你來載我好不好？那我們那個台灣男生就比較不好意思，因為就是想說，要拒絕就微腕一點，就說我不確定時間之類什麼的，就沒有直接跟他說: 我不要，醬子。那你降講，那他們內地人可能就覺得，你沒有拒絕我就是 okay 之類的，那就變成說他一直在那邊等，但其實那男生又不想去接他，就覺得說其實時間就還很早，為什麼自己不處理?!

Miss Wang's view of Taiwanese as being indirect in order to be polite and less straightforward is a shared conviction among the participants. These attributes were also reported by Miss Hu and Huang:

[5-39] Miss Hu: I feel Taiwanese are more yuan ron [being more diplomatic, harmonious and well-rounded] and daluren [mainland Chinese] are more straightforward. This is my feeling. […] They are also one child and they're the king at home so they probably do not need to take others into consideration. But most Taiwanese have siblings at home and then in school the teacher would also teach that the classroom does not belong to you only. It's like you need to be concerned for the public.

我覺得台灣人比較圓融，大陸人比較直 這是我的感覺 [...] 也都是獨子，在家裡都是大王，所以他們可能不需要去考慮到別人。可是台灣人大部分家裡都有兄弟姊妹，然後在學校老師也會教說，教室並不是只有你一個人的，就是要有公德心。

[5-40] Miss Huang: In class, they [mainland Chinese students] didn't care that other people were talking on the stage and they just talked out loud in Mandarin Chinese. It's all about teamwork in our course. When we worked in a team, of course we spoke English because some people didn't understand Mandarin Chinese, but they didn't care.

就是在班上，他們不會管說班上人家在(台上)講話，他們可能就講中文講很大聲。 我們的 course 都是 team work, 有別人聽不懂中文，當然我們就是用英文講話，可是他們不 care.

These differences recurred based on their personal encounters and were seen by the participants as a distinction marker between Taiwanese and Chinese (PRC). In contrast to the collectivist culture in which children learn to think in terms of "we" (Hofstede, 2001), the Chinese (PRC) sojourners were perceived as less considerate of others, putting "I" before "we". Taiwanese were perceived by themselves as being more polite with and considerate of others. Additionally, collectivists are postulated to avoid direct confrontations with others (Hofstede, 2001) while in many cases the Chinese (PRC) students' open and direct remarks questioning Taiwanese identity reported in this study (e.g., excerpts [5-7], [5-10], [5-14], [5-17] and [5-26]) told otherwise. Thus, although both Taiwan and China (PRC) may seem to be classified as collectivists, in this study the findings suggest a degree of difference between the two in terms of their ways of interpersonal communication.

Paralleling the above boundary that they drew is also the feedback given by non-Chinese (PRC) who provided reinforcement to the differences Taiwanese felt. Below, Mr. Sun, who finished his BA in the UK and now continued to undertake a Master's degree, reported how the trait of

politeness seems to be a prominent feature distinguishing Taiwanese people in the eyes of

Europeans:

> [5-41] Mr. Sun: Judging from my experience over these years, the most important is probably our politeness which is witnessed by everyone. […] The best example is when I travelled to Europe. Because we look similar to the daluren [mainland Chinese]
>
> *Interviewer*: Identical.
>
> Mr. Sun: yea, but often after our purchase, the shop keepers would say directly, 'are you from Taiwan?' Then we got surprised and asked why they knew. They said, 'it's because you're more polite and the way you speak is gentler'.

> Mr. Sun: 我覺得就我這幾年的經驗來看，台灣人最重要的，就是大家有目共睹的， 大概就是我們的禮貌 […] 最好的例子是我之前去歐洲旅遊，因為我們和大陸人長得很像，
>
> *Interviewer:* 一模一樣阿
>
> Mr. Sun: 對，但是常常碰到商家，就可能在消費完之後，他們直接說你是不是台灣來的？那我們就會嚇一跳，就會說為什麼？他們就說：因為你們就，可能行為比較禮貌，就講話也比較溫柔降子。

Mr. Sun's experience echoed the accounts reported in excerpts [5-28] and [5-29] where Miss Chen

and Ni described the difference in the ways of the spoken language, in that Taiwanese speak in a

gentle tone. Additionally, Mr. Lee also narrated that his being polite was pointed out directly by his

Chinese (PRC) flatmates:

> [5-42] Mr. Lee: Nearly all my flatmates are Zhong guo ren [Chinese, PRC] and they told me that I'm very polite. Then I replied saying, 'shouldn't it be like this?!' But they said they haven't met many back in Zhong guo [China] who are as polite.

> 像我的室友幾乎都是中國人，他們就跟我講說我很有禮貌，那我講說這個不是應該的嗎?!但他們說，在中國他們沒有遇到這麼多像我這麼有禮貌的人。

For Mr. Feng, Taiwanese politeness and friendliness were reflected in the willingness to speak

English with others:

[5-43] Mr. Feng: A Brazilian knows our relationship [Taiwan & China, PRC]. And also Turkish people know too. They found that the daluren [mainland Chinese] only talked among themselves and they only speak mandarin Chinese. But me? I tried hard to talk to them in English. Then they found that we Taiwanese are friendlier to foreigners.

> 巴西人，他知道我們的關係，然後還有土耳其人，他們也知道。他們發現，大陸人只會跟大陸人講話，他們只講中文。而我呢？我就努力的跟他們講英文，然後他們發現，我們台灣人對外國人的親和力比較夠。

Mr. Feng believed that, compared to the Chinese (PRC) student sojourners, he was seen by his friends as willing to make an effort to speak English and make friends with culturally and nationally different others.

By and large, these differences (i.e., language, government configurations/democracy and ways of communication), acquired through the communication with others (Chinese, PRC and non-Chinese, PRC) in the UK, reinforce the participants' "I" (Taiwanese identity) and how they draw the boundaries from the Chinese (PRC) sojourners. Simultaneously, the social self, "me" as being identified by others to be Taiwanese and the positively perceived national characteristics attached to "me" (e.g., excerpts [5-33], [5-34], [5-41], [5-42] and [5-43]) also feed back into "I", as discussed in chapter 2. So, the participants' reality is construed through a dynamic, communicative convergence of the 'I' (the knower) and 'me' (the known) and the boundaries of being Taiwanese are drawn and re-drawn in accordance with these terms in communication abroad. Additionally, it can also be said that in this process of communication, the participants are essentialising their national identity and culture as different from those of the Chinese (PRC) sojourners, as also found in chapter 4.

In summary, it has been demonstrated in this section how an important stage in the process of communicating Taiwanese identity in the UK is represented by the participants' perception and understanding of the differences between themselves and the Chinese (PRC) sojourners. The differences are then fed back into the communication with non-Chinese (PRC) friends when explaining how Taiwanese are different from the Chinese (PRC), as defining and clarifying who

they are not. The negotiation of Taiwanese identity is thus profoundly mediated and constantly reshaped by how the participants see themselves in comparison with the Chinese (PRC), how they present themselves and how non-Chinese (PRC) others perceive them. Overall, the participants personal experience and observation of the differences and the feedback conveyed by others regarding their being polite, friendly and an independent community serve as the dynamic, present realities of the Taiwanese self abroad.

5.4 Chapter conclusion

In approaching the question of how Taiwanese communicate and negotiate their national identity in the international and intercultural SA environment, this study shows how the nature of this process entails a non-linear, simultaneous, socially constructed and ongoing communicative dimension.

The findings discussed in this chapter revealed how the Taiwanese identity is enacted due to the term "Chinese" which continues to be the source of the confusion and easily leads to otherisation (Holliday, 1999; Holliday et al., 2004) in the course of interpersonal communication in the UK. It becomes thus important for the SSFT to draw the national boundaries as being different from Chinese (PRC) in defining and clarifying who they are *not* (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009) in terms of the language (words, phrases and tones), government configurations and ways of communication. These differences have also been reciprocated by others (Chinese, PRC and non-Chinese, PRC), reinforcing the participants' sense of self ("I") and social self ("me") as Taiwanese (Mead, 1962).

In addition to otherisation or confusion, Taiwanese identity is also especially enacted on the occasions of identity confrontation as being ascribed, primarily by the Chinese (PRC) student sojourners in the UK, a Chinese (PRC) national identity. On these occasions, the national

sentiments and emotions were aroused and some participants promptly defended their avowed Taiwanese identity. Yet, the avoidance of *going there* (Taiwan-China political dispute as "the conflict topic") by means of mutual/tacit agreement, amiable ways and silencing the self was also preferred, owing to the consideration of the futile nature of the conflict, showing respect and understanding towards the Chinese (PRC) peers, harmony of the friendship/relationship and personal safety.

These findings thus demonstrated that the participants employed the dominating as well as avoiding conflict styles as a result of the concerns for self-face, others-face, mutual face and other personal concerns in managing Taiwanese identity conflict episodes, especially with the Chinese (PRC) student sojourners in the SA environment in the UK. Based on these findings, some of the core assumptions of Ting-Toomey's face-negotiation theory (1988, 2005) deserve reconsideration and in-depth scrutiny when the national self is involved in conflicts. It is not viable to predict or assume that all collectivists tend to use the same face-negotiation strategies for the same reasons under various contexts with different interlocutors. Additionally, the findings also put the category of "collectivist" under question as it may have undermined the complexity of different national communities and their ways of negotiation as well as the fast-changing society of China (PRC) and the world.

Whereas Ting-Toomey's face negotiation theory (2005) finds its limits in this study, the communication theory of identity (CTI, Hecht et al., 2005) and Mead's (1962) theory provide an interpretive framework in exploring and explaining the data. In many cases, I discussed how the participants chose not to enact their Taiwanese identity on the relational layer with their Chinese (PRC) peers. According to CTI, this can induce identity gaps between the personal and relational layers. In this study the findings suggest that it is possible that a grey area of negotiation can be created, where one neither enacts his/her national identity nor disagrees with the interlocutor(s) in the communication.

Overall, in addition to self-introduction as Taiwanese in the UK (see section 4.5), Taiwanese identity is particularly enacted and negotiated through drawing the national boundaries to clarify their differences from the Chinese (PRC) sojourners (i.e., the language, government configurations and ways of communication) on the occasions of being otherised and confused as Chinese (PRC) and identity confrontation. In terms of identity conflict management, especially with the Chinese (PRC) students in the UK, the SSFT employ both the dominating and avoiding conflict styles.

In the next chapter, I explore the issue of national identity and its possible expansion in the SA environment in the UK.

Chapter 6

From National to Cosmopolitan Identities

The discussion carried out in the previous two chapters has made it possible to gain insights into the dynamics involved in the (re)construction of national identities of the student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) and the negotiation of Taiwanese identity in the study-abroad (SA) context. A picture emerging from these shows that the negotiation and (re)construction of national identities are continuous rather than fixed. This chapter aims to contribute to the understanding of potential movements from nationalism to cosmopolitanism against the backdrop of the SA environment in the UK. Specifically, the investigation concentrates on the following research question:

> *For student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) who are studying in the UK, does the transnational and/or intercultural experience, in this case the SA experience in the UK, pave the way for the development of cosmopolitan identity? If so, why?*

In the light of the existing literature discussed in chapter 2, whereas Wilkinson's (1998), Isabelli-Garcia's (2006) and Dolby's (2004) studies suggest a strengthened sense of national identity in the SA context, Norris and Inglehart's study (2009) demonstrates that nationalist identities are weaker as people grow more cosmopolitan. Yet, other studies such as Beck and Sznaider (2010) and Beck (2002) argue for the identification with both the cosmos and the national group; in the same vein, Appiah (2005) and Turner (2002) point to a thin or cool loyalty to cosmopolitanism. Particularly, Block's (2002) case study demonstrates that a Taiwanese sojourner developed a cosmopolitan identity while her national identity remained strong. Accordingly, the research question above also involves issues pertinent to the juxtaposition of national and cosmopolitan identities in this study. This chapter first discusses the renewed sense of being Taiwanese as growing more patriotic abroad

(section 6.1) and explores the tension from national to cosmopolitan identity as well as being and acting cosmopolitan (section 6.2).

6.1 Patriotic responses

The data revealed that many participants prioritise their national identity against a broader supra identity (see section 6.2.1) as the SA experience has led them to develop patriotic responses abroad, which I organised into 2 groups: the resized perspectives in the way of looking at home (section 6.1.1), and contributing to the society and representing Taiwan abroad (section 6.1.2).

In section 4.5.1, I have discussed that by comparing to and observing people from other countries, the participants grow more aware of being Taiwanese abroad and the cultural differences. Additionally, I have also covered that emotions (e.g., anger) have led to an increased attachment to Taiwanese identity (section 5.1.2) and the need to clarify the status of Taiwan and being Taiwanese (section 5.3). In this section, I continue to present the participants' reports which show that the enhanced sense of the national self is translated into different perspectives and responses in seeing themselves, Taiwan and their position in the world.

6.1.1 Resizing perspectives

The data unveiled the participants' resizing perspectives on their homeland, Taiwan, as a result of the comparison with the host country (UK). By observing the new environment and relating it to Taiwan, the participants had arrived at a different viewpoint which led them to reconsider and treasure what was once taken for granted in Taiwan. For instance, for Miss Wang, what had been considered as an abomination was now a "paradise" and the account reported by Miss Ma synthesised what was shared by many participants:

[6-1] Miss Wang: Back in Taiwan, I felt Taiwanese medical system is really terrible. But after I got to the UK, I realised, wow Taiwanese medical system is a paradise!

> 像之前在台灣覺得看醫生好爛什麼之類的，但是來英國之後才發現， 哇，台灣的醫療體系真的是天堂阿!)

[6-2] Miss Ma: I feel study abroad is a very good opportunity and experience. Keeping staying in your own country easily makes everything taken-for-granted. For instance, in terms of the effectiveness of how things are managed in Taiwan and the UK, after you've experienced this in the UK, you'd know how lucky you are in Taiwan. You'd complain less about what you used to complain. So only after comparison did you realise that your own stuff is the best. Things you used to feel awful, now having a point of comparison, you no longer think in the same perspective.

> 我覺得留學是一個很好的機會和經驗，一直待在自己的國家的話，容易什麼事情都當成是理所當然。比方說，台灣和英國的辦事效率，你經歷過英國的情況，你就知道自己在台灣有多幸福，就會比較少去抱怨以前你常常抱怨的事情。所以有些東西比較過，才知道自己的東西還是最好的。以前覺得很爛的東西，現在多了一個比較，你就不會再用同樣的角度去想了。

As they explained, their SA experience has had the effect of changing perspectives, as having developed a general appreciation for their homeland and a sense of being "lucky" to live in Taiwan. As the participants judged the host country with the standards based on their cultural norms, they generated the idea that certain things are handled more efficiently back home. This was amplified by keeping a distance from home and possibly nostalgia which contributed to the development of a layer of appreciation for what had been considered normal, as reported by Miss Chen:

[6-3] Miss Chen: If you keep staying in Taiwan, you may think Taiwanese opera is nothing. But after you're abroad, you'd feel everything becomes especially precious because it can mark your difference.

> 如果你一直待在台灣，你可能會覺得歌仔戲沒什麼。但是你出來了之後，就出國， 你就會覺得什麼東西都變得特別的珍貴，因為他就是可以凸顯你的不一樣。

Certain things in Taiwan were now seen not only better, but also precious for the participants as these became the vehicle with which they could reinforce their national self and distinguish themselves from others. The same applied to their national identity, as reported by Miss Wei:

[6-4] Miss Wei: It's like without going abroad; you'd feel the grass is always greener on the other side. But after you go abroad, you wouldn't feel so. You'd be proud of Taiwan.

就是沒有出國的時候你會就是崇洋，但是當你出國了之後，你比較不會崇洋，你會以台灣為驕傲。

The data showed how it was important for some participants to continue drawing boundaries abroad to be Taiwanese and how their cultural environment in Taiwan was considered better. By contrast, despite the appreciation of and attachment to certain aspects of Taiwan, the comparison and the perceived disadvantageous position of Taiwanese identity in the SA environment also led them to reflect on the problems of Taiwan, stirring in them a degree of concern for Taiwan. For instance, having compared the ways the news are reported in the UK to those in Taiwan, Miss Yang found it hard to identify with the latter. Additionally, Mr. Sun translated his identity frustration abroad into actions to understand the problems of Taiwan:

[6-5] Miss Yang: In my second year here, I started to get to know more of the local culture. I watched a lot of their news and compared them to Taiwan's. I found great differences. Especially the quality of Taiwan's journalism is so awful that I feel sick.

第二年的時候，我開始接觸比較多英國當地的文化。我看了很多他們的新聞，再回去看台灣的新聞，我發現有很大的差別，尤其是近幾年台灣媒體的素質真的是爛到我頭昏。

[6-6] Mr. Sun: After all kinds of incidents of suppression, of course there's a chuck in our hearts, feeling why Taiwan is so weak. It doesn't grow up in the international sphere. Then I got to know Singaporean friends and learnt why Singapore is smaller than us but their voice is super strong internationally. Nobody touches it. Why? I started to ask these friends about their systems, how their government runs and why they can be so powerful. Then I looked back at Taiwan and compared both sides.

各種打壓事件，在我們心中，當然會有一塊在這，就會覺得說為什麼台灣會這麼弱，就在國際上長不大。然後後來我認識了新加坡的朋友，我就了解到，ㄟ新加坡比我們還小，但他在國際聲音超大，沒有人要動他，為什麼壘？我就會去問這些新加坡朋友，他們的體制阿，他們的政府是怎麼運作，為什麼他們可以這麼強盛？然後我就會反觀台灣，會比較一下兩邊。

Mr. Sun's account is representative of the type of disappointment shared by many participants at the internationally disadvantageous position of Taiwan. It also points to the attempt in trying to gain a

better understanding of its undoing and the example of other countries' success. By means of comparison to the host country and/or their friends' homeland, many participants have been reflecting on their own national state. Miss Liu also shared her reflections on problems in Taiwan, which only happened after she had gone abroad:

[6-7] Miss Liu: After all, you wouldn't think about so much before. Then you went abroad and you'd gradually start to think. Sometimes the situations in which you find yourself, you feel they'd make you have some deeper contemplation. […] Thinking about myself being Taiwanese and about some Taiwanese internal political and economic problems. And why Taiwanese today would have like riots or protests kind of thing.

因為畢竟之前沒有想過很多東西，然後出來了之後，你都會去慢慢的思考，然後有一些一旦你遇到的一些情況 ，你也會覺得，會讓你做一些比較深度的思考。[...] 思考自己本身是台灣人，然後思考台灣內部的一些政經之類的問題，然後今天為什麼台灣人會有降子的一個暴動阿或抗議什麼的。

These participants were re-discovering the sense of being Taiwanese and carrying out deeper reflections about some of the problems involving Taiwan. The excerpts drawn on above of the participants' resizing perspectives (i.e., extracts [6-1] to [6-6]) are in line with Byram's tertiary socialisation in which "others help learners to understand new concepts (beliefs, values and behaviours) through the acquisition of a new language, new concepts …, challenge the taken-for-granted nature of their existing concepts" (2008, p. 113-114). As indicated in chapter 2, the concept of tertiary socialisation in this study is not confined to the classroom teaching setting, but embraces a different cultural and language environment, such as the SA environment in the UK for the SSFT. So, such an environment has enabled the participants to develop different and/or new insights (e.g., terrible vs. paradise in excerpt [6-1], lucky in Taiwan in [6-2], proud of Taiwan in [6-4] and Taiwan is weak in [6-6]) of the national belonging for the participants.

Further, the renewed forms of the national belonging as the participants' patriotic responses have not only been represented by the increased awareness, renewed appreciation and concern for Taiwan, but also by what ensues below: contributing to Taiwanese society.

6.1.2 Contributing to the society and representing Taiwan abroad

Contributing to Taiwanese society was also reported by many participants as one of the most important ways of being Taiwanese both back home and abroad. Many reported their wish to bring improvements to the society when they would return home after their sojourn while during sojourning in the UK, they focused on promoting Taiwan and not damaging its image. For example, Mr. Lee, who was undertaking a master's degree in Law and was profoundly inspired by his classmates, intended to devote his expertise in Law to Taiwan:

> [6-8] Mr. Lee: For example some classmates with African origins, although they come from different countries, all of them want to found some foundations and go back to Africa in the future. Or they haven't gone back for a long time, but they want to save Africa or something like that. Actually, I completely can't imagine it! I was really shocked. […] You'd feel the students cultivated by these countries can attain such things. Then how come we can't? […] I plan to do PhD, so I feel after I gain the degree; no matter what, I want to go back to Taiwan to teach. I feel like contributing all I have.

> 就是我們班上一些非洲學生,雖然他們來自不同的國家,可是他們都想要成立什麼基金會,然後以後回去非洲。甚至他們都已經很久沒回去,但是他們就是想要拯救非洲什麼的。真的我覺得完全想像不出來耶! 我昰真的有點被震撼。[...] 就覺得說,ㄟ這樣的國家培養出來的學生都可以做到這樣,那為什麼我們不能? [...] 我有計畫念 PhD,所以我覺得無論如何,我拿到學位,我無論如何一定要回台灣教書,我覺得就是要貢獻我的所有。

In addition to Mr. Lee's account, Miss Huang now developed a renewed sense of working which involves more than money-making. Also Miss Su, based on her personal travel experience in Europe during the sojourn period, would like to be further involved in an "international exchange" in the field of tourism in Taiwan:

> [6-9] Miss Huang: I'm thinking if there's a job that not only allows me to make money but also is meaningful or has some contributions or, er, that can promote Taiwanese culture. It has to be meaningful or have contributions.

> 我就開始想說,有沒有一個工作是我可以賺錢,可是同時又有意義,或者是有貢獻性,或者是說,恩,那個可以發揚台灣的文化,就是一定要有貢獻性或有意義阿。

[6-10] Miss Su: Then I have been thinking to maybe use the experience I've had abroad this year to continue to do some international exchange in Taiwan.

Interviewer: What kind of exchange?

Miss Su: I may want to do a free tour guide. […] Because of some self-organised travel experience here, I realised in this respect, Taiwan isn't doing very well.

> Miss Su: 然後我有在想，就是可能利用這一年在國外的經歷，我繼續能在台灣做一些國際間的交流。
>
> *Interviewer:* 比方說像什麼樣子的交流?
>
> Miss Su: 我可能會想要去做 free tour guide 吧。[…] 因為一些自助旅行的經驗，然後我發現這塊台灣做得不是很好。

It can be said that their ideas of various ways to contribute to Taiwan to which they would eventually go back were influenced by what they had personally experienced and their resizing perspectives during the SA experience in the UK. By and large, what appears to emerge from their accounts is a sense of solidarity for improving the community they imagined as home (Anderson, 1991).

Furthermore, the data point to how the desire to bring contributions to Taiwan is also manifested by a concerted effort abroad that is twofold: to promote Taiwan and not to damage the image of Taiwan and Taiwanese abroad. First, I discuss that it is important for the participants to promote Taiwan by drawing on the salient features of Taiwan, such as the wide variety of food and the multi-cultural elements.

The food culture, as observed in chapter 4, not only plays a major role in national identity (re)construction, but is also frequently presented as an attraction when creating the impression of Taiwan. Below I present Mr. Lee and Yeh's accounts in how they promoted Taiwan via Taiwanese food:

[6-11] Mr. Lee: Even it's international students; I feel bubble tea can be the point to introduce. I tell my classmates that I'm working part-time there and ask if they'd like to come and try. Some asked me if it tastes good and I said, 'you can come and try it yourself'. It's like you'd want to try to promote things of Taiwan.

甚至是國際學生，我覺得以 bubble tea 這點 ，我就會跟我們班上同學講我在那打工，你要不要來，要不要試試看？甚至有人問我說，好不好喝？我說: 你可以自己來試試看，就是你會試著想要推銷台灣的東西。

[6-12] Mr. Yeh: I use food to explain. I asked them [his classmates from the UK] what they like to eat. They said chicken breast meat and I said there's this big [shaping it with his hands] chicken breast meat in Taiwan for only one pound. Then they said, 'really?! I must go and check it out'. And we're very close and they said, 'when I make money someday, I will definitely go to Taiwan to try the food'.

我會用食物去解釋，我問他們說你們喜歡吃什麼，他們說雞胸，我說台灣有那麼大的雞排，然後只要一磅，然後他說真的假的?!我一定要去看。然後我們就都很要好，然後會說，ㄟ有一天我賺錢，我一定要去台灣吃東西。

The prominence of Taiwanese food for the promotion of an attractive image of Taiwan is also reflected by an international recognition of Taiwanese food culture which can be seen frequently in the media channels such as The Guardian (Gillan, 2014) and CNN (Wong, 2015). Moreover, some participants also preferred to introduce traditional Taiwanese cultures which are native to Taiwan. For example, Miss Chen mentioned how Taiwanese opera became special abroad as it marked her difference (excerpt [6-3]). Others, such as Miss Hu and Wei, also pointed to the celebration of arts and/or cultures that originated from Taiwan:

[6-13] Miss Hu: Yea…and the culture of the locals. Like our locals' Austronesian languages […] It makes me feel Taiwan is a very special place.

對呀，然後還有原住民的文化，好就比如說我們原住民的南島語系[…]那這就會讓我覺得台灣是很特別的地方。

[6-14] Miss Wei: For example, some typical Taiwanese festivals and Taiwanese opera was also mentioned, as well as Yanshui Beehive Fireworks.

例如說台灣的特殊節慶，那時候也有講到歌仔戲，然後講到鹽水蜂炮。

By drawing on unique and attractive features (e.g., Taiwanese food, local tribes and Taiwanese arts), the participants' attempts were that of promoting a positive first impression among those who were not well acquainted with Taiwan. As such, these acts of promoting Taiwan also enabled the participants and their interlocutors to co-create and co-construct the impression of Taiwan and Taiwanese people. Moreover, most participants not only relay a positive image of Taiwan by focusing on what may be considered as attractive and appealing features, but they also represent Taiwan and Taiwanese by not damaging its/their image. Below I draw on the accounts of the meticulous attention paid by the participants to preserve Taiwan's image. Miss Ma, for example, shared her experience when working in an art gallery as an intern, a requirement of the master's degree she was undertaking:

[6-15] Miss Ma: Over two months' time, not even one Asian face and they were all Westerners there, so I felt I was very different. I had introduced myself as Taiwanese so I did things very carefully because I wanted to give a good impression. If people have a bad impression of me, they may think all Taiwanese are like that.

> 兩個月都沒有看到亞洲臉孔，那裡都是西方人，我就覺得自己非常的與眾不同。 我有介紹我是台灣人，所以我做事會非常小心，因為我想留下好印象。如果人家對我留下壞印象的話，他們有可能會一竿子打翻一船人。

Miss Wang's response, to take another example, also closely echoes Miss Ma's idea:

[6-16] Miss Wang: Although sometimes it's just your personal behaviour, other people don't know and they see you do bad things and they feel all the Taiwanese are like this. It's like a turd in the punch bowl.

> 其實有時候雖然只是你一個人，可是別人不知道，看到你做壞事，就會覺得說台灣人都醬子，就一顆老鼠屎打翻一鍋粥降子。

The participants seemed to bear in mind a constant awareness of representing Taiwan and Taiwanese through their behaviours. Some spoke of the need to actively promote the above cultural features of Taiwan while others appeared to be paying close attention to their behaviour in the UK in order not to leave a negative impression of Taiwanese people. All in all, as discussed in chapter

2, the participants' action can be frequently taken as representing the entire national group they belong to (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). They were aware that their behaviours were not conceived as merely personal, but could be readily taken as representing their nation or national culture (e.g., excerpts [6-15] and [6-16]).

In summary, in this section I discussed that the participants showed generally enhanced patriotic responses as a renewed national belonging in the SA environment in the UK. They began to re-appreciate some of their national systems, traditions, and cultures and continued to draw the national boundaries abroad. At the same time, by comparison, they also started to reflect on different problems concerning their homeland, and hoped that they could bring contributions to their national community. Overall, the reported responses of the resizing perspectives towards Taiwan, the growing concern for it and the intention of contributing to its society complete with representing Taiwan through the personal conduct have all emerged as a testimony to the participants' renewed sense of being and acting Taiwanese abroad.

So far, the data have shown that national identity thrives and it is particularly important for the participants to represent Taiwan in the UK. Below I discuss how the idea of a broader, supra identity such as cosmopolitan identity can be problematic for some participants. Yet, there are some other participants who identify themselves as belonging also to the cosmos in addition to their national state.

6.2 Cosmopolitan belonging

In this section, I discuss data revealing how some participants reported reservations about identification as to the identification of a global villager while others felt belonging to the world as a macro-layer of their identity. Indeed, some felt the tension between nationalism and

cosmopolitanism in the shared global space whereas others could reconcile the two comfortably. These and their underlying reasons are discussed below.

I first demonstrate how the cosmopolitan vision was susceptible to the reality that was perceived as incompatible with some participants' picture of a global village (section 6.2.1). By contrast, in section 6.2.2, I discuss that others reported that the SA experience is a key factor in the cultivation of their cosmopolitan imagination where the world is the shared hometown of humankind. Then I show how the participants would act upon their cosmopolitan identity in terms of what responsibilities a cosmopolitan should carry out in the intercultural, cosmopolitan environment (section 6.2.3).

6.2.1 Global villager contested

Some participants readily pinpointed the issues pertinent to the localism-cosmopolitanism tension, discrimination and social inequality, based on the reality they observed and/or the first-hand experience in the SA environment. Miss Su, for example, immediately referred to the idea of a global village as merely "a concept" and in conflict with localism:

> [6-17] Miss Su: Actually it's very paradoxical because on the one hand I'm talking about this, but on the other hand I realise that globalisation and localisation go against each other. So when everyone's talking about the Earth being a global village, but the resources are not equally distributed. So it's simply a concept.
>
> 其實他很矛盾，因為一邊我降講，可是一邊又會發現 globalisation 跟 localisation 會是一個對抗的東西。所以當大家都在講說地球是一個地球村，可是資源是不平均的，所以他就是一個概念。

Miss Su pointed out a rather common issue: the limited resources with the unequal distribution. This alludes to the uneven power relations in the increasingly interconnected world. Additionally, Mr. Sun also cast doubts about the idea of a global village by drawing on historical references, indicating the interest-oriented reality where we abide:

[6-18] Mr. Sun: This thing of globalisation is indeed happening, in that people from different countries go around. But, er, I feel there's no way to turn the Earth into a village. Isn't there a theory saying that since the Earth is a village, it's in need of a global government?! It's the world government. I think this is not feasible because it's like the British Empire before and all kinds of empires. When they governed their colonies, they still prioritised the interest of their mainland and exploited other places.

> globalisation 這個東西是在發生沒有錯，就是各國的人口在跑來跑去的，但是，恩，我覺得沒有辦法說這個地球將要變成一個村。然後也有一個理論，不是說什麼，既然這個地球是一個村就需要一個地球政府，就是世界政府。我覺得那個是不可行的，因為就好比以前大英帝國，就是各種帝國，他們統治其他的殖民地的時候，他們還是以自己那塊本島的利益為重，那對其他地方就是壓榨壓榨。

Mr. Sun convincingly illustrated his vision where every state may yet prioritise its interest despite the increased intercultural and international contacts marked by globalisation. Their viewpoints are consistent with those of Croucher (2004) and Suter (2003), who noted the inequality of economy and social justice and the unequal distribution of resources as well as power. Furthermore, discrimination, a negative concomitant of these problems sometimes arising in the course of the intercultural contact, has also been marked as an indicator of the opposition of cosmopolitanism. Miss Lin, for example, shared her personal experience of studying in an international high school in Singapore where she witnessed as well as experienced discrimination:

[6-19] Miss Lin: It's rather obvious that White people don't like to hang out with Asians. I had a classmate like that who didn't even want to talk to me.

> 比較明顯的是白人不喜歡跟亞洲人在一起，我有一個同學就降子阿，就話都不想跟我講。

Additionally, Mr. Lee vividly described how he felt strong discrimination the moment he landed in the UK for his postgraduate study and showed that the opposition of a global village was the picture closer to the reality he witnessed:

[6-20] Mr. Lee: In the airport, it is divided into Europeans and non-Europeans and you'd see those Europeans who could just pass easily. And you'd feel it's like we're lower. You waited there for ages and the customs asked you some meaningless questions even though you had made the visa back in Taiwan. But he/she still asked you so many questions. So I feel why it is like this?! […]

Interviewer: Isn't it the same in every country? Like in Taiwan, if you are Taiwanese, you walk this way; otherwise, you walk another way.

Mr. Lee: But I feel this is very significant because I saw a group of students from Zhong guo [China]. Then every one of them was worried about whether they would be rejected or not by holding the passport of Zhong guo. […] But then you compared to the Europeans who were from Northern Europe. They all wore T-shirts and shorts, apparently were here for vacation. Immediately, they just entered while we had to wait there for ages. I really felt discriminated.

> Mr. Lee: 你在機場，他會分非歐盟和歐盟國，你就看到那些歐盟國家就直接入關了，你就覺得我們這些好像是很低等。你在那邊等得老半天，然後海關問你一些很沒有意義的問題。明明你在台灣都已經辦好簽證，可是他又問你這麼多問題，我就覺得說怎麼會這個樣子呢?! [...]．
>
> *Interviewer:* 每個國家不是都一樣嗎? 你是台灣人你就走這邊，不是台灣人就走另外一邊。
>
> Mr. Lee: 可是我覺得那種感受很明顯的原因，是因為我一下飛機就遇到一群中國來的學生，然後他們每個都在擔心說: 阿我們拿中國護照會不會被，就是被 reject 或什麼之類的，不能入境。[…] 可是你又對照旁邊那個歐盟的，人家降一下來就北歐來的，大家都穿著短褲短袖，就一副來度假的樣子。阿一下就入境，我們在這邊等得老半天，真的有被歧視的感覺。

For Mr. Lee, the airport represented an arena of classifying people according to their passport, which then predisposed their holders to different treatment. The airport becomes a live example of the world being divided by national states, and people are treated according to what passport they carry. The above accounts show that the advent of the augmented interconnectedness has also brought the world to further fragmentation and unequal distribution of power (Croucher, 2004; Turner, 2012).

In other cases, it is exactly the discriminated experience which makes the idea of cosmopolitanism particularly appealing. Embracing the idea of belonging to a world where everyone is the same becomes a belief that offers an escape. This can be observed in Miss Yang and Mr. Liang's reports:

[6-21] Miss Yang: I also feel like a villager of the globe. Because I've suffered from some incidents of discrimination, I wish that if the boundary was blurred, maybe there wouldn't have been so much discrimination happening. I'd wish that people don't fuss about trifles. We are all humans. I feel everyone is the same, is a living being and is equal.

> 也會有覺得是地球村的村民的感覺，因為自己受到一些歧視的狀況，所以就會希望說，如果今天沒有分得這麼清楚，也許就不會有這麼多歧視的是發生，會希望大家不要計較這麼多，大家都是人，就覺得大家都是一樣的，是一個生命，都是平等的。

[6-22] Miss Liang: Actually from my personal perspective, I like more the concept of a global village because like this, it saves us from a lot of disputes or conflicts. But of course, reality is not as easy as one imagines.

> 其實以我個人的角度來講，我比較喜歡 global village 的那種理念，因為降子的話，很多不必要的紛爭或衝突就可以省去，但當然事實可能沒有想像的那麼簡單。

That Miss Yang's idea of cosmopolitanism emerged as the world where everyone should be equally treated is in line with Appiah (2005) and Nussbaum (2006), but this was rather in contrast to the reality they faced (e.g., extracts [6-19], [6-20], [6-21] and [6-22]). By and large, the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism found in this study is not derived from the dual identification but from the distance of the two in the reality the participants experienced. The reported inconsistency is comprised of first the observed power, resource and economy inequality and secondly, the personal experience of discrimination. As a result, in attempting to make sense of their world, some participants either displayed an overall awareness of the unattainability of the cosmopolitan vision and gave more importance to their national identity (see section 6.1) or developed a cosmopolitan imagination as a wishful thinking based on the vision of a better world where everyone is treated equally and fairly.

There are yet other participants who reported their belief in both their national state and a cosmopolitan world. Why they feel so and how they reconcile the two senses of belonging to both their national community and Earth as well as humankind at large are discussed below.

6.2.2 Developing cosmopolitan identity

Discussing with the participants on the reasons behind their identification of a broader belonging, a sense of belonging to mixed cultures, revealed the importance of their having lived in different

countries and the SA environment in the UK. Miss Pan, who has lived in Taiwan, China (PRC) and the UK, pointed to the fact she has learnt different cultural elements from different countries, making her feel like a mix of multi-cultures. The same thought was shared by Mr. Chiang, who has lived in Taiwan, the US, and the UK, and has a rich experience of travelling in Europe:

[6-23] Miss Pan: Er, because I keep moving and changing the location to live. Honestly, I myself am a mix of many cultures, so I guess I can be kind of an international person.

恩，因為我就是一直搬家，居住地點一直變。說實話，我自己身上也是融合了很多的文化，所以我覺得我應該算是個國際人吧。

[6-24] Mr. Chiang: I'd say I come from Taiwan. First, it's the country. Then I'd say I've stayed in other different countries so I'm like a mix.

我會說我來自台灣，第一個國家，然後我會說我又待過其他不同國家，所以我會是一個 mix 降子。

In their cases, engaging in cross-cultural living made them feel belonging not only to Taiwan but also different locations complete with different cultures, and thus, seeing themselves as culturally mixed individuals. Additionally, it can also be seen that it was important for Mr. Chiang to first state the national community to which he belongs before pointing to his mixed cultural background. This shows that both are fundamental in conveying who he thinks he is in the SA environment.

In terms of the intercultural educational environment in the UK, Mr. Feng shared that getting to know classmates from different cultural backgrounds and national states made him realise the possibility of a cosmopolitan society. He considered that this is what he has learnt most in addition to the academic subject during his SA experience:

[6-25] Mr. Feng: Biggest harvest is like what we just said. Actually, coming here [the UK] makes me feel like it's kind of a global village. I got to know people from different countries, from the North to South and from the West to East, all coming from different countries. I've also got to know their different cultures.

> 最大收穫，就像剛說的，其實來這邊讓我感覺到一種世界村的感覺。我認識了不同國家的人，從北到南，從西到東，都很多來自不同的國家，我都有認識到，然後也發現他們不同的文化。

Miss Huang also reported how her idea of the global village became particularly strong after coming to the UK. She had lived in London for a short period of time before she became engaged in her postgraduate study in the North-East of England. During her one-year course, she sometimes went to London to see her friends, and the environment in London especially gave her a global village impression:

> [6-26] Miss Huang: Yes, very much, especially after I came to the UK because I feel there really are so many different ethnic groups living here in the UK. Especially it's more obvious in London. Right, so I get this feeling very much.
>
> 有，非常有，尤其是來英國以後。因為我覺得英國真得有太多不同種的人住在這邊，尤其你去倫敦更明顯。對，所以我非常有感覺到那種感覺。

The settings described from excerpts [6-23] to [6-26] offer a vision of the globe as a shared space which accommodates people from different countries, ethnic groups and cultures. This shared space can be regarded as human beings' shared hometown (Appiah, 2005) where, for example, Miss Pan has moved from Taiwan, China (PRC) to the UK and Mr. Chiang has lived in Taiwan, the US and UK. Especially, the experiences of living in other cultural contexts/countries and meeting people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds have promoted the imagination of a cosmopolitan picture.

Furthermore, a negation of the sense of the participants' national identities was not reported. Accordingly, having a strong Taiwanese identity as discussed in sections 4.5, 5.1 and 6.1 is not a negation of a cosmopolitan belonging and vice versa. Below, I further draw on Miss Wu and Huang's illustration of their cosmopolitan imagination to demonstrate how some participants reconciled their national and cosmopolitan identities:

[6-27] Miss Wu: Yes, because in the village, there are different neighbourhoods and districts. So there will still be difference. For example this household belongs to Wang's family while that one is Huang's family.

> 對呀，因為 village 也有分里嘛，里上面還有分鄰嘛，那還是會不一樣阿。比如說這個家姓王，那個家姓黃。

[6-28] Miss Huang: I feel it's a global village because everyone can be good friends. For instance, when my part of the village has something, I can give some to you and vice versa. We can cooperate with each other.

> 我覺得是世界村是因為大家都可以當好朋友。比如說，我這個村落有什麼東西我分你一點，你那個村落有什麼東西可以分我一點，我們可以互相合作。

As can be observed from their accounts, the cosmopolitan belonging is linked to both the humankind and the shared village in which we all live (Appiah, 2005; Beck, 2002; Beck & Sznaider, 2010), as in Miss Wu's concepts of "neighbourhood" and "family" as well as Miss Huang's idea of "good friends". These were not in conflict with their national identity because the participants were aware of the variety and diversity under the umbrella category of mankind. For example, Miss Chen and Mr. Chiang acknowledged this point and the necessity of maintaining cultural and national diversity on Earth:

[6-29] Miss Chen: Even if it's all humans, there'd definitely be differences. Of course you have to distinguish because only like this, there'd be topics to talk about. Like Turkey, you'd know what's good in Turkish restaurants.

> 即便說都是人，但是一定還是會不一樣阿！當然是要區別阿，因為降才會有話題阿。像土爾其阿，你才會知道土爾其餐廳有什麼好吃。

[6-30] Mr. Chiang: I feel national states should still exist because that the whole world is the same is too boring. Every national state has its own special characteristics.

> 我覺得國家還是要存在，因為全世界都一樣太無聊了。每個國家有每個國家的特色。

Miss Chen, Wu, Huang and Mr. Chiang all pointed to the need to distinguish by individuals' nations, cultures and ethnicities while living together in the global village. It can thus be said that their being cosmopolitans includes "a dual identity and a dual loyalty" as belonging to the cosmos

(the human shared hometown) as well as to their national group at the same time (Beck & Sznaider, 2010, p. 637). They displayed their view of the world as a global village and themselves as villagers living inside with each ethnic community maintaining and pursuing their own traditions. This is consistent with Beck's (2002) argument: "there is no cosmopolitanism without localism" (p. 19). The cosmopolitanism emerging from the participants' vision rests upon the idea of humans having cultural diversity. This also particularly reflects Appiah's idea of which "a cosmopolitanism with prospects must reconcile a kind of universalism with the legitimacy of at least some form of partiality" (2005, p. 223). The participants reconciled the partiality of cultural diversities with a form of universal conscience of being humans. Given the wider scope, each family/national state retains their own internal rules and traditions and, at the same time, maintains the awareness of living in a super structure along with other families/nations with different traditions.

In this section, I have discussed the cosmopolitan belonging as the participants' feelings like "a mix" and the broader sense of being "family", "friends" and humans living together in the shared space. This layer of identification deriving from the SA experience and staying in culturally and nationally different contexts does not undermine the participants' sense of national belonging. Next, being a member of a particular society comes with its concomitant responsibilities, and so is a member living in the global hometown. I explore below how the participants would act upon their cosmopolitan identity, in terms of behaviour and attitude, in order to co-exist with the ethnic and cultural diversity flourishing in the global village.

6.2.3 Acting cosmopolitan

In *Frontiers of Justice* (2006), Nussbaum argues for a form of cosmopolitanism which is to be carried out through actions and responsibilities. The attempt here, thus, is to understand how the nested layer of the cosmopolitan belonging manifests itself through a range of behaviours and

attitudes reported by the participants. These are found in the data as involving: working for the good of the shared environment, showing respect, equality and fairness, and reflection on differences.

6.2.3.1 Working for the good of the places

The data showed that the responsibilities of a global villager are enacted through the concern for our biosphere and its preservation. As can be seen above, the cosmopolitan belonging is linked to humankind and the shared environment. Accordingly, protecting the natural environment becomes fundamental, as expressed by Miss Hu: "I feel protecting the environment is the basics of being a human (我覺得保護環境那是做人基本的。)" (Miss Hu). Additionally, reported by some participants, the environmental concern is translated into basic habits that are put into actions daily. Mr. Liang, who was fond of the idea of cosmopolitanism but regarded it as an ideal (see excerpt [6-22]), and Miss Pan, who considered herself as an "international person" (see excerpt [6-23]), reported how they would act in order to protect the shared environment on a daily basis:

> [6-31] Mr. Liang: For instance, when you go shopping, you'd better carry a bag. Don't keep consuming plastic bags.
>
> | 比如說你去 shopping 的時候，你最好背一個包包，你不要一直去用塑膠袋。 |
> | --- |

> [6-32] Miss Pan: You should save the energy whenever possible. […] And separate the garbage for recycle.
>
> | 就該節約的節約。[...] 然後垃圾要分類。 |
> | --- |

The sense of working for the good of our environment (Appiah, 2005) is represented by a more practical personal conduct which the participants can achieve and practise every day. Moreover, Mr. Liang's descriptions pointed to the idea that sometimes protecting the shared environment is also a means of showing respect to the local dwellers:

[6-34] Mr. Liang: Don't write 'xxx Taiwanese has been here' in the famous sight-seeing spots. Although I've quite frequently seen Mandarin Chinese versions, I expected that they'd better in the simplified rather than traditional Chinese. […] Because if those words are written in Mandarin Chinese on for example Berlin Wall, the local people would feel a Zhong guo ren [Chinese] wrote those words on their cultural heritage. I feel this is not appropriate.

> 就不要在那些知名景點刻上，xxx 到此一遊醬子，雖然我滿常看到中文版的，但是我期望那最好是簡體不要市繁體醬子。[…] 因為當你看到，比如說柏林圍牆上面寫中文，一個中國人在你的文物古蹟上面那個留言說，xxx 到此一遊，那我是覺得這不是合適醬子。

Like Mr. Liang, many participants uttered that paying respect towards nationally and culturally different others is the fundamental principle of a cosmopolitan. Below I discuss the data indicating that the meanings of "respect" differ in the participants' different interpretations and actions.

6.2.3.2 Showing respect

Based on the data, two different ways to show respect emerged from the analysis. Miss Hu's explanation below involved both ways when being asked what the responsibility of a global villager would be:

[6-35] Miss Hu: I feel you have to respect others who are different from you because many people may feel being different from themselves means it's not good. But I feel being a Taiwanese is a bit different from being a global villager. You should know how to respect others. It's like I don't agree with some of the dalu [mainland Chinese] classmates' behaviour, but maybe their culture is like that. I feel I'll respect. It's like when you go to another country, you have to adapt to the local habits.

> 你要懂得去尊重別人，因為有很多人會覺得說跟我不一樣就是不好。可是我覺得當一個台灣人跟當一個世界村村民又有一點不一樣，好就像我看到大陸同學的一些行為，我不是很苟同，但是他們的文化可能就是這樣，我覺得我會去尊重。就是你到了一個新的國家，你要去 adapt 當地的習慣。

Miss Hu showed her awareness that being a citizen of a national state is different from being a cosmopolitan (i.e., extract [6-35] "being a Taiwanese is a bit different from being a global villager."). Her report also pointed out that first, respect is to allow others' a degree of autonomy (i.e., extract [6-35] "I don't agree with … but maybe their culture is like that. I feel I'll respect."),

and secondly, to adapt to the local habits. The first way of showing respect by allowing others their

autonomy in terms of the freedom of speech and action can be evidently seen in Miss Wu's case:

[6-36] Miss Wu: And having learnt the Western education, I feel it's respect. I don't need you to agree with me and certainly I wouldn't ask you to say that I'm right. You don't have to agree with me and you can have your own opinions. […]

Interviewer: So you feel you've only learnt the part about respect after you got to the West?

Miss Wu: I feel I came to the West would rather, er, because I met more different people and people who exaggerate more in the West. But it's not like this in Taiwan. You wouldn't have so serious the physical conflicts. So that's why I practised only after I had gone abroad. It doesn't happen in Taiwan.

Interviewer: Practise what?

Miss Wu: Practise respect!

Miss Wu: 有學過西方教育會覺得就是尊重，我不用你一定要認同我的，當然我也不會要求你說我的一定是對的，你不用一定要 agree 我，那你也可以有你自己的想法。[…]

Interviewer: 你會覺得尊重這個部分是你到西方之後才學到的嗎?

Miss Wu: 我覺得我到西方來反而，因為我到西方之後反而接觸到比較多誇張的人，可是在台灣不會，你不會有這麼嚴重的肢體衝突。我反而是到了國外來之後才練習，在台灣不會。

Interviewer: 練習什麼?

Miss Wu: 練習尊重啊!

Her reason of meeting "more different people" in the West echoed others' reason for feeling like a

cultural mix (i.e., extracts [6-23] and [6-24]) and cosmopolitan (i.e., many different ethnic groups in

extract [6-26] and getting to know people from different countries and cultures in extract [6-25]).

Moreover, she considered the educational environment offered in the UK provided her with the

opportunities to learn as well as practise respect. As mentioned before, she is a strong DPP

(Democratic Progressive Party) supporter. Yet, when facing the conflicts in the UK, such as the

physical conflict she referred to in excerpt [5-14] where her Chinese (PRC) flatmate threatened to

hit her, Miss Wu learnt to respect by silencing her identity expression as Taiwanese. In the case of

the participants observed in this study, sometimes paying respect seemed to be carried out by allowing others' autonomy of speech and action while stifling their own freedom of expression (see excerpts [5-14], [5-15], [5-17] and [5-27] in chapter 5 and [6-35] and [6-36]). Both Nussbaum (2006) and Appiah (2005) emphasise the equal respect, but do not explicitly define the concept of respect and/or how respect should be expressed in the interpersonal communication context. Nussbaum (2006) alludes to respect as not violating people's right to choose for themselves and "not cause[ing] harm to others in areas touched upon by the central capabilities" (p. 296). The central capabilities, proposed by Nussbaum, involve life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play and control over one's environment. These capabilities of a person should be secured for his/her human dignity and self-respect. Based on Nussbaum's (2006) capabilities approach, many participants, such as Miss Wu, Miss Hu and Mr. Sun and some others mentioned in chapter 5, were not securing their capabilities such as freedom of speech for self-respect. Nussbaum (2006), however, neglected to discuss the balance between respect for others and self-respect in the scenarios where both parties in communication can cause harm to each other's capabilities such as the potential conflict the participants and the Chinese (PRC) sojourners face in the UK. Additionally, when examining Appiah's (2005) ideas, on the one hand, he notes that "people have the right to be acknowledged publicly as what they already really are" (p. 105). On the other hand, he also indicates that some basic rights could be reconsidered if, for example, "abridging your freedom of expression significantly reduced the chances of an outbreak of rioting that would cause much damage to life and property" (Appiah, 2005, p. 261-262). By and large, both scholars focus more on how the state should pay equal respect to its citizens but failed to explore in detail what respect means and the role it plays in the interpersonal conflict context in a cosmopolitan society. It appears in this study that when the rights conflict, sometimes the acts of paying respect inevitably involve the suppressing of freedom of expression.

Moreover, the other way of paying respect highlighted by Miss Hu in extract [6-35] was to adapt to the local habits of the host country, sometimes by means of changing one's own habits. This notion was shared by other participants such as Mr. Chiang and Feng:

[6-37] Mr. Chiang: It doesn't mean you can bring your habits to this country because you have to respect the place where you live.

你的習慣不代表你可以帶到這個國家來，因為你要尊重你住的地方。

[6-38] Mr. Feng: In terms of a global village, there are different cultures in it. So when you go to other countries, you must learn their local cultures in order to show your respect. You respect their culture instead of bringing all your cultures there. You have to integrate, in that you integrate your culture into others' cultures.

以世界村來說的話，那裏面有不同的文化。那當你來到其他國家的時候，你在其他的國家，你必須要學習他們當地的文化，以示你的尊重。你尊重他們的文化，而不是說你把你的文化全部帶過去，你必須做一個融合，就你把你的文化跟別人的文化融合在一起。

Their view of paying respect to the cultures of the host country mirrors Nussbaum (2006) and Appiah's (2005) proposals of respecting cultural diversity. Whereas Appiah promotes the celebration of cultural and local differences, Nussbaum's attempt focuses on understanding the differences in order to establish a global accord of human rights and values (Naseem & Hyslop-Margison, 2006). Yet, again they neglected to suggest how individuals should adjust themselves in order to express their respect for cultural diversity, as seen in both Mr. Chiang and Feng's cases who implied either a change of their previous habits ("integrate" in excerpt [6-38]) or an inhibition of them in the UK. In regard to integration, Kim's model of cross-cultural adaptation (1988, 2012) may shed light onto the current discussion. According to Kim, the integration into the host country and its culture occurs through the learning process of "acculturation" as the second time "enculturation" (similar to socialisation). For acculturation to take place, a "deculturation" factor must weigh in, whereby the learning and adoption of new cultural practices are counter-balanced by modifying certain taken-for-granted aspects. Consequently, the unlearning of some of the old cultural habits is somehow unavoidable as Kim (2012) contends that "the act of acquiring

something new is inevitably the 'losing' of something old" (p. 233, the author's original emphasis). Kim's explanation of the above terms (acculturation, enculturation and deculturation) is useful in understanding the process of integration and the dynamics of sojourners' old and new cultural habits. That is, Mr. Feng and Chiang would have adjusted or undone some aspects of their old cultural habits. Although Kim's spiral model strongly suggests the path of stress and mental disequilibrium leading to personal adaptation and growth in the host country (stress-adaptation-growth), integration to the UK was regarded by some participants also as a way to show their respect to the host society.

6.2.3.3 Equality and fairness

Alongside respect, ensuring equality and fairness were also found among the participants to be a fundamental principle in a cosmopolitan society. Mr. Yeh, for example, articulated a strong statement which showed his belief in being equal and fair at the international society. When being asked whether he would support Taiwanese local products as opposed to other foreign products as a way of acting Taiwanese, he replied:

> [6-39] Mr. Yeh: Korea doesn't allow much foreign products in their country but they always want to invade other countries with their own products. […] We should keep boycotting their products. Maybe their products are really better, but I feel we should have this attitude more than we must support Taiwanese products and we ought not to buy XX [a well-known French brand]. I don't think it's like that.
>
> *Interviewer*: So you feel the trade has to be fair?
>
> Mr. Yeh: Yes, Yes, Yes!

> Mr. Yeh: 韓國都不允許人家東西進去他國家，但是他卻一直想要用他的東西去侵略其他的國家。[...] 我們要一直抵制韓貨，不買韓貨。也許韓國的東西真的比較好，可是我覺得應該要用這個態度，多過於說阿我們一定要支持台灣的東西，而不去買 XX，我覺得不太像這樣。
>
> *Interviewer*: 所以你覺得是要在一個公平的交易上?
>
> Mr. Yeh: 對對對!

The unfair trade at the international society is an indication of the problem of the unequal power distribution and the inequality of economy justice, marked by Croucher (2004), which were precisely the underlying reason as to why a few participants did not identify with cosmopolitanism, discussed in section 6.2.1. Therefore, Mr. Yeh raised the importance of acting equal and fair in the international trade, in addition to acting as such in the interpersonal context in the shared global space. For some other participants, the SA context along with the experience of being discriminated against (discussed in section 6.2.1) has led them to reflect on themselves, enhancing their sensitivity and awareness of whether or not they are also being unequal and unfair to others. For example, only after his experience of being unjustly treated during SA in the US did Mr. Chiang start to examine himself and change his attitudes towards foreign employees in Taiwan:

[6-40] Mr. Chiang: I used to feel a little, those South-East Asian maids and those workers. But I now tell myself I can't think like that. People are born equal, especially things about human rights. I don't have the right to judge others. They go to Taiwan to make a living. It shows that Taiwan has the ability to help these people. So if I can have a clear concept of the villager of the global village, I feel this is something I'd prefer more.

以前我也會有一點點覺得，那些東南亞來的幫傭阿，然後那些勞工啦。可是我現在告訴我自己不可以降子想，人生而平等，尤其是人權的東西，我沒有權利去judge別人，他們為了生活而來到台灣，表示台灣還是足夠去幫助這些其他人。所以我如果能自己有很清楚的這個世界村的村民的概念的話，我覺得我比較是想要這樣的東西。

Mr. Chiang now grasped the idea that "people are born equal" and believed that this is the cosmopolitan imagination he would prefer, which idea is also particularly emphasised by Nussbaum (2006). His personal experience also implies that it is sometimes not easy to attain equality and fairness without having experienced injustice and discrimination. In many cases, such as Mr. Chiang and others', the participants learned to be fair and reflected on themselves when the discrimination and stereotype have been inflicted upon them. In other cases, they may have inadvertently made the same mistake, as Miss Huang shared her experience below:

[6-41] Miss Huang: At the time I was taking a taxi back home and I was complaining to the driver, saying that others didn't ask me first and then they mistook me for Chinese. I was very angry […] Then he said, 'I know very well your feelings. For example, where do you think

I'm from?' I said I didn't know and I tried to be careful about it. I said, 'is your background Indian?' Then he said, 'you see. Is it because of my skin colour?! Other people would also see you like this'. He said he's is completely not from India. Yes. And I said I was really sorry. I did exactly the same thing as what others did to me. My anger was gone instantly. It's the taxi driver who made me understand, you know?! So I started to feel when we don't want others to discriminate us, we also have to be able to do the same.

> 那時候我搭計程車要回家，我在那邊跟他抱怨，就說他們都不問清楚阿，然後就把我當成 Chinese，然後我就說我很生氣阿。然後他就說我懂你的感覺，我非常懂，比如說你覺得我是哪裡人？我說我不知道耶。而且我還很小心，我說你的 background 是 India 嗎？然後他就說：你看，是不是因為我的膚色？他說別人也會降看你，他說我完全不是 from India。對，然後我就說真的很抱歉，我竟然做了跟他們一樣的事情，我就馬上不生氣了。就是一個計程車司機打醒我你知道嗎?! 所以我就覺得我們自己不想要讓人家種族歧視，我覺得我們自己也要做到。

Miss Huang was helped by the taxi driver and realised that she behaved in exactly the same way as those who otherised her as Chinese (Holliday, 1999; Holliday et al., 2004) due to her appearance, which issue has been highlighted in section 5.1. From the above accounts, it has been possible to see that treating others fairly and equally without pre-judgment does not always come easily. Most importantly, as can be seen in Miss Huang's realisation: "when we don't want others to discriminate us, we also have to be able to do the same (我們自己不想要讓人家種族歧視，我覺得我們自己也要做到。)" (Miss Huang), it shows that some participants were on their way of learning and practising these attributes—being equal and fair— in the SA environment.

6.2.3.4 Reflection on the differences

The analyses of the data also pointed to the crucial role self-reflection plays when the participants expected themselves to be able to respect the different others and treated them fairly and equally in the multi-cultural SA environment in the UK. The reflective process is initiated through the *observed difference between the self and others* in the course of intercultural interactions with the culturally and nationally different others. If on the one hand, intercultural comparison and observing the difference have led to a renewed sense of being Taiwanese and enhanced patriotic responses, as shown in section 6.1, on the other hand, the observed differences also spur the participants to reflect

on the difference and themselves. Miss Ma, for example, reported how it was important to observe

others' different cultural habits during her sojourn in the UK and compared them to her own

situations:

[6-42] Miss Ma: Then it's to observe often, observing what everyone's doing and how they do it. […] Experiencing different cultures and this is something you can't experience back home. You'd understand more about other cultures. For instance which countries and ethnic groups feel superior, and you'd take it to compare with your own situations.

那就是要常常觀察。觀察大家都在做什麼，怎麼做的。[…] 體驗不一樣的文化，這是在國內無法體會的。會對其他的文化比較了解，比方說哪一個國家對自己的民族優越感很強，會跟自己的情況拿來做比較。

Additionally, Miss Wei, who was undertaking a master's degree in Marketing, reported that she

would particularly pay attention to the different ways people interacted with her, and Miss Yang

also reported the similar way:

[6-43] Miss Wei: Just after coming here, I felt, wow there are a lot of differences. Then I'd think why we're different and where the differences are. Maybe because I always want to do marketing, I'd observe, for example, the way they reply to me/my question.

只是來到這邊，會覺得，哇，有很多的不同。然後我會去思考為十麼我們不同，然後不同在哪裡。可能是因為我一直很想要做 marketing，所以我會去觀察，就是可能他們在回答的方式。

[6-44] Miss Yang: Seeing different cultures. Then you'd start to examine your own behaviours and ways of talking, and why these are different from others.

見識到不同的文化，然後會開始檢視自己的行為和講話方式，為什麼和別人不一樣。

From Miss Ma, Wei and Yang's accounts, it can be seen that the reflective process involves first to

notice the differences and/or perspectives of the different others they encountered during their

sojourn; then these became an input of self-reflection (e.g., "why we're different" in excerpt [6-

43]). Furthermore, it was through the processes of comparison and reflection that many participants

started to learn the different and/or other people's perspectives. For instance, having compared with

different others, Miss Ma reported that she is now able to think through a perspective that is

different from hers:

[6-45] Miss Ma: Now I see things from wider levels. Having seen different people now, I understand that some people can have this thought so I realise I can see things from this perspective. I've also become more empathetic.

現在考慮的層面會比較廣，現在看過不一樣的人，了解原來有一些人會這樣想，才知道有這樣的角度去看事情。我變得比較能為其他人設想。

Miss Ma believed that by taking different or others' perspectives, she considered herself as being

more empathetic. If changing a perspective-taking led Miss Ma to become more empathetic, Miss

Hu believed that she has now become more tolerant, and she gave an example of her experience in

Europe:

[6-46] Miss Hu: It's like what I saw in Europe. When we were waiting for the gate at the airport, many parents let their babies crawling on the floor and also on the floor of the plane after we got on it. The moment I saw it, I felt, what's that?! It's so dirty. But then, just tolerance because maybe it's their culture and maybe they think children can't be tied up or it's not possible for them to sit there quietly. […]

Interviewer: Does that mean you're now seeing things more objectively?

Miss Hu: Er, or say seeing things from other people's perspective.

Miss Hu: 就像我看到 歐洲，我們在機場看到等 gate 的時候，有很多家長讓他們的小嬰兒在地上爬，然後上了那個小飛機也讓他們在地上爬。我一開始看到就覺得說，這時麼東西呀?!好髒喔! 但是後來，就包容，因為這可能是他們的文化，因為他們可能覺得小孩不能一直關著，一直乖乖坐好。[…]

Interviewer: 這些算是說現在變得比較客觀的去看事情嗎?

Miss Hu: 恩，或者是說會以別人的角度。

To take another example, Mr. Lee, who reported to have an eye-opening experience in the

intercultural classroom where he witnessed how his classmates of African origins had passions to

save Africa, not only developed more patriotic responses seen in excerpt [6-8], but also started to

reflect on the differences and learned to be more open-minded:

[6-47] Mr. Lee: Then you reflect on those richer North-East Asian countries, like Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Zhong guo [China], these comparatively so-called richer or more in shape countries. Our students don't have such thoughts/ideas. Indeed, I really feel why it is like this?! We'd rather focus on travels and having delicious food or even following up those idols, etc. […] At least I changed my previous negative ideas about certain ethnic groups, countries and areas […] I now realised that their economy is better than ours, much better than Taiwan. Only some of them come to work in Taiwan for survival. Right, so I really feel more open-minded.

那你反觀這些比較有錢的東北亞這些國家，像日本，韓國，台灣，中國，這些相對人家講比較富有或是狀況比較好，我們的學生沒有這種想法阿! 對呀! 我真的覺得說怎麼會降? 我們寧可把很多重點放在旅遊，然後吃好東西，甚至是關注偶像團體等等之類的。[…]就是至少改掉我以前，對於某些特定人種，特定國家，特定地區的一些不好的 […] 可是我後來發現人家經濟比你好，比你台灣好很多，他們只是有些人不得已才這樣。 對，所以我真的覺得是有比較 open-minded.

His sense of open-mindedness derived from his being able to reflect on and embrace what he had witnessed in the intercultural educational environment, and he, accordingly, changed his previously biased opinions. Reflecting on the difference between the participants themselves and different others has fostered open-mindedness and the different perspective-taking which can lead to enhanced tolerance and empathy. In addition to these changes, Mr. Lee, for example, at the end of the interview described the SA experience as "one that can change a lot of your ideas and even change your life (他可以改變你的很多想法，甚至會改變你人生)" (Mr. Lee). So the SA environment, abounding with intercultural and international comparison, can bring a multitude of changes as to how the sojourners reflect on themselves in accordance with their individual SA experience.

Overall, the exploration carried out in this section has provided important insights into the development of a cosmopolitan identity in the SA context in the case of the SSFT in the UK. The findings evince that the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism derives from the latter's irreconcilability with the reality the participants perceived, rather than the dual identification. This inconsistency has also been depicted in Beck's (2002) sense of "the cosmopolitan society and its enemies" (p.17), whereby nationalism, globalism and increased governmental control all co-exist in

the cosmopolitan society. Despite the contested cosmopolitanism, the supra identity as humans abiding in the shared hometown has also been reported by some participants due to the factors of engaging in cross-cultural and intercultural living as well as the discriminated experience. The findings, thus, support Beck and Sznaider (2010) and Beck's (2002) idea of a dual identification, "this-as-well-as-that" (2002, p. 19), as belonging to the cosmos (the human shared hometown) and the national community. Furthermore, in terms of the responsibilities of a cosmopolitan, the concern for the environment was carried out by the participants in the practical sense of what everyone can achieve daily. Respect for others was shown among some participants by means of allowing others' autonomy while inhibiting their own freedom of identity expressions. Respect to the host country was expressed by adapting to the local habits and integration. Additionally, the data also revealed that some participants were in the process of practising treating others equally and fairly in the SA environment. Last, having frequently reflected on the observed differences between themselves and culturally and nationally different others, the participants reported becoming more open-minded and learn to take different and/or other people's perspectives. Most importantly, these attributes and responsibilities may appear similar to Turner's cosmopolitan virtues (2002), Appiah's cosmopolitan morality and ethics (2005), and Nussbaum's capacities (1997, 2006). Yet, they differ from the theoretical and philosophical illustration in that these responsibilities and actions were based on the participants' lived SA experience. Thus, they offer more accessible and practical notions of *how* these virtues or responsibilities have been played out (e.g., how to protect the environment and respect others) in the case of the SSFT in the intercultural SA environment in the UK.

6.3 Chapter conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter weave a coherent picture of the intercultural SA sphere where difference and comparison are necessary. Meeting nationally and culturally different others and

comparing to them during the sojourn period in the UK enable many participants to grow the resized perspectives in the way of looking at the homeland (section 6.1.1), and the enhanced sentiments of being Taiwanese. It is also through meeting nationally and culturally different others and comparing to them that some SSFT develop the sense of belonging to the supra layer of the humans, as being neighbours and friends, all abiding on Earth. Evidently, the findings of acting upon Taiwanese identity as seen in section 6.1 are not in contrast to those of acting cosmopolitan discussed in section 6.2.3. The intercultural SA experience thus has a profound influence on the SSFT in terms of their reported renewed sense of being Taiwanese, the emerged patriotic responses, and the developed view of seeing the world as increasingly interconnected and as the shared hometown of humans.

Theoretically speaking, the findings support not only the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism as the former being the enemy of the latter (contested cosmopolitan in section 6.2.1), but also support the possibility of the dual identification—belonging to the cosmos (the human shared hometown) and the national community—as argued by scholars such as Beck (2002), Beck & Sznaider (2010) and Appiah (2005). Particularly, the findings are in line with Block's (2002) case study where the Taiwanese sojourner developed a cosmopolitan identity while her national identity remained strong. However, unlike Norris and Inglehart's results (2009), the findings of this study indicate that national and cosmopolitan identities should not be placed on the same continuum because the development of the latter does not entail a negation of the former. Rather, the imagined national community is widened to envision a human community (e.g., neighbourhoods, friends, and families), with the former included in the latter. This widened imagination is the national identity expansion found in this study.

Moreover, it also emerged from the above discussion that both Appiah (2005) and Nussbaum (1997, 2006) neglect to discuss the notion of respect. Although it may seem self-evident and is sometimes taken-for-granted, this study demonstrates that it deserves particular attention as

to what it is and how to show it. Particularly, the findings suggest that in order to pay respect, the silenced expressions of the participants' identity and change of their own cultural habits are sometimes inevitable in this study. It is however not my intention to define or constrain the act of respecting to a singular, static notion but rather to shed light on the different ways in which it can be expressed and seen as a multifaceted social construct. Rather than developing more models discussing the prescriptive attributes needed in the cosmopolitan world, I believe, in the light of the findings, that exploring how these are played out is more insightful.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

In the final chapter, I conclude the study with the ensuing five sections. I begin by summarising the main findings covered in chapters 4, 5 and 6 in order to address the three research questions respectively (Section 7.1). I then discuss the theoretical, methodological, educational and practical contributions and implications of the study (section 7.2). I also identify the limitations of the study (section 7.3) and suggest directions for further research (section 7.4). Last, I draw the final conclusions in section 7.5.

7.1 Summary of major findings

The main purpose of this study is to explore the national identity of the student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) in the intercultural study-abroad (SA) context in the UK. Three research questions emerged from the discussion of existing literature (chapter 2) and they were addressed under a social constructionist overarching approach using qualitative, active interviewing (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 2003, 2011) and Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis (chapter 3). Below I provide a recapitulation of the major findings in answering specifically each research question:

RQ1: For the SSFT who are studying in the UK, what is integral to their (re)construction of national identity?

First, the data shown in chapter 4 revealed that 18 SSFT identify with Taiwanese identity while two SSFT believe they are both Chinese (the Republic of China, ROC) and Taiwanese. These were further amplified into four different dimensions, owing to the different notions attached to the two terms—the ROC and Taiwan (see Table 4-1). The four dimensions involve: being Chinese (ROC)

and Taiwanese, referring to the ROC as the official national state while Taiwan as the conventional term (section 4.1.2), being Taiwanese while embracing the ROC as its history (section 4.1.3), being Taiwanese and severing ties with the ROC (section 4.1.4), being Taiwanese and recognising that the ROC is Taiwan, not China (section 4.1.5). Furthermore, the most important factors that showed a coherent pattern in contributing to the participants' (re)construction of national identities are: schooling and family education (section 4.2), homeland: being born and bred in Taiwan (section 4.3), culture (section 4.4), and the SA experience (section 4.5).

In terms of education, the findings suggested that what had been taught in school was, to a considerable extent, understood according to the participants' subjective interpretations which were primarily influenced by their family education and family history. These family factors (primary socialisation) played an important role in influencing how the participants interpreted the narration of the relocation of Zhong hua ming guo (ROC) from China to Taiwan in schools as their origin or the separation point (i.e., people *came from* there vs. we *separated from* there; see section 4.2.1). Additionally, the influence of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) was found in both the school and family environments, leading the participants to constantly draw the boundaries between "we (Taiwan/Zhong hua ming guo)" and "they (China, PRC)".

Furthermore, against the backdrop of the SA context, the homeland, Taiwan, represented a decisive factor defining "who I am". Concurrently, the identified national element—the homeland, Taiwan—was now emotionally activated and it gained new meanings (e.g., a sense of security and stronger affections, as discussed in section 4.3) in the UK. In the same vein, the cultural elements, including Chinese heritage, the Japanese influence, Western influence and Taiwanese food culture, communication and interaction, became more salient by means of comparison (section 4.4). They emerged as national cultural symbols, presented and represented against the intercultural SA context (Hall, 1996a), enabling the participants to make sense of what it means to be Taiwanese abroad. By being more aware of their national culture as a result of the SA experience, the SSFT

can also be said to essentialise the sense of being Taiwanese and how Taiwanese are different from others in the UK, i.e., in Holliday's (1999) term, the "large culture". By and large, the new understandings of the homeland and its cultures reciprocally feed into the sense of being Taiwanese in the process of identity construction and reconstruction.

Last, the SA interface, abounding with possibilities for international and intercultural comparison, spurred the participants to reflect on, (re)define and (re)construct their national belonging and sense of self. In addition to intercultural and international comparison, the SA experience was also paralleled by challenges to the avowed Taiwanese identity (e.g., extracts [4-44] to [4-46]). These experiences rather enhanced the participants' Taiwanese awareness, and the act of comparing to the Significant Other (Triandafyllidou, 2001), namely China (PRC), was extended onto the inter-personal communication context during the SA experience in the UK. Accordingly, the boundaries of what it means to be Taiwanese and/or Chinese (ROC) are drawn and re-drawn through the contacts with the Chinese (PRC) sojourners in the UK.

Overall, the findings have addressed the research question above in answering who the SSFT think they are and the most important, underlying factors in this identity recognition.

Next, as all participants reported that they normally introduced themselves as Taiwanese during their SA journey in the UK, I focused on the discussion of Taiwanese national identity negotiation in the next question.

RQ2: How do the SSFT communicate and negotiate their national identity in the international and intercultural SA environment in the UK?

Three themes have been identified and discussed in chapter 5 to answer this question: Taiwanese identity enactment in the scenarios of being recognised as Chinese (PRC) and being challenged

(section 5.1), the conflict avoidance tendency in communication (section 5.2), and boundary drawing via communication (section 5.3).

First, the findings revealed that Taiwanese identity was particularly enacted primarily due to non-Chinese (PRC) others' confusion and the Chinese (PRC) sojourners' confrontation in the UK. More precisely, the participants' language (Mandarin Chinese), appearance and cultural background were easily construed by different others as Chinese (PRC). This can be regarded as evidence of otherisation (Holliday, 1999; Holliday et al., 2004) on the basis that the general term "Chinese" in English to refer to the culture, ethnicity/race, national group and language generates confusion. It easily throws a large number of people who share one of these features into the same category of "Chinese (PRC)". Thus, the indiscriminate use of the term "Chinese" stifled the participants' avowed identity and identity complexity (section 5.1.1). On other occasions, many participants experienced identity threats, particularly by the Chinese (PRC) students (e.g., imposing the ascribed Chinese identity or denying the avowed Taiwanese identity) in the UK. The data indicated that some participants tended to employ the dominating style in managing identity conflicts as they would push for their own "position or goal above and beyond the other person's conflict interest" (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 80). As can be seen in section 5.1, the participants promptly defended their self-face and Taiwanese identity (e.g., excerpts [5-5], [5-7], [5-8], [5-9] & [5-10]). The same can be said for the Chinese (PRC) counterparts who overtly and covertly challenged the participants' face (e.g., extracts [5-7], [5-9], [5-10], [5-11] & [4-44]). In some cases, such confrontations resulted in the demise of a friendship or the end of communication.

Moreover, the findings also showed that some of the participants who had experienced conflicts tended to avoid them later in their sojourn while others either never had any experience of Taiwanese identity confrontation or they adopted the avoidance strategy from the beginning of the sojourn (section 5.2). Notably, the reported avoidance does not invariably prevent some participants from enacting their Taiwanese identity, but primarily refers to avoiding "going there", i.e.,

discussing the Taiwan-China (PRC) political dispute, which may often degenerate into arguments and fights. This is in line with Ting-Toomey's (2005) notion of the conflict avoiding style which involves "eluding the conflict topic" (p. 80). The reasons for the tendency of avoiding arguments over the Taiwan-China political dispute in communication with the Chinese peers (PRC) in general, or with certain ones, were identified in section 5.2.1, including: futility (section 5.2.1.1), respect and understanding (section 5.2.1.2), harmony of the friendship/relationship (section 5.2.1.3) and personal safety (section 5.2.1.4). In most cases, it was the combination of these reasons that guided the avoidance. Additionally, the avoidance tendency was paralleled by a number of strategies developed to prevent the argument from escalating, including: tacit/mutual agreement between the two parties (section 5.2.2.1), employing amiable ways (section 5.2.2.2) and silencing the self (section 5.2.2.3). These findings indicated that Taiwanese student sojourners employ the avoiding style as a result of the concerns for self-face, others-face, mutual face and other personal concerns in managing their national identity conflicts, primarily with the Chinese (PRC) sojourners, in the UK.

Last, owing to the aforementioned identity confusion and confrontation, the negotiation of Taiwanese identity is profoundly mediated and constantly reshaped by how the different others (non-Chinese, PRC and Chinese, PRC) perceive the participants, how they see themselves in comparison with Chinese (PRC) and how they present themselves. Specifically, a spectrum of differences to draw the national boundaries as different from Chinese (PRC) was observed by the participants through their communication with the Chinese (PRC) students during their SA in the UK. These differences include: language (Mandarin Chinese phonetic, syntactic and semantic varieties in section 5.3.1), government configurations/democracy (section 5.3.2), and ways of communication (e.g., of Taiwanese being perceived by themselves as more polite and indirect while the Chinese, PRC, sojourners as being relatively direct and less considerate for others in public, in section 5.3.3). As can be seen in section 5.3.3, the participants also reported that some of these

differences were reciprocally pointed out by culturally and nationally different others during their SA experience in the UK. As the participants' social self of being Taiwanese (Mead's concept of "me", 1962) was reciprocated by others in the communication, it played an important role in further reinforcing their "I" as Taiwanese (Mead, 1962) and the boundary drawing as different from Chinese (PRC).

Overall, negotiating Taiwanese national identity abroad involves sometimes clarifying and defending (i.e., by drawing the differences between Taiwanese and Chinese, PRC); at other times, especially with the Chinese (PRC) sojourners, avoiding the particular topic (Taiwan-China political dispute). Fundamentally, it is a dynamic communication process in which the interactions with Chinese (PRC) and non-Chinese (PRC) others enable the SSFT to observe and learn their differences from Chinese (PRC). These perceived differences then become part of their repertoire of narratives in drawing their national boundaries. As postulated by Mead (1962), the realities are therefore created and recreated by and through the communication. At the same time, the boundaries of being Taiwanese are drawn and re-drawn in accordance with such an on-going process of communication in the SA context.

Next, as Taiwanese identity became particularly strong in the SA context, I also explored the possibilities of the development of a supra-national identity—cosmopolitan identity—which is addressed below.

RQ3: For the SSFT who are studying in the UK, does the transnational and/or intercultural experience, in this case the SA experience in the UK, pave the way for the development of cosmopolitan identity? If so, why?

Based on the literature discussion in section 2.3, the research question above also involves issues pertinent to the juxtaposition of national and cosmopolitan identities in this study. Accordingly, I discussed data in chapter 6 showing that, whereas all participants grew more patriotic abroad and

some reported the incompatibility between national and cosmopolitan identities, the others expressed a feeling of belonging to the world and humankind as a macro-layer of their identity. This supra-national identity, linking humankind with the shared habitat, also came with its responsibilities (acting cosmopolitan).

On the one hand, the data revealed that the intercultural SA environment in the UK has nurtured the enhanced patriotic responses of the SSFT, as developing different and/or new insights for the SSFT into how they see themselves, Taiwan and their positions in the world. The participants reported their resizing perspectives that were different from their taken-for-granted and existing concepts, which reflects Byram's (1992, 2008) tertiary socialisation (which concept is not confined to the classroom teaching setting in this study, as highlighted in chapter 2). For instance, they reported that what had been considered "terrible" back in Taiwan was now seen as a "paradise" (excerpt [6-1]), and they learnt to be "proud of Taiwan" (excerpt [6-4]) and that "how lucky you are in Taiwan" (excerpt [6-2]). At the same time, during their sojourn experience, the participants also perceived the disadvantageous position of Taiwan abroad as well as various problems on Taiwan (e.g., "all kinds of incidents of suppression" and "why Taiwan is so weak" in extract [6-6]; "the quality of Taiwan's journalism is so awful" in extract [6-5]). These have also led them to become more concerned about Taiwan. Consequently, their emerged patriotic responses were translated into actions of bringing improvements to their society after the SA journey, while during their sojourn in the UK, they have focused on promoting Taiwan (e.g., Taiwanese food in extracts [6-11] & [6-12]) and not damaging its image.

On the other hand, the data showed complexity regarding the development of a supra-national identity, that is, cosmopolitan identity. Some SSFT pointed out the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in the shared global space. Specifically, they reported that a cosmopolitan vision where everyone is equal (Appiah, 2005; Nussbaum, 2006) is incompatible with the realities where discrimination, social inequality and the limited resources with the unequal

distribution tend to be prominent (e.g., extracts [6-17] to [6-21]). As a result, they either prioritised their national identity (e.g., extracts [6-17] to [6-19]) or developed a cosmopolitan imagination as a wishful thinking based on the vision of a better world where everyone is equal (e.g., extracts [6-21] & [6-22]).

By contrast, the other participants did not report any tension and they could reconcile national and cosmopolitan identities comfortably. They reported a cosmopolitan belonging, that is, as perceiving themselves as being culturally mixed (e.g., extracts [6-23] & [6-24]) or recognising the broader sense of being "neighbourhood", "friends" and humans living together in the shared space (e.g., extracts [6-25], [6-27] & [6-28]). Their cosmopolitan belonging is linked to both humankind and the shared space in which all humans live (Appiah, 2005; Beck, 2002; Beck and Sznaider, 2010) and this shared space is human beings' "shared hometown" (Appiah, 2005, p. 217). This layer of identification derived from the SA experience and staying in culturally and nationally different contexts (e.g., extracts [6-23] to [6-26]). It did not undermine these participants' sense of national belonging because they were aware of the variety and diversity under the umbrella category of humankind.

Last, section 6.2.3 discussed that the cosmopolitan belonging manifested itself through acting as a cosmopolitan, involving: working for the good of the places (section 6.2.3.1), showing respect (section 6.2.3.2), equality and fairness (section 6.2.3.3), and reflection on differences (section 6.2.3.4). Working for the good of the human shared environment was represented by a more practical personal conduct which the participants could achieve and practise daily (e.g., "Don't keep consuming plastic bags" in extract [6-31]; "save the energy whenever possible" in extract [6-32]). These are in line with Appiah's (2005, p. 217) idea of protecting the "shared hometown" which is not divided by the national boundaries. Moreover, respect is found in this study to allow others a degree of autonomy as well as to adapt to the local (host country's) habits. In order to respect others' autonomy, the participants often suppressed their own freedom of

expressing their identity (e.g., extracts [6-36], [5-14], [5-15], [5-17] & [5-27]). This will be further discussed below in section 7.2. Additionally, the adaptation to the local habits was reported to be carried out through either a change of the participants' cultural habits or an inhibition of them in the UK (e.g. extracts [6-37] & [6-38]). These ideas of "adapting" can be explained by Kim (2012) in that "the act of acquiring something new is inevitably the 'losing' of something old" (p. 233, the author's original emphasis). Further, treating others fairly and equally without pre-judgment did not always come easily, and it required constant self-reflection and practice (e.g., extracts [6-40] & [6-41]). Through reflecting on the differences between the participants themselves and different others during their sojourn, they reported becoming more open-minded and started to understand different perspectives which led to enhanced tolerance and empathy (e.g., extracts [6-43] to [6-47]).

7.2 Contributions and implications

In this section, I discuss the theoretical contributions and implications arising from the findings of this study (section 7.2.1), and the methodological contributions and implications as a result of the methodologies and methods employed in this study (section 7.2.2). Then I discuss the educational and practical implications of the findings (sections 7.2.3 and 7.2.4).

7.2.1 Theoretical contributions and implications

As the current study is inherently interdisciplinary, drawing on the domains of identities, nationalism, social constructionism, intercultural communication, study-abroad (SA), education and cosmopolitanism, it contributes to the theoretical discussions of these areas.

Overall, examining national identities in the SA context, the findings generated in this study (in chapters 4, 5 and 6) respond to Dolby (2007) and Block's (2007) calls for giving importance to sojourners' national identities in the field of SA. In particular, it contributes to this field by focusing

on one particular national group, that is, student sojourners from Taiwan (SSFT) in the receiving country of the UK, which is under-researched in the SA literature. Compared to the other studies delving into national identities in the SA context (as discussed in chapters 1 & 2), the data are in contrast to those of Piller and Takahashi's (2006) study of the Japanese student sojourners in Sydney who displayed strong desires to become a White native speaker. They are also in contrast to those of Murphy-Lejeune's (2003) investigation which showed that national categorisation became less important for 50 European student sojourners abroad for one year. By contrast, the findings of this study come closer to those of Wilkinson (1998), Isabelli-Garcia (2006) Jackson (2008) and Dolby's (2004) studies where national identities became "a salient label" abroad (Wilkinson, 1998, p. 32). In Jackson's (2008) study, the 5-week short-term sojourners from Hong Kong in the UK developed a heightened awareness of their core, central Chinese self and/or Hong Kong Chinese identity. On the contrary, the participants in this study showed a strong awareness of their Taiwanese identity.

The findings showed that national identities in the SA context are inconsistent with Gellner's (1983) idea that "the political and the national unit should be congruent" (p. 1). Neither are they in line with Smith's (1991) emphasis of the ethnic group and the stable features of common myths, historical memories, historic territory, common legal rights, etc. Instead, the findings demonstrate that national identity in the SA context comes closer to Hroch's (1985) notion (section 2.1.2), in that it is the combination of several kinds of relation (e.g., the homeland, culture, schooling, family education and SA experience in this case). Most importantly, the meanings of these identified national elements are not fixed and the same to everybody. These elements became the boundaries on which the participants drew against the "Significant Other" as Triandafyllidou (2001) proposes, and in this case, it is the Chinese (PRC) student sojourners in the UK. Accordingly, all participants reported introducing themselves as Taiwanese abroad in order to distinguish themselves from Chinese (PRC).

Through an exploration of the socially constructed realities of the participants, this study shows how the homeland and its cultures have become particularly salient and activated emotional responses (e.g., a sense of security and enhanced affections) as a result of the intercultural SA experience. This layer of socialisation can be considered as Byram's (1992, 2008) tertiary socialisation where the participants have gained new or different insights into their taken-for-granted, existing concepts of themselves and Taiwan. For instance, section 6.1 reported the participants' resizing perspectives on the homeland, Taiwan, and sections 4.3 and 4.4 discussed the different and/or important understandings of the homeland and Taiwanese cultures in the light of their SA experience. By means of intercultural comparison in the course of tertiary socialisation in the UK, the SSFT have been constructing and reconstructing Taiwanese national cultures. It can also be considered that they have been essentialising their "large culture" (Holliday, 1999, p. 237), which is presented and represented against the intercultural SA environment in the UK (Hall, 1996a). The SA journey thus becomes one that (re)makes sense of what it means to be Taiwanese, resonating with Hall's (1997) search for identity: "when you know what everyone else is, then you are what they are not" (p. 21). In the case of this study, the findings showed the Taiwanese sojourners strived to distinguish themselves from Chinese (PRC) and drew boundaries to clarify who they are *not* during their sojourn in the UK (see sections 4.5 & 5.3). All in all, the rich findings of (re)construction of Taiwanese national identity illustrated in chapters 4, 5 and 6 as a whole, which were previously unnoticed, unavailable or unseen by the participants in their primary and secondary socialisation environment (in Taiwan), can be considered as strong evidence for tertiary socialisation.

In terms of managing interpersonal conflicts in the domain of intercultural communication, firstly, discrepancies are found between the findings of this study and Ting-Toomey's face-negotiation theory (1988, 2005). It becomes evident that some participants employed the dominating style in conflicts to defend their Taiwanese identity, and the Chinese (PRC) students

overtly and covertly challenged others' face (their classmates from Taiwan). The findings contradict Ting-Toomey's theoretical assumption of the collectivists' preference for avoiding tactics in conflicts, when national identity is involved. Moreover, the findings are also in contrast to the claim of face-negotiation theory, that is: "individualism-collectivism shapes members' preferences for self-oriented facework versus other-oriented facework" (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 73). The data in this study demonstrated that the SSFT showed self-face, others-face, mutual face and other personal concern in their conflict management styles. Although Ting-Toomey's face-negotiation theory (1988, 2005) offers invaluable contributions to the discussion of the link between culture, conflict management styles and facework, in the light of the present study, face-negotiation theory using the different cultural styles (collectivists and individualists) to predict the conflict management styles is open to debate when the national self is under negotiation. Particularly, face-negotiation theory is primarily developed using the quantitative approach (e.g., Cocroft & Ting-Toomey, 1994; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991), implementing a hypothetical scenario and asking the respondents to fill out the five-point Likert questionnaire to address it. By contrast, this study employing qualitative interviews enabled the participants to speak of their lived experience of the conflicts in the SA context and the reasons for their consequent actions. Therefore, researchers should be cautious when predicting or assuming that collectivists tend to use the same negotiation strategies for the same reasons under various contexts with different interlocutors.

Further, the findings of this study also put the cultural category of "collectivism" under question. Collectivists are postulated to avoid direct confrontations with others (Hofstede, 2001); however, in many cases, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the Chinese (PRC) students' open and direct confrontation questioning Taiwanese identity and some participants' immediate defence reported in this study told otherwise. Proponents of the cultural divisions of individualism and collectivism may argue that these cultural tendencies are the results of comparisons (individualists vs. collectivists), but this study does not offer an individualist reference for comparison. In other

words, why does this study use two national groups who are "supposedly" collectivists (i.e., Taiwanese and Chinese, PRC) to examine collectivism? In this regard, I reason that the open confrontation and dominating style from both parties are palpable in the data (i.e., extracts [4-44], [5-7], [5-8], [5-9], [5-10], [5-11], [5-14], [5-17] and [5-26]), as telling the contrary to the assumption of the collectivist tendency to avoid confrontations. These findings may serve as a reference point to attenuate the collectivism/avoidance generalisation, as it may undermine the complexity of different national groups and how they negotiate their national identities.

Whereas face-negotiation theory finds its limits in this study, the communication theory of identity (CTI, Hecht, Warren, Jung & Krieger, 2005) and Mead's (1962) theory provide useful frameworks in exploring and explaining the data. According to CTI, the self is seen in the personal, enacted, relational, and communal layers. A person can decide to enact or *not* enact his/her identity on different layers. When an identity is enacted on one layer, but not another, this causes the discrepancy or contradiction among the different layers of identity. These discrepancies are recognised by Hecht et al. (2005) as an "identity gap". The theory is particularly useful in explaining when the participants chose *not* to enact their Taiwanese identity on the relational layer with the Chinese (PRC) students. Yet, when an identity is often suppressed by the relation or the related others in the communication, as in some cases found in this study (e.g., extracts [5-14], [5-19], [5-21], [5-22], [5-24] and [5-27]), this may occasion the individual's identity gap, leading to serious consequences of personal well-being (Jung & Hecht, 2008; Jung, Hecht & Wadsworth, 2007). However, depression as emerged in Jung et al.'s study (2007) is not found in this study. Instead, this study contributes to CTI by some reports (e.g., extracts [5-17], [5-19], [5-21], [5-24] and [5-25]) revealing that an identity gap is also likely to create, on the relational layer, a grey area of negotiation, where one neither enacts his/her identity nor disagrees with the interlocutor(s) in the communication. This grey area allows for ambiguous messages, spurring the interlocutors to consider that the speakers either embrace or do not disagree with the ascribed identity.

Moreover, Mead's (1962) notions of "I" and "me" are useful for this study to view communication as an on-going process, drawing and redrawing national boundaries. The participants' perceived differences from the Chinese (PRC) peers, acquired through their communication, have reinforced their Taiwanese identity ("I") and how the participants drew the boundaries from the latter group to show who they are *not* in the SA context. For instance, the differences of the language (section 5.3.1), government configurations/democracy (section 5.3.2) and ways of communication (section 5.3.3) were drawn by the participants. Concurrently, the social self, "me", as being recognised by others to be Taiwanese abroad, and the positively perceived national characteristics attached to "me" also feed back into "I". That is, for example, being addressed as Taiwanese by friends from Thailand (e.g., extracts [5-33] & [5-34]) and by Chinese (PRC; see extracts [5-35] & [5-36]), and being recognised as more polite and friendly by nationally and culturally different others (e.g., extracts [5-41] & [5-43]). These, as the perceived social self ("me"), then fed into and strengthened "I" as Taiwanese, and were also used as ways to express their differences from Chinese (PRC). Accordingly, the realities of the SSFT are construed and (re)constructed through the dynamic, communicative convergence of the 'I' (the knower) and 'me' (the known), and the boundaries of being Taiwanese are drawn and re-drawn in accordance with these terms during their SA experience.

Last, this study brings contributions to the discussion between nationalism and cosmopolitanism by investigating the case of the SSFT under the SA context in the UK; the data support both phenomena. Unlike Norris and Inglehart's (2009) quantitative results, which reported that "living in a cosmopolitan society was strongly related to less nationalistic orientations" (p. 193), the findings of this study showed that the transnational or SA experience does not entail a negation of the national belonging. Rather, the data showed the enhanced patriotic responses and national awareness, and these are in line with Wilkinson (1998), Isabelli-Garcia (2006), and Dolby's (2004) studies which suggest a strengthened sense of national identity in the SA context

(see section 2.2.3). Moreover, the findings are also consistent with the notion of a dual identification, as contended by Beck and Sznaider (2010), Appiah (2005), Block (2002), Beck (2002) and Jackson (2011), that is, what Beck (2002, p. 19) describes as "this-as-well-as-that", as belonging to the cosmos (the human shared hometown) and the national community. At the same time, some reported data also evinced Beck's (2002) sense of "the cosmopolitan society and its enemies" (p.17), whereby currently there is no cosmopolitanism without nationalism, accentuating the inevitable tension between the two phenomena (see section 6.2.1).

The findings also shed light onto the discussion of respect as acting cosmopolitan. The findings of protecting the shared environment and reflection on differences, as discussed in 6.2.3 and also highlighted above, echo Appiah's (2005, p. 241) idea of working "for the good of the places" and Nussbaum's (2006) capability of reflection respectively. Both Nussbaum (2006) and Appiah (2005) emphasise the importance of persons as deserving equal respect. Nevertheless, the notions of respect, as to what it involves and how to pay respect in interpersonal communication (and conflict) contexts in a cosmopolitan society, have been neglected by Nussbaum (2006) and Appiah (2005). Both of them tend to focus more on how the state should pay equal respect to its citizens. In the light of this study, the data suggested that respect involves respecting others' autonomy and the host country's culture. Particularly, in order to pay respect, the suppression of expressing their national identity and the change of their own cultural habits were carried out by the participants. These findings contribute to Nussbaum (2006) and Appiah's (2005) theoretical discussion of cosmopolitanism by opening the discussion of respect, into which more investigations are called for (see section 7.4).

7.2.2 Educational implications

These findings showed that the most fundamental and important factors of the participants' national identities (re)construction were linked to their homeland and the cultures bred on it, which had been

internalised through primary, secondary and tertiary socialisation (family and school education, and the SA environment). The data gathered in this study indicate a general pattern, in line with Berger and Luckmann's (1966) argument, that primary socialisation (the national group as the parents'/caretakers') is more prominent than secondary socialisation (high cultures the state promotes through the public education, Gellner, 1983). In this study, high cultures refer to either Chinese (ROC) or Taiwanese nationalism disseminated in the China-centred or Taiwan-centred educational paradigm on Taiwan respectively (Wang, 2005, see section 2.1). The study found that how the participants interpret the relocation of the ROC from mainland China to Taiwan (i.e., as the origin "we came from there" or the separation "we separated from there") plays an important role in how they see themselves. How they interpret this part of the history acquired in school is primarily based on the existing views and attitudes already internalised in the family environment (see section 4.2). This contributes to the explanation of why decades of promoting the Chinese (ROC) nationalism within the education system on Taiwan, consistent with Gellner's (1983) politically oriented nationalism which prescribes political and national congruence through the state education, appears to "have had little if any effect" (Vickers, 2009, p. 22). Rather, towards Taiwanese identity (see section 4.2.1), in addition to the family influence, it was found that the influence of the schooling was more likely to derive from banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). That is, the suggestive "we Taiwan" and "opposite dalu [the mainland]" were formed "imperceptibly" through the school teachers' discourses (Miss Wang, extract [4-19]). That is to say, the boundary drawing between Taiwan and the Significant Other (Triandafyllidou, 2001), i.e., China (PRC) through banal discourses were useful. Thus, for the current and future educational reforms, educators who promote Taiwanese nationalism on Taiwan are suggested to give importance to such banal discourses and make use of the boundary drawing experiences reported in sections 4.3, 4.4 and especially 5.3.

Moreover, in the light of the rich findings of the national identity (re)construction, negotiation and expansion, I suggest that the government of Taiwan/the ROC should encourage the SA experience, and the education system on Taiwan to develop pre-sojourn courses based on the existing literature of the SSFT in the SA context, such as the present study. First, in terms of national identity fostering, both Bloom (1990) and Po (2004) stress the importance of providing individuals with "actual experience" with the national state (Bloom, 1990, p. 59). This will help develop psychological ties with the national state and the internalisation process because it is "simply ineffective to evoke an identification with the state by just introducing the idea of a nation" (Po, 2004, p. 33). Evidently, it has been shown and discussed in the findings chapters and section 7.2.1 above how tertiary socialisation (Byram, 1992, 2008) in the SA environment in the UK has nurtured the enhanced patriotic responses and new/different insights into the sense of the identified national elements and self (sections 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 5.3 & 6.1). Thus, I advise that the SA experience is one that can offer an "actual experience" of the national identity (re)construction. Moreover, the findings of this study offer pre-sojourn courses and students in Taiwan practical and useful insights in terms of national identity negotiation. Although this study does not provide guidelines regarding "how to better negotiate", the findings can raise an awareness of the pre-sojourners from Taiwan about the conflicts reported in this study. Also, the data can serve as examples of the experience of some SSFT in the UK, demonstrating the dominating and avoiding conflict management styles (sections 5.1.2 & 5.2), the avoiding tactics (section 5.2.2), the reasons underlying their avoidance (section 5.2.1) and the resources tapped for national boundary drawing (sections 5.3 & 6.1.2). These can constitute important references for pre-sojourn courses in Taiwan.

In addition to national identity (re)construction, this study also advocates that the intercultural SA environment is important in facilitating the development of cosmopolitan belonging, mirroring Block's (2011) argument. The findings showed both the enhanced patriotic responses and cosmopolitan identification; these echo the concept that "cosmopolitanism need not

to be opposed to critical patriotism: 'Pride in one's own heritage can co-exist with appreciation for other traditions and loyalty to the human family''', as one of the principles of the International Diversity, Citizenship and Global Education Consensus Panel at the University of Washington, Seattle (Starkey, 2007, p. 68). In the context of internationalisation in higher education, the promotion of cosmopolitan identification should not focus on de-emphasising national identities and boundaries. Instead, the findings of the present study suggest the emphasis of the link to humankind in the shared hometown (the cosmos), such as the ideas of being friends, neighbours and families living together in it, as seen in extracts [6-25], [6-27] & [6-28]). These findings are also in line with Appiah (2005) and Beck and Sznaider's (2010) theoretical and philosophical formulations of cosmopolitanism, as discussed in section 2.3 and 6.2.

Another educational implication addressing the SA environment in the UK primarily derives from the conflicts which occurred in the classroom (e.g., as seen in extracts [5-9], [5-11] & [5-17]) and in the accommodation allocated by the university (e.g., extracts [5-14] & [5-21]). Reading these reports may help enhance teachers' and international officers' awareness of the potential conflict in this specific case between students from Taiwan and China (PRC), and also more generally, between student sojourners whose national states have historical or current disputes. As can be seen in the findings, eliminating contacts of the conflict party was not always the only outcome; instead, many cases also demonstrated the understanding of each other between the SSFT and Chinese (PRC) sojourners (e.g., extracts [5-14], [5-17], [5-18], [5-19], [5-35] & [5-36]). Accordingly, a coordinated effort from the host institutions to open communication channels for certain groups of international students (e.g., ad-hoc pre/in-sessional, intercultural workshops to promote understanding) may be useful. Some sojourners may need general or specific competences and/or skills in dealing with the potential conflict with students from a particular sending country. By making such discussion channels possible, aiming at understanding the underlying reasons for the conflicts, their implications in terms of students' learning and welfare, and strategies of negotiation,

more specific competences and skills may be developed for the benefits of the future SA students from these sending countries.

7.2.3 Methodological contributions and implications

Rarely has research in the domains of intercultural communication and SA discussed issues pertinent to researching multi/bilingually or how the different languages involved may impact the findings. One of the major contributions to the methodological discussion derives from rendering researching multilingually more transparent and credible in this study by applying Holmes, Fay, Andrews and Attia's (2013) model. Considering that every study may vary, their three-step model does not provide guidelines as to how to do what or when to do what. Yet, by following and thinking through the steps throughout the study (see sections 3.4, 3.5.2 and 3.6.4 for details), it enabled me to develop an increased degree of awareness of the dynamics brought by the two different languages (i.e., English and Mandarin Chinese) involved in this research project. Their model is especially beneficial for this study in thinking through the entire research design in terms of research spaces and relations. Further, based on the experience of employing Holmes et al.'s (2013) research multilingually model in this study, I thus make the following suggestion for future studies which are similar to mine, that is, conducting research in an English speaking academic site/institution (English as the target language to data representation), and involving participants as speakers of another language (the source language) using interviews.

In addition to presenting the source language in the report to facilitate bilingual readability (Holmes et al., 2013), I suggest member checks of the English translation that is presented in the data extracts. By reflecting on the language presentation (English), which is different from the source language (i.e., Mandarin Chinese), I considered the translation to be the most crucial phase which could considerably jeopardise the credibility of this study. This danger was further amplified by the problem that "no such standards exist for translation of translinguistic qualitative research"

(Lopez, Figueroa, Connor & Maliski, 2008, p. 1729), as highlighted in section 3.6.4. Thus, during the writing-up process, I selected the data extracts to be presented, and translated and sent them to the participants through electronic mails in order to seek their feedback and consent (see section 3.7.1.1). I believed that this way enabled the current study to retain and protect the authenticity of the translated data report. Accordingly, I suggest that, if participants are learners of English who may already possess a certain language competence or are able to find resources to help them understand, carrying out member checks would allow the participants to decide whether the data translation in English accurately voices what they intend to express. Overall, I believe employing member checks is beneficial in that it would compensate the absence of translation standards and ensure the credibility of the data presentation.

In terms of implications for the use of the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 10, the select, drag and drop functions in coding the data were considerably helpful when I handled the massive text data (approximately 250,000 words). Additionally, it was also fairly easy to operate for a beginner user like me. However, when making use of the "model function" to draw diagrams to help conceptualise and make sense of the massive data, I found that it took a long time for the program to produce the diagram. When it finally appeared, the codes transpired to be all overlapped on the diagram. Consequently, I needed to re-organise it by selecting and dragging each of the code, and this adjustment transpired to be fairly time-consuming. I found this to be the major inconvenience in using the software NVivo 10 for this qualitative study, and thus an element which the designers may consider improving in future editions.

Last, in employing Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2012) thematic analysis, this study benefits from analysing data through the dual-method—data-driven and theory-driven analysis. Primarily, given the exploratory nature of this research topic, which is under-researched in the SA literature, the data-driven approach has enabled me to learn the diverse voices surrounding the research topic. It also allowed me to become familiar with the entire data, which was useful especially when "you

consider the validity of individual themes in relation to the data set, but also whether your candidate thematic map 'accurately' reflects the meanings evident in the data set as a whole" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91, the authors' original emphasis). Compared to the data-driven approach, a theory-driven approach is more focused and addresses specifically the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Carrying this out, I analysed the data with the research questions in mind and focused on the data that answered the questions. Further, I then compared the themes developed from the theory-driven approach to those of the data-driven one as a way to understand whether the former reflects the data set (see section 3.6.3). Through this dual-method analysis, I believe that the credibility (internal validity) of the data analysis can be better procured, and a researcher can develop an awareness of the diverse voices revolving around the under-research topic. This study therefore suggests carrying out both approaches in exploratory qualitative studies.

7.2.4 Practical implications

One of the major findings (sections 4.1.5, 4.6 & 5.1.1) in this study shows the problematic use of the English term "Chinese", that is, the broad and inclusive senses of the term which include the language, ethnicity, culture and national community. The term readily throws a large number of people (e.g., some Singaporeans, Thai, Malaysians, Indonesians, etc.) who share one of the above features into the same category of "Chinese", ruthlessly pinning them down as the stereotyped Chinese (PRC). By contrast, the identity complexity is made possible in English by different terms—White, Caucasian, English and/or Anglo-Saxon—to facilitate distinction, as reported in extract [5-6]. Thus, the term "Chinese" can be regarded as strong evidence of otherisation (Holliday, 1999; Holliday et al., 2004), which reduces the foreign others to less complex than they really are.

In Mandarin Chinese, the term "hua ren (華人)" refers to people across the world who have Chinese ethnicities while "hua yu (華語)" encompasses all Chinese languages and "zhong wen (中

文)" refers to Mandarin Chinese. Although in English, the term, "Han-Chinese", is sometimes used to indicate the ethnicity, the participants reported being marked as simply Chinese. This shows that Han-Chinese is not commonly used. Additionally, Han-Chinese solely refers to one particular ethnic group, not others. All in all, this study raises the attention to this otherising, all-enveloping term "Chinese", and suggests that more terms such as "hua ren" or newly tailor-made ones should be used practically and commonly in English to better distinguish Chinese (PRC) from Chinese (ethnicities).

7.3 Limitations of the study

This study focuses on the exploration of national identity in the SA context, particularly looking at the SSFT in the UK, which topic has been under-researched generally, and particularly in this combination of the sending and receiving countries. There are, however, a number of limitations to address. First, some of the questions in the interview schedule may be considered to be leading questions, for example, the question concerning cosmopolitan belonging (as seen in Appendix A question 14). I was obliged to use such a questioning style at the time because it was more difficult for me to approach this topic of cosmopolitanism which is more conceptual than practical. On reflection, next time I may provide a passage extracted from the work of cosmopolitan scholars, such as Appiah's cosmopolitan notions employed in this study, as a statement, and ask whether or not the participants agree and the underlying reasons. By doing this, leading questions can be reduced, and the participants would be able to receive information from a source other than the researcher/interviewer. Another limitation of the study may arise from the single data collection method of interviewing. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) state that the single-method approach can be deemed "generally more vulnerable" (p. 141). There is no denying that by undertaking, for example, participant observation, I could gather data from a different source which would go hand

in hand with the interview source to address the research questions. Yet, observing the participants at the research site under investigation was not readily feasible. As mentioned in chapter 3, most participants taking one-year postgraduate study in the UK were leaving after the summer. Additionally, observing the newly-arrived SSFT who had not been involved in the interviews was not viable because what is observed should go under "the interpretation of that world by its participants" (Bryman, 2008, p. 366). More importantly, the data collection and interpretation should be adhered to the social constructionist approach of the study, that is, the meanings are co-constructed and negotiated through the interview process. Although this study employs the single method of interviewing, I believe that I have gathered rich data, rigorously analysed them through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and reported the translated data that were via member checking (section 3.7.1.1). These processes helped represent the participants' realities, as emphasised by Fielding and Fielding: "[t]he accuracy of a method comes from its systematic application" (1986, p. 35, as cited in Melia, 2010, p. 567).

Furthermore, as mentioned in chapter 3, my insider's position as belonging to the target group of the SSFT in the UK may render the study susceptible to criticism as being too subjective or propagandising Taiwanese identity. Additionally, my position as a student from Taiwan investigating the SSFT might have also led me to have certain research blind spots (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014). In this regard, I have recounted my reflexive positionings in detail in chapter 3 and how I became aware of how other people may inevitably regard this study as having a politically embedded agenda due to my positioning as conceiving myself as Taiwanese (section 3.7.1.3). I have also repeatedly acknowledged in the thesis concerning this positioning (chapters 1, 3 & 7); in accordance with this, I caution that the findings of this study should not be over-generalised, which is discussed below.

Frequently, the value and usefulness of a study can stem from its generalisation (external validity), that is, its results or findings can be applied to other situations, thus providing valuable

insights into a wider scale (Cohen et al., 2007). In this regard, the findings of this exploratory study should not be over-generalised because the researcher–researched relationship and the researcher's active involvement as Taiwanese have contributed in shaping the study (see section 3.7.1). Added to this is the fact that the responses gathered from twenty SSFT in the UK cannot represent the experience of all SSFT as a whole, and in particular, that of the student sojourners from several islands, e.g., Penghu (澎湖), Kinmen (金門) and Matsu (馬祖), under the ROC jurisdiction. Especially, the participants primarily come from what are considered as middle class families in Taiwan, who can afford the one-year (or more years) postgraduate studies in the UK. Nevertheless, the readers/scholars would be able to determine the degree of transferability to which they find parallels to their own experiences/studies. In addition, I believe that the value of a qualitative study derives from its historical importance in the sense that it represents a certain face of the realities for some people in a particular space and time in history. Hence, despite the limited generalisation, the findings of this study shed light on "what was" at this particular time for some SSFT in the SA context in the UK in history, should the political circumstances of Taiwan (or the world) change in the near future.

7.4 Directions for future studies

Although this study has responded to Dolby (2007) and Block's (2007) call in contributing to the SA literature by investigating national identities of the SSFT in the UK, more studies concentrating on national identities from different sending countries in different host countries would certainly enrich this domain, considering the paucity of this topic in the SA literature, and that every sending and host country is different (Block, 2007).

Moreover, this exploratory study opens a window onto how communication between the two different groups of international students (SSFT and Chinese, PRC) from countries with profound

political conflicts can be grasped (as discussed in chapter 5). The findings of the study can also facilitate understandings between future SSFT and Chinese (PRC) students sojourners in the UK, especially in the face of the increasing numbers of Chinese (PRC) students coming to study in the UK. Yet, the discussion of such a social phenomenon requires perspectives and stories from different sides, considering that "[t]ruth is always partial" (Denzin, 2011, p. 654). This study merely serves as a first attempt to discuss and unfold the social phenomena of the conflict and communication between the international students from Taiwan and China (PRC) under the SA context in the UK from the former's standpoint. More studies from other perspectives are called for, and an investigation to explore the Chinese (PRC) side of the story is one such example.

Further, inconsistent with my findings, Ting-Toomey's face-negotiation theory (1988, 2005) using the cultural division (collectivism-individualism) to predict conflict management styles, especially in terms of the claim about Chinese (PRC) and Taiwanese respondents employing avoiding strategies, is found not viable when national identity is involved. More qualitative research studying student sojourners' lived experience in conflict situations due to their national identities is needed to elaborate on this academic conversation.

Another issue that deserves attention from future studies rests on the discussion of respect, as mentioned above in section 7.2.1. In this study, the data revealed that the ways to pay respect inescapably encompass the silenced self-expressions and change of one's own cultural habits, both of which imply inhibition of the self to some degree. Yet, is this the case for everyone? This is important, particularly in the cosmopolitan and intercultural education/training where respect for others is often emphasised (e.g. Landis & Brislin, 1983; Osler & Starkey, 2003; Rabotin, 2011; Starkey, 2007). Respect should not be treated as self-evident or taken-for-granted; further discussions should address how to pay respect, according to what, or whether there is a limit to it in the intercultural context.

7.5 A brief conclusion

Overall, this study contributes to the discussions of national identity (re)construction, negotiation and expansion in the SA context by focusing on student sojourners from Taiwan in the UK. The SA experience, abounding with international and intercultural comparison, becomes a journey of searching, realising and enacting the sojourners' national identities and culture as the national boundaries are drawn and re-drawn through intercultural communication. Although the findings showed that Taiwanese identity becomes particularly strong and a salient label in the SA context, the intercultural SA environment can also nurture a broader recognition of the cosmopolitan belonging that links to humankind abiding together in the shared space (the cosmos). The findings and outcomes of this study may shed light on other studies investigating national identities in SA contexts in different sites.

Appendix A

Semi-structured Interview Questions (in Mandarin Chinese & English)

(1) 我們都有相同的護照嘛, 在我們的護照封面上有寫 ROC 和 Taiwan. ROC 對你來說有什麼意義? Taiwan 對你來說有什麼意義? (We have the same passport, right?! It writes the ROC and Taiwan on the front cover. What does the ROC mean to you? What does Taiwan mean to you?)

(2) 拿這本護照是否曾經使你在機場出入境時碰到麻煩, 比如說過來這邊的時候? (當時發生了什麼事? 什麼時候發生的? 如何處理? 有誰說了什麼? 你是怎麼回應的? 那你當時有什麼感覺?) (Have you or have you not had trouble using this passport in the airport, for example, when coming here? Follow-up questions: what happened? when did it happen? how was it handled? Did somebody say something? How did you reply? How did you feel at the time?)

(3) 在這學習的期間, 你通常怎樣用英文介紹自己? 當說中文時, 你通常如何介紹自己? (How do you normally introduce yourself in English during the course of your study here? How do you normally introduce yourself in Mandarin Chinese during the course of your study here?)

(4) 你認為 national identity 這個英文詞是什麼意思? 你會怎麼翻譯? 如果有人問你你的 national identity, 你會怎麼回答? (In your opinion, what does the English term, national identity, mean? How would you translate it? If somebody asks about your national identity, what you would say/reply?)

(5) 作為一個 (X)在國際上來說有什麼意義? 在台灣本島上有什麼意義? (What does it mean to be *X* (according to the interviewees' answer) at a) national and b) international level?)

(6) 誰可以被定義為 X? 為什麼? (Who can be defined as *X*? Why?)

(7) 在你看來,有沒有什麼最根本最重要或不可或缺的要素可以來描述/象徵台灣人 (X)?

這些要素對你來說有何意義? (Are there any fundamental and/or indispensable elements that characterize *X*? What do they mean to you?)

(8) 可以談談你認為在台灣上學時接受的教育對你的 X 有什麼樣程度的影響? 還有哪些要素是對於你 X 是影響深遠的? (比方說文化,政治,家庭教育或其他….?) (To what extent did the school education you received back home influence your sense of *X*? What are the most important factors (culture, space, politics, education, family…) that have influenced the construction of your *X*?)

(9) 在英國這樣跨國際跨文化的教育環境下, 當你在這用英文和人溝通時, X 對你來說重要嗎? 為什麼重要? 那當你在這用中文 (或其他方言)和人溝通時, X 對你來說重要嗎? 為什麼重要? 和誰在一起時重要? (Is *X* important to you when you communicate in English at the intercultural, international and educational context in the UK? Why? How about when you communicate in Mandarin Chinese and/or other Chinese dialects? If it is, why and with whom?)

(10)大部分的人都覺得出國留學後對自己的 national identity 有增強 (對自己國家的認同有增強的一個變化). 你同意還是不同意? 為什麼? 可以舉例嗎? (Most people feel that their sense of national identity has increased due to the study abroad experience. Do you agree or disagree? Why? Can you give examples?)

(11) 你是否曾有想要避免提及你的 X 的時候嗎? 如果有, 為什麼? 是和誰在場有關嗎? (Have there been times when you rather avoid talking about your *X*? If there have been, why and with whom?)

(12) 在留學的這段時間, 是否有發生過因為你的 X 而讓你覺得很不舒服的事件嗎? 或者你有聽過其他類似事件發生在你在這的台灣同學? (Have you experienced anything unpleasant or any occasions that have made you feel uncomfortable due to your X? Or have you heard anything like it from your friends/classmates from Taiwan?)

Follow-up questions:

什麼時候發生的? 為什麼會發生? 誰有牽涉在內? 有誰說了什麼? 你是怎麼回應的? 這事件是如何被處理的? 在當時, 你有什麼反應和行動? 那你當時有什麼感覺? 有怎樣的情緒? 有沒有任何其他你覺得在這事件中重要的細節可以告訴我? 如果你再遇到那些在事件中和你有衝突的人, 你會願意和他們溝通嗎? (和他們說話和聽他們有什麼要說). 如果會, 為什麼? 如果不會, 為什麼不會?

(When did it happen? Why did it happen? Who were involved (their nationality, their gender and age)? What was said (who said what, and how did you respond)? How was it handled? What were your actions and reactions at the moment? How did you feel about it (emotional responses/feelings)? Are there any other details you think are important about the incident? Will you be willing to communicate with (listen to and talk to) the person/people with whom you had problems/conflicts in the incident(s) you told me, if you meet him/her/them again? If yes, why? If not, why not?)

(13) (在經歷這樣的事件後) 你認為有沒有其他的 identities 是比較有用或方便適用於這種跨國際跨文化的教育環境下? 如果有, 在哪些方面來說這個 identity 比較有用或方便? 如果沒有, 為

什麼？(Do you consider any other identities [after the incident(s) you have experienced] more appropriate/useful in the study abroad context? If yes, why? If not, why not?)

(14)在這邊 X 年，你是否覺得這個世界就像一個很大的世界村，大家都是這個世界的村民住在一起，就是一個地球村的概念？為什麼有？為什麼沒有？如果有的話你認為世界村村民的責任是什麼？(Having been here for X year(s), do you or do you not feel that the world is a big village, and everyone is a villager living together? If so, why? If not, why not? If yes, what are the responsibilities of a global villager?)

(15) 整體來說，經歷過英國留學的經驗還有你與我分享的那些事件的經驗對你的 X 有什麼程度上的影響？(Overall, to what extent do the sojourn experience in the UK [and the experience of the incidents we have discussed above] influence your *X*?)

(16)除了專業科目，你覺得英國留學最大的收穫是？(Other than the subject you take here, what do you think you have learnt most by studying in the UK?)

(17) 最後，對於這個面談，還有沒有什麼議題你覺得很重要，但是我們還沒有談及，或者是有沒有任何你想補充的? (Last, about this interview, are there any issues you find important but we have not covered or anything else you would like to add?)

Appendix B

Pilot Study Interview Questions (in Mandarin Chinese & English)

(1) 在這學習的期間, 你通常怎樣用英文介紹自己? (How do you normally introduce yourself during the course of your study here?)

(2) 作為一個 (X)在台灣本島上有什麼意義? 在國際上來說有什麼意義? [What does it mean to be *X* (Taiwanese; Chinese or others, according to the interviewees' answer) at a) national and b) international level?]

(3) 誰可以被定義為 X? 為什麼? 那你認為 X 應該要有怎樣的行為或責任呢? (Who can be defined as *X*? What responsibilities/behaviours/actions do you think being *X* involve?)

(4) 在你看來,有沒有什麼最根本最重要或不可或缺的要素可以來描述/象徵台灣人 (X)? 這些要素對你來說有何意義? (Are there any fundamental and indispensable elements that characterize *X*? What do they mean to you?)

(5) 可以談談你認為在台灣上學時接受的教育對你的 X 有什麼樣程度的影響? 還有哪些要素是對於你X是影響深遠的?比方說文化,政治,家庭教育或其他….? [To what extent did the education you received in Taiwan influence your sense of *X*? What are the most important factors (culture, space, politics, education, family…) that have influenced the construction of your *X*?]

(6) 目前為止, 我們討論了你的國家身分認同, 那你覺得他在這樣一個全球化的空間與來自不同國家和文化的人交流時扮演一個怎麼樣的腳色? (So far, we have discussed your sense of

national identity; what do you think its role is in the global spaces where people from different national and cultural backgrounds meet?)

(7) 當你在這用英文和中文 (或其他方言)溝通時, X 對你來說重要嗎? 為什麼重要? 和誰再一起比較重要? 為什麼? 如果不重要的話, 為什麼不重要? 你是否曾有想要避免提及你的 X 的時候嗎? 如果有, 為什麼? 是和誰在場有關嗎? (Is it important to you when you communicate in Mandarin Chinese and English here? If it is, why and with whom? If not, why not? Or have there been times when you rather avoid talking about it? If there have been, why, when and with whom?)

(8) 在留學的這段時間, 你覺得你的 X 容易被質疑或挑戰嗎? 是否有發生過因為你的 X 而有挑戰或衝突的事件嗎? 或者你有聽過其他類似事件發生在你在這的台灣同學? (Do you feel your *X* is easily challenged or confronted during SA? Have you personally experienced any challenges or conflicts due to your *X* in the course of your studying here? Or have you heard anything like this that happened to your co-nationals here?)

Follow-up questions to the incidents:

有誰說了什麼? (誰說了什麼? 你怎麼回應?) 什麼時候發生的? 為什麼會發生? 誰有牽涉在內? 你是怎麼處理的? 這事件是如何被處理的? 在當時, 你有什麼反應和行動? 那你當時有什麼感覺? 有怎樣的情緒? 有沒有任何其他你覺得在這事件中重要的細節可以告訴我? 在這件事件之後, 你有怎麼樣的感想? 你覺得你現在會有不一樣的反應嗎? 你怎麼看待這個經驗? 你認為這個經驗影響了你的 X 嗎? 如果有, 是怎麼樣的影響? 如果沒有, 為什麼? [What was said (who said what, and how did you respond)? When did it happen? Why did it happen? Who were involved (their nationality, their gender and age)? How was it handled? What were your actions and reactions at the moment? How did you feel about it (emotional responses/feelings)? Are there any other

details you think are important about the incident? What were your thoughts/feelings/reflections after the event? Do you think you would have acted differently now? How do you value this experience? Do you think the experience/incident has, in any way, influenced your sense of *X*? If so, in what ways? If not, why not?]

(9) 經歷過英國留學的經驗 (還有你與我分享的那些事件的經驗) 對你的 X 有什麼程度上的影響? 可以舉例嗎? [To what extent do the sojourn experience in the UK (and the experience of the incidents we have discussed above) influence your idea of your *X*? Can you give me more details or examples?]

(10) (在經歷這樣的事件後) 你認為有沒有其他的 identities 是比較有用或方便適用於這種跨國際跨文化的教育環境下? [Do you consider any other identities (after the incident(s) you have experienced) more appropriate/useful in the international, intercultural and educational context?]

(11) 如果你再遇到那些在事件中和你有衝突的人, 你會願意和他們溝通嗎? (和他們說話和聽他們有什麼要說). 如果會, 為什麼? 如果不會, 為什麼不會? [will you be willing to communicate with (listen to and talk to) the person/people with whom you had problems/conflicts in the incident(s) you told me, if you meet him/her/them again? If yes, why? If not, why not?]

(12) 最後, 對於這個面談, 還有沒有任何你想補充的? (Last, is there anything else you would like to add?)

International Students from **Taiwan** Wanted:

I am inviting International Students from **Taiwan** to participate in a qualitative research project I am currently carrying out. Many studies have looked into the experience of international students studying abroad. However, rarely was there one that focused on international students from Taiwan in particular. I am interested in understanding your experience in studying in the UK as a student from Taiwan and your study-abroad experience.

You will participate in a **one-on-one interview**, and you are free to speak in either Mandarin Chinese or English. As a thank-you for your participation, I provide **a £5 incentive** when you complete the interview.
To participate in this, you should **hold a ROC/Taiwan passport and have studied in the UK for approximately 1 year (at least 10 months)**. You should also be at least **18** years old.

Have your experience and story heard!

Please pass on this information if you know any friends from Taiwan. Thank you. Please get in touch by contacting the email address below.

Appendix D

Information Sheet

<u>Information Sheet</u>

Dear participant,

This study is based on international students in the UK who are over 18 years of age, come from Taiwan and hold a passport of the ROC/Taiwan. This study will be open to all who recognize themselves as such, and I would wholeheartedly welcome you to take part in my study if you believe you fit in this profile.

The study will include a one-to-one, face-to face interview and will involve **audio recording** for the purpose of data analysis, looking back on what has been said and discussed during the interview.

This study focuses on and gives voice to international students coming from Taiwan, and aims to explore how the experience of studying abroad influences identities. With your participation, this study will, eventually, provide insights into how Taiwanese students' identities may be (re)constructed and (re)negotiated in the international and intercultural educational context.

I am interested in hearing your views and experiences as a Taiwanese international student studying in the UK. Your participation will be important and will contribute to representing the experience of Taiwanese students in the UK. However, your identity will be protected and **a pseudonym** will be, instead, used in the report of the study. Additionally, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any point of the interview without giving any reasons, and you are free to refuse to answer any questions should you wish to do so. This study has been **approved by Durham University's Ethics Advisory Committee**

Thank you very much for your contribution!

Shih-Ching Huang

Appendix E

Consent Form

TITLE OF PROJECT: National identity exploration at the SA context

(The participant should complete the whole of this sheet himself/herself)

*Please cross out
as necessary*

Have you read the Participant Information Sheet?   YES / NO

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and to
discuss the study?   YES / NO

Have you received satisfactory answers to all of your questions?   YES / NO

Have you been informed that your identity will be protected, and   YES/NO
a pseudonym will be used in this study?

     Do you agree the interview be audio recorded?   YES / NO

Do you consent to allow the researcher/interviewer to use the data   YES/NO
gathered in the interview for the research project?

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study:

    * at any time and
    * without having to give a reason for withdrawing and
    * your data will not be used in any ways if you withdraw?   YES / NO

Who have you spoken to?   Ms. ....

Do you consent to participate in the study?   YES/NO

Do you wish to be informed about the findings of the study?   YES/NO

Signed ....………................. **Date** ....

(NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS) ....………...........................

Appendix F

Short Bio-data Questionnaire

Dear Students:

This questionnaire is mainly to understand some basic information about you. Your personal background information is important and will function as the contextual basis for the process of interview data analysis. All the information you provide will be only for the purpose of this research and will remain confidential. Thank you for your help!

Personal Information (please fill in or circle the answer)

1. Name (in Chinese character):
2. Nationality:
3. Gender: Male   Female
4. Birth year:
5. Birth Place in Taiwan:
6. Area of Residence in Taiwan:
7. Ethnicity: Minnanese (閩南)   Hakka (客家)   Outside Province (外省)
           Native Taiwanese (原住民)   Other: _____
8. The political party you support:
   KMT(國民黨)   DPP(民進黨)   PFP(親民黨)
   (TSU)台聯   NPSU (無黨團結聯盟)   No Particular Preference
   Prefer Not To Say

9. Entry to UK (month and year):
10. The subject you are taking here:
Undergraduate: Master's Degree (1 yr):
Doctorate Degree (3 yrs or more):
Other:_____

11. Times of study abroad: Once   Twice   3 times
                        More than 3 times

12. Countries where you have studied:
US   UK   Australia   New Zealand   Other:

13. Languages you speak (circle all those applicable):
English   Mandarin Chinese   Minnanese   Hakka   Other:

Interview Transcript I

Interviewer:你覺得這本護照可以代表你的身分嗎?

Miss Liu:可以, 在台灣

Interviewer:那在國外呢?

Miss Liu:在國外會有一定的限制, 像我之前去荷蘭, 我拿護照給他看, 然後他就問我說我的簽證在哪? 我說我是台灣人, 我進歐盟不需要簽證, 然後他再看一下護照就說, 可是這上面寫 China, 就說中國人應該是要有深根簽證, 然後我就說我是台灣人, 我就指護照上的台灣給他看, 然後他就去旁邊問其他比較資深的人後才回來說你不需要簽證. 可是還是卡在那卡很久, 所以我覺得這本護照在國外還是有一定的限制.

Interviewer: 所以你覺得說這個護照上的 China 會造成 confusion?

Miss Liu: 對, 我覺得是真的有造成到, 人家就覺得是 Chinese

Interviewer:在你的護照封面上寫著 ROC 和 Taiwan. 護照上的字樣 Taiwan 對你來說有什麼意義?

Miss Liu:台灣就是我出生的地方呀, 可是我覺得護照上面不應該放兩個, 我覺得有台灣就不應該有 China, 會造成很多的 confusion.

Interviewer:所以你覺得 Republic of China 應該被拿掉?

Miss Liu: 對呀! 因為外國人也看不懂中文, 他們只看得懂英文, 所以又放 Republic of China 又放 Taiwan, 人家也不知道是 China 還是 Taiwan

Interviewer:那你覺得哪一個是你的國家?

Miss Liu:台灣

Interviewer:護照上的字樣 ROC 對你來說有什麼意義?

Miss Liu: 我會覺得這是我出生以前這個國家的歷史, 我不會否認他是存在過的, 也是因為它的存在才帶給我們台灣這麼多的進步和成長, 所以我不會說他從來沒有發生過, 我很感謝他曾經發生過. 但是他是過去的, 我不會說他是我們的現在, 我現在認同的是台灣.

Interviewer:在這學習的期間, 你通常怎樣用英文(或義大利文在義大利的時候)介紹自己?

Miss Liu:我叫什麼名字, 我是從台灣來的, 我會直接說台灣. 因為只要你不認識或不認同就會問台灣在哪裡, 那我就知道說我可能要多做一下解釋, 或者說你就認為說台灣就是中國的一部分, 那可能以後我們的來往就不會這麼多.

Interviewer: Identity 是在台灣常談到嗎? 還是你到了國外才會遇到的話題?

Miss Liu:我覺得在台灣是避而不談吧, 因為大家還是以賺錢為主, 所以這種身分的問題能不談就不談. 台灣畢竟現在和中國的貿易來往很多麻, 所以你談了可能就會破和氣, 壞了氣氛可能生意就談不成. 所以現在大家目前是以合作為前提, 而不是去分辨說你是大陸人我們是台灣人. 可是如果出來了, 來到這邊後, 可能是因為來這邊念書得中國人年紀都比較小吧, 他們接受到的知識是上一輩的人給的, 所以他們會告訴你說台灣是中國的一部分. 你看到台灣人要像是自己的同胞一樣. 但是台灣人就會覺得說其實我們並不是你們的一部分, 你需要把我視為另外一個國家的公民來看待, 就算我們是講同樣的語言, 就像加拿大人和美國人都講英文, 但你不會把他們當成同一個國家.

Interviewer:所以你個人有遇到這樣的情況過嗎? 別人跟你說台灣是大陸的?

Miss Liu:我有遇到一個台灣的男生帶了一個中國的女生, 那個台灣的男生叫那個女生出來跟我們打招呼, 那個女生年紀很小很不懂事, 然後他們就開玩笑說台灣是大陸的, 因為他們知道我會很生氣. 但是

我心裡就想說我沒有必要去跟你做太直接的衝突, 我就說: 沒有阿, 台灣不是大陸的. 然後那個女生看了我一眼, 我也看了她一眼, 然後那個女生就回去了, 我就覺得說我把我自己的立場說明了, 你愛怎麼想那都跟我沒有關係. 我遇到的這個情況是還好, 但是我之前看臉書有看到一群台灣人和一群大陸人, 還有一群外國人在一個 bar debate 台灣是不是大陸的. 大陸人當然說台灣是大陸的, 然後台灣人就一邊debate, 還要一邊翻譯給那個外國人聽, 因為大陸人完全不講英文, 那台灣人就覺得說既然大家都在一起, 那你應該要尊重在場的人, 讓他們了解狀況參予討論.

Interviewer:所以他們當時有吵起來嗎?

Miss Liu:有吵起來, 然後他們就覺得自己很委屈, 然後寫到臉書上分享

Interviewer:所以你平常偶爾都會聽到類似的事件?

Miss Liu:對呀, 都會聽到一些醬子的事情

Interviewer:你剛提到你跟那個女生的事情, 所以你個人是會避免衝突的?

Miss Liu:對呀

Interviewer:會想避免衝突的原因是什麼?

Miss Liu:沒必要壓! 跟他們起衝突我得到時麼好處?! 也要看對方是誰, 如果對方是一個年紀小你很多, 沒有什麼社會經驗, 指是為了吵架而吵架的人, 你沒有必要花那個時間. 如果對方是一個對你將來會有影響的人, 比方說事業上或者是生活上, 你就會花時間去跟他講. 因為我們這個年紀也不需要去跟人家起衝突, 東西是白是黑, 你一看就知道了. 聰明人不需要講太多.

Interviewer:你認為 national identity 這個英文詞是什麼意思? 你會怎麼翻譯?

Miss Liu:國籍身分

Interviewer: 你覺得一個人 national identity 的包含了什麼? 有哪些要素?

Miss Liu: 歷史還有家庭因素吧! 可能是用故事的方式去告訴你, 因為我爸事一個很喜歡歷史的人 我媽是外省人, 我媽的爸爸昰福建來的, 是跟蔣介石那時候一起來的. 我爺爺和我媽媽都是海軍人員, 所以他們到現在還不能去大陸. 我爸很喜歡歷史, 所以他會一直灌輸我們從以前到現在的歷史發生的事, 而且他黑白兩面都會解釋給我們聽, 不會指是偏袒其中一面. 然後我媽會以自己的親身經驗告訴我們以前的老兵是怎麼樣的

Interviewer:那你母親會告訴你你是中國人嗎?

Miss Liu:不會, 我媽從來不會講這種話. 他會告訴我們說是怎麼過來的, 可是他說既然在台灣出生長大, 我們就是台灣人. 我們家也沒有黨派, 也沒有說一定要台獨, 也沒有說一定要回歸, 就是非常有彈性的.

Interviewer:那你為什麼會覺得自己是台灣人?

Miss Liu:就出生長大都在這邊阿! 不是台灣人是什麼?!

Interviewer:你覺得背後有什麼因素讓你覺得就台灣人?

Miss Liu:我覺得是文化吧, 因為我覺得台灣跟大陸的一個很大的 gap 就是文化方面. 第一個他們的資訊沒有我們的這麼流通, 可能從外看來北京和上海都很發達, 可是我覺得他們的人文素養還是落了一大截. 再加上他們有文革, 台灣人從以前由日本統治到國民政府到戒嚴之後, 我覺得是一連串的革命的情懷, 我覺得這是台灣獨有的, 不像大陸人可能要一直跟著共產黨的教規, 這是很大的差別. 我們現在有的自由是自己爭取而來的, 而不是只是就一直乖乖聽話, 然後什麼都不講.

Interviewer:那像有些台灣的文化, 像是孔儒的思想也是從中國傳過來的, 在這方面你會做怎麼樣的切割?

Miss Liu:我不會做切割, 因為那個是中國五千年的文化和美德. okay,這個時候我就會說我事中國人, 因為那個美德是在我們的血液裡面, 這個跟國家沒有關係. 就像一個外國人很喜歡東方文化, 那他學了很多中國文化也可以去接受, 降你也可以說他很中國. 我不知道耶, 我就會說我們有中國人的美德.

Interviewer: 所以你一方面認同的是 Ancient China 的美德, 然後你也覺得說其實這些很多東方國家都有, 並不是有這些文化和美德的人就是中國人?

Miss Liu: 對呀! 那可能是中國發起的, 就是孔子是中國來的, 可是流傳下來的那些是全部人都可以去共享的. 那些東西原則上是我們的 background, 然後我們一路遵循的路徑到現在. 那個也是一個獨特的台灣文化, 不是中國大陸現在這個樣子的.

Interviewer:如果有一個台灣精神, 那會是一個怎麼樣子的精神?

Miss Liu: 革命吧, 我覺得台灣人還滿像蟑螂的, 就是有打不死的精神. 就是怎麼樣都會鑽出一條路, 我覺得台灣人就是有一種很堅韌的力量. 我不知道怎麼解釋, 其他國家可能不行就算了, 可是我覺得台灣人就是一定要走那條比較艱難的路. 台灣人也會比較純樸, 就是會喜歡幫助人然後不求回報.

Interviewer: 那你認為作為一個台灣人, 在台灣本島上有什麼行為和責任?

Miss Liu:我不知道耶, 我覺得現在台灣已經很國際化了. 所以如果你有那個能力在國際的舞台上有所表現, 你就會有責任要去 promote Taiwan. 因為太少人太少人了解台灣, 可能他們會從 BBC or CNN 聽到台灣的新聞, 可是他們不會了解我們的文化

Interviewer:作為一個台灣人在國際上來說有什麼行為和責任?

Miss Liu:我覺得行為上面就是像一般你怎麼做人就是維持那樣, 那責任來說就要看你自己的能力, 那就是一樣 - 就是 promote Taiwan. 比方說如果你在這邊有什麼 connection, 然後可以把那個 connection 帶回台灣看可以怎麼樣去發揮. 除了能力之外, 也要看這個人的態度, 看他願不願意去做

Interviewer:誰可以被定義為台灣人?

Miss Liu:只要是出生成長在台灣, 我覺得都算是台灣人, 然後不管他們今天去到哪裡, 他們都會把台灣的精神帶在身上.

Interviewer:所以娶嫁過來台灣的外籍配偶, 你不會覺得他們是台灣人?

Miss Liu:他們不是台灣人, 除非他們真的很願意去接觸台灣很本土的文化和態度, 當然他們也會有語言上的障礙, 如果他今天沒有語言障礙, 也願意去接受, 花了很長的時間在台灣, 我會認為他是台灣人.

Interviewer: 那也要他自己認同台灣? 如果他的心還是向著自己的國家, 你就不會認為他是台灣人?

Miss Liu:心向祖國是沒有問題, 但是也要看他的比重, 如果他是比較認同台灣的話, 我會覺得他是台灣人. 可是心向祖國是沒有錯的啦, 因為畢竟他在那裡出生長大, 可能他會說我還是菲律賓人, 那沒有問題. 如果你真的接受台灣的程度是很高的, 你就台灣人

Interviewer:那在台灣出生長到多大你才會認為是台灣人?

Miss Liu: 三十吧. 你二十四歲大學畢業, 也不知道以後要幹嘛, 可能會崇洋, 會出來念書時麼的. 二十八歲左右, 可能工作了幾年, 你可能覺得以後都會待在台灣. 然後三十歲, 你可能就會磨說, okay 好! 我就是台灣人. 三十歲之後, 他可能才會去發展出自己的一套台灣人的生活模式. 因為其實大學剛畢業, 不會想到說我到底是不是台灣人. 就你沒有出去看過, 沒有出去比較過' 你是不知道差別在哪裡的

Interviewer:在你看來,有沒有什麼最根本最重要或不可或缺的要素可以來描述/象徵台灣人?這些要素對你來說有何意義?

Miss Liu: 台灣特色很多吧! 像以前葡萄牙人說台灣是一個美麗的寶島, 他還是一個美麗的寶島, 只是說少了一些綠地. 但是其實你往東部看, 其實還是很綠壓. 而且你不需要花很長的時間就可以從城市的高樓大廈到海邊或很野外的地方. 我覺得那是一個外國人可能會很有興趣的點, 至少是我認識的外國人在台灣, 他們很喜歡台灣的地方. 他們覺得可能假日在台灣只要花一個小時坐火車就可以到像宜蘭這類的地方去放鬆, 那他們覺得這種東西在英國或其他地方是不會有的.除此之外, 有一些副文化吧! 像是夜市 KTV, 那些娛樂方面的. 我覺得其他國家沒有這麼多耶, 或者像溫泉, 香港就沒有溫泉. 很多香港人來台灣就是為了溫泉, 因為去日本可能太貴了, 來台灣比較便宜. 還有可能是台灣的吃的吧, 台灣吃得很講究.

Interviewer:台灣食物與大陸有不同嗎?

Miss Liu: 我覺得台灣的食物是涵蓋了中國大陸各個地區的縮影. 所以你在小小的一個台北, 你就可以吃到四川菜或福建蔡, 時麼菜都可以吃到. 可是台灣的口味講究健康, 少鹽少油, 口味清淡, 融合很多歧他不同國家的食物. 比方說做四川菜不會是單純四川的口味, 而會去融合其他的口味 所以反而是創造了她自己獨特的口味.

Interviewer:你個人有去過大陸嗎?

Miss Liu:有, 小的時候, 大概十幾歲的時候

Interviewer:所以你有試過他們的食物?

Miss Liu: 厚~~難吃~~就很油很鹹, 台灣是走精緻路線, 大陸就是很大碗(閩南語)擺在你面前, 然後到最後又肚仔痛

Interviewer:所以你在英國這邊吃的中國餐廳也覺得他們太油太鹹?

Miss Liu:在這邊我很少吃中國食物, 我都吃飲茶比較多, 在倫敦的時候, 都是香港道地的口味, 因為都是香港的師傅

Interviewer:能描述一下你對台灣的情感和情緒?

Miss Liu:比方說人家講到台灣的時候, 我會多聽一下. 如果有人批評台灣的時候, 你也會想要據理力爭. 不管怎麼樣還是自己的國家, 不管今天走到哪裡, 都一定還是會想回去看看, 就是有點像那種老兵懷鄉的感覺.

Interviewer:是那塊土地還是家人?

Miss Liu:我覺得是家人, 因為爸媽離不開台灣, 所以台灣是我的家. 還是會 identify with 比方說台北市, 因為那就是你從小長大的地方, 所以我覺得是跟城市有關.

Interviewer:你覺得整體來說影響你 Taiwanese identity 最深的部分事?

Miss Liu:我覺得是文化和家庭教育, 我覺得家庭教育是我成長的推手.

Interviewer: 你剛說你爸爸是很 objective, 所以他在這方面如何影響你? 他會直接說我們是台灣人嗎?

Miss Liu:他會呀! 因為他本省人嘛, 所以他有的堅持會比我媽多一點, 因為他從小在那長大, 所以他會告訴你說這以前是菜市場現在變高樓大廈. 然後他是建築師, 所以他會說這棟是我建的, 燃後那棟是我建的.

Interviewer:學校教育的影響呢?

Miss Liu:課本上的東西, 我沒有太大的興趣

Interviewer:是背一背就忘了嗎?

Miss Liu:對 ☺ 基本上沒有太大印像.

Interviewer:那老師會直接說我們是台灣人還是中國人嗎?

Miss Liu:我記得老師沒有講過這個

Interviewer:所以學校教育對你沒有什麼影響?

Miss Liu:對, 最主要是來自於家庭

Interviewer:那媒體呢?

Miss Liu:媒體就是少看為妙. 我們家是從國中到大學, 電視是切掉的, 我媽說不看電視, 所以我們就不看電視. 有電視機可是沒有台, 他們說希望我們可以多念書或是你要出去玩也可以, 可是就是不要盯在電視機前面

Interviewer:所以最主要還是爸爸媽媽的教育?

Miss Liu:對, 因為他們的教育和一般教育差很多, 他們比較獨特一點 ☺

Interviewer:有在英國或申請學校時遇到一些情況 where you were forced to choose Taiwan (province of China)?

Miss Liu:好像有, 可是不多

Interviewer:當遇到這種情況的時候, 你的情緒和反應是?

Miss Liu:就是有點厭惡. 但是還是會勾, 你不勾那個你要勾時麼?

Interviewer:那你會做十麼事情去改變這個情況嗎?

Miss Liu: 如果是申請工作的話, 絕對不會和雇主去 argue 這件事情. 然後你可能就是默默的希望可能有一天有一個人可以 do something

Interviewer: 那在英國這邊有什候可能會跟一些中國人有衝突, 像你剛說那個中國女生的情況, 通常遇到這樣的情況後, 你還會願意和那個人繼續溝通或做朋友嗎?

Miss Liu:不會, 基本上我不跟大陸人做朋友

Interviewer:是因為他們是大陸人嗎? 還是有別的因素?

Miss Liu:基本上只要是大陸來的, 我就會避開. 我們班上有三個大陸人, 三個台灣人. 然後那三個大陸人不怎麼講話, 只有一個個性比較好, 我就會跟她常常講到話. 其他兩個給我的感覺是她們好像並不是很想跟我們交往. 不知道是不是因為 MBA 的關係, 所以想說反正以後也不會再遇到

Interviewer:那你為什麼會想避開她們?

Miss Liu:太麻煩啦! 第一個(在英國), 我不喜歡和我說同樣語言的人混在一起

Interviewer:所以台灣人也一樣?

Miss Liu:對. 第二個如果她本身有非常強烈的那種反台獨的情懷, 我也懶得跟她解釋. 所以我就寧願避開. 可是如果你今天是個性很好的人, 就是你時麼都願意聊的話, 我還是願意和你做朋友. 我的 flatmate 有說為時麼我們和中國人長得一模一樣, 我知道他再開玩笑的啦, 我有跟他解釋說這就是為時麼台灣會被視為中國的一部分. 我有解釋因為他是俄羅斯來的, 他就很好奇為時麼台灣人一直被稱為中國人, 我就有和他解釋說我們是怎麼過來的. 然後他有去上網查了一下, 他也對這個議題滿有興趣的, 他後來比較了解之後, 他就說那現在我不會叫你中國人

Interviewer:你覺得外國人比較知道台灣還是 Formosa?

 Miss Liu:台灣吧!

Interviewer:你覺得大陸人有把台灣人當做自己的同胞嗎?

Miss Liu:沒有. 他就是把我們視為低一層吧, 我覺得. 就他們覺得是他們統治我們嘛, 所以我們比他們低一層, 我覺得拉, 那是我個人的 stereotype 啦! 他們可能沒這麼極端拉, 但是他們給人的態度就是比較高傲一點, 我就會覺得, 那我也沒必要花時間去和你做朋友. 那個起跑點是不一樣的 我覺得會很累

Interviewer:那你是在來了英國才跟大陸人有接觸?

Miss Liu:在台灣好像沒有, 在義大利好像有幾個吧, 然後這邊的大陸人是真的很多

Interviewer:那在接觸過後, 你覺得台灣人和大陸人有什麼基本的不同嗎?

Miss Liu: 就文化阿! 他們就整個沒有時麼禮貌阿! 然後他們講的東西都比較淺一點我覺得, 就是他們好像都不用大腦去想事情, 就是降講是比較 harsh 一點. 就是他們當然~~也是人嘛 ☺ 但是就是好像他們對於時麼事情都比較不關心, 就是他們對於現在發生時麼事情都不關心. 每天就是煮飯呀, 打牌呀, 然後聊一些瑣事呀, 跟爸媽聊天呀看連續劇呀. 當然這是可以理解的啦

Interviewer:你剛說禮貌的部分, 你覺得跟台灣人比起來, 台灣人在什麼方面比較有禮貌?

Miss Liu:台灣人是比較溫馴吧! 就是會希望用溫馴的方式去解決問題然後講道理, 可是大陸人可能就是比大聲的, 他們就覺得好像比較大聲我就贏了, 然後就是先出聲的就是 winner 醬子. 所以我就覺得沒時麼禮貌, 基本上他們就是講話太大聲了, 然後之前和我起衝突的那個大陸女生讓我很驚訝! 因為他講英文的時候都是細細小小聲, 然後有一次我聽到他講中文, 超可怕的! 真的好可怕! 就是三字經, 在每一句裡面都有三字經, 在網路上 po 的東西也是每一句都有三字經. 你一個漂漂亮亮的女生出來, 然後英文也不是很差, 然後也是念 TESOL 的, 以後你回去是要為人師表的. 你在這邊飆三字經是不是有點… 有點太過火了, 對呀! 所以我就覺得~~ 可能他們年紀都輕吧!

Interviewer:你覺得他們來這邊為什麼一直說中文, 不說英文?

Miss Liu: 就 comfort zone 啊! 你今天跳離了 comfort zone, 他可能會怕自己講錯吧

Interviewer:你在這是哪一個國家的朋友比較多?

Miss Liu:到處都有, 我們系上有十八個國籍的人, 有四十幾個人, 所以基本上可能每個國家就一兩個人

Interviewer:所以是外國朋友比較多?

Miss Liu:可能是歐洲美洲東南亞的朋友

Interviewer:那在你的經驗裡, 你有覺得他們有覺得我們是一個國家嗎?

Miss Liu:每一個人都覺得我們是一個國家呀! 我覺得每一個不同國家的人, 對台灣的認知是有的. 只不過我們台灣在國際舞台上不能被承認, 是因為一旦我們被承認了, 中國大陸就會不爽(台語), 中國大陸就會給其他國家施壓, 中國大陸人口很多地很大, 如果他們今天切斷了貿易的量, 對哪一個國家來說都是損失, 所以他不能被承認是貿易上面的問題. 但是基本上每一個國家他都覺得台灣是一個國家, 那畢竟我們有名的東西太多啦! 像 BBC 每次都會說台灣怎麼樣, 台灣怎麼樣, 如果你不承認我們是一個國家, 你幹嘛直接用台灣?!

Interviewer: 你在這交外國朋友使用英文與人溝通, 你會覺得你的 Taiwanese identity 很重要嗎?

Miss Liu:當然重要壓! 就他們問我從哪裡來的, 我都會說台灣

Interviewer:所以你也不太會跟一些不覺得台灣是一個國家的人交往醬子?

Miss Liu: 對呀

Interviewer:你同意大部分的人出國後會對台灣的認同感提升嗎?

Miss Liu:我覺得我在義大利的時候有被提升, 這次其實還好

Interviewer:為什麼?

Miss Liu:第一次出國感受比較大

Interviewer:時麼感受?

Miss Liu: 就是你今天出去是代表你自己的國家出去, 你今天是後面灌的那個名字是台灣人. 那人家問你哪裡來的? 你會說你是台灣人, 那人家問台灣在哪裡? 你就會去介紹一下. 這些是自己在台灣會比較少碰到的事. 那你自己就會慢慢想說, 以後我要怎麼和別人介紹台灣. 就說台灣是在中國的東南部然後是一個怎麼樣的小島, 裡面有的人是什麼樣的人, 時麼樣的文化. 開始去了解自己國家的東西, 那這次(英國)其實就還好, 因為大家都知道台灣

Interviewer:所以就是出國留學的經驗讓你自己慢慢的更了解台灣?

Miss Liu:對

Interviewer: 那我很好奇你通常和別人怎麼介紹台灣?

Miss Liu:在義大利的時候, 我會和別人說台灣是在中國東南部的一個小島, 然後跟中國大陸有很密切的來往, 不管是經貿或文化上. 但是台灣在好幾年前就已經脫離中國大陸的統治, 是因為有黨派的分裂, 然後台灣之前有被日本統治過, 所以兩代以前的人都會說日文. 然後台灣有很多日本遺留下的影響, 台灣有不錯的海灘阿, 然後東部的 landscape, 很漂亮. 然後台灣有名的小吃, 然後就會說下次你來的話, 我就可以帶你去哪裡哪裡吃呀, 然後有很多二十四小時的店 有 7-11, 也可以去 KTV 呀, 去洗溫泉呀

Interviewer:你會提 3C 產品嗎?

Miss Liu:會呀! 就是有聊到我就會講, 會啦, 會提到一些牌子. 就像美國很驕傲 Apple 是他們的

Interviewer:剛提到 Taiwanese identity 提升的部分, 有沒有時麼事件發生的時候讓你特別有感受? 比方說去年奧運國旗? 那個時候你在台灣還是英國?

Miss Liu: 好像在台灣還是快來了, 還是已經到了, 我有點忘記了. 會呀, 那個時候會覺得說為時麼會這樣! 可是後來想想, 又不是第一次發生, 所以就算了

Interviewer: 通常遇到像這種台灣在國際上被打壓的事件, 你通常會有怎麼樣的感受?

Miss Liu:就感嘆, 就唉~~ 又來了(無奈的笑)

Interviewer: 感嘆包含的是難過還是無奈還是生氣….?

Miss Liu:我覺得是無奈, 因為你也生氣不起來, 你就知道原因是什麼

Interviewer:會覺得 powerless 嗎?

Miss Liu: 對呀! 因為就人家太大啦! 因為今天他可能覺得我們的威脅這麼小

Interviewer: 那你看到這類事情會激發你做些時麼事情嗎? 像是去保護或宣揚台灣?

Miss Liu:我覺得很難耶! 有機會當然會做 ,但是~~基本上不會有機會, 就可能別人問的時候, 就會去解釋說為時麼台灣會發生醬的事情

Interviewer:所以你通常不會特別去做十麼?

Miss Liu:可能就是會跟身邊的台灣人說, 阿怎麼會這樣呀? 又來了! 然後講一講就沒事了

Interviewer:你會發 FB 這種東西嗎?

Miss Liu:不會, 我不喜歡發文

Interviewer:在國外這些年除了自己的 TI 之外, 有發展出不同的 Identity 嗎? E.g. Asian identity, European identity?

Miss Liu: 這個是還好ㄟ, 可是你說 Asian identity 是有的啦, 但是我會比較有的是跟語言有關的, 因為大陸人是 Asian 來的, 你的文化和背景還是跟中國有很大的連結. 因為你講同樣的語言, 你今天不會說我跟菲律賓或泰國有很大的連結, 因為我們的語言是不同的. 所以你很難去了解他們. 所以我會說是 Mandarin identity, 就是跟所有講 Mandarin 的人會有一個 shared 的價值觀和文化背景. 像香港或是中國沿岸的地區, 我覺得會有這樣的一個 identity, 但這不足以讓我和中國大陸的人做朋友☺

Interviewer: 之前就是一個地球村的概念, 就是這整個地球是一個村落, 然後每個人都是村民醬子, 你會有醬子的感覺嗎?

Miss Liu:在台灣朋友比較多, 還是有很多外國朋友, 所以就一直以來都有醬子的概念. 就不管你是哪個國家的呀, 就是還是大家一起開心過生活, 一起吃吃喝喝都在一起

Interviewer: 那你覺得一個 global villager 的責任和行為?

Miss Liu:因為你是唯一一個台灣人, 所以你今天帶進去的價值觀和行為模式, 我覺得都是一個台灣人的 label 在上面, 所以你今天做十麼都要想清楚. 因為人家可能會跟下一個遇見的台灣人說 ,ㄟ我認識一個台灣人, 然後他曾經說過時麼做過時麼, 所以我覺得基本就是對你所做所為負責

Interviewer:如果是一個世界村的概念, 是不是台灣人還重要嗎?

Miss Liu:重要呀! 因為每一個人就代表一個國家嘛

Interviewer:所以你認為在世界村裡還是要有國籍的分別?

Miss Liu:當然呀! 就他都是一個很大的區別! 而是你走去哪裡, 人家就會在你頭上插一個旗子, 就是你就是台灣來的, 然後你今天做什麼, 你就是有台灣的影子. 阿也不是說這個東西一定是負面的, 也可能有正面的影響

Interviewer: 整體出國留學對 Taiwanese Identity 的影響?

Miss Liu:有加強的功用, 因為畢竟之前沒有想過很多東西, 然後出來了之後, 你都會去慢慢的思考, 然後有一些一旦你遇到的一些情況, 你也會覺得, 會讓你做一些比較深度的思考

Interviewer:思考什麼? 自己本身嗎?

Miss Liu:對呀, 思考自己本身是台灣人, 然後思考台灣內部的一些政經之類的問題, 然後今天為什麼台灣人會有醬子的一個暴動阿或抗議什麼的. 然後你就會開始用你三方的角度去看說為什麼這種事會發生, 然後從國外的媒體看過來是什麼樣的一個角度, 從中國大陸媒體看過去是什麼樣的角度, 然後從台灣人看過去是什麼樣的角度. 然後裡面是不是有一些 irrational 的成分在? 那你會去慢慢分析這些東西

Interviewer:除了專業科目外, 在這最大收穫?

Miss Liu: 認識人吧! 就是有 networking 的機會, 畢竟 durham 是一間不錯的大學, 能申請進來的人應該是有兩把刷子. 那進來的人就是跟你的思維是在一個差不多的 level, 所以他們過來了, 你有那個 networking 的機會可以認識他們國家裡就是真的有在思考的人. 我覺得這些東西是慢慢去累積的, 然後等到你三四十歲, 可能哪一天你有需要他們的時候或你有需要去那個國家的時候, 其實都用得到

Appendix H

Interview Transcript II

Interviewer:我們有相同的護照嘛 那你覺得這本護照可以代表你的身分嗎?

Miss Wu:這本護照可以代表我的身分, 對.

Interviewer:在你的護照封面上寫著 ROC 和 Taiwan. 護照上的字樣 , Taiwan 對你來說有什麼意義?

Miss Wu:台灣對我來說是我的國家

Interviewer: 那 ROC 對你來說有什麼意義?

Miss Wu:是別人對我們的稱呼 ☺

Interviewer: 是別人對我們的稱呼?

Miss Wu:對, 是別的國家對我們的稱呼. 他們不承認我們是一個國家, 他們就會叫 ROC .就跟我們現在有時候在選國籍的時候就會看到 province of China,那種感覺. 如果可以的話, 就不要 Show China 這兩個字會比較好

Interviewer:那你有碰過比方說過海關的時候, 看到 CHINA, 就認為你是 CHINESE 的經驗?

Miss Wu:有阿, 我上次去法國的時候他們就說,ㄟ小姐你要簽證嗎? 我就說不用阿, 我不是 China 阿, 我不是 Chinese, 我 come from Taiwan.然後他就說, 好他只是 check 一下, 然後我就說 We don't need Visa to France ☺ 對, 就是這種感覺

Interviewer:所以你覺得他一開始可能就看到這個 China, 就以為你是?

Miss Wu:對, 然後他們有的會誤會. 那次有一個海關, 不是海關是地勤小姐, 誤以為我們是跟澳門香港一樣, 然後他說你不是 HongKongese, 我就說不是, 他說你不是澳門, 我就說不是, 我說我是台灣

Interviewer:所以你會覺得 ROC 在上面會造成一種混淆?

Miss Wu:對, 所以我都不會用 ROC, 我寫明信片也都是 to Taiwan

Interviewer:那你會想要就把他蓋起來嗎?

Miss Wu:我不會想要蓋住他, 因為我覺得那只是別人對我們的想法. 我們覺得自己是什麼就是什麼, 就算他今天寫了中華民國或是沒寫, 我是覺得沒有關係. 因為我覺得那是別人對我們的看法而以, 最主要還是你自己覺得你是屬於 ROC 還是 Taiwan. 對, 我不會刻意去針對他, 可他如果今天寫 Chinese Taipei 我就會遮 ☺

Interviewer: 在這學習的期間, 你通常怎樣用英文介紹自己?

Miss Wu:因為大家都會以為我是中國人, 我們班就只有我一個台灣學生, 剛好比較特別 我們班九十幾個 然後四十幾個是中國人, 然後我是台灣人

Interviewer: 你是學 Media?

Miss Wu: Media 跟 PR 的, 對, 我們在自我介紹的時候其實也還好. 可是老師會講說, 還有哪個國家嗎? 不一樣的. 然後我就會說台灣, 然後旁邊的大陸同學就會說台灣就是跟我們一樣阿, 然後我就一笑抿之

Interviewer:所以你就跟老師說台灣?

Miss Wu:我就舉手跟老師說台灣

Interviewer:你說你 come from Taiwan?

Miss Wu:我沒有說我 come from Taiwan

Interviewer:你說你是 Taiwanese 降子?

Miss Wu:對對對

Interviewer:然後大陸同學就用英文說那句話?

Miss Wu:沒有,他是直接用中文☺

Interviewer:在老師面前說中文?

Miss Wu:沒有, 那個沒有很 official 他只是一個小小的分組的, 或者是問題的時候

Interviewer:那老師沒有聽到?

Miss Wu:老師沒有聽到, 我覺得這邊的老師, 在 UK 他們不會很 care

Interviewer:真的嗎?

Miss Wu:因為我昨天去勾了一下我的 railcard, 他上面就是寫 province of China, 然後銀行也是

Interviewer:真的喔?

Miss Wu:我這問題我之前跟學長討論過, 有一個學長叫做 xxx, 你可以也試著去問他. 我欣賞他的經驗, 他在商學院, 他們全班有一百多個, 一百零幾, 一百個都是中國人, 就只有三個不是. 然後他們老師就跟他們講中國的事情, 然後也有講到台灣的事情, 就講說你們幾個國家, 可是就忽略到台灣, 然後什麼什麼的, 他也沒有直接跟老師講. 然後他是下課後, 老師的意見是台灣是屬於中國的

Interviewer:喔 真的喔?

Miss Wu:老師的意見是他們是一樣的, 可是我覺得他門外國人真的比較不會 care, 我覺得拉

Interviewer:那個老師是男的嗎?

Miss Wu:我不知道耶, 我覺得他門不會 care. 對他們來講 China 跟 Taiwan 是一樣的, 都是對他們沒有威脅的. 對呀, 如果你跟他們說你是台灣人, 他們就, 喔恩喔, 就降過去, 也不會特別問說什麼的. 可是他下課後寫一張紙條給老師, 他就說台灣是屬於台灣的, 台灣並不是屬於中國的, 他也是一個國家. 他就是沒有直接跟老師講, 因為他知道他覺得不可以, 因為全班有一百個都是中國人, 所以他就是私底下寫一張紙條給老師, 然後老師就跟他道歉. 我就覺得還滿 peaceful 的, 就是這是我聽過還滿好的一個處理方式, 我覺得還不錯

Interviewer:所以你覺得你們系所的老師不是很 care?

Miss Wu:他不會 care. 就像我們有一次討論到, 中國的媒體是怎麼樣, 然後我就舉手, 我就說在中國他的媒體不會給你真的消息, 他那個東西都是被封鎖的, 有些人根本就不知道他現在相信你這個不是事實而是官方政府製造出來的. 然後像你講到 democracy 還是什麼的獨立的東西就會被, 我就說 it will be deleted automatically, 然後老師說這也是一個亂像, 就是一個政府直接統治直接 control media 的效果

Interviewer:那其他大陸同學呢?

Miss Wu:沒有怎麼樣, 他們也承認阿. 他們也知道那是他們的 drawback, 所以他們也不能怎麼樣, 因為他們也不希望這樣. 我真的覺得中國的學生如果來國外了, 真的會有差別, 就是他們會接受比較多他們原本可能不知道的東西. 然後他們出來了之後才會知道說, 喔原來那些都是假的, 然後有些都是沒有聽過的時麼的, 我覺得出來的中國學生在西方接受過教育之後會比較理性的去接受這個

Interviewer:那你之前有遇過跟任和大陸同學有衝突或不愉快的經驗嗎?

Miss Wu:衝突是不至於, 可是我室友他是合肥人, 我們兩個很好很好, 他平常都是叫我姐姐姐姐的. 可是有一次, 喔我們家比較特別, 我們那個 flat 理面住了一個車臣, 一個台灣, 三個中國, 然後車臣就很白目的問我說, 為什麼你說你是來自台灣不是來自中國? 我就說我不是, 我就是來自台灣 I'm Taiwanese. 然後我最好的室友就講話, 你如果再這樣講的話, 我想我們兩個都會生氣, 都會想要打你, 就不要再講這個話題了, 他就這樣講. 然後這個時候我就在 XX po 一篇, 我寫說台灣人跟中國人的差別, 護照顏色不一樣, 簽證不一樣, 講的語言不一樣, 即使我覺得今天我們兩個都可以保持理性的態度, 我承認我是台灣人, 我承認我不是屬於中國大陸的, 可是中國你也要接受我可以承認這件事情. 因

為我不會對你有負面的想法，即使你們覺得我是你們的，我也不會因此而覺得很激動很不服然後很不開心，或者是覺得說你怎麼可以這樣，就是負面情緒，我不會有，因為我覺得就是理性的

Interviewer:就尊重?

Miss Wu:就尊重，就是一個 aspect 就是兩個人意見不一樣. 然後這個我就跟我爸討論過，因為我們家都是深綠，然後我爸說因為他們國家的教育就是這樣子，他們洗腦就是降子,他們護照理還有我們日月潭的照片

Interviewer:難道他們國家有教育他們說就是不需要尊重別人嗎?

Miss Wu:可是我覺得那是洗腦的可怕之處. 可是那只是我遇到的一個比較特別的例子，然後所以他就很生氣，然後我就知道說這個話題再也不能跟他提. 可是如果是我其他的同學，我很多很好的大陸同學，他們就會接受. 然後我們有一次在討論就是說，那你覺得說之後台灣會不會被中國大陸統一呀什麼什麼之類的，然後我是覺得說沒有關係，就保持現狀就好了，可能到我死可以保持這個現狀就 Okay. 因為我覺得這個狀況就是最 balanced 的，你不侵犯我，我不侵犯你. 然後我同學就講一句說，那你也不能說你要台獨，然後其實我也這麼想，但是我不會大聲嚷出來說. 可是這種東西就是就像我說的一個自己的 concept，你覺得你是就好，不需要爭到別人對你的認同. 而且在我來英國的時候，我本來是一個很 aggressive 的人，可是我來了英國之後，跟他們大陸人接觸，他們有的真的很 ridiculous 的是他們就是覺得你是他們的，然後習進平很厲害呀什麼之類的. 可是我覺得那都是他們教育出來的，然後像我們就感覺還好，我就覺得我們不會那麼容易發聲，我們就是用一個真的比較理性，我就是真的不能再找其他的形容詞，就真的是理性的態度去面對. 然後我有很多同學也勢很 peaceful 的跟我相處，然後只要聊到這個話題的時候他就說好，那你還要堅持什麼，我就說我就不希望叫我 Chinese Taipei，我就每次看到 Chinese Taipei 我就很不舒服，我就會覺得很生氣. 尤其是之前那個經典賽，那個我們對日本的時候我們還是 Chinese Taipei! 然後那時候我就把我 FB cover photo 放成一張，王建民阿，彭政民阿，他們一張照片叫說 We come from Taiwan 降子. 然後我就想要證明我是，可是為了避免紛爭，我們有時候在 FB 講話就是會用台語，用台語拼音，或者是今天在講什麼事情，我就會不想要 share 這個 info 給一些同學

Interviewer:那你室友當初那樣講，你就真的閉嘴嗎?

Miss Wu:我就真的閉嘴，因為我覺得沒有必要降. 而且那是個人的一個修養的問題☺ 對，然後我也有一點自信，因為我覺得你跟我們都是同一個立場，可是你為什麼就不能把那些情緒消化掉? 為什麼想要揍人或什麼之類的? 我也覺得你們降講不對，可是問題是我不會有這種想法，我就是尊重，我覺得這就是最不同的差別

Interviewer:但是他們有了解到那是因為你在尊重他們嗎? 還是~~

Miss Wu:他們覺得我可能是在讓，或是可能不講，因為我覺得說年紀有差，因為他們已經根深蒂固

Interviewer:他們很小嗎?

Miss Wu:他們小我，我比較大. 我 1987，他們都 90. 我覺得他們的個性就是你再跟他們講也沒有用，他們就是洗腦，他們整個就是紅色思想，所以你再跟他們講也沒有用. 那倒不如就不要說了，那也不是你讓或者是什麼，就是你覺得沒有用 no need

Interviewer:所以你覺得一方面是個人修養的部分，另一方面就是 no need，因為我有聽過很多同學說講了也沒有用，因為反正就算講贏這個又怎麼樣，全中國大陸

Miss Wu:千千萬萬的人

Interviewer:還是覺得你是他們的

Miss Wu:對阿, 對

Interviewer:所以主要是這兩個原因, 對你而言?

Miss Wu:是的

Interviewer:你認為 identity 這個英文詞是什麼意思? 你會怎麼翻譯?

Miss Wu: Identification 就是一個自我的認可, 對, 就像我們的身分證一樣, 像 identification card

Interviewer:那你覺得在台灣會有很多人討論這個東西嗎? 還是你到英國後才比較常聽到?

Miss Wu:我覺得不一樣, 在台灣講的是偶阿跟寒及 (台語)

Interviewer:什麼意思?

Miss Wu:你是偶阿的話就是老偶阿, 就是榮民之前從大陸撥遷來台的那些人, 那寒及就是土生土長, 在他們來之前就已經在台灣的人, 是吵這個. 之前很早期他們是吵這個, 可是我覺久了之後就不會, 在我長大之後 就不會拿這種事情出來吵, 不過也有, 那就是一個 racial discrimination

Interviewer:每次選舉的時候就會拿出來講

Miss Wu:對, 就會拿出來講. 可重點是這種還把原住民也牽扯進來, 可我覺得現在比較好, 因為他們現在都說融合融合, 就偶阿跟寒及, 就融合. 很多人你現在根本也不知道他是外省人還是本省人. 可我覺得那個真的是還好, 因為畢竟大家都已經在台灣了. 可是到英國不一樣是你是中國, 中國就中國, 台灣就台灣, 我也不會很想要 prove 自己就是台灣人, 沒有必要. 那加上我自己學媒體, 那時候我要出來的時候, 我爺爺就跟我說, 你自己學媒體的人, 你自己要知道你在公開場合你講話不能太 aggressive, 雖然他是一個就非常非常深綠的人, 他就跟我說你要跟外國人交往 OK 什麼的, 就是不可以跟大陸人在一起, 不可能嫁給大陸人, 他意思是說找對像

Interviewer:喔, 你說男女關係 Okay

Miss Wu:而且我不敢跟我爺爺說我旁邊的朋友都是大陸的☺ 他就會覺得怎麼會這樣, 把孫女送出國讓他跟大陸人相處

Interviewer:有接觸是好的阿, 才讓你更清楚了解

Miss Wu:對阿, 清楚了解他們的世界就是降子. 可是我過久了之後, 我也慢慢接受他們的東西. 就像我原本不太看什麼選秀的節目的, 就他們去年在講我都聽不懂, 然後默默開始在看中國最強音, 從羅大佑過去當他們的評審. 因為以前我都覺得台灣人過去那邊只是為了要賺錢, 或是你在台灣不紅了你才會去. 然後像最近吵得比較熱的就是葉偉婷. 她去了大陸然後她說我來自中國台北屏東, 被網友大批, 那時候我只是覺得葉偉婷一定很可憐. 她就是因為在台灣活不下去, 就沒有她的演藝事業, 她才會去大陸, 而且她自己是原住民, 誰願意自己把自己 ~~ 然後就有很多網友說什麼她誣衊祖靈阿什麼之類的 就忘本, 可我覺得她一定有她的~

Interviewer:苦衷?

Miss Wu:苦衷, 苦處無法說. 她就說是節目要求她講的, 那網友就說那就叫中國屏東就好啦, 為什麼叫中國台北屏東呢? 然後我就覺得滿好笑的. 可是我不會覺得這件事是葉偉婷的不對, 然後就有人說她忘本阿, 就叫她不要再回來台灣了什麼的, 可是我覺得我們不應該有醬的心態. 覺得她今天去那邊講了那個話就不是台灣人, 那你降跟他們(大陸人)有什麼不一樣? 她也是要活下去, 她也是要生存, 她就是把這個當做是一個賺錢的方法. 她只是低聲下氣, 就是為了五斗米折腰, 因為她是原住民, 所以他應該比我們更那個, 對民族意識更強. 連她都這樣, 那我覺得就是向錢說話, 錢最大

Interviewer:所以說有不同的觀點 像你就會去看到可能後面的部分

Miss Wu:我覺得是因為我出來(留學)的關係, 如果我今天在台灣

Interviewer:但有些人可能覺得她為了錢出賣自己 那後來她有紅嗎?

Miss Wu:她還沒, 那個比賽還在比. 可現在還有很多選手去, 可他們就不會直接講說是 他們就會說是來自台灣區的選手. 對然後, 我上次看小時代, 一部電影, 理面有郭彩潔, 柯振東, 我看了中文的. 演員都是中國人麻, 就只有郭彩潔, 柯振東, 旁邊刮號寫台灣. 然後就覺得還滿特別的, 為什麼要把她刮號講出來台灣, 是不是代表他們本身也是有一些

Interviewer:堅持?

Miss Wu:我覺得他們應該也昰有堅持, 就是兩個彼此在抓那個平衡. 那他今天如果不寫 那表示說柯振東覺得他是中國人, 可是他今天寫台灣, 就可以證明你是屬於台灣區的, 我覺得台灣區還 OK 可是

Interviewer:我覺得要我比起來, 台灣區不 okay 耶

Miss Wu:可是你要不寫嗎?

Interviewer:你可以寫台灣, 但你不可以寫台灣區

Miss Wu:他就寫台灣, 而且他們就口說說台灣區的選手

Interviewer:而且我覺得葉偉婷那個也還可以 argue 就是說, 我認同的中國是中華民國而不是中華人民共和國

Miss Wu:可是他就說中國台北

Interviewer:你中國台北沒錯阿, 就是中華民國台北

Miss Wu:那他應該說我來自台灣台北阿

Interviewer:因為中華民國也還是我門嘛, 他們叫中華人民共和國

Miss Wu:共和國 (simultaneously)

Interviewer:其實兩個簡稱都是中國, 所以外面的人會說有兩個中國降子, 所以我覺得他要是聰明一點可以降說

Miss Wu:可是我覺得他降會扯太遠, 沒有人會相信他, 其實我們很少會叫自己是中國. 我有聽說一種說法, 我上次也昰跟我一個大陸同學在 ARGUE 這件事, 我以前早期的時候比較常在 argue 這種事, 後來我就累了. 他就說你為什麼不覺得你自己昰 Chinese? 我就說我就是 Taiwanese, 他說 Chinese 這個點可以不稱為只是中國人, 他是中國文化出來的. 所以我想說, 喔也對, 可是 Chinese 不會覺得說是日本阿或韓國人, 因為我們就是不一樣, 問題是我們也講中文

Interviewer:我們的確有中國文化, 祖先也昰

Miss Wu:對, 我們叫 Chinese 不為過. 所以到最後久而久之我也昰接受了這個想法, 如果人家說什麼我就會說 Taiwanese, 如果人家不懂的話我就會說 Chinese. 那你們 speak 什麼, 我就會說 Chinese Mandarin 降, 所以他那個說法就很 OK, 我就很接受. 他說那是文化, 不是國家, 他就降講, 我就, 恩對! 那是文化不是國家

Interviewer:那很容易混淆嘛, 如果你跟人家說你室 Chinese, 人家就真的以為你室 Chinese

Miss Wu:而且我門外表也一樣

Interviewer:我門外表跟一些亞洲國家像日本阿, 也都差不多, 只是好像穿著上面有些不一樣. 那我們剛說 Identity 那 national identity

Miss Wu:我就寫台灣

Interviewer:那你覺得 national identity 事實麼意思?

Miss Wu:國籍, 就是 nationality

Interviewer:所以你會覺得 NI 就是 nationality, 通常 nationality 我們會翻國籍, 那 NI 你還是番國籍嗎?

Miss Wu:我還是翻國籍

Interviewer:可是剛你說 identity 你會覺得是一個自我的認同

Miss Wu:可是 National identity 我就會覺得是國家的定位, 可是我就是會直接把他聯想成 nationality 耶

Interviewer:你覺得 NI 的包含了什麼? 有哪些要素? 比方說一個英國人為什麼覺得他是英國人?

Miss Wu:英國比較特別是因為他有幾個, 像威爾斯阿

Interviewer:不管是英國人還是哪裡人, 你覺得為什麼一個人會覺得他是那個國家的人 背後有怎樣的要素, 你覺得?

Miss Wu:應該就像, 香港好了, 他應該也會覺得他自己是 Chinese. 可是他不會, 也不會想要承認自己是屬於 Chinese, 可是他們被回歸了之後, 所以我覺得他可能會變成, 他完全是 Chinese 沒有問題, 可是他的 Nationality 就會改成事 Chinese. 就是可能會改成 China, 可是像我們就不會, 我們還是選擇台灣. 所以我覺得 NI 可能比較廣一點, 他就是比國籍更大, 比如說可能像我們寫 Chinese 是文化的關係. 那像一些比較不能獨立的國家, 像新疆好了, 或者是大陸其他不能獨立的, 他們可能就會降覺得

Interviewer:那你覺得自己是台灣人的原因是因為文化嗎?

Miss Wu:我覺得是因為我的祖先阿

Interviewer:可我們以前的祖先是從大陸過來的

Miss Wu:就福建過來的阿, 可是我們來得比國民黨來的之前早阿

Interviewer:對阿, 我們家也是阿, 你有查過你是你們家第幾代嗎?

Miss Wu:我沒有看

Interviewer:所以你會覺得是祖先的關係, 可是我們祖先是中國人, 但你不覺得你自己是中國人, 所以為什麼你覺得自己是台灣人?

Miss Wu:因為祖先在他們來占領台灣之前, 就先到啦, 他們是開拓台灣的人阿

Interviewer:但是他們還是一樣是中國人阿

Miss Wu:可是就像我們移民, 比如說我今天去美國好了, 我移民到美國, 過了十幾二十年我就拿美國護照啦, 那我就變成美國人啦, 可是我是屬於華裔阿, 對這種感覺. 我是屬於中國裔, 可是我到了台灣阿, 對這種感覺. 他的根是從這裡開始生的, 好, 那個祖先本身是中國人, 但祖先的後代就不是中國人了, 對就是台灣人. 就看他的根, 從他零歲 蹦的時候開始算, 就那時候就是他的國家. 就像我們如果今天在美國生小孩好了, 那小孩還是屬於台灣人阿, 可是並不會變成美國人, 因為他的爸媽就是台灣人

Interviewer:我有點聽不太懂. 為什麼中國人倒台灣會變台灣人? 台灣人到美國不會變美國人?

Miss Wu:因為我們到了美國之後, 我覺得這要看他爸媽, 喔對, 如果我爸媽, 可是如果我到那邊生小孩我就拿到美國公民阿, 我就變成美國人啦, 不是嗎?

Interviewer:是阿是阿, 那我的小孩應該也是美國人吧!

Miss Wu:對, 那我要修正一下, 是美國人喔☺ 對, 那就是 ABC. 可是我還是會接受他是有台灣人的這個血統, 他是一半一半的

Interviewer:所以你會覺得我們雖然還有這個血統, 但是國籍以經變了?

Miss Wu:對, 就像林書豪一樣. 林書豪大家都說他是台灣人, anyway 我覺得他是台灣裔而以. 就他爸媽從台灣到了美國之後, 他就是在美國長大, 他所有接受思想全部都是美國的

Interviewer:對, 其實我也覺得他就是美國人

Miss Wu:他就是美國人, 你不要把他太神話了, 然後覺得他是台灣人就沾一份光. 我覺得不需要, 因為他就是, 可是要看他爸媽啦, 我覺得就是看教育, 看爸媽給小孩子什麼思想. 萬一我今天是林書豪的爸媽, 我希望他認同自己是台灣人. 就像王力宏也是吧, 他們從小在美國長大的, 他們可能就會有一些 confusion, 可能他自己是屬於哪一國人

Interviewer:所以說你認同的那個祖先,是來到了台灣開拓台灣之後,然後世世代代降下來?

Miss Wu:對

Interviewer:你認同的也是一些中國的文化, 那你會怎麼去做區分嗎?

Miss Wu:我自己本身是念文組的, 可是我對文化這個概念非常沒有. 我那時候在學詩經 我就會覺得那是中國文化, 可是我不會考慮到這個問題, 那到底是我們以前祖先的文化還是十麼, 我就覺得那只是個文化就向我們以前在學中國歷史一樣. 可是我覺得他們保留的中國文化還滿多的, 畢竟到了台灣, 你看現在國小生他們也要學中國文化也要學台灣文化, 向他們有學台語阿, 所以反而會覺得是我們比較多元. 我們會被一些台灣固有的文化就是融合, 也算有 combine 在一起

Interviewer:像孝道呢?

Miss Wu:我覺得我認識的中國學生都還滿聽父母的話的, 父母親不喜歡這個男朋友, 女兒就跟這個男的分手

Interviewer:真的喔

Miss Wu:對, 有時候都是父母親不喜歡, 他們都會說我父母親幫我找了工作. 對, 像你說的, 我可能接觸到的都是父母親對小孩子太好了, 他們就是把他們寵得就是掌上明珠或者是心肝寶貝. 所以你可能會覺得他們不孝順, 這是不對等的, 可能是父母親對小孩太好了, 你覺得他不孝順, 可是基本上我們跟他們中國人沒有什麼不一樣

Interviewer:所以這一年相處下來, 你會覺得台灣人跟大陸人有什麼不一樣嗎?

Miss Wu:區別在於, 我們來這邊的台灣人跟他們來這邊的大陸人不一樣, 就是跟他們的經濟狀況差很多. 你現在看到的大陸人, 我覺得就我目前接觸到的, 可能是我們自己是 MEDIA 的關係, 那我身邊的朋友都是 culture study 的. 所以這些人都是家裡沒有負擔的, 不會有什麼助學貸款這種事情, 家理的經濟都是非常的好的. 所以他們來這邊花錢的概念完全跟我們不一樣, 他們並不覺得這些東西很貴, 一個包兩三萬台幣, 他們覺得很便宜就買了. 但台灣人可能不會, 我覺得在金錢上的考量, 價值觀, 對, 價值觀方面可能會有差, 因為我們出來有些是助學貸款

Interviewer:現在留學可以助學貸款喔?

Miss Wu:可以, 可以. 就跟讀大學一樣阿. 那他們有些人是在國內也考不到研究所, 那就出來讀個書吧, 反正門檻也低. 可是我們不是, 我們是懷抱一個夢想, 對我們來說是一個人生不去做就會少了些什麼

Interviewer:遺憾?

Miss Wu:對, 遺憾終生的那種夢想. 我覺得這個反而是兩個很大的差別. 他們就是覺得來這邊大不了讀個書嘛讀個碩士, 大不了再讀第二個, 大不了再讀個博吧. 在他們生命中, 讀書好向是他們的避風港, 不像我們拿一個碩士是對我們人生的一個實踐. 我覺得這是比較不一樣的, 他們可能比較玩樂人生降子, 然後我們就會苦幹實幹像一頭牛一樣, 對

Interviewer:那你會覺得這跟台灣精神有關係嗎?

Miss Wu:這跟台灣精神沒有關係. 我覺得這是家庭背景, 如果今天我是含著金湯匙長大的, 我應該也會這麼做. 如果我今天是哪個高官的子弟, 我應該也會變成一模一樣的人, 不管是不是台灣人, 因為那些錢也不是你賺的, 所以你花出去你也不覺得心痛

Interviewer:那你會覺得有一個台灣精神嗎?

Miss Wu:有有. 台灣精神就是不作弊, 不作弊不找人代寫, 因為我聽過太多同學都是, 唉呦, 他過了, 不知道他怎麼過的, 平常看他沒在寫, 找人代的吧☺

Interviewer:☺

Miss Wu:就是這種 criticize, 可是你覺得, ㄟ還滿有道理的

Interviewer:ㄟ 你裝的腔還滿像的

Miss Wu:我這講話超像的, 是北部腔, 我同學也會說跟我講話講久了, 會說, 唉呦都被你拉去了, 都台灣腔了, ㄟ講到哪裡了?

Interviewer:台灣精神

Miss Wu:對, 台灣精神. 那個寧願, 榮譽的失敗, 也不要不榮譽的成功, 就是我們會要求這樣. 寧願有 honour 的失敗, 好你很努力 failed 了, 也沒關係, 你還是愧對於自己. 然後他們就覺得說, 阿不行了, 被 fail 我一定要找個什麼東西, 找一點 trick 來幫助自己過. 而且他們人太多了, 他們這種管道很多

Interviewer:那你會覺得是因為我們比較誠實嗎?

Miss Wu:對, 我覺得我們誠實, 我們比較膽小, 貪生怕死 ☺

Interviewer:☺

Miss Wu:對, 因為我們不敢

Interviewer:我們不敢破壞規矩?

Miss Wu:對, 我們不敢. 我們遵守, 守規矩的人. 就像台灣人的個性一樣, 就是你不會去太過於想要造次, 就是你不會為了達到目的而不擇手段. 那他們有的是會的, 那他們(大陸)可能只要過就好了, 那這個學歷對他們來講可能就是這樣. 就像他們的大學我聽說是, 可能你這科選了, 好那你這科是可以不要算到平均分數理面. 你覺得這科分數比較低, 你可以把他用掉, 可是我們是不行的. 我們被當, 就算三十四十就是那樣. 然後我 XX 就有 po 出來, 然後有一個大陸同學就過來跟我說, 我們沒有喔, 我們沒有像你說的降子. 我們只是選了一些科要看而以, 那不就是嗎? 不像我們直接多少就是多少, 他們那個東西都是稍微可以做的

Interviewer:所以你覺得我們比較怕死還是誠實還是努力?

Miss Wu:誠實, 加怕死百分之十 ☺ 我們怕被, 我們不想要 RISK

Interviewer:那你覺得我們努力嗎?

Miss Wu:我們努力阿, 我們非常努力阿, 非常努力阿

Interviewer:是因為誠實怕死所以努力?☺

Miss Wu:是因為本身的背景不夠然後經歷或學歷也不太夠, 因為他們其實出來的學生, 有的真的很聰明, 可是笨的很笨, 有的就是老師在跟他英文對話, 他還要說老師剛說啥阿. 我那時候一出來的時候我覺得我們班有很多笨蛋, 但成績出來都還好, 所以笨蛋是我☺ 可是他們寫功課或什麼還是有他們厲害之處, 可是你就會懷疑說那些厲害是他們自己寫的還是他們也是有槍手或什麼的? 因為這種事在他們生活中是常見的, 可是在我們生活中是不常見的, 可能是我們人太少了, 容易被抓吧 ☺

Interviewer:所以我們再趕快說回來一下, 所以你覺得我們在文化上並沒有很大的差別? 反而是台灣比較多元化, 接受西方思想?

Miss Wu:恩, 對, 對

Interviewer:如果有人問你你的 national identity, 你會怎麼回答?

Miss Wu: Taiwanese

Interviewer:誰可以被定義為 Taiwanese?

Miss Wu:誰可以被定義為台灣人 我們不就都是台灣人?

Interviewer:是有台灣護照或身分就是台灣人嗎? 還是說像一些嫁來台灣的外配久了之後他們也可以拿到台灣護照阿, 就在你心中誰可以被你認為是台灣人?

Miss Wu:喔, 我覺得護照第一是要素, 你要有綠色那本你才是台灣人. 第二就像你說的比方說一些外籍配偶他們嫁來台灣. 可是重點是他們有沒有承認他們是台灣人, 你要定位成台灣人你有些事情一定要做到. 比如說對台灣這個國家你要真的對他認可, 你不能傷害他, 你如果嫁來台灣之後, 你每個月都跟你老公拿錢, 然後你可能去欺負路上的流浪狗或什麼之類的, 就是欺負這個土地, 你就不配做個台灣人, 即使你拿一個台灣護照

Interviewer:那如果是我們台灣人本身, 我們自己欺負流浪狗 做一些壞事?

Miss Wu:☺ 那是很正常的阿! 兩千三百萬人並不是全部都是好人. 可是因為我們已經有那本護照, 所以沒有辦法, 就是台灣人. 如果是他今天想要拿到台灣這個國籍, 他就必須要對台灣認可, 而且就不要做出一些不利於台灣的事情. 他總不能一直跟大家說台灣是中國的, 台灣是中國的, 他降就不對阿

Interviewer:那如果說有一個外配

Miss Wu:英國人嗎?

Interviewer:有一個外國人來台灣, 然後 不要說是中國人, 比方說英國人好了, 他來到台灣厚非常的熱愛台灣, 然後他決定他一輩子都要生活在台灣, 在台灣工作. 但是他始終拿不到台灣護照, 因為你知道台灣護照很難拿, 然後他在台灣工作很多年, 覺得自己熱愛台灣的土地和台灣, 那你會覺得他是台灣人嗎?

Miss Wu:不是, 因為他不是我們 native speaker

Interviewer:那如果他也講中文呢?

Miss Wu:他也講中文, 可是他也講別的語言阿. 他蹦的地方就不是台灣, 就是我這個人非常熱愛美國, 我真的是覺得美國太棒了, 我還是不能成為美國人. 就像美國人也不會認為我晜美國人一樣, 因為我的皮膚, 我的頭髮顏色, 加上我整個人, 就是證明我晜外國人

Interviewer:那如果是日本人呢? 他們跟我們皮膚顏色一樣

Miss Wu:可他還是日本人阿

Interviewer:作為一個台灣人, 本土上, 有著什麼樣的責任和行為?

Miss Wu:就是愛台灣阿, 你不可以對台灣做出不利的事情, 不能一直對外放假消息, 不能一直說自己是 CHINESE TAIPE, 然後不可以賣台, 不可以簽那時麼福貿協定

Interviewer:在國際上有著什麼樣的責任和行為?

Miss Wu:最重要的是我覺得大家之前有在發表一篇文章, 我之前也晜在路上, 可能外國人問你說哪裡來的, 然後你說台灣, 他們就說台灣台北, 然後你就好驚訝說, 喔你怎麼之道? 我們會很驚訝別人知道我們是台灣. 然後之前好像就是有一篇 XX, 他是分享是說, 為什麼你要驚訝? 他們知道台灣本來就是正常的, 因為台灣有太多東西讓他們知道

Interviewer:台灣有什麼東西?

Miss Wu: ASUS, ACER, HTC. 雖然王雪紅說他自己是中國的品牌, 不過他還是台灣的. 還有 GIANT. 我覺得那幾個是 我之前去旅遊的時候, 如果人家說台灣有什麼, 我就說那幾個東西, 他就說對, 那些都是來自台灣的. 可是你看那麼小的一個國家, 他可以做出東西讓大家都知道, 這是一個也還滿不容易的事情. 雖然我們沒有像 sxxx 或 sxxx 這麼大, 但是他畢竟也晜一個大家都熟之. 我覺得不要覺得說台灣人被國外知道很不可思議, 就你要把他視為理所當然. 你要覺得他是 common sense, 就 taiwan taipe, 對就是 Taiwan Taipei. 你不可以說, 喔 how do you know, 俗掉了!

Interviewer:所以你覺得這是基本的行為?

Miss Wu: 對, 你就是要講我們是台灣. 我覺得大部分的台灣人都會啦, 不會有人自己默默就承認自己是泰國人

Interviewer:所以在國際上就是要說清楚自己是台灣人?

Miss Wu:對, 我覺得責任就是讓大家更多人知道台灣, 而不要以為別人知道台灣很驚訝

Interviewer:那你會覺得我們要做一些宣傳?

Miss Wu:宣傳你只要中共不打壓就可以了, 可是還滿難的, 重點是我們自己也做不好

Interviewer:所以你通常跟人家介紹台灣你會說那些三 C 產品?

Miss Wu:恩

Interviewer:還有什麼你會介紹的嗎?

Miss Wu:三 C 產品, 還有小吃阿. 他們都會說 一般而言在亞洲, 他們都會覺得說, 哇台灣的東西好好吃很便宜. 為什麼大家不會覺得說中國的東西很好吃很便宜? 中國的東西真的便宜, 可是他毒阿, 他有太多來路不明的食品或什麼, 讓你不覺得他是好的. 因為台灣東西, 雖然大陸比我們便宜, 但是大家不會覺得說大陸的很好吃, 比較有名的可能就全聚德阿, 比較有名的可能是古蹟之類的, 他不會是因為他的食物. 可是台灣是因為他的食物, 還有 山川壯麗吧, 我門東部有太魯閣阿, 然後西部有沙灘阿, 然後南部珊瑚礁阿, 北部沿岸阿有小野柳之類的, 就是一些地理風景, 然後日月潭阿

Interviewer:所以你覺得這些是可以代表台灣的特色?

Miss Wu:對, 這是可以吸引外國人來台灣的地方

Interviewer:所以你平常跟外國人介紹台灣會降講?

Miss Wu:對, 然後我會講我們沒有 China 那麼 crowded, 所以你來台灣很舒服. 然後人又有禮貌又熱情, 他不會管你今天是不是對我有一些功利的需求而對不對你好, 南部人會比較明顯一點, 因為南部人就樸實阿, 傻傻☺

Interviewer:☺ 南部人才是真正的大地主

Miss Wu:對呀, 大地主就傻傻阿, 他都不知道他的錢已經被轉走很多次了, 就傻傻阿☺

Interviewer:所以你平常會降介紹台灣?

Miss Wu:對呀, 就叫他們可以來台灣玩阿. 你也可以去中國玩阿, 可是到台灣一定比中國好玩是因為中國太大了

Interviewer:那你介紹台灣的食物的時候 可是有些不就 Chinese food 嗎 所以你會怎麼解釋?

Miss Wu:我就會說是用我們當地的食材. 就像我們台南就是虱目魚, 那台北大家都知道是士林夜市. 那像我今天就拿了鳳梨酥給我 supervisor 吃, 我就說這是很多大陸人來台灣都會買的喔☺ 就會強調這是連大陸人都很喜歡的喔

Interviewer:大陸不是也有鳳梨酥嗎?

Miss Wu:可是我們的比較好吃阿. 就是你今天知道那是大陸來的, 你也會怕阿, 毒奶事件, 那三聚氰胺, 那一堆有的沒的 . 他們自己也會覺得他們的東西不好, 可是沒有辦法所以才買, 就那時候奶粉事件, 他們反而是從台灣進口奶粉過去

Interviewer:可台灣不是也有毒奶?

Miss Wu:對呀, 他們有錢的媽媽都直接買國外進口的

Interviewer:那你對台灣有什麼樣的情感或情緒? 像你剛說的很愛台灣?

Miss Wu:就是愛台灣. 可是這個情感會被政治因素所牽絆, 可能因為我自己本身畢業之後就要工作, 可是我並不想回台灣工作. 即時我的家人在, 我昰獨生女, 其實我很愛我的家人, 我覺得我很不想跟他們分開, 可是我覺得政治因素害我, 我覺得台灣現在的就業環境不適合我

Interviewer:那你要去哪裡工作?

Miss Wu: XXX

Interviewer:你要去那工作?

Miss Wu:對, 我十月要去 XXX 工作

Interviewer:你已經找到了? 怎麼找到的?

Miss Wu:上網阿☺ Sxxxx 面試, 做飯店的禮賓櫃台接待

Interviewer:可是你本身是念 Media 的?

Miss Wu:可是我之前是做飯店的. 我之後想走的是旅遊公關, 我本來想考 xx 的地勤, 看能不能再轉進去. 可是 xx 太黑了, 所以我不會很想回台灣去找工作. 雖然說我愛台灣, 但是我覺得我現在的人生發展並不是回台灣是最好的, 反而是在外面累積一下經驗

Interviewer:那你剛說政治, 是怎麼樣讓你覺得不想回台灣工作?

Miss Wu:因為他現在, 可能是我們自己在國外待過, 你對那些你看到很無力的狀況, 你孤城無力可回天. 那當然我們也不能做十麼 anyway,可是你看到那些新聞報導, 看到媒體的渲染, 然後再看到執政黨是降處事, 然後在野黨也是很亂. 我那時候出來的時候就有決定說, 如果 2016 年還是國民黨執政的話, 我可能就要移民

Interviewer:☺

Miss Wu:我就真的會移民

Interviewer:你要移去哪裡?:)

Miss Wu:我不管阿, 我就是移出來阿. 可是我現在真的覺得不可能, 因為 2016 不管誰,哪一個綠的出來選, 應該躺著都會上☺

Interviewer:☺

Miss Wu:我覺得現在已經民不聊生的狀態. 之前陳水扁貪汙都還沒有這麼誇張, 可是現在已經有覺得說這個國家瘋了, 我有看到這個評論. 我當然也不會在公開場合發言, 但是我會默默的發出這個訊號給大家, 就覺得說, 恩, 如果再繼續藍天白雲下去的話, 我可能就不會待在台灣, 我就一定會想辦法移民出來. 因為在這不久之後一定會被統一, 就算不統一, 就從去年開始 一週刊, 就蘋果撤掉之後, 那時候我的論文就有一篇是在講媒體壟斷的事情. 太多時候你不知道你到底可以相信的是什麼, 因為那些資訊都是假造的, 被人家統整過在 INPUT 出來的

Interviewer:一週刊被撤掉?

Miss Wu:蘋果撤資阿, 然後就給中時買去, 所以中時, 就旺旺, 旺旺控制了台灣有百分之五十的媒體. 所以你知道這百分之五十的包刮中天電視阿, 中國時報, 他現在連蘋果都有了. 然後蘋果就是一電視, 一週刊時麼的, 他的客群是很大的, 所以他幾乎獨佔了一半. 那可是旺旺是誰的? 事中國的, 那時候就吵過了, 因為 owner 是蔡時麼的, 他本身是台灣人, 可是問題是他很偏中

Interviewer:了解, 但是你也不可以一個人就是~~

Miss Wu:我沒有要去很久啦, 大概一年就回來了. 台灣還是我的家, 我還是會回去的, 可是如果我國外有機會, 我不會那麼想~~

Interviewer:那你愛台灣是因為有家跟家人, 還是你也愛這塊土地?

Miss Wu:我愛這塊土地, 因為我家在鄉下 是無米樂那個地方

Interviewer:我沒有聽過

Miss Wu:無米樂反正就是某一年阿, 就有一個阿北, 他就不小心種出一個米, 然後那個米就冠軍阿☺然後就有人把他拍成一個紀錄片. 他的意思說無米, 就算沒有米也是會很快樂. 因為他每天就是日出而做, 日落而息, 因為我們家就是種稻的, 那上天就是眷顧我們的. 那他如果今天下大雨或有颱風, 我們家的稻米就是會損失, 所以我就覺得這都是梯公北賞給我們的. 因為你在台灣待了, 你看了太大的轉變, 你從小到現在, 我們工業進步發達, 到現在已經快停滯不前了. 然後核四又再蓋, 然後你真的覺得你想要做些什麼, 以經沒有辦法了. 好就算你家很有錢, 可是你就不會燈開一整天, 你就是會覺得那是對自己家的一個傷害, 就是對自己的土地的一個傷害. 我走在路上是不會扶老奶奶啦, 是有點誇張啦, 可是看到地上有紙屑的時候, 還是會把它撿起來啦

Interviewer:就是愛護這個環境?

Miss Wu:就是愛護這個環境. 我算是比較樂於幫助人的, 就是比方說你在路上看到人家迷了路, 很慌張在看地圖, 我就會主動去問人家

Interviewer:哪些要素是對於你 national identity 的建構是影響深遠的? 像是學校教育還是家庭教育?

Miss Wu:學校教育比較不會. 是家庭吧! 你整天看中天或你整天看民視就會影響啦. 你整天看中天那你就是國民黨的, 那你整天看民視就是民進黨的, 那你耳濡目染. 每天說國民黨或每天說民進黨的壞話, 你就會很明顯. 因為媒體電視就是一整個你生活中的一些資訊的來源, 看報紙聽 RADIO 看電視

Interviewer:所以你覺得影響你最大的是媒體?

Miss Wu:恩, 是媒體

Interviewer:但是是你自己選擇要看哪一台的嘛?

Miss Wu:對呀, 所以你就是根深蒂固的, 家庭教育教育你, 你今天就是個民進黨的, 你就不會想要去看中國時報

Interviewer:那你的家庭教育是只爸爸媽媽, 還是也包含爺爺奶奶?

Miss Wu:爺爺奶奶也會阿. 就是像我們家早期是投李登輝, 那李登輝過來就陳水扁嘛, 陳水扁過來就謝長廷, 謝長廷過來就蔡英文阿, 就是降下來. 所以並不是我們一開始就是民進黨, 並不是, 是因為國民黨一些事情之後才轉變的

Interviewer:那你小時候爸爸媽媽是會直接說我們是台灣人降子嗎?

Miss Wu:爺爺比較. 爸爸媽媽反而比較不會跟小孩子聊這種東西. 是爺爺比較會希望說他的下一代 或下下一代會知道自己的認可, 你的 orgin 是哪裡, 你的來源是哪裡的. 可是我爺爺也有跟我說我們是從大陸過來的阿, 可是我們來是比那個之前, 我門在民國幾十年就已經來的, 所以我們是比較早一代. 可是他們就是很明顯, 我爺爺不喜歡外省人, 嫁也不能嫁給外省人☺ 嫁給那種不能說台語的就是完蛋. 他對於人種這個很堅持 他說台灣人最好了, 就是很勾以, 然後很老實, 反正在他的心目中他覺得台灣人是一個很完美的品種☺

Interviewer:那你在學校學到的是十麼? 比方說老師

Miss Wu:老師還好, 我覺得是同學吧. 我們之前在高中的時候就很明顯阿, 一邊是綠色,的,一邊是藍色的. 我們那時候是阿扁跟連戰吧. 那時候就很明顯, 那時候我們有一個老師很藍, 他有時候講政府的事, 我就會降 (敲桌子), 就不理他, 或者昰就 (咳嗽)

Interviewer:老師會講得很明顯嗎?

Miss Wu:老師會就是會稍微提一下, 他就知道我不喜歡

Interviewer:老師通常不是要避免這個話題?

Miss Wu:不會不會, 我們私立學校不會. 老師偶爾還是會宣揚之類的, 因為老師都碼是國民黨比較多, 我們老師會講喔!

Interviewer:你們老師講時麼?

Miss Wu:我忘記了, 好久了, 他就講國民黨的事吧

Interviewer:那老師會講說我們是台灣人還是?

Miss Wu:喔, 不會. 老師不會降講. 可是我覺得國民黨他們也不會覺得他們自己是中國人阿. 可是問題事我覺得有時候大家太把 綠色跟藍色分太開了, 反而是我們自己把自己分裂了, 不應該是這樣子. 因為你今天還是台灣人, 我們不能因為你今天是藍色 就不跟你交往, 就跟你分手

Interviewer:沒錯 那你在高中有發生這樣的事情嗎?

Miss Wu:就會互槓阿, 槓起來阿! 就藍色的可能今天就不跟綠色的講話, 會降阿

Interviewer:那你現在看回去覺得當初是?

Miss Wu:當初算是很愚蠢阿! 可是那時候覺得分清阿. 可是現在年紀大了, 然後有學過西方教育會覺得就是尊重, 我不用你一定要認同我的, 當然我也不會要求你說我的一定是對的. 你不用一定要AGREE 我, 那你也可以有你自己的想法, 我們互不干涉就好了

Interviewer:你會覺得尊重這個部分是你到西方之後才學到的嗎?

Miss Wu:我覺得我到西方來反而, 因為我到西方之後反而接觸到比較多誇張的人. 可是在台灣不會, 你不會有這麼嚴重的肢體衝突, 我反而是到了國外來之後才練習, 在台灣不會

Interviewer:練習時麼?

Miss Wu:練習尊重阿. 在台灣不會因為藍綠而你爭我奪, 可能就會生氣降而以, 就像那個講的說你再繼續講我就要打你, 這何必呀, 就沒有必要

Interviewer:所以你是到這邊來遇到不同的

Miss Wu:對對, 我是被他們激發這個潛能. 原本是藏在心理的, 現在被拿出來的, 你知道就有差別, 對阿原本只是一點點而以, 現在戰鬥力值是百分之百

Interviewer:所以是因為跟大陸人的接觸?

Miss Wu:是的! 對呀.

Interviewer:所以我們現在已經討論過你在這裡經歷過的一些小衝突

Miss Wu:恩, 有一個超好笑. 我有一次走在路上, 遇到一個香港人, 他說你可以幫我剪頭髮嗎? 我說我要去健身房

Interviewer:認識的嗎?

Miss Wu:不認識! 他說你哪裡人? 你台灣人對吧? 我說對. 他說我香港的. 我說喔. 他說降子我們講國語不是很好溝通嗎? 反正你們是大陸的, 也沒時麼不一樣. 然後我就說, 沒有, 台灣是台灣, 大陸是大陸. 他說, 好那我現在承認, 台灣是台灣, 大陸是大陸, 那你可以幫我剪頭髮嗎? 我就說, 不管我幫不幫你剪頭髮, 台灣就是台灣, 他本身就是一個國家, 我不需要幫你剪頭髮, 我也不需要得到你的認可

Interviewer:你怎麼會遇到這麼妙的人? ☺

Miss Wu:對呀, 民族意識跟剪頭髮有時麼關係? 我說我要去健身房沒空. 超好笑的阿☺ 而且我覺得為十麼大家都要找我聊這話題☺ 顯得我深綠嗎? 我就覺得為十麼大家都想要來跟我聊時麼政黨阿或藍綠阿☺

Interviewer:我聽過的都是香港人也挺台灣

Miss Wu:對呀, 因為他們比我們更可憐, 所以他們很羨慕我們阿. 可我覺得我們就快要變成下一個香港了, 大概再二十年吧

Interviewer:你在這邊哪一個國籍的同學比較多?

Miss Wu:恩, 就中國的. 因為我身邊比較多, 還有台灣的

Interviewer:是台灣同學比較多還是大陸的?

Miss Wu:台灣. 我不太主動跟中國同學打招呼, 我在班上坐是不會去跟中國同學坐在一起的. 然後他們很好笑, 他們看到台灣同學跟外國人坐在一起, 他們會說台灣人都喜歡跟外國人相處, 因為我們來就是要講英文, 我們不是來講中文的阿 ☺ 他們有這個 stereotype, 可是我覺得還滿有趣的. 因為他們會覺得說台灣人為十麼要一直跟外國人相處?

Interviewer:對呀, 那你有沒有問他們說為十麼他們來了還要一直跟大陸人黏在一起?

Miss Wu:沒有沒有. 這是外國人的觀點喔. 這是我一個非洲的同學說的. 他說台灣人是不是很喜歡跟外國人聊天? 我就說因為我們就是要來這 speak English, 我們不是要來這 learn Chinese. 對阿, 滿好笑的

Interviewer:你通常在這邊會明白的先跟別人說你是 Taiwanese 嗎?

Miss Wu:可能講到政治或國家的時候我才會提. 通常不會講這個. 或只是人家說 where are you from 的時候, 我就會說 I come from Taiwan, 然後人家說, 喔 China. 我就說 No, Taiwan. 就會再給他 Specify 一下

Interviewer:所以你並不介意你的大陸同學覺得你是 Chinese?

Miss Wu:不會, Chinese 我接受, 因為是文化. 可是如果你覺得我是中國人, 我就不覺得, 中國跟台灣是不一樣的. 可是 Chinese 可以包括台灣人, 因為文化還是相同的

Interviewer:可是中國人的英文也是 Chinese☺

Miss Wu:對 ☺ 可是他們叫我不能降想, 所以我就不能降想, 你懂嗎?☺ 所以我就不能降想. 我要想那是文化方面, 阿他的意思是說華人, 華人的意思, 並不是說中國人. 他們的解答是降子. 就聽起來舒服多了 reasonable, 華人, 對我們也是華人, 我們並不是中國人. 那我們是 Taiwanese, 我們並不是 born in China

Interviewer:大部分的人都覺得出國留學後對自己的 national identity 有增強 (對自己國家的認同有增強的一個變化). 你同意還是不同意?

Miss Wu:有吧! 因為太常被討論了, 因為在台灣不會. 你就是生在土生土長的環境, 旁邊都是跟你一樣的人種, 你並不會去討論這個事情. 但是在這裡, 你接觸到不同的人, 你才會去 TEST, ㄟ原來自己是這種想法, 因為你在台灣大家都一樣的人阿

Interviewer:所以你增強的部分?

Miss Wu:就是自我認可

Interviewer:所以你的自我認可的增強是因為接觸到了

Miss Wu:不同的人的關係

Interviewer:在什麼情況下會特別增強或減弱?像在台灣在國際上被打壓的時候,像 Olympics 的國旗事件, 那時候你來英國了嗎?

Miss Wu:那時候我快來了

Interviewer:那像反旺中呢?

Miss Wu:那時候我有拿那個阿, 反對中國黑手然後我有在 newcastle Robinson 前面, 我有拍一張照

Interviewer:然後你有上傳到?

Miss Wu:有, 他有傳到 XX 大家的那個 webpage. 然後說來自新堡守護台灣, 不是有那個 SLOGAN? 然後有一個同學就說, 我那天看到報紙看到你, 我就說那不是報紙拉那是 XX 的一個 PAGE? 可是他有上 official 的, 因為我那時候跟另外一個同學, 我們兩個就有照, 因為那時候我們本來有一個活動, 可是後來不能, 因為周圍有很多人中國人的關係. 那我就覺得我自己還是要做這件事情, 就跟我那天默默的還是穿了白色衣服一樣, 就洪仲丘的那個事情, 我就還是穿了白色衣服出門

Interviewer:所以你是一個會有 action 的人?

Miss Wu:對. 我是一個會有 action 的. 我不會說就按一個 like like, 我還是會穿白色衣服出來, 即使我那天白色衣服是前一天才洗的, 我就是會馬上穿出來

Interviewer:所以你是看到這些事情, 怎麼樣的心情會被影響到?

Miss Wu:因為人不在,因為人不在台灣,這種會更強烈,這種思念或者是情感或更強烈,因為你不在那個

Interviewer:是因為會更生氣嗎?

Miss Wu:不算生氣吧,會心痛. 我覺得生氣,你出來之後你反而覺得不會因為沒有必要,你也沒有辦法改變的事情. 因為你成熟長大了,那不是你生氣就可以改變的. 比方說很多酸民就會講一些有的沒的,那你不如把那些時間花在一些去募資什麼之類的,我在來英國之前,友一陣子我在打包行李,那時候我忘記,八八風災我有捐錢,我連四川我都捐錢了,四川地震我也捐了, 好啦不多啦,大概兩千塊吧. 我就是我有能力去幫別人我就會去幫,我那時候出來台灣,我有整理家理把一些我不需要的東西或把一些還很好的文具,我就是會送到育幼院. 然後那時候育幼院辦活動,需要些東西,然後我就去買五六雙藍白拖寄過去, 本來要寄一箱小箱的, 然後那個箱子還滿空的, 然後我就趕快去買一些有的沒的寄過去. 然後那一箱大概花了我一千塊,喔,我剛忘了講到十麼了,喔,愛台灣就是我說的這種事情

Interviewer:就是非常有行動力的?

Miss Wu:對, 然後我是二手衣是本來就會送的. 然後像之前有一陣子我們家颱風來的時候都會淹水, 村里都會發泡麵, 可是我爸媽,我奶奶就很開心的拿回來因為是免費的. 然後我媽媽就跟我奶奶說,你不要拿,我們家部需要,給需要的人. 好像是八八風災的樣子. 然後我們又把那些泡麵都退回去,我覺得是家庭教育的影響. 可是如果今天是中國人,他可能就會說,喔有免費的,那我拿回來好了,多拿點多拿點. 我覺得可能是不一樣,因為他們窮怕了,可能他們能夠拿的時候他們就會拼命拿,可是我們不會. 我們會覺得自己要有分寸,就多少就是多少降子

Interviewer:你到這邊這一年之後你有沒有發展出其他不同的 identity? 比方說法國人義大利人不僅有自己的 identity,他們還有所謂的 EU identity

Miss Wu:我覺得來這邊最明顯的就奧運的時候,因為台灣永遠在四十幾名,然後越來越後面,然後最後不知道跑到哪裡去了. 然後那時候你就覺得你自己是英國,然後就英國加油☺ 然後就拋棄自己是台灣人 ☺ 就是西瓜哇大邊(台語),然後就第二名了,很好阿! 可你根本就不是英國人阿,這種感覺. 可是像小王子出生我就不覺得意義很大,可是我覺得運動這種事情太不分國籍了,他可以把一些都渲染進來

Interviewer:所以你就會幫英國加油?

Miss Wu:我就買了一件 I love GB 的衣服,就是 sales 那時候買的啦. 我就會幫自己所在的地方加油. 就像我同學,他們們是阿斯那的球迷,那他在牛卡,我說那你看牛卡的比賽嗎? 他說看阿. 我說你不是阿斯那的嗎? 他說我在牛卡當然要為牛卡加油阿. 我就說,喔好吧. 就是這種感覺. 就像我在英國就幫英國加油☺ Olympics 明明就不關我們的事阿,然後還要說自己第二名,就有這種感覺. 我覺得是運動的關係,我覺得運動反而會讓我有 identity 那其他就還好

Interviewer: 之前就是一個地球村的概念,就是這整個地球是一個村落,然後每個人都是村民醬子,你會有醬子的感覺嗎?

Miss Wu:會呀會呀! 因為我是做旅遊業的,我們之前在台灣的大陸客真的很多,可是大陸客真的沒有時麼素質, 講話很大聲然後一進來那個大廳你就知道他大陸人,因為他講話大聲到你在五十公尺之外都可以聽得到. 可是他就是你的客人,然後他也昰你的朋友,如果他今天有困難了,就算他跟你護照顏色不一樣, 你還是要幫他然後對他像朋友一樣. 有可能是因為工作的關係,可是今天相對之下如果把他換成是別國的人,我還是一樣會這樣做,就是一個 global village 的概念.

Interviewer:那你覺得一個 global villager 的責任和行為?

Miss Wu:我覺得就是像我說的互助,就像我在台灣,我在英國也昰會,雖然我對牛卡也沒有很熟,然後看到有人拿著地圖,也昰會跟他說方向,然後這邊你看那個坐車的 priority 座椅,你看到黑頭髮的那一定不會是台灣人,那一定是中國人. 只有中國人才會沒時麼臉就坐在那邊坐好好的, 可是明明就沒時麼事(身體),那台灣人可能就是會站起來讓位的. 我在台灣昰會起來讓位的,因為我覺得我沒有必要,對 ,可是我不覺得歐洲他們對這種概念會很深,他們可能有位置就坐. 我覺得你可能是生長的環境讓

你有這個想法，因為台灣人的個性就是熱情，也沒有像黃牛那麼可憐就是辛苦做十麼，可是是自動自發，我們是不求回報的，對你會去幫助別人．可是你並不覺得別人一定要有時麼 feedback 或十麼 bonus benefit 你才會去幫

Interviewer:那如果你覺得自己是世界村的村民的話，那為十麼我們還要分台灣人跟大陸人？

Miss Wu:因為就是不一樣阿！就像我們不用選習進平阿，我們的總統就是自己民主選的國家，然後我們有言論自由，我們可以在馬英九的 FB 理面大罵☺ 然後就覺得，對，是真的不一樣的．因為太多的政治因素然後再加上一些經濟壓文化阿，所以還是要分不一樣，因為很多正治政黨的關係，你會真的還是分開好

Interviewer:你覺得自己是 global villager 但是卻覺得還是要分開？

Miss Wu:對呀，因為 village 也有分里麻，里上面還有分鄰麻，那還是會不一樣阿，比如說這個家姓王，那個家姓黃，一定不一樣阿！那黃家人有黃家人的規矩阿，王家人有王家人的規矩阿．可能我們這邊不用買房子，你們那邊要買房子也不一定阿，就像家庭不一樣．所以 global village 也是有差異之處，但是大家都是要愛護這個地球

Interviewer:所以你來到英國還是會做比方說，看到垃圾會撿起來或者是不要浪費電

Miss Wu:對對，是的

Interviewer:整體來說，經歷過英國留學的經驗還有你與我分享的那些事件的經驗對你的 national identity 有什麼程度上的影響？可以給詳細的細節或例子嗎？

Miss Wu:整體來說反而就是讓我看得比較多，就像我剛說的，激發了我很多不同的潛能．我可能一直覺得自己是激動的人，就像看那個蔡英文的信我就哭阿，看馬英九的信我也會哭的那種

Interviewer:你說在台灣的時候？

Miss Wu:我在台灣時就會，因為我本身很愛哭．可能在家庭耳濡目染的環境下，你每天看電視就是在罵政府，你也會跟著罵政府．可是我反而這陣子開始同情馬英九，我開始覺得他很可憐，就是很多人在批評他．我覺得可能是因為我在西方留學的關係，還是因為我遠離我的家人的關係，我身邊不會有這樣的聲音出現，那我也不用去附和．就像今天洪仲丘的告別是人家說馬英九去幹嘛，可是今天如果不去不就被你們罵得更慘？那去也被罵不去也被罵，那他選擇去了，一定要去阿，他非得去阿！所以出來了之後，我反而覺得我們真的事要客觀，真的事要 objective 的去看事情．就像我以前，我可能只看綠色的，我不太看藍色的，可是現在我明知道這篇文章可能是在罵這件事情，有很多還說就不過只是死了一個下士而以，為十麼要搞得全部都出來遊行？我可能在台灣就會很生氣然後轉 po 在 XX 上．可是他們可能心裡真的這麼認為，因為可能之前也有這種事情發生，可是那時候為十麼大家就不拿出來講？那他那個人的立場說不定是這樣，我就會降子去想．反正我就覺得我現在很容易去接受負面的想法，可是我也不會多做揣測或批評時麼，就把他納進來 evaluation 那樣子，就會 AGREE 跟 DISAGREE 都會聽．不像以前只會去聽 AGREE 的話，你不會管他另外一方面說十麼，我覺得反而是來這邊，可能多寫了幾篇 essays 有關係☺

Interviewer:是寫 ESSAY，還是因為看到更多的？

Miss Wu:我覺得可能是看到大家，就是降自己自我去陶冶一個性情，可能是因為在這邊的關係

Interviewer:所以可以反而~~

Miss Wu:理性公平客觀的去看事情

Interviewer:所以在這邊有時間可以去思考一些事情降子？

Miss Wu:對，對，你就會想到別人有他們的立場

Interviewer:除了專業科目，你會覺得英國留學最大的收穫是變得比較 objective 嗎？

Miss Wu:現在好像可以降說耶，就是除了什麼廚藝精進之外，就是可以三百六十度看事情. 因為一般你可能只看到一半而以，然後你就相信這一半，你不知道喔, 後面還有這個概念，你一開始可能會不接受後面那些不知道的，可是你現在就慢慢開始接受了

Interviewer:你覺得是變得比較 objective or critical?

Miss Wu:我覺得是 Objective 因為 critical 有一點負面的太過於去針對某些事情

Interviewer:所以是比較 Objective 然後以比較多方面的角度去看事情?

Miss Wu:對

Interviewer:那會不會反而失去了自己的聲音?

Miss Wu:可是我覺得還是不會. 就像我還是會，我覺得只是輔助， 就像主修跟輔修，你用這個東西支持你的論點. 問題是輔修不可能大過主修，還是不會因為你還是相信堅持自己的東西

Interviewer:那你覺得自己現在有比較了解在國際上大家是怎麼看台灣的嗎?

Miss Wu:我覺得反而不會很了解，因為不會常講，頂多大家就知道你跟大陸是不一樣的. 阿我會講李安，他們如果不知道，我會說臥虎藏龍，然後他們就會知道，喔原來那就是台灣，頂多就會降子. 那講到台灣有什麼, 就像 HTC 或什麼的，他們也不會再多問了. 他們不會再想要了解更多，因為可能在他們心目中台灣就像印尼印度一樣就是一個國家而以，而且台灣那麼小

Interviewer:那你在這邊跟外國朋友相處下來，你會覺得他們心理其實有覺得台灣是一個國家嗎?

Miss Wu:他們知道阿! 可是他們不會知道他們會不會覺得台灣是一個國家對我們台灣人來講是很重要的. 我覺得學生反而比較不會覺得台灣是 China 的， 他們覺得台灣就是台灣阿，可能我周遭的昰東歐和非洲的比較多，但我不會去問大陸人

Interviewer:所以你覺得大家有覺得台灣是一個國家?

Miss Wu:對，反而沒有像那些網站要你選 province of China 那麼誇張. 那沒辦法麻，因為每個國家會有他們的政策， 那 UK 可能比較偏中，可是我覺得像其他有些你還是可以選台灣，我覺得這就很重要

Interviewer:那最後向我們剛說你覺得自己變得比較會尊重和 objective 你覺得他是一個態度還是能力還是性格?

Miss Wu:我覺得他是一個性格的轉變. 因為我認識一個很好的大陸同學，他說我認識一個台灣人，可是他就沒有你那麼 aggressive 就沒有你那麼激進，我覺得那是年紀的關係. 因為他認識的那個男生是三十歲，然後我二十六麻. 然後他就說我太激動了, 就是常常把這種事情拿出來講. 因為像蔥油餅，我就說這是台灣的，他就說你為什麼要把台灣跟中國拿出來講? 你就說他是蔥油餅就好啦. 我就說就是台灣的阿，他就說你就不用拿出來特別講，我就說喔，就是我有時候太過於想要把他 distinguish. 對，可是沒有必要. 他就說這就是一個華人煮的東西，就是 Chinese food 你為什麼要把他分成 Taiwanese? 我那一次就被打醒了, 對, 有時候就是我自己拿出來講

Interviewer:所以降子你就會真的自己去反思?

Miss Wu:對, 我會自己去反思

Interviewer:那你真的有改變嗎?

Miss Wu:我就會比較不會拿出來講，我不會主動自己講，我會等別人挑起了這個話題才會講

Interviewer:最後, 對於 Taiwanese identity 或對於這個 interview, 你有沒有什麼想要補充的?

Miss Wu:我覺得很重要的就是不要太激進， 不要太 aggressive 的去證明你自己是怎麼樣怎麼樣，因為外國人不是很 CARE. 可是如果你今天遇到中國人就完蛋了，基本上他們是不尊重你這個想法的， 那你就要有所取捨. 如果你今天真的要跟他們做朋友，你就只好五斗米折腰，你就是只好承認，也不用承認啦，可是你不能把你那種跟台灣人對話的情緒拿出來，你就要稍微收一點，要官腔，就是官腔

Interviewer:所以你也會給之後台灣來留學的學生這些建議?

Miss Wu:對，就是不要把色彩拿出來講. 然後不要太主動去聊這個事情，當然如果被提起可以講, 但是如果你太主動，人家會覺得你太那個，太過於想要去表現你是台灣人這個想法，那基本上你後面的路是不好走的

Interview Transcript III

Interviewer:解釋研究計畫和題目….

Miss Liu: 我覺得這個題目應該要到處都 publish 一下, 因為有人就搞不清楚台灣跟中國的差別. 有人會說是泰國, 超扯的! 我同學去美國念書的也都不知道台灣在哪裡, 很多人會把他跟中國人搞混. 在新加坡的時候, 剛開始不講話得時候, 大家都會以為我是中國人, 然後講話, 你說你是台灣人之後, 態度就差很多

Interviewer:真的嗎? 為什麼?

Miss Liu:我也不知道, 就可能新加坡人比較喜歡台灣人

Interviewer:所以他們對中國人會比較有偏見嗎?

Miss Liu:對壓, 在這裡其實也是阿. 看到你黑頭髮, 可能就覺得你是 Chinese

Interviewer:對壓. 很多日本人韓國人也被誤認. 那我們現在開始, 我們都有相同的護照嘛, 那你覺得這本護照可以代表你的身分嗎?

Miss Liu:某種方面, 程度上

Interviewer:什麼方面來說?

Miss Liu:就是因為我們護照跟別人顏色不一樣, 你拿著就算你要買酒你要去夜店要出示 ID 或護照, 你拿了他就算只看到一個 China, 可是你拿了, 還是代表你阿

Interviewer:所以你覺得別人還是一樣會誤認你為 Chinese 醬子?

Miss Liu:說到這個, 就是之前有一次去, 我忘了是去德國還是阿姆斯特丹. 然後她們就看到我的護照, 就 republic of China, 就很容易跟中國的那個搞混嘛. 然後後來我就說我是從台灣來的, 然後台灣不是去歐洲免簽嗎, 然後她們都還不知道, 然後我就有印那個出來, 然後她們還跟我要了身分證, 然後就在那邊卡好久☺ 然後我就有點那個…

Interviewer:我也是聽到其它的同學有相同的情況, 因為他們一看到我們得護照是 China 就會覺得我們是 Chinese, 就會覺得我們是需要簽證得

Miss Liu:對啊

Interviewer:所以對你來講這個 China 會造成~~

Miss Liu:誤會

Interviewer:誤會. 那所以你覺得台灣對你來說?

Miss Liu:其實我覺得台灣還比較簡潔有力, 每次講 republic of China 很奇怪

Interviewer:那所以你認同 republic of China 嗎? 你知道中華民國是中國嗎?

Miss Liu:不是阿, 中國是中華人民共和國阿, 所以完全不一樣

Interviewer:喔, 因為我有遇過年輕一點得. 很多人不知道說中華民國得簡稱是中國, 中華人民共和國的簡稱也是中國, 所以之前才會有人說有兩個中國. 你有沒有 wonder 過為什麼我們的 translation 裡有 China?

Miss Liu:我以為是中華

Interviewer:喔, 所以你會覺得是因為有中華得關係?

Miss Liu:因為中國應該不是壓! 我一直以為我門得簡稱是台灣, 因為一般在用的時候不是就說台灣嗎?

Interviewer:恩, 那你記得之前國中在台灣學歷史的時候, 那時候學到的是什麼?

Miss Liu:台灣歷史, 中國歷史, 世界歷史

Interviewer:那你有沒有覺得我門為什麼要學中國歷史?

Miss Liu:因為我們是從那裡分出來的

Interviewer:那你記得我門為什麼要從那里分出來嗎?

Miss Liu:我門打仗打敗了

Interviewer:恩恩, 那我很好奇, 新加坡人也是有部分是以前從中國過去的, 那他門會覺得自己是 CHINESE 嗎?

Miss Liu:華人. 她門種族有華人, 印度人, 馬來人

Interviewer:那華人也還是會慶祝 Chinese New Year 那些得?

Miss Liu:會壓, 其實大家都會一起慶祝. 我門一年過三個年☺ 我門的新年二月那時候, 然後馬來她門的新年, 然後印度他們的新年, 每個年都只放三天, 超心酸的! 每次過年想回家都不行

Interviewer:恩, 那他門會覺得自己是華人, 但是他門的 translation 就不會有一個 China?

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:對壓, 這個中華好像沒有一個翻譯, 所以他們覺得自己是華人但是不是中國人

Miss Liu:對

Interviewer:所以你也覺得自己是華人?

Miss Liu:對壓, 中國是代表一個國家, 不會用來在種族

Interviewer:所以你覺得護照上的 Taiwan 對你來說是你的國家是嗎?

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:在這學習的期間, 你通常怎樣用英文介紹自己?

Miss Liu:就說我昰從台灣來的, 就說 I'm from Taiwan

Interviewer:那你在 xxxx 的時候, 因為我知道那有很多中國大陸人, 你也會這樣說嗎?

Miss Liu:照說阿

Interviewer:你說得時候會有一些什麼~~

Miss Liu:不會壓, 就理直氣壯的說我是台灣人阿

Interviewer:因為我有聽過說, 有些大陸人會在後面唏唏書書醬子

Miss Liu:那是他門的教育問題阿, 不干我門的事阿

Interviewer:所以你有碰過類似醬的情況嗎?

Miss Liu:碰過阿! 就照說阿!

Interviewer:那他門會在背後怎麼樣說?

Miss Liu:就會說台灣明明就是中國的阿, 什麼什麼的, 那就看你要跟他吵還是你就不要理它. 但是每個人從小的教育就不一樣

Interviewer:所以你碰過好幾次這種情況嗎?

Miss Liu:對壓. 就我剛來的時候跟一群中國人一起吃飯, 然後他門就會跟我說台灣是中國的, 然後我就開始跟他門吵, 我就說台灣就是一個國家, 然後什麼什麼的

Interviewer:是男生還是女生會直接來降跟你說?

Miss Liu:都有阿

Interviewer:她門會直接就降講, 還是說有談論到什麼話題才正好講到?

Miss Liu:一下也想不起來

Interviewer:那你怎麼回答?

Miss Liu:我說台灣是自己獨立的一個國家, 因為我們有很多習慣阿, 思想阿, 就是跟中國都差很多. 就像馬來西亞不會說新加坡是他門的壓, 就算之前新加坡是從馬來西亞分出來的, 她門也不會降說

Interviewer:沒錯沒錯, 那那些中國同學降講之後, 你門還是維持友誼關係嗎?

Miss Liu:有壓, 就朋友

Interviewer:所以他門沒有逼你一定要變成中國人?

Miss Liu:沒有, 就每個人的思想不一樣. 反正她那樣想, 你就讓它那樣想, 你為什麼一定要讓它想得跟你一樣? 而且她門從小就被降教, 就根深蒂固的概念

Interviewer:所以你還是跟他門做朋友, 但是不會去談及這一塊?

Miss Liu:她門也不會故意這樣說. 我之前在新加坡有一個朋友, 它是青島的就在山東. 她很好笑, 她有一次就語重心長的說, 唉我知道你是台灣人, 我門也都尊重你就是你認為台灣是自己一個國家. 但是因為我門從小就降教, 所以你也不要強迫我門去信你的那個, 就從此就比較那個了

Interviewer:所以你之前是有強迫人家喔? ☺

Miss Liu:我沒有強迫. 只是每次一提的時候, 我就會把這個再講一遍, 她門就會好啦好啦, 不要醬子

Interviewer:所以你覺得她門有把你當台灣人看待, 因為你已經表明了?

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:那像你剛有提到, 你有覺得台灣人跟中國人差很多?

Miss Liu:我覺得差滿多的壓

Interviewer:是怎麼樣子有差?

Miss Liu:就光從講話方式阿, 然後吃飯阿, 穿著阿, 就是各方面, 從頭到尾都有差阿

Interviewer:吃飯有什麼差?

Miss Liu:吃飯, 她門吃重鹹然後又辣又油. 有一些可能是南邊的可能比較沒有那麼明顯, 可是你可以看得出來, 如果你有跟他門相處的話

Interviewer:恩恩, 這裡的中國餐廳都好鹹喔. 那你說在思想上, 我門也是學孔子孟子那種儒家思想, 那在這一塊上面有什麼不同?

Miss Liu:有一個, 就是他門特別討厭日本人, 因為之前那時麼戰爭就殺了很多人. 我覺得那都已經是歷史了, 為什麼還要那個? 我覺得她門就是, 不管我在新加坡遇到的中國人, 還是在這邊遇到的中國人都一樣, 看到日本人就會說什麼日本鬼子阿, 就是對她門的稱呼很不尊重, 然後也會一直提說殺我門很多人什麼的. 就我覺得幹嘛一直提那些過去的事情? 一直記在心上, 而且我覺得每個國家的課本都會把自己稍微美化嘛, 然後他們可能美化得有點過頭了 ☺ 我覺得, 對壓, 因為像台灣就不會那麼討厭日本人阿, 台灣還滿親日的

Interviewer:恩，因為我門之前被日本統治過

Miss Liu:也是一樣被統治過阿

Interviewer:那除了這方面之外，你和其他的中國朋友在思想上有差很多嗎？比方說做人做事阿，或者是我有聽過一些生活習慣很差的

Miss Liu:有，有遇過這種人. 但是我覺得要看，因為我現在的 flatmate 她就很細心很講就那個，就是跟那種吃完飯直接來一根菸的就不一樣，我覺得那是個人，不能代表整個中國

Interviewer:那你覺得有代表性的不同的差異是在?

Miss Liu:恩，講話方式. 然後像我門會用注音他門不會壓，而且他門不能看橫的，她門只能看直的，然後就是他門看不懂繁體字阿. 說話的話，我覺得台灣人就比較熱情吧，然後又比較有禮貌，我門常常都會說謝謝壓. 可是他門就會說你幹嘛跟我這麼客氣阿，還不是都是朋友，可是我門說謝謝也不是，怎麼講

Interviewer:就是基本的禮貌?

Miss Liu:對壓，就是習慣，也不會覺得很客氣時麼的. 可是他門就會覺得說你降是在跟他好像，怎麼講，好像就是沒有這麼好一樣. 然後之前，因為我覺得我就是已經被同化很深☺ 我有他門那時麼人人阿 QQ 阿我都有，然後我每次回去台灣都會被 嗆 (閩南)，她門會說講話那麼中國人

Interviewer:會嗎？可你聽起來還是台灣腔阿

Miss Liu:我現在跟北方人講話就會特別捲舌，有時候就直接改口音☺

Interviewer:喔，所以你會覺得你有一點被影響到醬子?

Miss Liu:對壓，就是那個網路阿. 台灣好像都說 3G，你有沒有在用 3G 醬子，然後我就會說有沒有網

Interviewer:中國人是講網?

Miss Liu:對壓對壓，然後我就回去，就當頭棒喝. 我同學就會說 3G 啦! 什麼網! 你中國人喔?! 對壓

Interviewer:所以你在這邊大部分的同學是中國人嗎?

Miss Liu:沒有，在這裡是香港的朋友比較多. 可是在新加坡就很多是中國人

Interviewer:不是新加坡朋友喔?

Miss Liu:ㄟ 因為我讀國際學校，然後也是有一些其他國籍的人啦，但是我門那個學校是大部分是中國人

Interviewer:那這邊的香港朋友會覺得台灣人跟中國人是不一樣的嗎?

Miss Liu:會，他們自己香港人還覺得自己是一個國家累☺

Interviewer:對對對沒錯，所以他門也覺得台灣人,中國人,香港人是不一樣的?

Miss Liu:對壓，可是有一些會說台灣也是中國的另一個特別行政自治區十麼的，可是行政自治區跟國家還是有差

Interviewer:沒錯沒錯. 這邊的香港朋友，你門是講中文還是英文?

Miss Liu:都會

Interviewer:那他門是在這邊出生的，還是只是來這邊念書?

Miss Liu:在香港，是來這裡念書，這裡香港人好多喔

Interviewer:所以他門也是 international students，那你門會常常談到台灣香港中國的話題嗎?

Miss Liu:不會特別去聊. 可是我在新加坡的時候，那個朋友是北京人，然後她去了紐西蘭讀書，然後她門中國人會講新西蘭，然後就是他也說她也討厭中國人☺

Interviewer:你說她是北京人，她也討厭中國人？

Miss Liu:對壓，就是有時候會有些生活習慣，她看不過去. 像他門吃飯阿，就會一次叫很多菜，可是又吃不完，然後就覺得很浪費

Interviewer:你有聽過 national identity 這個東西嗎？

Miss Liu:沒有. 就說我是哪個國家的人

Interviewer:對，那你覺得 identity 是十麼意思？

Miss Liu:就代表你的身分阿

Interviewer:你覺得一個人 national identity 的包含了什麼？有哪些要素？

Miss Liu:最基本的應該就是你拿十麼護照

Interviewer:我指的要素是比方說一個英國人他為什麼會覺得他是英國人？或是為什麼會覺得是台灣人？

Miss Liu:我覺得一個是護照嘛，一個是看你在哪裡生活. 因為像可能就譬如說，我想一下，像我朋友她就是他爸爸是馬來西亞人，她媽媽是香港人，可是他是在新加坡出生的 她會說他是新加坡人，可是她就是馬來也是華人

Interviewer:所以你也會覺得出生地是很重要的？

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:所以是一種土生土長的概念？就是他是在哪裡出生然後成長？

Miss Liu:恩，對壓

Interviewer:那你覺得大概要成長到多少歲？

Miss Liu:這不是多少歲，而是每個人可能定義不一樣. 因為有的人可能就在美國出生，可是她從來沒有在美國生活過，所以他可能就不會說他是美國人，她也可能說他是美國人. 可是怎麼講，要怎麼說，我想一下，可能她會說自己是台灣人可是她有美國護照，因為他是在美國出生可是在台灣生長，就是看她對哪個地方的感情比較深吧

Interviewer:所以你覺得 NI 不光是只有護照 還有出生地和生活的地方 也就是說看那個人認同哪一個比較強烈醬子？

Miss Liu:恩恩

Interviewer:那像你剛說看對哪個地方的情感比較深，那你覺得這個情感是可能受到了十麼樣子的影響？十麼因素？是文化嗎還是家人？

Miss Liu:家人吧

Interviewer:所以你會認為自己是台灣人是因為？

Miss Liu:就是在台灣出生生活

Interviewer:那之前吵得很兇的那個林書豪，你覺得他是台灣人，美國人還是中國人？

Miss Liu:我覺得他是美國人，因為他根本就不認識台灣阿！就算他父母是台灣人，也沒有那個

Interviewer:因為他出生成長都在美國？

Miss Liu:對壓. 除非可能他放假會回台灣玩一下，那可能還會有好感，那如果說中國喔 我覺得玩全扯不上邊

Interviewer:☺ 真的也是. 那你覺得做為一個台灣人對你來說有什麼意義？

Miss Liu:其實我還滿覺得,就是覺得很驕傲. 因為台灣政府不像新加坡政府,就是怎麼講,雖然說他門都說新加坡是民主的,但是實際上是新加坡政府都歸劃好了. 可是台灣的政府人民就是放牛吃草的那種感覺,我覺得台灣人就是很有韌性壓

Interviewer:很有韌性? 所以你的意思是有點像那種就是打不死的蟑螂的那種精神?

Miss Liu:對壓對壓! 我覺得我很佩服. 就像那個十麼,不是之前有一個那個男生他好像不 知道在英國還是美國, 就是我記得他的求學過程還滿坎坷的,可是他最後還是熬出頭了, 然後就覺得可能如果換成其他國家的人的話可能就沒辦法

Interviewer:可是新加坡人不是做事也很認真之類的嗎?

Miss Liu:我覺得新加坡人跟台灣人不一樣. 台灣人就是像大家說的就是很熱情, 新加坡人比較, 他門有一個形容詞就是, 怕輸(閩南). 就是十麼都要跟你比,就覺得跟他門相處很累

Interviewer:真的阿? 我一直以為新加坡是很善良的民族, 就他門就比較不會騙人,像李敖說的新加坡人比較笨, 就是很聽話

Miss Liu:他門是滿聽話的. 可是怎麼講,我還是比較台灣多一點, 就覺得新加坡就有一點死死的,怎麼說, 就像他門政府會有重點栽培那種,可是台灣人就是完全就是要靠自己

Interviewer:所以你就是覺得台灣政府都沒有在做事? ☺

Miss Liu:我覺得對壓☺ 就陳水扁不是貪污嗎?! 然後馬英九跟王金平不知道在搞十麼

Interviewer:所以就是台灣人要靠自己?

Miss Liu:對壓. 而且其實馬英九就是親中. 親中我是不反對拉, 可是我覺得他的那些政策好像讓現在台灣人的生活好像更困難. 我覺得你做為一個政府,沒辦法幫到自己人民的話還不如就☺ 幹嘛要當總統?! 像李光耀他門就, 雖然新加坡人常常抱怨,可是新加坡的生活就是真的有起來阿! 他門現在才立國五十年,可是經濟各方就很強勢,可是台灣就不知道在哪裡☺ 對壓

Interviewer:所以你覺得做為一個台灣人很驕傲,那你對台灣的情感是十麼?

Miss Liu:我覺得愛台灣這種東西很攏統,可是我就是回到台灣就會有回到家的感覺. 因為就是這裡其實跟台灣的生活方式就差很多阿, 然後就是我會,怎麼講,我最喜歡吃的水果是芭樂,可是這邊完全沒有, 就算是新加坡的也都沒有好吃的. 就是每次想到芭樂就會想到台灣

Interviewer:所以你會覺得那個很愛就是那個生活習慣,那塊土地,當然還有土地上的家人啦

Miss Liu:恩恩

Interviewer:還有熟悉的街道壓? 還有食物阿

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:就是整個像你講的,就是回到家的感覺

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:作為一個台灣人(在本土上)有著什麼樣最重要的責任和行為? 有些人說最基本的就是不要害人,或是要守法,或是有些人說應該要對台灣社會有所貢獻,你怎麼看?

Miss Liu:我覺得台灣人,身為台灣人的意識要強一點. 因為在台灣你可能就知道你是台灣人降,可是出了國之後你就會知道有多少人不知道台灣, 然後有多少人覺得台灣是中國的. 然後就是你要想辦法讓他門區別說台灣跟中國是不一樣的,可能我門還要很努力很努力得讓他門知道

Interviewer:沒錯, 那你會覺得作為一個台灣人走出了台灣, 像在英國這樣的國際的環境下有著什麼樣最重要的責任和行為? 比方說有人會說台灣人要做好自己,因為人家可能已經知道你是台灣人了,那你還做壞事或者是亂丟垃圾,讓別人有壞印象,所以你個人會覺得怎麼樣?

Miss Liu:對壓, 就是做好自己阿,就不要讓別人一想到台灣人就是會亂丟垃圾阿什麼的, 對壓

Interviewer:那除了這個之外還有時麼媽? 像有些人會在 xx 上 PO 一些台灣的國旗或食物之類的阿, 你會媽?

Miss Liu:我有時候會 PO, 我昨天還做蛋餅給我外國朋友吃

Interviewer:哇, 這麼厲害?

Miss Liu:蛋餅很簡單壓

Interviewer:蛋餅很簡單嗎? 蛋餅皮怎麼做?

Miss Liu:沒有壓, 我沒有做蛋餅皮. 我是用替代的, 因為買不到阿, 然後就用替代的, 就做了, 然後他門就說很好吃

Interviewer:所以你有時候會做一些台灣的食物請人吃就是了?

Miss Liu:恩, 之前還煮過茶葉蛋, 還有試過發糕, 可是失敗了☺

Interviewer:☺發糕很難. OK,那大部分的人都覺得出國留學後對自己的 national identity 有增強(對自己國家的認同有增強的一個變化). 你同意還是不同意?

Miss Liu:不一定, 可能要看人吧, 應該大部分都會吧! 可是我覺得台灣出來還是會有就是被欺負的感覺. 就像我們 xxx TW student society 好像就不是正式的在學校裡面, 就是 HK 有他們自己的 society Chinese 有 Chinese 嘛, 可是就是看不到 Taiwanese

Interviewer:喔, 真的媽? 你是說學校的哪裡?

Miss Liu:就像我昨天去學校的一個 affair 就沒有看到台灣的在那麼擺攤, 然後那是我後來自己在臉書上面找才找到的, 不然其實我應該也不會認識她們

Interviewer:喔, 真的喔? 你所謂沒有被 register 是指學校沒有認識到還是說台灣的學生沒有去那邊擺攤?

Miss Liu:我不知道有沒有被 register, 然後是他們也沒有去擺攤位, 然後好像 xxx 台灣的學生也不多, 就是台灣人有是有, 可是就是不知道散在哪裡

Interviewer:喔, 對對對. 這個現在我之前也有聽過學生在講, 就是有些受訪的人說台灣人比較散, 因為他們可能覺得說出來了應該要交其他的朋友, 那台灣人出來就是很想要學英文, 所以他們就不想要跟台灣人混在一起. 所以降可能會讓人覺得台灣人很散. 那接下來, 你覺得誰可以被定義為台灣人? 像一些嫁過來台灣人 的外籍配偶, 像是中國馬來西亞或其他國家嫁過來的外配, 你會覺得他們是台灣人?

Miss Liu:如果她們剛嫁過來, 我應該覺得不會

Interviewer:那如果她們已經在台灣很久了呢?

Miss Liu:可以算是台灣的一部分

Interviewer:所以你就會覺得她們是台灣人?

Miss Liu:恩

Interviewer:所以你的定義~~

Miss Liu:很廣☺

Interviewer:☺不會很嚴格, 那就算沒有護照也沒有關係?

Miss Liu:恩

Interviewer:就是只要住在台灣很久然後她們以認同台灣醬子?

Miss Liu:恩, 台灣護照很難拿耶, 如果是外國人的話

Interviewer:對沒錯沒錯, 所以你覺得有護照這件事重要媽?

Miss Liu:應該沒有到百分之百那麼重要

Interviewer:所以你還是覺得生活在那個地方是最重要的?

Miss Liu:恩

Interviewer:但你生活在這邊, 你也不會覺得自己會變成英國人阿, 對不對?

Miss Liu:恩, 對

Interviewer:恩, 那在你看來有沒有時麼很重要的 FEATURE 可以去描述台灣人? 就說你覺得我們台灣人有時麼特色? 尤其是在國際上, 你覺得我們台灣人有時麼特色? 一些 NI 的學者認為一個國家一定要 create 他們的特色, 像提到英國就想到可能他們的皇室 英國足球或飲酒文化, 如果一個國家沒有特色, 會比較讓人去 recognize, 所以你覺得台灣的特色是什麼?

Miss Liu:有阿, 夜市

Interviewer:新加坡沒有夜市喔?

Miss Liu:有阿, 可是還是不足以成為她們的特色. 她們是有幾到特別有名的小吃, 可是講到新加坡不會想到夜市. 可是你講到台灣, 人家就會想到夜市, 士林夜市. 對壓, 然後台灣還有時麼, 大部分就是問夜市, 就是吃的

Interviewer:所以你覺得夜市和食物醬子?

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:那像 3C 產品呢? 你會覺得那是我們的特色媽?

Miss Liu:恩, 可能比較沒那麼強吧! 因為 HTC 現在也沒有做得特別好, 就像你講三星可能會想到韓國, 可是你講 HTC 可能就, 雖然會想到台灣, 可是就是說不會

Interviewer:那你覺得台北一零一呢?

Miss Liu:台北一零一可以算一個代表, 可是我覺得夜市比較強, 因為夜市是到處都有

Interviewer:那我們接下來繼續來談剛才的議題, 像我們剛說你為什麼會覺得自己是台灣人, 你覺得是為什麼? 你剛說像大陸人覺得台灣是她們的是因為教育的關係, 那你會覺得自己是因為教育的關係嗎? 像你以前在台灣唸書的時候, 是因為學校有教媽?

Miss Liu:沒有

Interviewer:那你記得以前學校教歷史, 地理, 公民是怎麼樣教的?

Miss Liu:好像沒有講到

Interviewer:應該憲法或三民主義有講到我們是中華民國人吧?!

Miss Liu:不記得了☺ 好丟臉喔

Interviewer:所以你會覺得台灣的教育是死背書, 被完就還給她了醬子媽?

Miss Liu:這很嚴重. 而且因為降, 怎麼講, 我覺得台灣有創意的人都很厲害, 而且是很少數的. 可是新加坡人我覺得他們也滿神奇的, 因為她們中學的制度跟台灣是很像的, 可是是英文, 怎麼講

Interviewer:新加坡也是要死背喔?

Miss Liu:恩, 怎麼講, 可能是寬一點. 可是我覺得也是很接近, 反而是到了國際學校以後, 就是真的差很多, 跟英國比較像

Interviewer:所以基本上, 在台灣的教育是你在國中的時候, 背完書考完試就忘了?

Miss Liu:就忘了

Interviewer:所以你覺得學校並沒有成為影響你覺得自己是台灣人的因素?

Miss Liu:沒有

Interviewer:那你會覺得是家庭教育嗎?

Miss Liu:我媽也不會特別強調

Interviewer:所以你爸媽也不會特別強調我們是中國人還是台灣人這一點?

Miss Liu:沒有

Interviewer:那妳們家事說中文閩南還是?

Miss Liu:我媽是客家, 我爸是閩南

Interviewer:那你爸會跟你講閩南話嗎?

Miss Liu:不會, 所以我覺得很可惜☺

Interviewer:那你爸會跟你媽講閩南話嗎?

Miss Liu:會壓

Interviewer:那你爸會說, 阮台灣人安ㄋ安ㄋ嗎?

Miss Liu:不會, 我們家很少談論到 identity 這個部分. 然後我們跟中國人不同的地方是,她們一生下來父母是和她們講方言, 然後她們的普通話就是我們講的國語, 是她們去學校的時候才學的, 所以她們到現在每個省都有保留自己的方言. 雖然說有一些少數民族可能快要消失了, 但是大部分的人都會講自己的方言. 然後台灣的話就是, 真的年輕一輩的都不太會講, 會講的都覺得是稀有動物

Interviewer:☺ 所以到底是什麼原因讓你覺得自己是台灣人? 是媒體嗎? 看電視?

Miss Liu:可能有一點吧

Interviewer:所以你會不會很好奇, 你到底為什麼會覺得自己是台灣人?

Miss Liu:對壓, 從來沒想過這個問題

Interviewer:對壓, 像你就很清楚的覺得大陸她們是因為教育的關係, 那我門台灣人呢? 那就你來說會不會是因為你那個時期去了新加坡?

Miss Liu:可能是因為那樣子

Interviewer:你在新加坡的時候有常常需要表明說你是台灣人降嗎?

Miss Liu:恩, 算是, 也不是說常常, 就是意識到我們跟她們是不一樣的

Interviewer:所以你會覺得你的台灣意識是在那個時候發展的嗎?

Miss Liu:應該是吧, 對壓, 應該是拉. 因為那時候就很強烈覺得自己是台灣人☺ 之前就只是, 喔, 我是台灣人

Interviewer:恩, 因為之前在台灣就大家都是台灣人嘛, 沒十麼

Miss Liu:沒十麼特別

Interviewer:恩, 就是出去了之後才發現自己和大家的不同醬子. 恩, 那你覺得說你在這邊有沒有需要填寫資料時, 就要選你是 province of China 這類經驗嗎?

Miss Liu:有壓

Interviewer:是十麼時候?

Miss Liu:在 register 的時候就是這樣阿, 我有照片

Interviewer:真的嗎?

Miss Liu:我找一下

Interviewer:你有放在你的 xx 上嗎?

Miss Liu:沒有, 這就很平常阿, 在新加坡也是那樣

Interviewer:喔, 是喔, 在新加坡也是?

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:所以這是在 xxx university register 的時候喔?

Miss Liu:對壓, 這是我印象最深的一次

Interviewer: Ok, wow, 那在新加坡和這邊都是醬子, 那你在新加坡的時候和你新加坡的朋友相處的時候, 你有覺得他門有覺得台灣是一個國家嗎?

Miss Liu:沒有跟他門討論過這個問題, 因為一說台灣, 他門就說台灣有好多好吃的喔☺ 然後就開始講, 可是他門知道台灣跟中國是不一樣的

Interviewer:那你在這邊的有其他的外國朋友嗎? 除了中國人和香港人之外?

Miss Liu:因為之前都在 xxxx 的關係, 之前有新加坡的朋友, 但是後來他門跟香港的朋友吵架 ☺然後我跟香港的比較好☺ 然後就分道揚鑣

Interviewer:阿？你沒有跟新加坡人比較好喔?

Miss Liu:因為新加坡人, 怎麼講, 打不太進他門的圈子. 因為對她門來講我也是一個外國人, 就像我在新加坡的時候一樣

Interviewer:喔, 真的喔? 所以他門的圈子是很難 integrate 進去醬子?

Miss Liu:恩

Interviewer:那醬也代表他門自己對新加坡人的意識非常的強烈, 對不對?

Miss Liu:非常強烈

Interviewer:恩, 好. 那你剛說妳們可能不太會談論到這種話題. 就是會去避免衝突. 那你個人想要避免衝突的原因是?

Miss Liu:為什麼要為了這種事情吵架?

Interviewer:所以你不會覺得這種事情很重要醬子?

Miss Liu:很重要壓, 可是如果他硬不聽, 那你要怎麼辦

Interviewer:所以就是像你剛講的, 那是他的教育方式降子?

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:大部分的人都覺得出國留學後對自己的 national identity 有增強 (對自己國家的認同有增強的一個變化). 對你而言是在去新加坡留學的時候嘛?

Miss Liu:恩, 我覺得有些從台灣直接過來英國的好像會很排斥中國人, 好像有這個現象

Interviewer:我也有聽過類似的現象

Miss Liu:我覺得沒有必要拉, 就等於像他門討厭日本人這樣

Interviewer:我懂你的意思, 可能有些人有碰過一些事,情 所以他門有不喜歡和大陸人相處, 那有些人可能有一些偏見

Miss Liu:可是不能以一概全

Interviewer:所以你可能是比較 open-minded, 所以你會先去相處之後, 然後了解這個人適不適合和你交朋友, 而不是因為國籍

Miss Liu:國籍, 那很那個耶! 就好像因為你是信基督, 所以我不想跟你交往這樣, 對壓 很奇怪的理由

Interviewer:那當你遇到像這樣的台灣人, 你的反應是什麼?

Miss Liu:我跟他門不熟耶

Interviewer:那你有認識一些大陸人也會有醬子的情形嗎?就是討厭台灣人?

Miss Liu:我還沒有遇過, 但是我在新加坡的學弟的女朋友是台灣人, 她就很討厭中國人, 就是連話都不想跟他門講

Interviewer:那他為什麼討厭中國人?

Miss Liu:我也不知道, 我沒有見過她

Interviewer:那你怎麼知道?

Miss Liu:因為我那個朋友跟她是同一屆的, 然後她就跟我講

Interviewer:所以你門的 international school 也有著非常複雜的關係就對了? ☺

Miss Liu:喔, 滿複雜的, 對壓

Interviewer:所以在 international school 會因為有些人她門來自不同的地方, 然後對其他人有些想法或偏見

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:然後也像你剛講的, 當他門發現你是台灣人不是大陸人, 也會對你的態度好一點醬子?

Miss Liu:對

Interviewer:所以在他門的眼裡, 是有一種那種階級嗎? 還是劃分不同的區域不同的人降子?

Miss Liu:有一點, 比較明顯的是白人不喜歡跟亞洲人在一起, 我有一個同學就醬子阿, 就話都不想跟我講

Interviewer:我在這也有遇到相同的情形. 那像去年奧運的事件你有在這邊嗎?

Miss Liu:國旗. 我妹妹在, 她來留學, 她還照像☺

Interviewer:那你呢?

Miss Liu:我那時候在新加坡, 我九月才過來的

Interviewer:那你那時候怎麼知道的?

Miss Liu:就我妹她用微信發在朋友圈說, 因為之前把國旗拆掉, 然後後來不是又裝回去嗎?!

Interviewer:沒有裝回去, 是本來有在上面, 然後後來被拿掉. 那你那時候聽到這件事, 你的感覺事實麼?

Miss Liu:就覺得台灣很可憐, 可是沒辦法阿, 這種事, 你跟他講也沒有用阿

Interviewer:那你會覺得我門可以做實麼來改變? 還是你覺得這是沒有辦法改變的?

Miss Liu:我覺得很難, 這要靠政府, 因為這是國際的事情

Interviewer:你會覺得說我門可能需要國際的力量來幫助我門嗎?

Miss Liu:可是其實只要有中國在, 國際的力量很難

Interviewer:所以你覺得像我門這種弱小國家要怎麼辦? 要自身自滅嗎? ☺

Miss Liu:我也不知道, 換個政府吧 ☺ 因為新加坡之前也是被打壓, 也是換過政府

Interviewer:新加坡之前為什麼被打壓?

Miss Liu:他門是歸屬馬來西亞，後來分出來，剛開始的時候新加坡好像還是依賴著馬來西亞嘛，後來自己才創建起來. 現在變成是馬來西亞想要巴著新加坡

Interviewer:但是至少他門在分出來的時候沒有問題嘛，馬來西亞沒有一直說新加坡還是我門的醬子?

Miss Liu:對，可能就是文化差異吧. 就是馬來西亞跟， 中國跟我們雖然比較接近，但是 怎麼講，雖然可能都是華人，但是那個思想是不一樣的

Interviewer:那像你在這邊認識的大陸同學，我不是說那種以前有念過 international school 的，而是就剛從大陸出來留學的，你會覺得他門跟你的思想差很多嗎?

Miss Liu:我也不知道要怎麼講，我覺得看人吧! 你沒聽過有一句話說，家裡管得越嚴，小孩越皮，所以中國人他門有些都會翻牆壓什麼的 (網路)

Interviewer:喔，所以你覺得他門還是可以收到一些外國的資訊?

Miss Liu:對，如果他門真的想要知道的話

Interviewer:恩, 最後,你覺得自己在國外這麼多年有發展出什麼其他的 IDENTITY 嗎?

Miss Liu:我覺得我跟沒有出國過的台灣人來講好像我的那個思想比較開放，有一點吧! 因為以前會覺得穿短褲，怎麼講，很不保守，然後就覺得至少要穿長褲或者是到膝蓋十麼之類的. 然後現在就覺得其實也沒十麼，阿可是我同學就說，阿你怎麼越穿越短☺ 可是就覺得台灣真的好熱喔，就是真的能不穿衣服出門的話，我就真的不穿衣服出門☺ 對壓

Interviewer:之前就是一個地球村的概念 就是這整個地球是一個村落，然後每個人都是村民醬子，你會有醬子的感覺嗎?

Miss Liu:恩，還好. 就是還沒有到那種地步, 就是你說是國際村的話感覺就是個各國家之間都是很友善，可能偶爾會有點小爭執時麼的，可是感覺也不是每個國家跟每個國家都有在交流降

Interviewer:喔，所以你覺得我門還沒有走到那個境界?

Miss Liu:對壓

Interviewer:所以包括你在新加坡和這裡的經驗是讓你覺得還是有分?

Miss Liu:其實會分國家

Interviewer:整體來說，經歷過英國留學的經驗還有你與我分享的那些事件的經驗對你的 national identity 有什麼程度上的影響?

Miss Liu:應該只是比較強烈

Interviewer:最後一個問題，你覺得除了專業科目之外，你覺得留學新 加坡或英國最大的收獲是?

Miss Liu:就是可以知道別的國家的文化跟我門的文化的差別， 然後我覺得在英國有一個好處是你可以到處玩，然後新加坡就比較沒有，新加坡就跟台北很像，只是新加坡比較小

Interviewer:那你覺得認識其他國家的人和了解他門的文化，這對你來說有什麼樣的幫助?

Miss Liu:因為這樣的關係，我想如果以後有可能的話，我想要去讀一個 Master. 然後就讀說不同文化的人對同一件事情為什麼會做出不同的選擇，想去學，就是想知道為什麼
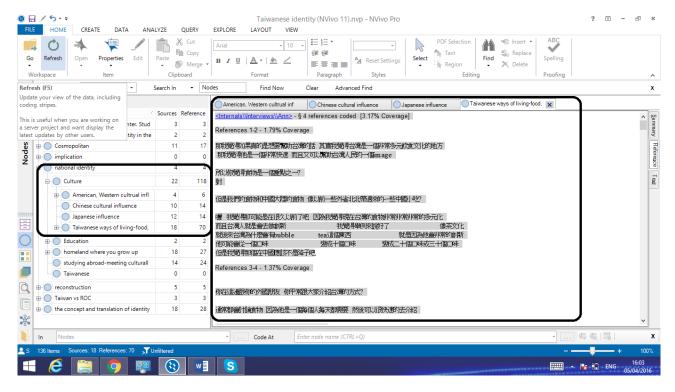
Interviewer:所以因為你有實際跟不同文化的人相處的經驗，所以這可以讓你更了解這方面的差異醬子

Miss Liu:恩☺

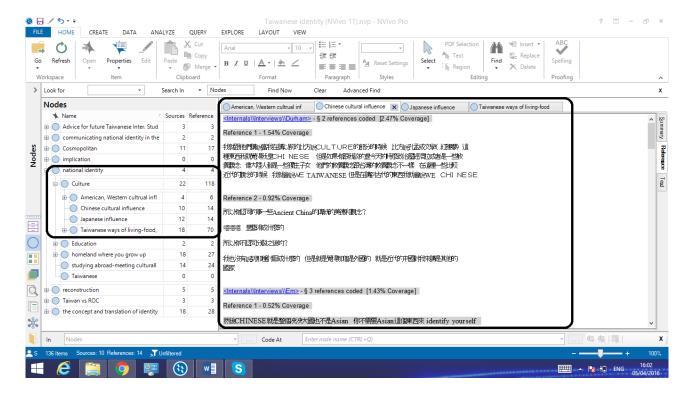Interviewer:可是醬子會不會讓你有一些刻板印象，就是可能會覺得，阿新加坡的人可能就是那樣子，然後台灣人就是那樣子…

Miss Liu:我覺得應該不會啦! 因為如果你遇到很多人來自同一個國家的話, 就不會有刻板印象, 因為每個人就是不一樣. 就像我有遇到生活習慣真的很糟糕的中國人，但是我也有遇到玩全不一樣的，就連香港人也是很多種

Appendix J

Examples of NVivo Coding illustration

On the left side of the screenshot, it shows the four different aspects of the cultural influence that I categorised according to the patterns of the data. The right side of the screenshot, I unfold the data coded under each pattern, using 'Taiwanese ways of living and food' (see above) and 'Chinese cultural influence' (see below) as examples.

References

Altheide, D. L., & Johnson, J. M. (2011). Reflections on interpretive adequacy in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed.) (pp. 581-594). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities*. London; NY: Verso.

Anderson, L. (2008). Reflexivity. In R. Thorpe & R. Holt (Eds.), *The Sage Dictionary of Qualitative Management Research* (pp. 183-185). London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Appiah, K. (2005). *The Ethics of Identity*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Arrow, H., & N. Sundberg (2004). International identity: Definitions, development, and some implications for global conflict and peace. In B. N. Setiadi, A. Supratiknya, W. J. Lonner & Y. H. Poortinga (Eds.), *Ongoing themes in psychology and culture* (Online ed.). Melbourne, FL, International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology. Retrieved from http://www.iaccp.org

Barrett, M. (2005a). Children's understanding of, and feelings about, countries and national groups. In M. Barrett & E. Buchanan- Barrow (Eds.), *Children's Understanding of Society* (pp. 251-285). Hove, UK: Psychology Press.

Barrett, M. (2005b). National identities in children and young people. In S. Ding & K. Littleton (Eds.), *Children's Personal and Social Development* (pp. 181-220). Milton Keynes, UK: The Open University/Blackwell Publishing.

Barrett, M., Lyons, E., & del Valle, A. (2004). The development of national identity and social identity processes: Do social identity theory and self-categorization theory provide useful heuristic frameworks for developmental research? In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.), *The Development of the Social Self* (pp. 159-188). Hove, East Sussex: Psychology Press.

Barrett, M., & Oppenheimer, L. (2011). Findings, theories and methods in the study of children's national identifications and national attitudes. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *8*(1), 5-245. doi: 10.1080/17405629.2010.533955

Barrett, M., & Short, J. (1992). Images of European people in a group of 5-10 year old English school children. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *10*, 339-363. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-835X.1992.tb00582.x

Bechhofer, F., & McCrone, D. (2009). National identity, nationalism and constitutional change. In F. Bechhofer & D. McCrone (Eds.), *National Identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change* (pp. 1-16). Hampshire; NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Beck, U. (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *19*(1-2), 17-44. doi: 10.1177/026327640201900101

Beck, U., & Sznaider, N. (2010). New cosmopolitan in the social sciences. In B. S. Turner (Ed.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Globalization Studies* (pp. 635-652). NY: Routledge.

Berger, R. (2013). Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research, *Qualitative Research*, *0*(0), 1-16. doi: 10.1177/1468794112468475

Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. NY: Doubleday.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE.

Birbili, M. (2000). Translating from one Language to another. *Social Research Update*, *31*. Retrieved from http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU31.html

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C., & Tight, M. (1996). *How to Research*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Block, D. (2002). Destabilized identities and cosmopolitanism across language and cultural borders: two case studies. *Hong Kong Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *7*(2), 1-19. Retrieved from http://www2.caes.hku.hk/hkjal/issue/back-issues/hkjal-vol-72/block_ab/

Block, D. (2007). *Second Language Identities*. London; NY: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Block, D. (2011). Citizenship, education and global spaces. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *11*(2), 161-169. doi: 10.1080/14708477.2011.556743

Bloom, W. (1990). *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf & K. J. Sher (Eds.), *APA Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology, Vol. 2. Research designs* (pp. 57–71). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Britain, D. (2013). Space, diffusion and mobility. In J. K. Chambers & N. Schilling (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (2nd ed.) (pp. 471-500). West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Brown, M. J. (2004). *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities.* Berkeley; LA; London: University of California Press.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods* (3rd ed.). Oxford; NY: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford; NY: Oxford University Press.

Buchanan, R., & Pahuja, S. (2004). Law, nation and (imagined) international communities, *Law Text Culture*, *8*, 137-166. Retrieved from http://ro.uow.edu.au/ltc/vol8/iss1/8

Burgess, R. (1984). *In the Field: An introduction to field research.* London: Allen and Unwin.

Butterfield, L. D., Borgen, W. A., Amundson, N. E., & Maglio, A. T. (2005). Fifty years of the critical incident technique: 1954–2004 and beyond. *Qualitative Research*, *5*, 475-497. doi: 10.1177/1468794105056924

Byram, M. (1992). Foreign language learning for European citizenship. *The Language Learning Journal*, *6*(1), 10-12. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09571739285200341

Byram, M. (1997). *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, M. (2008). *From Foreign Language Education to Education for Intercultural citizenship: Essays and reflections.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, M. (2009). Intercultural competence in foreign languages: The intercultural speaker and the pedagogy of foreign language education. In D. K. Deardorff (Ed.), *The SAGE Handbook of Intercultural Competence* (pp. 321-332). London; California; Singapore: SAGE.

Byrd Clark, J. S., & Dervin, F. (2014). Introduction. In J. S. Byrd Clark & F. Dervin (Eds.), *Reflexivity in Language and Intercultural Education: Rethinking multilingualism and interculturality* (pp. 1-42). NY; Oxon: Routledge.

Carling, J. (2012, October 5). Using interview quotes (Part I). Retrieved from https://jorgencarling.wordpress.com/2012/10/05/using-interview-quotes/

Chell, E. (1998). Critical incident technique. In G. Symon & C. Cassell (Eds.), *Qualitative Methods and Analysis in Organizational Research* (pp. 51-72). London: Sage.

Chen, C. (2010). *Museums and Cultural Identities: Learning and recollection in local museums in Taiwan*. Saarbrcken, Germany: VDM.

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist*, *26* (2), 120-123. Retrieved from http://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/volume-26/edition-2/methods-teaching-thematic-analysis

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2014). Thematic analysis. In A. C. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Quality of Life and Well-being Research* (pp. 6626–6628). Dordrecht: Springer.

Clay, D., & Barrett, M. (2011). National identifications and attitudes towards a "traditional enemy" nation among English children. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *8*(1), 25-42. doi: 10.1080/17405629.2010.533964

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research Method in Education* (6th ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Collier, M.J. (2005). Theorizing cultural identifications: Critical updates and continuing evolution. In W.B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about Intercultural Communication* (pp. 235-256). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Collier, M. J. (2009). Negotiating intercommunity and community group identity positions: summary discourses from two Northern Ireland intercommunity groups. *Negotiation and Conflict Management Research*, *2*(3), 285-306. doi: 10.1111/j.1750-4716.2009.00041.x

Collier, M. J., & Thomas, M. (1988). Cultural Identity: An interpretive perspective. In Y. Y. Kim & W. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Theories in Intercultural Communication* (pp. 99-120). International and Intercultural Communication Annual, volume XII. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Connor, W. (1978). A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a…. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *1*(4), 379-388. doi: 10.1080/01419870.1978.9993240

Corcuff, S. (2005). History textbooks, identity Politics, and ethnic introspection in Taiwan: The June 1997 *Knowing Taiwan* textbooks controversy and the questions it raised on the various approaches to "Han" identity. In E. Vickers & A. Jones (Eds.), *History Education and National Identity in East Asia* (pp. 133-170). NY: Taylor & Francis Group, LLC.

Croucher, S. L. (2004). *Globalization and Belonging: The politics of identity in a changing world*. NY; Oxford; Toronto: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Cui, J. (2012). Untranslatability and the method of compensation. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, *2*(4), 826-830. doi:10.4304/tpls.2.4.826-830

Dao, T. K., Lee, D., & Chang, H. L. (2007). Acculturation level, perceived English fluency, perceived social support level, and depression among Taiwanese international students. *College Student Journal*, *41*(2), 287-295.

Dawley, E. N. (2009). The question of identity in recent scholarship on the history of Taiwan. *The China Quarterly*, *198*, 442-452. doi: 10.1017/S030574100900040X

Denzin, N. K. (2011). The politics of evidence. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed.) (pp. 645-658). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed.) (pp. 1-20). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Dolby, N. (2004). Encountering an American self: Study abroad and national identity. *Comparative Education Review*, *48*(2), 150-173. doi: 128.240.233.146

Dolby, N. (2007). Reflections on nation: American undergraduates and education abroad. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *11*(2), 141-156. doi: 10.1177/1028315306291944

Dong, H. (2014). *A qualitative exploration of how host Chinese staff make sense of their intercultural experiences in a Sino-foreign cooperative university* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10688/

Dray, K. S. (2005). *Being intercultural: Young people, experiencing change and developing competence in an international school* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3013/

Durdin, T. (1947, March 29). Formosa killing are put at 10,000. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.taiwandc.org/hst-1947.htm

Eberle, T. S. (2014). Phenomenology as a research method. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (pp. 184-202). London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Ereaut, G. (2002). *Analysis and Interpretation in Qualitative Market Research*. London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Fielding, N., & Fielding, J. (1986). *Linking Data: the articulation of qualitative and quantitative methods in social research*. Beverly Hills; London: Sage.

Flanagan, J. C. (1954). The critical incident technique. *The Psychological Bulletin*, *51*(4), 327-358. doi: 10.1037/h0061470

Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Gergen, K. (2009). *An Invitation to Social Construction*. LA; London; New Delhi: Sage.

Gibbs, G. R. (2014). Using software in qualitative studies. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (pp. 277-294). London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Gillan, A. (2014, May 17). Taiwan, home to the best street food markets in the world. *The guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2014/may/17/taiwan-taipei-street-food-markets

Gilmartin, M. (2009). Nation-state. In C. Gallaher, C. Dahlman, M. Gilmartin, A. Mountz & P. Shirlow (Eds.), *Key Concepts in Political Geography* (pp. 19-27). London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Greenfeld, L., & Eastwood, J. (2007). National identity. In C. Boix & S. C. Stokes (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (pp. 256-273). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Guibernau, M. (2004). Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity: a critical assessment. *Nations and Nationalism*, *10*(1/2), 125-141. doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00159.x

Guilherme, M (2007). English as a global language and education for cosmopolitan citizenship. Language and Intercultural Communication, 7(1), 72-90. doi:10.2167/laic184.0

Guo, Z. (2014). *Young Children as Intercultural Mediators: Mandarin-speaking Chinese families in Britain.* Bristol; Buffalo; Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Hall, S. (1996a). The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held, D. Hubert & K. Thompson (Eds.), *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies* (pp. 596-634). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Hall, S. (1996b). Introduction: Who needs 'identity'? In S. Hall & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 1-17). London; New Delhi; California: Sage.

Hall, S. (1997). The local and the global: Globalization and ethnicity. In A. D. King (Ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary conditions for the representation of identity* (pp. 19-40). Minneapolis, US: University of Minnesota Press.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.

Haralambos, M., Holborn, M., & Heald, R. (2000). *Sociology: Themes and perspectives* (5th ed.). London: Collins Educational.

Harrison, M. (2009). Writing Taiwan's nationhood: Language, politics, history. In F. Shih, S. Thompson & P. Tremlett (Eds.), *Re-Writing Culture in Taiwan* (pp. 123-139). London; NY: Routledge.

Hecht, M., Warren, J. R., Jung, E., & Krieger, J. L. (2005). The communication theory of identity: Development, theoretical perspective and future directions. In W. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about Intercultural Communication* (pp. 257-278). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Hill, C., Soares, P., Mormina, M., Macaulay, V., Clarke, D., Blumbach, P.B., Vizuete-Forster, M., Forster, P., Bulbeck, D., Oppenheimer, S., & Richards, M.B. (2007). A mitochondrial stratigraphy for Island Southeast Asia. *American Journal of Human Genetics.* 80, 29-43. doi: 10.1086/510412

Hobsbawm, E. (1983a). Introduction: Inventing traditions. In E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (pp. 1-14). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983b). Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. In E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (pp. 263-307). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage

Holliday, A. (1999). Small cultures. *Applied Linguistics*, *20*(2), 237-264. doi: 10.1093/applin/20.2.237

Holliday, A. (2010). Cultural descriptions as political cultural acts: An exploration. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *10*(3), 259-272. doi: 10.1080/14708470903348572

Holliday, A. (2011). *Intercultural Communication and Ideology*. London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Holliday, A., Hyde, M., & Kullman, J. (2004). *Intercultural Communication: An advanced resource book*. London; NY: Routledge.

Holmes, P., Fay, R., Andrews, J., & Attia, M. (2013). Researching multilingually: New theoretical and methodological directions. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *23*(3), 285-299. doi: 10.1111/ijal.12038

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (1995). *The Active Interview*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2003). Active interviewing. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Postmodern Interviewing* (pp. 67-80). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2011). Animating interview narratives. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research* (pp. 149-167). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Hong, R. M., & Hee, L. (2015). Experiences of study exchange program in Australia from Asian nursing students' perspectives. *Journal of Nursing and Care*, *4*(5). doi: 10.4172/2167-1168.1000286. Retrieved from http://www.omicsgroup.org/journals/experiences-of-study-exchange-program-in-australia-from-asian-nursing-students-perspectives-2167-1168-1000286.pdf

Hroch, M. (1985). *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations* (B. Fowkes, Trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hroch, M. (1998). Real and constructed: the nature of the nation. In J. A. Hall (Ed.), *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the theory of nationalism* (pp. 91-106). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hsiau, A.C. (1997). Language ideology in Taiwan: The KMT's language policy, the Tai-yu language movement, and ethnic politics. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *18*(4), 302-315. doi: 10.1080/01434639708666322

Hsu, C. 許極燉. (1996). *Taiwan jin dai fa zhan shi* 台灣近代發展史 [Modern History of Taiwan]. Taipei: Jian wei chu ban she 前衛出版社.

Hsueh, H., Tai, P., & Chow, M. (2005). *Is Taiwan Chinese? A History of Taiwanese Nationality*. Taipei, Taiwan: Taiwan Advocates.

Huang, M. L. (2008). *Nationalism and language education in Taiwan after 1945* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Durham University.

Huang, L., Liu, J., & Chang, M. (2004). 'The double identity' of Taiwanese Chinese: A dilemma of politics and culture rooted in history. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, *7*(2), 149-168. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-839x.2004.00141.x

Hughes, C. (1997). *Taiwan and Chinese Nationalism: National identity and status in international society, politics in Asian series*. London; NY: Routledge.

Hughes, C., & Stone, R. (1999). Nation-building and curriculum reform in Hong Kong and Taiwan. *The China Quarterly*, 160, 977-991. doi: 10.1017/S0305741000001405

Hutchinson, J. (2005). *Nations as Zones of Conflict*. London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Isabelli-Garcia, C. (2006). Study abroad social networks, motivation and attitudes: Implications for second language acquisition. In M. A. DuFon & E. Churchill (Eds.), *Language Learners in Study Abroad Contexts* (pp. 231-258). Clevedon; Buffalo; Toronto: Multilingual Matters LTD.

Jackson, J. (2008). *Language, Identity and Study Abroad: Sociocultural perspectives*. London: Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Jackson, J. (2011). Cultivating cosmopolitan, intercultural citizenship through critical reflection and international, experiential learning. *Language and Intercultural Communica*tion, *11*(2), 80-96. doi: 10.1080/14708477.2011.556737

Jenkins, A. H. (2001). Individuality in cultural context: The case for psychology agency. Theory & Psychology, *11*(3), 347-362.

Jordan, D. K. (1998). Filial piety in Taiwanese popular thought. In W. H. Slote & G. A. DeVos (Eds.), *Confucianism and the Family* (pp. 267-284). NY: State University of New York.

Jung, E., & Hecht, M. (2008). Identity gaps and level of depression among Korean immigrants. *Health Communication*, *23*(4), 313-325. doi: 10.1080/10410230802229688

Jung, E., Hecht, M., & Wadsworth, B.C. (2007). The role of identity in international students' psychological well-being in the United States: A model of depression level, identity gaps, discrimination, and acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *31*, 605-624. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.04.001

Kim, Y. Y. (1988). *Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation: An integrative theory.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kim, Y. Y. (2001). *Becoming Intercultural: An integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation*. NY: Sage.

Kim, Y. Y. (2012). Beyond cultural categories: Communication, adaptation and transformation. In J. Jackson (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication* (pp. 229-243). Oxon; NY: Routledge.

Knapp, R. G. (2007). The shaping of Taiwan's landscapes. In M. A. Rubinstein (Ed.), *Taiwan: A New History* (pp. 3-26). NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

Kuo, B., & Roysircar, G. (2006). An exploratory study of cross-cultural adaptation of adolescent Taiwanese unaccompanied sojourners in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *30*(2), 159-183. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.007

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Lamley, H. J. (2007). Taiwan under Japanese rule, 1895-1945: The vicissitudes of colonialism. In M. A. Rubinstein (Ed.), *Taiwan: A New History* (pp. 201-260). NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

Landis, D., & Brislin, R. W. (1983). *Handbook of Intercultural Training (volume III: Area studies in intercultural training)*. NY; Oxford; Toronto; Sydney; Paris; Frankfurt: Pergamon Press.

Lee, G. Y. (2014). *Identity, language, and education: A case study in Taiwan* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10693/

Lewis, J., & Ritchie, J. (2003). Generalising from qualitative research. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 263-286). London: Sage.

Liao, S. (2008). A perceptual dialect study of Taiwan Mandarin: Language attitudes in the era of political battle. *Proceedings of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics*, *1*, 391-408. Ohio: The Ohio State University.

Lichtman, M. (2010). *Understanding and Evaluating Qualitative Educational Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y. S., Lynham, S. A., & Guba, E. G. (2011). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (4th ed.) (pp. 97-128). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Liu, M., Hung, L., & Vickers E. (2005). Identity issues in Taiwan's history curriculum. In E. Vickers & A. Jones (Eds.), *History Education and National Identity in East Asia* (pp. 101-132). NY: Taylor & Francis Group.

Lodico, M. G., Spaulding, D. T., & Voegtle, K. H. (2006). *Methods in Educational Research: From theory to practice*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Lopez, G. I., Figueroa, M., Connor, S. E., & Maliski, S. L. (2008). Translation barriers in conducting qualitative research with Spanish speakers. *Qualitative Health Research*, *18*(12), 1729-1737. doi: 10.1177/1049732308325857

Martin, J., & Nakayama, T. (2010). *Intercultural Communication in Contexts*. NY: McGraw-Hill Companies.

Matthews, B., & Ross, L. (2010). *Research Methods: A practical guide for the social sciences*. Harlow: Longman.

Mckinven, T. (2011). *Living together: Investigating student interaction in a multi-nationality postgraduate community* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3311/

Mead, G. H. (1962). *Mind, Self and Society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. C. W. Morris (Ed.). Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press.

Melia, K. M. (2010). Recognizing quality in qualitative research. In I. Bourgeault, R. Dingwall & R. De Vries (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Methods in Health Research* (pp. 559-574). Thousand Oaks; London: Sage.

Murphy-Lejeune, E. (2003). An experience of interculturality: Student travellers abroad. In G. Alred, M. Byram, & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Intercultural Experience and Education* (pp. 101-113). Clevedon; NY: Multilingual Matters.

Naseem, M. A., & Hyslop-Margison, E. J. (2006). Nussbaum's concept of cosmopolitanism: Practical possibility or academic delusion? *Paideusis*, *15*(2), 51-60. Retrieved from http://journals.sfu.ca/paideusis/index.php/paideusis/article/view/75/25

Nesdale, D. (2004). Social identity process and children's ethnic prejudice. In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.), *The Development of the Social Self* (pp. 219-245). East Sussex: Psychology Press.

New Tang Dynasty Asia Pacific News (2009, December 8). Tai sheng han guo de jiang xiu   guo qi lu sheng yu shi bao 臺生韓國得獎秀國旗 陸生欲施暴 [Awarded student from Taiwan showed national flag in Korea. Student from mainland China attempted violence]. Retrieved from http://www.ntdtv.com/xtr/b5/2009/12/08/a381931.html.%E8%87%BA%E7%94%9F%E9%9F%93%E5%9C%8B%E5%BE%97%E7%8D%8E%E7%A7%80%E5%9C%8B%E6%97%97%E9%99%B8%E7%94%9F%E6%AC%B2%E6%96%BD%E6%9A%B4.html

Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2009). *Cosmopolitan Communications: Cultural diversity in a globalized world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1997). *Cultivating Humanity: A classical defence of reform in liberal education*. Cambridge; Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M. C. (2006). *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, nationality, species membership*. Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press.

Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (2003). Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: Theoretical debates and young people's experiences. *Educational Review*, *55*(3), 243-254. doi: 10.1080/0013191032000118901

Owen, D. S., Strong, T. B., & Livingstone, R. (2004). *The Vocation Lectures: Max Weber 1864-1920*. Indianapolis, Indiana, US: Hackett Publishing Company.

Parmenter, L. (1997). *Becoming international in a Japanese school: An ethnographic study* (Unpublished Doctoral thesis). Durham University.

Penrose, J., & Mole, R. C. M. (2008). Nation-states and national identity. In K. R. Cox, M. Low & J. Robinson (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Political Geography* (pp. 271-285). London: Sage.

Philippou, S. (2005). Constructing national and European identities: the case of Greek-Cypriot

    pupils, *Educational Studies*, *31*(3), 293-315. doi: 10.1080/03055690500236761

Picucci, S. C. (2014). Child training and employment in Taiwanese Opera 1940s-1960s: An

    overview. In G. Arrighi & V. Emeljanow (Eds.), *Entertaining Children: The participation of*

    youth in the entertainment industry (pp. 185-200). NY: Palgrave.

Piller, I. (2011). *Intercultural Communication: A critical introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh

    University Press.

Piller, I., & Takahashi, K. (2006). A passion for English: Desire and the language market. In A.

    Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual Minds: Emotional experience, expression and representation* (pp.

    59-83). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Po, S. C. (2004). *The role of civic education in developing a sense of national identity: Action*

    research in a Hong Kong primary school (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from

    http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3023/

Putnam, L. L. (2013). Definitions and approaches to conflict and communication. In J. G. Oetzel &

    S. Ting-Toomey (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Communication* (pp. 1-40).

    Thousand Oaks; London: Sage.

Rabotin, M. B. (2011, June 25). Respect in the cross-cultural context. ATD (Association for Talent

    Development). Retrieved from

    https://www.td.org/Publications/Newsletters/Links/2011/06/Respect-in-the-Cross-Cultural-

    Context

Ross, A. (2007). Multiple identities and education for active citizenship. *British Journal of*

    Educational Studies, *55*(3), 286-303. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8527.2007.00380.x

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2012). *Qualitative Interviewing: The art of hearing data* (3rd ed.). London; Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Scollon, R., Scollon, S. W., & Jones, R. H. (2012). *Intercultural Communication: A discourse approach*. Chichester: John Wiley.

Scott, D., & Usher, R. (2011). *Researching Education: Data, methods and theory in educational enquiry.* London; NY: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Seale, C. (2003). Quality in qualitative research. In S. Y. Lincoln & N. K. Denzin (Eds.), *Turning Points in Qualitative Research: Tying knots in a handkerchief* (pp. 169-184). Walnut Creek, CA: ALTAMIRA Press.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. NY: Columbia University.

Smith, A. D. (1986). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Malden; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Smith, A. D. (1990). Towards a global culture? In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Global Culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity: A theory, culture & society special issue* (pp. 171-191). Thousand Oaks; London: Sage.

Smith, A. D. (1991). *National Identity*. London: Penguin Group.

Starkey, H. (2007). Language education, identities and citizenship: Developing cosmopolitan perspectives. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *7*(1), 56-71. doi: 10.2167/laic197.0

Sui, C. (2013, December 31). Can Taiwan's military become a voluntary force? *BBC News*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-25085323

Suter, K. (2003). *Global Order and Global Disorder: Globalization and the nation-state*. London: Praeger Publishers.

Swagler, M. A., & Ellis, M. V. (2003). Crossing the distance: Adjustment of Taiwanese graduate students in the United States. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *50*(4), 420-437. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.50.4.420

Taiwan gutter oil scandal (2014, September 18). *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/19/opinion/taiwans-gutter-oil-scandal.html

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole

Temple, B. (1997). Watch your tongue: Issues in translation and cross-cultural research. *Sociology*, *31*(3), 607-618. doi: 10.1177/0038038597031003016

Temple, B., & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative research and translation dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, *4*(2), 161-178. doi: 10.1177/1468794104044430

Ting-Toomey, S. (1988). Intercultural conflicts: A face-negotiation theory. In Y.Y. Kim & W. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Theories in Intercultural Communication* (pp. 213-235). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ting-Toomey, S. (2005). The matrix of face: An updated face-negotiation theory. In W. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about Intercultural Communication* (pp. 71-92). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Ting-Toomey, S., Gao, G., Trubisky, P., Yang, Z., Kim, H. S., Lin, S. L., & Nishida, T. (1991). Culture, face maintenance, and styles of handling interpersonal conflict: A study in five cultures. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, *2*(4), 275-296. doi: 10.1108/eb022702

Ting-Toomey, S., & Kurogi, A. (1998). Facework competence in intercultural conflict: An updated face-negotiation theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *22*(2), 187-225. doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(98)00004-2

Triandafyllidou, A. (2001). *Immigrants and National Identity in Europe*. NY: Routledge.

Tsai, Y. (2008). *Intercultural learning in the context of study abroad: A role in second foreign language acquisition* (Doctoral thesis). Retrieved from http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/2155/

Turner, B. S. (2002). Cosmopolitan virtue, globalization and patriotism. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *19*(1-2), 45-63. doi: 10.1177/026327640201900102

Turner, B. S. (2012). The cosmopolitanism of the sacred. In G. Delanty (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies* (pp. 188-198). NY: Routledge.

Turner, J. C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social Identity: Context, commitment, content* (pp. 6-34). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Vickers, E. (2009). Education, identity and the politics of modern state formation in Asia: A comparative and historical perspective. In M. Lall & E. Vickers (Eds.), *Education as a Political Tool in Asia* (pp. 10-32). NY: Routledge.

Wachman, A. (1994). Competing identities in Taiwan. In M. A. Rubinstein (Ed.), *The Other Taiwan: 1945 to the present* (pp. 17-80). NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Wang, C., Singh, C., Bird, B., & Ives, G. (2008). The learning experiences of Taiwanese nursing students studying in Australia. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, *19*(2), 140-150. doi: 10.1177/1043659607312968

Wang, F. (2005). Why bother about school textbooks?: An analysis of the origin of the disputes

    over Renshi Taiwan textbooks in 1997. In J. Makeham & A. Hsiau (Eds.), *Cultural, Ethnic,*

    and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan (pp. 55-99). NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wilkinson, S. (1998). Study abroad from the participants' perspective: A challenge to common

    beliefs. *Foreign Language Annals*, *31*(1), 23-39. doi: 10.1111/j.1944-9720.1998.tb01330.x

Wong, M. H. (2015, July 27). 40 Taiwanese foods we can't live without. *CNN*. Retrieved from

    http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/23/travel/40-taiwan-food/index.html

Wu, C. Y. (2014). *Qualitative study of Taiwanese students studying abroad: Social interactions,*

    navigating US culture, and experiences learning English language (Unpublished doctoral

    dissertation). Wayne State University.

Wyse, S. E. (2014, October 15). Advantages and disadvantages of face-to-face data collection.

    SnapSurveys. Retrieved from http://www.snapsurveys.com/blog/advantages-disadvantages-

    facetoface-data-collection/

Yen, W. J., & Stevens, P. (2004). Taiwanese students' perspectives on their educational experiences

    in the United States. *International Educational Journal*, *5*(3), 294-307.

Ying, Y. W. (2002). Formation of cross-cultural relationships of Taiwanese international students in

    the United States. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *30*(1), 45-55. doi: 10.1002/jcop.1049

Ying, Y. W. (2005). Variation in acculturative stressors over time: A study of Taiwanese students in

    the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *29*(1), 59-71.

    doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.04.003

Ying, Y.W., & Liese, L. (1990). Initial adaptation of Taiwan foreign students to the United States:

    The impact of prearrival variables. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *18*(6), 825-

    845. doi: 10.1007/BF00938066

Ying, Y.W., & Liese, L. (1991). Emotional well-being of Taiwan students in the U.S.: An examination of pre- to post-arrival differential. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *15*(3), pp. 345-366. doi: 10.1016/0147-1767(91)90007-4