“Wonder what I Look Like to Her”: Joyce’s Views on Animals in *Ulysses* (in *Chung Wai Literary Monthly*, 32.9: 7–40, 2004), and ‘Joyce, Language and Postcolonial Conditions’ (*Chung Wai Literary Monthly*, 27.9: 44–63, 1999); Iris Tsung-Huei Huang (National Taiwan University), who authored the papers ‘The Gift that Always Reaches Its Destination?’: The Economy of Gift in *Ulysses* (in *Concentric: Studies in English Literature and Linguistics*, 29.1: 175–197, 2003) and ‘The Desire to Feed or the Desire to Be Fed?: The Entangled Relation Between Bloom and the Maternal Figure in *Ulysses*’ (in *NTU Studies in Language and Literature*, 12: 23–49, 2003); and Chuang Kun-Liang (National Taiwan Normal University), editor of *Joyce in Taiwan* (Taipei: Bookman, 2008). Hopefully, through more comparative studies the journal will be able to encompass a larger range of interpretative perspectives.

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A Hungarian friend of mine has visited Dublin several times over the past seven years. Her daughter, who originally went to Dublin for her law degree, had married a fellow student, from South Africa. Later, Dublin became home to this immigrant couple from Hungary and South Africa with their locally born mixed-race son. Integration into Irish society is part of their daily life, and the citizenship of their son is an issue that emerged as early as his birth in the republic. Focusing on integration, Bryan Fanning’s *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the Republic of Ireland* illuminates challenges to immigrants such as the family of my friend’s daughter, as well as to the host Irish society. The transformative experiences of Irish society, from being an emigration society to an immigration destination (19), render comparative insight for Taiwan, an island that is also experiencing such a quantitative and qualitative transformation.

Fanning’s survey of recent immigration to Ireland begins with a cautious note about viewing immigration within the framework of multiculturalism. Post 9/11, multiculturalism in the west as a political discourse and a set of public policies is besieged by counter-discourses of anti-terrorism and calls for strengthening security and border control. Fanning’s studies of immigration to the Irish Republic are valuable resistance against this kind of overarching discourse. In line with Isaiah Berlin’s distinction between negative and positive freedom, Fanning argues that immigrants’ integration is as much an issue of desirability as one of ability (6–7). Located in ‘concrete situations’ (2), his research draws on social policy that aims to induce social integration, and he explores the impact of social policy on immigrants’ well-being. In this undertaking, social integration is defined as the process by which ‘immigrants become accepted into a society, both as individuals
and as groups' (1). With the insight that integration requires an immigrant to acquire not only the knowledge of social norms, values, beliefs but also economic skills to survive in the new environment, Fanning examines social integration through concepts such as social capital, cultural capital, human capital, and human capacity (2). More importantly, he broadens the concept of integration to 'social cohesion', which not only involves immigrants’ adaptation to the social norms of the mainstream society but also the inclusion of the host citizenry, particularly those who are socio-economically deprived (55).

Notable elements of immigration to the Irish Republic are its rapid growth and the diverse national origins of the immigrants. Fanning informs us that in one year, 2004–2005, Ireland found itself hosting foreign-born residents making up as much as 10.4 per cent of the total population. The 2006 Census identified foreign born residents as making up 14.7 per cent of the population, and nearly 10 per cent of the total population as ‘non-Irish nationals’. Fanning attributes the surge of immigration to a policy announced in 2004, that there was to be no quantitative control of immigration from the ten new EU member states (16, 60). He notes that, on average, immigrants to Ireland are strong in terms of their human capital advantages. In 2001, the percentage of those who obtained tertiary education was 1.8 times more than that of their host population. Not only was this found amongst high skilled non-EU workers, it was also evident amongst asylum seekers (63).

Behind Ireland’s open door policy is, Fanning argues, an ‘institutional narrative’ that advocates developmental modernization as new social and economic orthodoxies. This is found in Managing Migration: A Social and Economic Analysis, a report published by the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) in which large-scale and ongoing immigration is promoted for sustaining economic growth (17). The commitment to development and pursuing economic modernity, Fanning argues, makes Ireland a ‘growth-oriented’ society, and this developmental mentality becomes an element of nation-building (22).

As an island country that is known for its economic ‘miracle’, Taiwan in recent years has also become a major migration destination within East Asia. Facilitated by the state, in 1992 Taiwan’s domestic labour market was opened to foreign labour from selected countries in order to supply workers for those industries that suffered from a shortage of labour. However, this rationale of ensuring economic growth is as far as similarities with immigration to Ireland go. Under Ireland’s immigration laws, long-term residency is available to migrant workers, and, on being granted a residency permit, immigrants are permitted to take part in local politics as voters and candidates (173). Fanning explains that immigrant organizations in Ireland, such as the African Solidarity Centre (ASC, later renamed the African Centre), have exercised collective pressure on political parties to incorporate immigrants’ welfare into their election manifestos (154–156). In addition, the Polish community has designated representatives in the two major political parties, Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael (158–159).

In contrast, Taiwan is amongst several East Asian countries where guest workers remain guests of the host society, and no residency or family reunion is available. Productivity and security, rather than integration, is the priority agenda of Taiwan’s immigration policy. In spite of their rising numbers, without allying themselves with local activists migrant workers in Taiwan have less capacity to develop into independent pressure groups such as ASC, which have direct input to
the political system. Another contrast to the Irish case is that immigration to Taiwan is marked by the dominating number of female migrants. Not only is more than 60 per cent of the foreign labour force female, the great majority of foreign residents are the wives of local citizens. They are from China and Southeast Asia, and their marriages to local citizens enable them to migrate to Taiwan.

Although these immigrant wives also encounter racism and discrimination based on their ethnic or national origin, just as immigrants in Ireland also do (73), the former are imposed upon via a different set of discriminatory attitudes intertwined with gender. Unlike many immigrants in Ireland, who have a higher educational attainment than the host population, Chinese and Southeast Asian wives on average have received lower education than the host population, as found by a 2003 census and 2008 survey. Because of this lower education, and lack of ability in the Chinese language, they are imagined to be incapable mothers who have difficulty in raising their children. Compounded by their presumed higher birth rate, they are blamed for ‘downgrading’ the quality of the future population. As a consequence, it is believed that they will erode the base of Taiwan’s economic prosperity, an integral element to Taiwan’s self-identity as an affluent democracy. This eugenics-tainted scenario is characterized as a national threat by the 2006 National Security Report. Therefore, while immigration is imagined as contributing positively to Ireland’s economic modernity, immigration to Taiwan is said to undermine the sustainability of Taiwan’s economic prosperity.

Fanning notes that, in spite of the immigrants’ higher educational attainment and the belief that immigration contributes to economic growth, immigrants’ human capital advantages do not necessarily translate into easy employment in Ireland. Lower English-language proficiency is a key explanatory variable to this occupational handicap (65). In the case of Taiwan, lower Chinese-language proficiency is also identified by the above mentioned 2003 census and 2008 survey as the key obstacle to immigrant wives’ employment. However, while employment in both societies is recognized as essential to integration, the employment of immigrant wives in Taiwan is additionally impeded by prevalent gender norms. These norms affect immigrant women’s employment in two ways. It is believed that their sole motivation for seeking marriage in Taiwan is to find employment and to send remittances back to support their family. However, if they are permitted to engage in waged employment outside of the home, they will be under the influence of unscrupulous elements including fellow immigrants or Taiwanese gangsters. They will be either pushed by the former into competition to achieve a higher remittance, or duped by the latter into sex work. As a result, they may desert their homes, a scenario socially known as ‘runaway’. To prevent runaway, some consular officials or immigration officers suggest to Taiwanese husbands that they should provide their immigrant wives with monthly allowances, so that they will have no incentive to work outside of the home. Gender norms are also invoked by the state when it comes to decisions about work for immigrant wives, because their wages are seen as supplementary to the family income. In other words, immigrant wives’ right to work is not premised on their individual need to survive independently but on their collective contribution to the health of the family economy.

In addition to applying the concepts of social capital, cultural capital, and capacities to analysing immigrants’ prospects for employment or for functional
integration, Fanning also explores whether these critical means can contribute to political integration, characterized as civic and political participation (96–100). Drawing on small-scale research of eighteen candidates who have stood for local council elections, Fanning finds that identity with their immediate local area and the desire of to improve local facilities and amenities is a common interest shared by all immigrant candidates (96). It is worthwhile to note that in Ireland, immigrants having children living with them seems to be one driving force for participation. As an African respondent explained: ‘Yes, I am a migrant, but I’m also a woman. I’m also a mum who has got children who are in school like everybody else so participation would have been a very big issue’ (96).

This candidate’s statement resonates with the results of my interviews with immigrant women in Taiwan. Vietnamese, Filipino and Indonesian Chinese women explained they would go to vote because they cared about their children’s well-being and would want to elect a good government to ensure a sound living environment for their children. In spite of this similar motivation for civic participation, a critical difference in the two countries is that immigrants cannot vote in Taiwan until they acquire citizenship. This marks the fundamental divergence between the conceptualization of voting rights in Taiwan and in Ireland.

In Taiwan, voting rights are carefully guarded and reserved for formally admitted citizens, whereas in Ireland, as also in a few other European states, civic participation at local level is encouraged as a channel conducive for integration. Voting is an important aspect of civic participation. Not only is it an indication of social integration, but also a channel for realising positive freedom. Nevertheless, preliminary research on Taiwan’s political parties’ election campaigns and policy platforms suggests that immigrant votes have not been seriously sought by political parties, and that Chinese immigrants are peculiarly overlooked in the already-limited publicity. This is a critical deficiency given that the ratio of immigrants’ acquisition of citizenship in Taiwan is not low (44 per cent), and the number of male and female foreign spouses who acquired citizenship has risen to 204,640 in August 2012. Fanning’s research on politics and citizenship also shows that in spite of the rapid growth of the immigrant population, major political parties had little or no engagement with immigrant communities, or ‘had never given the issue of immigrant participation in politics any thought’ (55). Given that the two island republics are transforming from an emigrant society to an immigrant society, and the incorporation of outsiders with differences will be a fundamental challenge to both nations, the lack of interest or professionalism on the part of the major political parties calls for more study. What is critically needed is to go beyond election campaign rhetoric (or ‘immigrant populism’, as defined by Fanning, 154) to scrutinize how political parties evaluate the impact of immigrant voters on electoral politics, such as their vote share, and whether they have tangible policy platform to attract immigrant voters. Potential subject areas include immigrant voters’ motivations for political participation, the decision-making of party manifestos, interaction with immigrant advocacy groups, strategies of candidate nomination, management of local factions, and the development of immigrant communities.

Research on the development of immigrant communities may lead to discussion of integration to a group level where individual agency may converge and the collective agency will be utilized for organizational mobilization. Studies such as
these will deepen our understanding of migration as an ongoing process and integration as a two-way interaction between the host and the outsiders.

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Viewed comparatively from the perspective of a Taiwanese-language activist, the grass must seem much greener (including as a political hue) on that other ‘beleaguered isle’ where Irish enjoys constitutional status as the first official language. From its inception the Irish state, whilst acknowledging English, declared Irish its national language. There was a commitment to maintain the Irish-speaking region (the Gaeltacht) in the west of Ireland. The new independent state sought to promote or resuscitate the Irish language across the country (where it very much played second fiddle to English). Irish was made a compulsory subject in schools; basic competence in Irish was required for employment in the public sector; efforts were made to modernize and standardize the Irish language; and, to quote Geróid Ó Tuthaigh, ‘a range of incentives were introduced to encourage increased competence in Irish within the apparatus of the state’. Since the turn of the current century, there appears to be evidence of the continued valorization of Irish. In 2003, the Official Languages Act was passed, giving the right to provision of public services using the Irish language. In 2007, Irish secured recognition as the 23rd official language of the European Union. According to Suzanne Romaine, ‘The 2006 census reports that 1.6 million of the four million population can speak Irish… Proportionately speaking, the numbers represent a remarkable upsurge in the percentage of the Irish-speaking population from 24.5 per cent in 1861 to 41.9 per cent in 2006.’ Further, ‘in terms of status and the legal framework guaranteeing it… few languages rival Irish.’ If we focus upon the status dimension and policy pronouncements and read census statistics selectively, then Irish bucks the general trend of minority languages losing or forfeiting their ethno-linguistic vitality. In these respects, Irish might be viewed as a touchstone against which to gauge the revival or otherwise of, inter alia, the Taiwanese language.

At the other extreme, however, there are those who see Irish more in terms of tombstone than touchstone. They view efforts to revitalize Irish as failing defibrillation for a language suffering a chronic and life-threatening condition. Most prominent of these prophets of doom is Reg Hindley, who pulled no punches in titling his 1990 volume The Death of the Irish Language: A Qualified Obituary. Such commentators base their pessimistic prognoses on analyses of survey data among native Irish speakers, and making altogether different sense in how they disambiguate census statistics. When attention shifts from the question about how many can speak Irish to how many actually do speak it, and with what degree of fluency, then an argument that Irish may be in its death throes seems, unlike the language itself, to be sustainable. The policies devised and the measures