COUNTERFEIT CROSSINGS:

How Acculturating Immigrants Negotiate Paradox

in the Consumption and Performance of Culture

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ABSTRACT

How do acculturating consumers enact and experience border crossing in increasingly glocalised (Askegaard and Özçaglar-Toulouse 2011) consumer cultures? Moving beyond dominant social psychological (Berry 1980; 1997) and structural (Luedicke 2011; Üstüner and Holt 2007) perspectives in consumer acculturation theory, this thesis adopts a view of acculturation as performance and poses the following questions: What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers? How do these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations?

To explain the complex and paradoxical effects of boundary performances on consumers' boundary negotiations, this thesis introduces the concept of counterfeit crossing. Counterfeit crossings refer to boundary crossings which appear successful on the surface but are plagued by an element of artificiality, lack, and incompleteness. A hermeneutic analysis of multi-modal two-part depth interviews with 26 Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand uncovered a range of boundary performances which involve an interwoven set of boundary objects, sites, and practices. However, while appearing 'successful' on the surface, they do not produce the desired experience of being-at-home in either the culture of residence or the culture of origin. This is because, while boundary performances promise three types of identity value at the boundary – *symbolic* value, *embodied* value, and *dwelling* value – the slippages between these different types of identity value produce ongoing tensions between *settlement and dislocation*, and between *agency and mimicry*. To cope with these tensions, participants were found to enact three coping performances which *subvert* boundaries, *multiply* boundaries, and *elevate* mythic boundaries.

By departing from dominant social psychological and structural perspectives, and engaging with interdisciplinary theories of performance, this thesis helps to introduce new theory and reframe dominant assumptions in consumer acculturation research. In particular, the

findings of this study emphasise that the consumption of culture in mobility is a profoundly problematic and paradoxical experience. While the market promises border crossing based on requisite acts of consumption, the market defaults on these promises. Ultimately, acculturating immigrants can only consume cultural counterfeits or become cultural counterfeits. For acculturating consumers in a glocalising world, it is not border crossing, but the *performance* of mobility, that has become the defining feature of consumption.

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Chapter I: Introduction

[B]order crossings are becoming a constant in the contemporary glocalizing world… within this current context of constant border crossings there is a demand to develop more profound understanding of the economic and social dynamics of migration, including emigration, immigration, and their impact on the formation of markets, market agents, and consumption practices.

Askegaard and Özçaglar-Toulouse (2011, 217)

BACKGROUND

In introducing a recent special issue on consumer acculturation, Askegaard and Özçaglar-Toulouse (2011) painted a picture of an increasingly complex consumption landscape that is further compounded by increasing migration flows. While seminal studies (Askegaard, Arnould, and Kjeldgaard 2005; Jafari and Goulding 2008; Luedicke 2011; Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994; Regany, Visconti, and Fosse-Gomez 2012; Thompson and Tambyah 1999; Üstüner and Holt 2007) over the past two decades have reshaped consumer acculturation theory, Askegaard and Özçaglar-Toulouse (2011) have also set the stage for continued inquiry into this complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Broadly defined, acculturation is "what happens to individuals who have developed in one cultural context when they attempt to re-establish their lives in another one" (Berry 1997, 5) and concerns how individuals construct identities in relation to more than one cultural context. Acculturation is a topic that spans multiple disciplines, and has been used as an overarching concept to understand migrant settlement processes.

Consumer acculturation research in particular is aimed at understanding the role of consumption in identity construction when consumers transition from one cultural context to another. Consumption is a complex activity which involves not only 'the consumer' and 'the

consumed', but also carries implications for the social worlds in which the consumer is situated.

As Nguyen and Tu (2007, 24-25) have explained:

> We [understand] consumption as "a use of goods or services in which the object activity becomes simultaneously a practice in the world and a form in which we construct our understandings of ourselves in the world." Practices of consumption are also technologies of the self in that they [...] "permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being." In other words, consumption emerges as a specific set of dynamic practices through which subject positions are inhabited by individuals within fields of power and knowledge production.

This definition, derived from the cultural studies literature, resonates with an increasingly accepted perspective within consumer research, in which consumers and their consumption acts are seen as embedded in the context of complex social relations and cultural forces. As the editorial team of the *Journal of Consumer Research* recently conveyed, consumer research is "essential to understanding how people deploy their resources of time and money and how these decisions affect individual consumers and the broader world, including social relations" (Peracchio, Luce, and McGill 2014, vi). In this vein, consumer acculturation theorists have long emphasised the social context of consumption. Jafari and Goulding (2008, 73-74), for instance, examined how consumption is used by immigrant consumers to "define, differentiate and situate themselves in the mind of others."

Despite mounting interest in consumer acculturation among marketing scholars and an established range of informing discourses across multiple disciplines, Berry's (1980; 1997) post-assimilationist framework continues to cast a long shadow on current thinking in this area (Luedicke 2011). While Berry's (1980; 1997) framework has provided a platform for productive advances, it also imposes several implicit assumptions on consumer acculturation theory and obscures further dimensions of this complex phenomenon. In particular, the following unanswered questions represent key conceptual gaps in consumer acculturation theory. First, are the boundaries of ethnicity and nationality still central to consumer

acculturation? In addition to the boundaries already uncovered in the literature, what other boundaries are at play, and how do they intersect? Second, while we know that consumption practices can be used to negotiate ideological and identity tensions, to what extent can these practices produce the promised states of being? In other words, to what extent are market-mediated structures of action performed by consumers aligned with, or disconnected from, structures of feeling experienced by consumers? Finally, while much is known about how boundaries shape consumer performances, there is further scope to understand how consumer performances shape boundaries. Beyond reinforcing and negotiating wider socio-cultural discourses, what else can consumers 'do' with boundaries?

First, consumer acculturation has been largely represented as a dyadic movement between two distinct cultures which are often separated by ethnic and national boundaries. Often, the 'home' and 'host' cultures are privileged as polarised sites which form the basis of identity construction and are assumed to be relatively stable entities. By placing the intercultural dyad at their explicit or implicit centre in theories of consumer acculturation, issues of ethnicity and nationality tend to be privileged at the expense of a wider diversity of sources of identity at play in consumer acculturation. While marketing scholars have also analysed other aspects of identity beyond those defined by ethnicity and nationality (Lindridge, Hogg, and Shah 2004; Oswald 1999; Regany et al. 2012; Sekhon and Szmigin 2011), the intercultural dyad has arguably persisted as the macro construct which frames and supersedes these additional dimensions.

Moreover, the centrality of the intercultural dyad potentially naturalises binaries such as home-host (Askegaard et al. 2005; Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994) and local-migrant (Luedicke 2011), while de-emphasising complexities and hybridities which challenge the givenness of these boundaries. For instance, who gets to be called a local and who gets to be called a migrant? In current models of consumer acculturation, it is unclear whether a migrant

can traverse this imprecise boundary to become a local. Within the same framework, the intersections or disalignments between a consumer's ethnic identity and national identity in the country of origin often remain unquestioned. Given the level of identity fragmentation within postmodern consumer culture (Firat and Venkatesh 1993), it may be useful to consider to what extent acculturating consumers' multiple cultural identities are aligned or disjointed. Thus, there is further room to engage with consumers' embeddedness in multiple "webs of belonging" (Calhoun 2003, 536) in a way that does not privilege or naturalise the binaries of 'home' and 'host' culture.

Second, it is currently unclear to what extent market-mediated structures of action performed by consumers are aligned with, or disconnected from, structures of feeling experienced by consumers. This lack of clarity is due to a tendency within consumer acculturation theory to view consumption practices as indices of identity which enable consumers to express their belonging in various groups. Identity positions are often defined through more easily observable structures of action, such as consumption practices, rather than structures of feeling, which refer to "social experiences in *solution* as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been *precipitated* and are more evidently and more immediately available" (Williams 1977, 132). Luedicke's (2011) model of consumer acculturation, which conceptualises consumption practice in terms of motivations, competences, and practices, appears to reinforce this cerebral orientation. However, cultural consumption practices may perform other functions beyond indexing and expressing cultural identities. For instance, beyond the conflicting ideologies and tensions associated with consumption in acculturation, are there other dimensions of pretence, gaming, and playfulness in consumer acculturation? In addition, in the context of the deterritorialisation of culture due to the accelerated flows of consumption objects and practices across borders, the meanings of cultural referents are increasingly destabilised and transformed. In such contexts, issues of

coherence and 'authenticity' of ethnic identities (Moeran 2005) may be additional concerns in postmodern consumer cultures. In short, beyond the idea that consumption expresses identity, how do consumption practices shape the consumer experience of acculturation? While consumer acculturation theorists have pointed to phenomenological struggles that arise in and through consumer acculturation processes (Askegaard et al. 2005), the questions posed here suggest a more complex and multifaceted relationship between structures of action and structures of feeling than is currently theorised in consumer acculturation theory.

Finally, while the majority of consumer acculturation studies have explained how cultural meanings influence consumer identities, there is further opportunity to explore and empirically demonstrate how consumers' consumption practices recursively influence prevailing cultural categories and boundaries. Even though consumer acculturation scholars have developed our understanding of what happens *at* the intercultural boundary, less attention has been paid to what happens *to* these boundaries when consumers acculturate. Indeed, by foregrounding and problematising the construct of the boundary in consumer acculturation theory, Regany et al. (2012) have recently laid the foundation for further explorations of how boundaries not only shape consumption practices, but how consumption practices shape boundaries. Beyond traversing boundaries (Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994; Regany et al. 2012), reflexively negotiating boundaries (Askegaard et al. 2005; Regany et al. 2012), and transforming the meanings of branded products (Luedicke 2011), what else can consumers 'do' with boundaries?

While scholars in other disciplines have already established sophisticated discourses to grapple with issues of multiplicity, hybridity, disjuncture, and recursivity, there is further scope to engage with these discourses in marketing. Currently, consumer acculturation theory has largely been lensed through social psychological perspectives derived from Berry's postassimilationist framework, and more recently, an alternative paradigm which sees culture

as a system (Luedicke 2011). However, in response to wider questions concerning the reconfiguration of culture and cultural identity in an era of globalisation, interdisciplinary re-conceptualisations have already occurred at both the macro level of culture and the micro level of identity. These interdisciplinary discourses emphasise the complexity and fluidity of the boundaries between cultures and cultural identities. Given the potential of these discourses to provide new ways of looking at the phenomenon of consumer acculturation, it would be useful to draw more extensively on alternative lenses from a wider range of disciplines.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMING

To address these current gaps in consumer acculturation theory, an alternative view of acculturation as performance is adopted. Performance is an interdisciplinary view in which social action is seen as simultaneously structured and dynamic (Schechner 2006). This conceptual lens forms the conceptual basis for the following research questions: What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers? How do these performances shape the boundary negotiations of acculturating consumers? By drawing an alternative theoretical perspective which allows issues of multiplicity, hybridity, disjuncture, and recursivity to emerge, it is hoped that this exploration will help to advance consumer acculturation theory in relation to the conceptual gaps outlined in the previous section. As an emerging interdisciplinary view of socio-cultural praxis, the use of performance as a conceptual frame continues in the established tradition of consumer culture theory (Arnould and Thompson 2005), whereby perspectives from multiple disciplines are used to shed light on consumption phenomena. The use of performance as a conceptual frame also resonates with a broader view of consumption, in line with Linnet's (2010a, 78) argument:

> *Consumption has moved from being either a matter of regenerating productive forces (sociology), maximizing utility (economics) or a process of acquisition (business studies) to becoming a term that seems to permeate the relations between society and*

individual, be it in the form of social classification and communications systems, identity formation processes, ritualistic and community building processes, the relationship between the individual and the state under the reign of new public management, or the search for existentially fulfilling experiences.

In viewing acculturation as performance, immigrant consumers are seen as social actors who perform multiple identities in their everyday lives, deploying a wide repertoire of performances across diverse and dynamic contexts (Goffman 1971). From this perspective, the enactment of immigrant identities is seen as a dynamic interplay between multiple masks (Alvesson 2003; Goffman 1971) and multiple mirrors (Friedman 1992; Lacan 1977). In essence, consumers put on different faces for different audiences. This view suggests that identity is not a core, stable or unitary property inherent in the individual, but a continually revisable narrative which emerges through repeated action. Moreover, in contrast to Berry's (1980; 1997) psychological framework, identity is not merely a matter of degree or position, but also of style, tone, and tenor. Thus, the notion of performance emphasises the idea that consumers can wear their identities in different ways.

Indeed, the notion of performance emphasises that there are wider and potentially contending logics of identity enactment beyond those currently encapsulated by theories of consumer acculturation. As indicated in interdisciplinary literatures, beyond the concepts of border crossing (Peñaloza 1994), culture swapping (Oswald 1999) or pendulism (Askegaard et al. 2005), identity projects in glocalised consumer cultures include playful performances of complex cultural identities which subvert, question, and parody existing cultural categories, suggesting a different dimension of cultural reflexivity altogether. For example, the cultural studies literature has already pointed to multiple identity strategies including racial passing (Lahiri 2003), mimicry (Bhabha 1984), self-essentialising (Werbner 1997b), self-caricature through ethnic humour (Boskin and Dorinson 1985; Leveen 1996), playing the fool (Welsford 1966), and the strategic masking of ethnic identity (Li et al. 1995). For acculturating consumers,

such modes of consuming culture may potentially provide a way to not only articulate complex identities which exceed the boundaries of race, nationality, and ethnicity, but to also demonstrate a sophisticated awareness and an ironic critique of prevailing cultural categories and stereotypes. These suggest a greater level of complexity, reflexivity, and playfulness in the way immigrants are performing their identities than currently theorised in marketing.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES

A review of the literature on consumer acculturation suggests that the current dominance of the Berry (1980; 1997) school of thought imposes several limiting assumptions on current theories of consumer acculturation: the primacy of the intercultural dyad, an unclear relationship between structures of action and structures of feeling, and an unclear understanding of consumer agency with respect to wider socio-cultural boundaries. To address these current limitations, this study adopts a broader interdisciplinary view which sees acculturation as performance. Given its potential to acknowledge interdisciplinary developments in theories of culture, identity, and acculturation and capture further complexities which have not informed previous theorisations, the perspective of acculturation as performance warrants further development and forms the basis for further exploration. Accordingly, this research project is aimed at understanding how consumers perform acculturation and how such performances shape consumers' boundary negotiations. The key research questions and corresponding research objectives in this thesis are outlined in Table 1:

Table 1
Research Questions and Objectives

Research Questions	Research Objectives
What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers?	Identification of key modes of performance which are enacted by acculturating consumers
How do these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations?	Conceptualisation of the relationship between key modes of performance and boundary negotiation

OVERVIEW OF METHODOLOGY

Research Philosophy and Methods

Broadly, the aim of this research is to study how migrant consumers perform their identities in acculturation and how such performances shape their boundary negotiations. Given that the research objective is to generate thick descriptions as a means of understanding human experiences and social processes (Geertz 1973), a qualitative approach is deployed. More specifically, this study follows a hermeneutic analysis methodology situated within a theoretical perspective of hermeneutic interpretivism and an epistemology of social constructionism (Crotty 1998). The research objectives of understanding the range of performances enacted by acculturating consumers and their relation to acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations is addressed through a series of activities which include the generation of consumer narratives through two-part depth interviews with migrant consumers, multi-modal methods including metaphor elicitation and drawings, and the use of a hermeneutic approach to analysis and sense-making.

Individual in-depth interviews are conducted with 26 Southeast Asian immigrant consumers to generate narratives of migration, which are enriched and deepened using two key methods. First, participants are asked to bring artefacts and photographs to represent their

experiences of migrancy (Zaltman and Coulter 1995) and create drawings to represent their social networks and identities within those networks (Bagnoli 2009). These multi-modal methods serve as entry points into richly descriptive and highly reflexive conversations. Second, each participant is interviewed twice in line with open narrative reflexivity (Marcus and Fischer 1986; Thompson, Stern, and Arnould 1998). In the second interview, participants are presented with the researcher's emerging interpretations and provided an opportunity to correct, qualify, or further deepen their initial reflections.

Interviews are audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim into Microsoft Word, and analysed using NVivo10. Thematic analysis and interpretation follows the hermeneutic tradition (Thompson 1997), with a "hermeneutical back and forth between part and whole" (Spiggle 1994, 495) facilitated through iterative comparison between the consumer texts and the emerging interpretation. Triangulation and trustworthiness are ensured through the combination of verbal and multi-modal methods, the use of open narrative reflexivity, ongoing consultation with personal contacts from Southeast Asia, and constant comparison of emerging interpretations between the researcher and supervisor.

Research Context

This study focuses on Southeast Asian immigrant consumers who have migrated for the first time and are living as skilled migrants in New Zealand. These consumers share several theoretically interesting characteristics. First, immigrant consumers from Southeast Asia share multiplicities and disjunctures which embody the wider trends of cultural heterogeneity and fragmentation. Southeast Asian consumers originate from highly heterogeneous nations with multiple ethnic groups, in which the relationship between national and ethnic identity is often complex and contested. Therefore, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers embody multiple layers of contradiction and complexity which lie at the heart of consumer acculturation in the

"postcolonial global economy" (Thompson and Tambyah 1999, 215). Indeed, Southeast Asian cultures embody complex hybridities between 'East' and 'West' – hybridities which are both celebrated as assets in an Anglocentric global economy and viewed with ambivalence and anxiety (Bhabha 1994). Further, Southeast Asian immigrants are simultaneously privileged and subordinated: on one hand, the capacity for mobility requires high levels of economic capital and is associated with relative privilege, yet on the other hand, Southeast Asian immigrants may find themselves inhabiting the subordinated status of the subaltern (Spivak 1996), a marginalised subject outside of the cultural and political centre who is positioned as a silent and passive victim of postcolonial forces.

Second, New Zealand represents a complex backdrop for acculturation in its contradictory position as both a 'Western' metropole and a postcolonial site. As a national site, New Zealand is a world-recognised immigrant receiving nation which epitomises the effects of accelerating international migration and increasing multiculturalism (Spoonley and Butcher 2009). However, discourses of Eurocentrism embedded in New Zealand's national identity are uneasily contested by a growing discourse which underlines New Zealand's geopolitical presence within the Asia-Pacific region (Ip 2003). The dynamics of identity politics in New Zealand are further complicated through an ambivalent juxtaposition of discourses of biculturalism, multiculturalism, and postcolonialism (Bennett 2001). Within this context, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers further experience a double disjuncture (Bhabha 1990): because the category 'Asian' is stereotypically associated with people from Northeast Asia (predominantly China, Japan, and Korea), Southeast Asian identities may be experienced as both 'foreign' yet invisible. Due to their relative invisibility in New Zealand's national and geopolitical imaginary, individuals from Southeast Asia may experience ambivalence in relation to being identified as Asian in New Zealand. As such, Southeast Asian immigrant

consumers in New Zealand represent a fruitful site for understanding the multiplicities and complexities of performance within glocalised and multicultural consumer cultures.

Finally, Southeast Asian immigrants in New Zealand are part of a wider stream of mobility which represents an inverse counterpoint to the previously researched streams of expatriate mobility. In contrast to expatriate (Thompson and Tambyah 1999) and tourist journeys (Bardhi, Ostberg, and Bengtsson 2010) which mirror the colonial consumption of exotic alterity, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers are members of previously colonised nations who have moved to a Western metropole in order to accrue the ex-coloniser's privileges and consume upward status mobility.

IMPORTANCE AND POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Identity construction in relation to more than one cultural context has emerged as a significant phenomenon for contemporary consumer cultures owing to several significant developments. Globalisation sees the accelerated flows of people, capital, technology, media images, and ideologies across national and local boundaries (Appadurai 1997). As a result, nations are increasingly multicultural and cultures are increasingly heterogeneous – at least 90% of the world's nations is estimated to be multi-ethnic (Smith 1991). The acceleration of transnational migration flows in particular sees a growing market of consumers who are negotiating identities in relation to more than one 'homeland' (Trendwatching 2003). Further, the acceleration of international flows of people and products means that contemporary cultures are increasingly characterised by mutual entanglement (Ang 2003).

Given these emerging norms for consumer cultures globally (Welsch 1999), this research is aimed at helping marketing academics, marketing practitioners, and public policymakers better understand the role of cultural consumption in contemporary border crossings and engage with growing populations of immigrant consumers within Western

metropoles. First, it will extend academics' conceptual understanding of immigrant consumer identities as they are enacted through consumption practices and impact wider socio-cultural boundaries. Second, it will alert marketing practitioners to the ways in which identity narratives are shifting and inform their engagement with and representation of immigrant consumers. Third, it will inform the crafting of public policy which acknowledges and addresses the settlement issues and challenges faced by growing populations of immigrant consumers within Western metropoles.

Marketing Academics

By extending academics' conceptual understanding of immigrant consumer identities as they relate to cultural meanings and consumption practices, this research aims to make several contributions to consumer acculturation theory. Broadly, this thesis is aimed at understanding the multiple layers of identity at play in acculturation, re-examining the relationship between the enactment and experience of consumption, and re-examining the relationship between consumer agency and wider socio-cultural structures.

In particular, this thesis draws on interdisciplinary discourses, develops an alternative view of acculturation as performance, and uses this conceptual frame as a platform for emic exploration. By adopting an interdisciplinary approach, this research will integrate extant insights from disciplines as varied as cultural studies, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, geography, and Asian Studies to enrich conceptual understandings of consumer acculturation. As such, this thesis integrates a wider range of disciplinary perspectives than previously explored.

Further, this thesis expands the range of sites and ethnicities represented in immigrant consumer acculturation research. Immigrant acculturation studies in marketing have been primarily sited in North America (Peñaloza 1994; Oswald 1999) and Europe (Askegaard et al.

2005; Luedicke 2011; Sekhon and Szmigin 2011). This "mega imbalance" (Eckhardt and Dholakia 2013, 4) is slowly being redressed by pioneering studies on Asian consumers and contexts, including studies of expats in Singapore (Thompson and Tambyah 1999), South Asian women in Britain (Lindridge et al. 2004), and first and second generation Koreans in Australia (Sutton-Brady, Davis, and Jung 2010). This study therefore contributes to an ongoing expansion of the range of sites and ethnicities represented within immigrant consumer acculturation research in marketing.

Marketing Practitioners

In addition, this thesis is aimed at alerting marketing practitioners to how identity narratives are shifting and increasing in complexity, with a view to informing their engagement with and representation of immigrant consumers.

To more effectively engage with growing immigrant consumer segments, marketers will be aided by a deeper understanding of the key cultural meanings and consumption practices which shape migrant consumers' performances. As Lee (1995, 133) declared, "If you tell them the story of their lives, they will listen." Such an understanding is becoming more crucial to New Zealand brands, because in the context of a changing population, consumers resist being subsumed under neat labels such as 'typical Kiwi' or 'typical Asian'. In order to better reflect consumers' lived realities, marketers need to enter into a sophisticated conversation about how these categories and the boundaries between them are evolving.

Additionally, to more responsibly represent people from various ethnic and place-based backgrounds, marketers need a better understanding of the various, and at times conflicting, narratives shaping the reception of such instances of representation. For instance, even though Asian New Zealanders represent the fastest growing subpopulation in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2010), one of the most current and popular advertisements on New Zealand

prime-time television deploys the stereotype of the Asian as a heavily-accented and clueless foreigner. What are the implications of such representations for how immigrant consumers are perceived? What is the impact on immigrant consumers' lived realities and the ways in which they can or cannot perform their identities?

Public Policymakers

Furthermore, this thesis will inform the crafting of public policy which acknowledges and addresses the settlement implications, challenges, and opportunities brought about by growing migrant populations. In New Zealand, for instance, migration continues to be a significant contributor to the economy and it is estimated that the Asian population will increase to 790,000 by 2026 (Statistics New Zealand 2010). Southeast Asian migrants, in particular, constitute 23% of New Zealand's Asian immigrant population (Bedford and Ho 2007). However, while there have been a large number of studies of immigrants from China, Hong Kong, and other Northeast Asian countries, there have been fewer studies of Southeast Asian immigrants. Given that multiculturalism and transnational consumer flows are a significant global trend (Appadurai 1997), policymakers will find that this research project provides policy recommendations which support migrant consumers in successfully settling and realising their human capital potential to the benefit of their host nations.

Insights from this study will help shed light on several critical policy questions at the international level. For example, what are the specific implications of Southeast Asian immigration on foreign trade and international relations in the ASEAN region? How do policymakers encourage and leverage the opportunities, economic or otherwise, associated with a growing Southeast Asian immigrant population? For instance, one issue of interest is the extent to which Southeast Asian immigrants represent untapped trading routes into their countries of origin. To what extent, for instance, do immigrants' identities as border crossers

(Peñaloza 1994) enable them to act as cultural ambassadors, facilitating business links and cultural bridges which will imbricate New Zealand further into the ASEAN region? Conversely, to what extent are transnational ties dampened in the process of acculturating to New Zealand? Is there a tradeoff between performing transnationalism (being a cultural bridge) and performing localness (burning cultural bridges)?

At a national level, how do policymakers represent New Zealand going forward? How do they represent and engage with immigrant populations? While immigrant populations are often framed as a ready supply of labour and investment capital, further research can be done to consider the role that identity plays in maximising the human capital potential of this growing population in New Zealand. For instance, to what extent do government discourses about immigration and Southeast Asian ethnicity facilitate or impede successful negotiation of one's sense of place in New Zealand? To what extent does the State's discursive construction of immigrants' social reality accurately reflect the ways in which acculturating consumers themselves understand and perform this reality? For example, while migrant and ethnic communities have been identified as key partners in the New Zealand Settlement National Action Plan (Department of Labour 2007a) and the Auckland Regional Settlement Strategy (Department of Labour 2007b), there is further opportunity to understand what role they play in the settlement of immigrant consumers. Further, what resources and supports are required to facilitate favourable modes of performance? What role does the consumption of State-sanctioned rituals such as the citizenship ceremony play in legitimising the performance of belonging to a place?

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

In the remaining chapters, this thesis explores previously under-emphasised dimensions of consumer acculturation and draws on interdisciplinary perspectives to introduce an alternative theoretical lens of consumer acculturation as performance. This conceptual lens is then used as a platform for emic exploration. Finally, the implications of this etic and emic exploration for current conceptualisations of consumer acculturation are discussed. The structure of the thesis is outlined in Table 2.

Table 2
Structure of Thesis

Chapter	Description
Chapter I: Introduction	Overviews research background, conceptual and methodological approaches, and contributions.
Chapter II: Literature Review	Traces key conceptual shifts in consumer acculturation research vis-à-vis interdisciplinary developments. Highlights key conceptual gaps which lead to research questions.
Chapter III: Methodology	Details and justifies methodology, theoretical perspective, epistemology, methods, and tools which guide the study.
Chapter IV: Findings	Describes research participants and key themes of performance and boundary negotiation that emerged from in-depth interviews.
Chapter V: Discussion and Conclusion	Explains the significance of the findings in relation to research questions and conceptual issues. Presents conclusions and academic, practitioner, and policy contributions of this thesis. Addresses limitations and charts a future research agenda.
References	Details all publications cited in this thesis.
Appendices	Includes supporting documentation and materials used in interviews.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has introduced the thesis by explaining the background which motivates this research, signposting key aspects of the research approach, and justifying the importance of this research. It has presented the main purpose and driving questions for the study, overviewed key aspects of the conceptual and methodological approaches to be used, and briefly summarised its contributions. The structure of the remaining chapters was also outlined.

This study is aimed at addressing the following research questions: What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers? How do these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations? In viewing acculturation as performance, the enactment of immigrant identities is seen as a dynamic interplay between multiple identities which extend beyond the binaries of 'home' and 'host' culture and recursively influence cultural categories and boundaries. To explore this question, the proposed study will apply a hermeneutic analysis methodology involving in-depth interviews with immigrant consumers who have migrated for the first time from Southeast Asia to New Zealand. This research is aimed at helping marketing practitioners, public policymakers, and academics better understand emerging multiplicities and complexities in acculturation and engage with growing populations of immigrant consumers, which represent emerging norms for consumer cultures globally.

Chapter II: Literature Review

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter charts the evolution of consumer acculturation research and signposts key areas for further development. First, this chapter outlines the key conceptual and contextual turns that have advanced the consumer acculturation literature to date. From there, conceptual gaps in consumer acculturation research are highlighted, leading to a broader review of significant interdisciplinary developments in theories of culture and identity. Informed by these established interdisciplinary perspectives, the theoretical perspective of acculturation as performance is explained and proposed as an alternative conceptual platform for further exploration.

KEY SHIFTS IN CONSUMER ACCULTURATION RESEARCH

Acculturation, broadly defined, is "what happens to individuals who have developed in one cultural context when they attempt to re-establish their lives in another one" (Berry 1997, 5). A growing interest in immigrant consumer acculturation among marketing scholars occurs against the backdrop of globalisation, which sees the accelerated flows of people, capital, technology, media images, and ideologies across local and national boundaries (Appadurai 1997). The acceleration of transnational migration flows in particular sees a growing market of consumers who are negotiating identities in relation to more than one 'homeland' (Trendwatching 2003). Indeed, Smith (1991) estimated that at least 90% of the world's nations can be described as multi-ethnic. Clearly, the negotiation of multiculturalism has become a contemporary reality for nations, consumer cultures, and immigrant consumers. Given the emergence of migration as a significant phenomenon for consumer cultures globally, it is important to understand how

migrant consumers shape their identities as they acculturate to multicultural consumption environments.

Within marketing, several key shifts characterise the evolution of consumer acculturation research to date, as summarised in Table 3. The following explanation of these conceptual and contextual turns is not intended as a chronological representation of the literature, but rather as a representation of the notable shifts that have defined its current contour.

Table 3
Summary of Key Shifts in Consumer Acculturation Research

From	To
Consumption patterns	**Consumption practices**
Wallendorf and Reilly (1983)	Mehta and Belk (1991)
Deshpande et al. (1986)	Peñaloza (1994)
	Jafari and Goulding (2008)
Assimilationism	**Postassimilationism**
Wallendorf and Reilly (1983)	Peñaloza (1994)
O'Guinn et al. (1986)	Oswald (1999)
	Askegaard et al. (2005)
National and ethnic border crossings	**Other border crossings**
Peñaloza (1994)	Oswald (1999)
Askegaard et al. (2005)	Thompson and Tambyah (1999)
	Lindridge et al. (2004)
	Regany et al. (2012)
Ethnoconsumerist perspectives	**Dyadic perspectives**
Peñaloza (1994)	Jamal (1996)
Oswald (1999)	Luedicke (2011)
Askegaard et al. (2005)	
Individual fluidity	**Structural constraints**
Oswald (1999)	Thompson and Tambyah (1999)
Askegaard et al. (2005)	Üstüner and Holt (2007)
	Jafari and Goulding (2008)
	Luedicke (2011)
North American sites	**European sites**
Mehta and Belk (1991)	Askegaard et al. (2005)
Peñaloza (1994)	Üstüner and Holt (2007)
Oswald (1999)	Luedicke (2011)
	Regany et al. (2012)

From Consumption Patterns to Consumption Practices

Acculturation scholars have moved from examining the objects and patterns of consumption per se (Deshpande, Hoyer, and Donthu 1986; O'Guinn, Lee, and Faber 1986; Wallendorf and Reilly 1983) towards a more holistic examination of the role of consumption practices in the social construction of migrant identities (Askegaard et al. 2005; Mehta and Belk 1991; Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994; Üstüner and Holt 2007). Early acculturation scholars equated acculturation with assimilation and used consumption as a direct index of assimilation. Accordingly, scholars compared immigrants' consumption patterns against a dominant culture norm and used these as direct indices of acculturation outcomes (Wallendorf and Reilly 1983). This was based on the assumption that "immigrants who want to become acculturated must learn what things they should desire, and to a lesser extent, why" (O'Guinn et al. 1986; see also Wallendorf and Reilly 1983).

However, scholars have since challenged this treatment of consumption patterns in isolation, instead viewing them as but one element of a larger field of practice in which material consumption, consumer rituals, discourses, and ideologies are intricately intertwined (Holt 1998). In this vein, Mehta and Belk (1991) showed how favourite possessions were used by Indian immigrants in the United States to extend their selves and symbolically reconstruct their ethnic identities. Peñaloza (1994) further linked the acculturation outcomes of Mexican immigrants in the United States to multiple processes of learning and socialisation. More recently, Jafari and Goulding (2008) examined how objects function as symbolic mediators which facilitate intercultural interactions and enable UK-based Iranian consumers to negotiate ideological tensions. As another example, Üstüner and Holt's (2007) ethnographic study of poor migrant women living in a Turkish squat illustrated that effective integration requires basic levels of economic, social, and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984; Douglas and Isherwood 1979), demonstrating the socio-cultural patterning of consumer acculturation as well as the centrality

of consumption to migrant acculturation processes. Across these studies, the 'why' of consumption' is not only as important as the 'what' of consumption; they are inseparable.

From Assimilationism to Postassimilationism

Alongside this shift has been a corresponding move from assimilationist theories of acculturation (Deshpande et al. 1986; O'Guinn et al. 1986; Wallendorf and Reilly 1983) towards a recognition that full assimilation into the host culture is only one of several identity positions available to immigrant consumers (Peñaloza 1989). Assimilationist perspectives, which equate acculturation with assimilation, were evident in an earlier definition of acculturation as "the immigrant's adoption of the dominant society's attitudes, values, and behaviours" (O'Guinn et al. 1986, 579). However, this perspective was challenged by Peñaloza's (1994) groundbreaking study of Mexican immigrants in the United States, which was theoretically informed by Berry's (1980) postassimilationist model of acculturation. Peñaloza (1994) described the processes of movement, translation, and adaptation alongside acculturating agents including family, social networks, media, and cultural institutions as antecedents to the multiple acculturation outcomes of assimilation, maintenance, resistance, or segregation.

This postassimilationist turn has been reinforced and extended in multiple studies. In an ethnographic study of Haitian immigrants in midwestern United States, Oswald (1999) demonstrated how ethnic consumers 'culture swap' and 'code switch' to move fluidly between home and host cultures while expressing a class-specific identity. Askegaard et al. (2005) found further support for the postassimilationist frameworks advanced by Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) with some additional qualifications. Their study highlighted the self-reflexive and phenomenological aspects of immigrant consumer acculturation, identified transnational consumer culture as an acculturating agent, and highlighted additional identity positions:

identity conflict, hyperculture, and the oscillating pendulum. One key contribution of this study was its critique of the stability of acculturation outcomes in Berry's (1980) informing model. This critique was reinforced by Jamal and Chapman's (2000) study on Pakistani consumers in Britain, where it was argued that ethnic minority consumers experience multiple states of being which inform their interactions with their own ethnic group as well as the host society. Hence, there is no single ever-lasting outcome of acculturation. More recently, Sutton-Brady et al. (2010) studied how second-generation Korean immigrants craft 'integrated' identities in Australia. In this study, young Korean migrants were found to fluidly move back and forth by consuming Korean videos and language schools to highlight their 'Koreanness' while moving between Australian style cuisine at breakfast and lunch to Korean meals at dinner. Through these diverse contexts, these postassimilationist perspectives emphasise the situatedness of migrant consumers with respect to their cultures of origin, alongside their ability to forge a sense of belonging in their adopted cultures.

From National and Ethnic to Other Border Crossings

Moreover, while the majority of consumer acculturation research has focused on how consumers negotiate ethnic and national boundaries, scholars are increasingly exploring other types of boundary crossings. Theories of consumer acculturation have often represented acculturation as a movement between two cultures which are separated by an ethnic or national boundary, for example, between Mexican and mainstream United States culture (Peñaloza 1994), between middle-class Haitian and midwestern United States culture (Oswald 1999), between South Asian and British culture (Lindridge et al. 2004), between Greenlandic and Danish culture (Askegaard et al. 2005), between Iranian and UK cultures (Jafari and Goulding 2008), or between Turkish and German cultures (Luedicke 2011). In these explorations, the

conceptualisation of consumer acculturation is often centred on the negotiation of ethnic and national boundaries.

However, beyond ethnicity and national identity, consumer acculturation scholars are increasingly conceptualising other dimensions of social and cultural identity which are significant to consumer acculturation. Oswald (1999), for instance, introduced class identity as another facet of identity which intersects with ethnic identity in acculturation. Thompson and Tambyah (1999) showed how expatriates living in Singapore navigated the boundary between global cosmopolitanism and localisation. Lindridge et al. (2004) further showed how South Asian women in Britain projected multiple identities to culturally navigate between families, friendship groups, and different cultural communities while Sekhon and Szmigin (2011) similarly highlighted the role of the family in providing resources for identity construction. More recently, Regany et al. (2012) presented a typology of five boundaries (national, ethnic, religious, biographical, and generational), the different meanings ascribed to these boundaries by first and second generation migrants, and the work performed on these boundaries through migrants' coping strategies.

From Ethnoconsumerist to Dyadic Perspectives

More recently, marketing scholars have moved beyond migrant-centric perspectives towards more dyadic perspectives in their approach to acculturation. The majority of consumer acculturation research has been characterised by an ethnoconsumerist approach (Venkatesh 1995, 27), that is, "the study of consumption from the point of view of the social or cultural group that is the subject of study." Indeed, many seminal pieces in consumer acculturation research have focused on the perspective of the migrant consumer (Peñaloza 1994; Oswald 1999; Askegaard et al. 2005).

However, other scholars have also adopted a dyadic approach which acknowledges the role of both locals and migrants in the acculturation process. Here, acculturation is defined as "phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936, 149). In this vein, by empirically demonstrating acculturative food consumption patterns in the dominant culture in the United Kingdom in response to growing migrant populations, Jamal (1996) highlighted that local consumers also experience acculturation. Similarly, (Luedicke 2011) recently advocated a shift from migrant-centric ethnographic accounts to a broader view of acculturation as a multi-directional process of intercultural adaptation involving both locals and migrants.

From Individual Fluidity to Structural Constraints

In addition, there has been a shift from accounts which emphasise individual factors in determining acculturation outcomes to accounts which emphasise structural constraints on identity. On one hand, consumers have been shown to exhibit cultural fluidity, for instance in their ability to switch between differing cultural codes to express multiple ethnic and class-based identities (Oswald 1999) or in their ability to oscillate between identity positions (Askegaard et al. 2005). On the other hand, as Luedicke (2011) highlighted, such 'voluntarist' accounts implicitly emphasise the role of individual choice in determining acculturation outcomes. Therefore, these individual-level accounts have been qualified by system-level accounts which emphasise the structural constraints imposed by broader socio-cultural forces on individual identity making. Thompson and Tambyah (1999), for instance, showed how conflicting ideologies of cosmopolitan mobility and localisation create tensions in the consumer stories of expatriates living in Singapore. Üstüner and Holt (2007) further highlighted the role of social, economic, and cultural capital in delimiting acculturation outcomes. In their study of

resource-poor migrant women in a Turkish squat, three acculturation outcomes were found: segregation, attempted assimilation, and marginalisation. Jafari and Goulding (2008) additionally showed how ideological tensions and negative stereotypes shaped the experiences of young Iranians in the UK, resulting in the experience of a 'torn self'. Finally, Luedicke (2011) developed a broader model of consumer acculturation which shifts from 'voluntarist' views and instead acknowledges the constraints imposed by wider socio-cultural discourses.

From North American to European Sites

Finally, research on consumer acculturation has incorporated an increasing diversity of research contexts. While earlier consumer acculturation studies in marketing were predominantly situated in North America (Mehta and Belk 1991; Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994), the majority of recent studies in consumer acculturation have been situated in Europe. These include investigations of Pakistani immigrants in the UK (Jamal and Chapman 2000), young adult South Asian women in Britain (Lindridge et al. 2004), Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark (Askegaard et al. 2005), poor migrant women in Turkey (Üstüner and Holt 2007), young Iranian migrants in the UK (Jafari and Goulding 2008), Turkish immigrants in Germany (Luedicke 2011), and Moroccan mothers and daughters in France (Regany et al. 2012). An exception to this trend is a recent study of first- and second-generation Korean migrants in Australia (Sutton-Brady et al. 2010).

KEY CONCEPTUAL GAPS IN CONSUMER ACCULTURATION THEORY

While consumer acculturation research has seen significant advances, there remain several conceptual gaps which represent key areas for further development. Since the postassimilationist turn pioneered by Peñaloza (1994), the trajectory of consumer acculturation studies has been largely informed by Berry's (1980; 1997) social psychological framework.

While this framework has provided a platform for productive insights, as Luedicke (2011) has contended, it also straightjackets the further development of the field by imposing several implicit assumptions on theories of consumer acculturation. In addition to the limitations highlighted by Luedicke (2011), the following section calls attention to further conceptual gaps and unanswered questions in consumer acculturation theory. A summary of these conceptual gaps and further questions is provided in Table 4.

Table 4
Summary of Key Conceptual Gaps in Consumer Acculturation Research

Conceptual Gap	Further Questions
Assumed primacy of the intercultural dyad	• Are the boundaries of ethnicity and nationality still central to consumer acculturation? • What further boundaries are important in consumer acculturation? • How do these multiple boundaries intersect?
Assumed indexical relationship between consumption practices and individual identity outcomes	• Beyond indexing and expressing multiple social identities, what other functions are performed through consumption practices in acculturation? • To what extent do consumption practices produce desired structures of feeling?
Limited knowledge of practices of consumer agency	• Can consumption practices shift socio-cultural boundaries? • How do consumption practices shift socio-cultural boundaries?

Assumed Primacy of the Intercultural Dyad

First, current views of consumer acculturation are constrained by the ongoing primacy of the intercultural dyad. A dyad refers to a dynamic relationship involving two actors, such as a supplier and a customer (Gummesson 2004), firms in a marketing channel (Achrol, Reve, and Stern 1983; Kim 2000), or firms in a business-to-business relationship (Anderson, Håkansson, and Johanson 1994). While immigrant acculturation scholars in marketing have deployed a rich variety of metaphors, representing immigrant consumers as border crossers (Peñaloza 1994), culture swappers and code switchers (Oswald 1999), reflexive consumers of culture (Askegaard

et al. 2005; Askegaard, Kjeldgaard, and Arnould 2009), and consumers who fail to cross the border due to lack of capital (Üstüner and Holt 2007), these representations are heavily influenced by the foundational image of a dyadic movement between two distinct cultures, often separated by ethnic and national borders. This conceptualisation of the dyad has further been reinforced through the dominance of 'methodological nationalism' (Figueiredo 2012) in consumer acculturation research, in which movements between intercultural dyads have tended to be privileged.

While this dyadic border crossing lens has been an insightful lens to date, it betrays a fundamental model of cultures as autonomous islands – an image which is increasingly being eroded in the context of accelerated global flows (Appadurai 1997). Current theoretical views of acculturation require a shift beyond the trope of using country of origin as a primary marker and determinant of cultural identity. As Burton (2009, 189) argued, "This approach is symptomatic of much international research in which geographical boundaries are equated with nation and culture, which could potentially result in erroneous conclusions."

Despite initial qualifications which extend the concept of the border beyond the dimensions of ethnicity and nationality, the centrality of these dimensions in consumers' acculturation projects remains unquestioned. While recent scholars have begun to move away from this dyad and begun to analyse other aspects of identity beyond those defined by ethnicity and nationality (Lindridge et al. 2004; Oswald 1999; Regany et al. 2012; Sekhon and Szmigin 2011), the intercultural dyad has arguably persisted as the macro construct which frames and supersedes these additional dimensions. For instance, Luedicke (2011) critiqued the home and host culture formation as overly homogeneous, called attention to the complex networks of socio-cultural adaptation which come into play in acculturation, and underlined the recursive relationship between the discursive and consumption practices of locals and migrants. However, this alternative model assumes an a priori bifurcation between 'the local' and 'the

migrant', thereby obscuring important questions. For instance, what marks the boundary between a local and a migrant? How do these boundaries shift over time? Can migrants ever become locals?

Furthermore, ethnicity or nationality may not be the primary social category by which consumers organise their lives. The ongoing assumption that the intercultural dyad is the macro construct in consumer acculturation is increasingly confounded by the complexities of contemporary cultural identities. Baumann (1997, 210), for instance, observed in his ethnographic fieldwork that:

> [T]here seemed to be 'communities' within 'communities', as well as 'cultures' across 'communities'. The equation between 'community' and 'culture', dominant as it is in much public discourse about 'ethnic' minorities, disintegrated the more I got to know local people.

Further layers of complexity are uncovered when considering the complex interactions of discourses of biculturalism, multiculturalism, and postcolonialism, which confound the assumed polarities between home and host, or local and migrant. Given that the primacy of the intercultural dyad under-emphasises the complex "multiplicities of multicultural identities" (Werbner 1997a, 17), there is further scope to unpack and explore these complexities as they unfold in the context of consumer acculturation.

Indeed, while there are already sophisticated discussions of culture and identity in other areas of marketing, the implications of these insights have yet to fully 'cross the border' into consumer acculturation theory. These discussions, which assert a complex and contested landscape of meaning within which identities are constituted, include concepts of identity myths (Thompson and Tian 2008), the performance of Whiteness (Burton 2009), the performance of 'authentic' ethnic identity (Moeran 2005), the construction of transnational and regional consciousness through advertising (Cayla and Eckhardt 2008), and the entanglement of citizenship, consumption, and market discourses (Henry 2010). There is also an increasing

recognition of subgroup heterogeneity (Craig and Douglas 2006) and the larger sociohistorical conditions and processes which shape these differences (Andreasen 1990; Sandikci and Ger 2010). More recently, drawing on a literary criticism of Loti's fictional and non-fictional work, de-Burgh-Woodman (2013, 303) argued that the blurring of the self and Other divide is part of the impact of globalisation on the individual. As she asserted:

> *The contemporary building of transnational brands (Cayla and Eckhardt 2008), the rise of international marketing (de Mooij, 2009) and the distribution of goods across international markets build connections among people that go beyond local or national boundaries (Bouchet 1995).*

Drawing on these and insights from other disciplines, consumer acculturation theory requires a more profound understanding of the multiple and transcultural influences which constitute consumers' cultural identities, requiring consumers to negotiate complex and at times contradictory identity positions within the sites under investigation. Bhabha (1994), for instance, highlights uneasy disjunctures between the multiple identities that one inhabits in multiple social worlds. Rather than privileging country of origin in conceptualisations of cultural identity, this approach emphasises that consumers' identities are transculturally constituted, comprising multiple forms of belonging and social solidarity (Calhoun 2003). For example, Fijian-born Indians negotiate a different sense of being 'Indian in Australia' compared to Indians born in India (Ghosh 2000), while Malaysian-born Chinese immigrant consumers negotiate complex webs of belonging which include ethnic affiliations with diverse Chinese communities, regional affiliations derived from Malaysia's position as a Southeast Asian nation, and a national identity inflected by a history of British colonialisation. As another example, Nadal (2009) explained that many Filipinos in America do not identify as 'Asian' due to a unique history of colonisation by the Spanish and the Americans, phenotypical differences from other East Asians, and experiences of marginalisation within Asian American communities. In a similar vein, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand may

find themselves negotiating multiple, fragmented, and shifting meanings of 'Asianness' and 'New Zealandness'.

Thus, in immigrant acculturation research, the imaginaries of home and host culture are only a portion, and perhaps not even the primary portion, of the multiple socio-cultural discourses and practices which are under negotiation. As the current macro construct, the intercultural dyad has over-determined the ways in which consumer acculturation is currently conceptualised. Because of this, the following questions have yet to be fully considered in consumer acculturation theory: Are the boundaries of ethnicity and nationality still central to consumer acculturation? What further boundaries are important in consumer acculturation? How do these multiple boundaries intersect in consumers' lives, and to what extent are they characterised by alignment or disjuncture?

Assumed Indexical Relationship between Consumption Practices and Individual Identity Outcomes

In addition, consumer acculturation scholars have largely presupposed an indexical relationship between consumption practices and individual identity outcomes. This assumption is in line with Berry's (1980) framework whereby identity positions are defined and distinguished based on differences in practice. As a result, consumption practices have been largely interpreted as indices or expressions of affiliation with multiple social and cultural groups. For example, Sutton-Brady et al. (2010, 360) applied this reasoning in interpreting young Korean migrants' food consumption practices:

> *Young Korean migrants appear to fluidly move back and forth using consumption (such as the Korean videos and language schools) to highlight their 'Koreanness' while moving between Australian style cuisine at breakfast and lunch to Korean meals at dinner. They mix and match and indulge in a creolised form as well, highlighting this fluidity.*

Similarly, Lindridge et al. (2004) highlighted the role of media, language, and food consumption as expressions of multiple cultural identities. While these and other studies have highlighted the notions of reflexivity and fluidity between multiple cultural identities (Askegaard et al. 2005; Oswald 1999), the underlying assumption which sees consumption practices as expressions of belonging to multiple social groups remains unquestioned. However, consumption practices may be used to perform other functions beyond indexing and expressing multiple social and cultural identities. For instance, to what extent do consumers knowingly engage in ironic (Firat and Dholakia 1998) modes of consumption? To what extent do acculturating consumers engage in consumption practices such as play, gaming, and pretence (Goffman 1971)?

Further, even if consumption practices are intended as expressions of belonging in multiple social worlds, it is unclear to what extent consumption practices in acculturation produce the desired structures of feeling. As Williams (1977, 132) explains, structures of feeling refer to "social experiences in *solution* as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been *precipitated* and are more evidently and more immediately available." In considering how visible consumer practices are related to 'social experiences in solution', there is further room to consider the question of efficacy: to what extent do these consumption practices really enable consumers to inhabit the desired social world and achieve the desired states of being? While indexical views of consumption usually equate integration with the consumption of cultural practices which are not associated with the culture of origin, to what extent does consuming like the locals make you a local (Luedicke 2011; Üstüner and Holt 2007)? Conversely, to what extent does the symbolic consumption of home produce feelings of being-at-home? Linnet (2010a, 14) highlighted this under-explored relationship in consumer research when he observed that "the analysis of consumption practices can move beyond seeing these mainly as ways of constructing identity, and towards an appreciation of how consumption

relates to being." In addition to asking how identity affects consumption practices, scholars

need to question how consumption practices affect consumers' identities and subjectivities.

This current lack of clarity concerning the relationship between structures of action and

structures of feeling is further brought into relief when considering issues of cultural rooting in

the context of global mobility. It has been frequently observed that the symbols and trappings

of cultural identity have been appropriated, proliferated, and globalised to such an extent that

they can no longer be moored to any unique sense of cultural being or sense of place (Firat

1995). Further, the deterritorialisation of cultural signs from cultures of origin (Firat 1995)

raises pertinent questions about how consumers experience their multiple identities. As Jamal

and Chapman (2000, 372) have suggested, there is a need to investigate "how ethnicity or ethnic

identity is perceived and consumed by the immigrants themselves in a post-modern world."

There are conflicting perspectives on the question of how consumers experience the

consumption of multiple and deterritorialised socio-cultural forms. On one hand, some scholars

have celebrated the fluidity of cultural identities as a fact of global mobility. Oswald (1999,

303) advocated the idea of the 'mutable self' and wrote that, "Since personal and social identity

can be bought and sold, the human subject seems to have lost its authenticity." Sutton-Brady et

al. (2010) similarly presented cultural fluidity as a normalised rather than contested aspect of

migrant life. On the other hand, Askegaard et al. (2005, 165) framed the question of cultural

rooting as a phenomenological problem:

> *Given what we have shown about Greenlandic ambivalence about their Danish identity,*
> *what Oswald (1999) calls culture swapping is not experienced as a seamless process*
> *but as an ongoing conciliation involving existential desires for distinctive roots and*
> *serious concerns about deracination and identity questions generally.*

How might consumer acculturation scholars reconcile conflicting views of cultural

consumption as both a form of postmodern fluidity (Oswald 1999; Sutton-Brady et al. 2010)

and as a source of existential tension (Askegaard et al. 2005)? When consuming cultural codes

from multiple cultural systems, do consumers feel compelled to construct coherence and cultural roots? To what extent is there a sense of ambivalence in these modes of consumption? These questions suggest a need for a better understanding of how consumers themselves feel about consuming divergent, creolised, and deterritorialised cultural symbols. In particular, beyond assumptions of indexicality, more research can be done to better understand the relationship between consumption practices and individual identity outcomes.

Limited Knowledge of Practices of Consumer Agency

Finally, within consumer acculturation research, scholars have recently shifted from perspectives which emphasise individual fluidity towards perspectives which consider structural constraints on identity. On the one hand, earlier studies which were informed by the Berry (1980) school of thought presented accounts of acculturating consumers who are able to choose and fluidly move between multiple identity positions. Peñaloza's (1994) model of acculturation, for instance, focused on individual acculturation outcomes while Askegaard et al. (2005) and Oswald (1999) presented an account of movement between different identity positions. On the other hand, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the constraints imposed by external systems on individual identity making (Luedicke 2011). Üstüner and Holt (2007), for instance, drew on a Bourdieusian framework to demonstrate how a lack of capital can constrain the identity positions available to resource-poor consumers.

However, there is currently limited knowledge about the practices of consumer agency. That is, how do consumers not only move across and between boundaries, but *shift* them? Luedicke (2011) has laid the foundation for a more thorough discussion through his dialectical model of consumer agency and social structure, which sees both consumer practices and socio-cultural boundaries as mutually reinforcing and recursive. Luedicke (2011) further showed how, in their consumption of prestigious car brands, Turkish immigrants in Germany

unwittingly contaminated the local meanings of these brands. In addition, Regany et al. (2012) interrogated the notion of the boundary and briefly discussed the work performed on boundaries by Moroccan mothers and daughters in France. Given the infancy of this emerging discussion, there is further potential to explore the following research questions. To what extent do these consumption practices reproduce cultural categories and to what extent do they transform cultural categories and boundaries? Beyond traversing (Lindridge et al. 2004; Mehta and Belk 1991; Peñaloza 1994), negotiating (Askegaard et al. 2005; Jafari and Goulding 2008; Regany et al. 2012), and oscillating between (Askegaard et al. 2005; Jamal and Chapman 2000; Oswald 1999; Regany et al. 2012; Sutton-Brady et al. 2010) socio-cultural boundaries, what else can consumers 'do' with boundaries? There is further scope to explore whether, and through what practices, consumers can affect wider socio-cultural boundaries.

INTERDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES ON ACCULTURATION

The previous section has underlined that the limited range of informing perspectives on consumer acculturation has resulted in key conceptual gaps. By framing consumer acculturation through the lens of a particular school of thought, consumer acculturation theorists have both illuminated important constructs while de-emphasising others. The dominance of Berry's (1980; 1997) social psychological framework as an informing paradigm in consumer acculturation theory is surprising given that acculturation is a topic that spans a wide range of disciplines. These include psychology (Berry 1980; 1997), sociology (Brubaker 2004; Calhoun 2003; Robertson 1992), anthropology (Appadurai 1997), philosophy (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Welsch 1999), cultural studies (Ang 2003; Ganguly 1992), and geography (Collins 2009). Immigrant acculturation, in particular, has been framed through a wide range of theoretical lenses, including cross-cultural psychological adaptation (Berry 1980), social identity theory (Tajfel 1981), and processes of ethnic identity formation (Glazer and Moynihan 1963).

Immigrant acculturation has also been understood in relation to key interdisciplinary discourses including globalisation (Appadurai 1997; Featherstone 1990), cultural entanglement (Ang 2003), postcolonialism (Bhabha 1990), and hybridity (Werbner 1997a). Indeed, Costa and Bamossy (1995, 17) contended that, in order to "enrich their intellectual treatment of ethnicity, nationalism, and cultural identity as they affect marketing and consumer behavior, we suggest that marketing scholars draw to a much greater extent on the extant literature of the other social sciences." Given the current conceptual gaps in consumer acculturation theory, it would be useful to explore how integrating a wider range of theoretical lenses can extend the current literature and address these gaps.

In particular, it would be useful to consider how a vibrant interdisciplinary project concerned with "reconfiguring conceptualisations of nations, societies and cultures in the light of globalising processes" (Collins 2009, 434) might reframe dominant assumptions in consumer acculturation theory. In the context of accelerating global flows (Appadurai 1997) and cultural transformations (Ang 2003), how are we to re-think nations, cultures, and ethnic groups? As a discipline, it would be useful to take a step back and engage with these macro issues. In particular, marketing scholars are uniquely placed to consider the role of consumption in contemporary forms of socio-cultural re-configuration. As Peñaloza (1995) has already suggested, there is a clear opportunity for marketing scholars to articulate the links between consumption, belonging, and citizenship in an increasingly globalised world. This would put marketing as a discipline in a better position to engage in these wider conversations and articulate the contribution of immigrant consumer acculturation research to this increasingly pertinent discourse.

In order to engage with this growing interdisciplinary project, this thesis now turns to a broader review of significant interdisciplinary advances in theories of culture and identity. Scholars across various disciplines have developed increasingly sophisticated lenses which

grapple with the increasing complexity of culture and the increasing sophistication of individuals' cultural identities in the context of accelerated global flows. In particular, in response to broader interdisciplinary questions concerning the reconfiguration of culture and identity in an era of global mobility, notable re-conceptualisations have occurred at both the macro level of culture and the micro level of identity.

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Culture

At the macro level of culture, interdisciplinary discourses are emphasising cultural flows over cultural boundaries and representing cultures as inherently heterogeneous, entangled rather than autonomous, and characterised by displacement and disjuncture. Through these re-conceptualisations, the idea of a stable and coherent 'culture' is seen as a dominant narrative which emerges out of a continual, contingent, and contested process of narration.

Globalisation processes have shifted conceptualisations of culture from an emphasis on discrete categories and boundaries to an emphasis on cultural flows and transformations. Beck (2005, 80) underlined a "new metaphor of 'liquidity'" which suffused conceptions of globalisation in the social sciences. In this vein, Papastergiadis (1997, 268) argued that culture is more astutely defined using "references to motion rather than by comparison to a static or bounded object... more like a river with a number of currents moving at different rates and intensities." Given the context of globalisation, international trade, and increasing economic co-determinism between nations, in which there is an acceleration of flows of not only capital, but also people, technology, media images, and ideologies across local and national boundaries (Appadurai 1997) which are sustained by global-scale processes (Featherstone 1990), this emphasis on cultural flows is increasingly appropriate.

In addition, rather than a monolithic system that applies at all levels of a society, cultures are increasingly seen as heterogeneous "places of kaleidoscopic experience" (Boyne 2002, 125) and a "confluence of narratives" (Brah 1996, 183). As Levi-Strauss (1994, 424) asserted:

> *The term [monocultural] is meaningless, because there never has been such a society. All cultures are the result of a mishmash, borrowings, mixtures that have occurred, though at different rates, ever since the beginning of time. Because of the way it is formed, each society is multicultural and over the centuries has arrived at its own original synthesis.*

Accordingly, scholars have increasingly recognised heterogeneity within cultures (Hefner 1998; Joseph and Fink 1999) along diverse dimensions such as ethnic origin, socioeconomic status, location, age, education, religious affiliation, and religious attachment (Dwyer 1999). In this vein, Vertovec (2007, 9) coined the term 'super-diversity' in the context of Britain to describe a situation which surpasses "anything the country has previously experienced" and results in "significant new conjunctions and interactions." Paton and Henry (2009) further critiqued the typical conflation of Chinese philosophy with Confucianism and the related associations of individualism with 'the West' and collectivism with 'the East'. Rather, they argued, multiple threads of Mohism, Legalism, Yangism, Daoism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Marxism factor heavily in the construction of present day Chinese value systems. In Australia, it has been estimated that at least one in six marriages is inter-ethnic, thereby confounding any attempts to create 'homogeneous' ethnic samples (Luke and Luke 2000). Hefner (1998) similarly eschewed the notion of uniform Chinese, Malay, or Vietnamese cultures in favour of a more pluralised or distributional model. Moreover, in an ethnographic study of a small fishing town in the Philippines, Szanton (1998, 251) demonstrated that "even small social worlds turn out to be multiple, unstable, malleable over time, and characterized by constantly internally and externally generated perturbations." In these views, attempts to conceptualise cultures as singular systems are seen as reductive.

Interdisciplinary literatures are thus shifting the fundamental metaphors from cultures as autonomous islands, emphasising the idea of cultural separation, to cultures as cross-cutting webs, emphasising the idea of cultural entanglement. In the latter view, cultures are seen as always-already complicatedly entangled (Ang 2003) and mutually imbricated (Merleau-Ponty 1962). Even in discourses of multiculturalism, as Welsch (1999) argued, cultures have been metaphorically understood as autonomous islands which are internally homogenous, externally separated, exclusively 'owned by' a particular people, and which inevitably collide when in contact. The basic premise is a pure and primordial notion of culture, which results in an essentialist binary between the culture of self and the culture of others. However, this primordial model of separate cultures is confounded by the inner differentiation and complexity within modern cultures as well as diverse forms of entanglement between and across cultures today (Robertson 1992; Welsch 1999). As a result, the centrality of the intercultural dyad gives way to multiple "webs of belonging" (Calhoun 2003, 56) in which ethnicity and nationality are not privileged among multiple sources of socio-cultural identity.

This emerging metaphor of cultures as cross-cutting webs draws attention to the entanglements, intersections, and mutual imbrications across cultures. Given the extent to which the symbols and trappings of cultural identity have been appropriated, proliferated, and globalised, they can no longer be moored to a singular point of origin. Indeed, the unmooring of cultural signs from their 'original' meanings is a key feature of contemporary consumer culture, which is characterised by an increasingly confounded and complex relationship between signs and the realities they purport to represent (Baudrillard 1994). In this vein, Petropoulos (2006, 105) argued that identity is "a question of 'routes', rather than 'roots'." Using the concepts of cultural sampling, cultural mixing, and cultural disruption, Petropoulos (2006) questioned the myth of static cultural origins often associated with the Canadian multicultural discourse of hyphenated identities, instead pointing to the many cross-cultural and

transnational sites that shape African Canadian identity. Ang (2000, xvi) similarly eschewed the binary opposition between 'Asia' and 'Australia', instead highlighting the ways in which they are "thoroughly intertwined in everyday culture and in the imagined worlds of Australians of both Asian and non-Asian backgrounds." From this perspective, the overlaps between cultures render it difficult to draw a clear line between what belongs to 'self' and what belongs to the 'Other' (Ganguly 1992), as the foreign and the familiar are always implicated in every form of cultural production (Ang 2003).

Furthermore, as culture becomes unmoored from territory and nation through cultural flows and transcultural entanglements, ideas of cultural displacement, disjuncture, and dislocation (Bhabha 1990; 1994) are becoming more relevant to understanding contemporary cultures and identities. In this vein, Beck (2005, 79) characterised the contemporary cosmopolitan age as "founded on a *dialogical imaginary of the internalized other*" (emphasis in original). As Ang (2000, xix) explained:

> *Interaction between cultures shouldn't be reduced simply to a triumphant celebration of cultural 'diversity' or the harmonious merging of cultural differences. On the contrary, the hybridisation of contemporary culture is also a process of disruption, disarticulation, critical interrogation: intercultural contact and the intermingling of different cultural groups, traditions and forms also always involves the destabilisation and contestation of prevailing cultural purities, essentialisms and chauvinisms.*

Because there is no single cultural frame which can be imposed in all situations, migrant identities are shaped by complex and at times conflicting narratives. For instance, Ong (1999) noted that 'Chineseness' is shaped by contradictory discourses of profits versus patriotism, overseas Chinese versus mainland Chinese, race versus citizenship, amorality versus morality, guanxi networks versus open architecture, hybridity versus essentialism, and Western versus Confucian values.

Through these shifting views of culture, the idea of a homogeneous, pure, or 'authentic' culture can be seen as a dominant narrative which emerges through processes of narration.

Collectivities such as nations and ethnic groups can thus be seen as imagined communities (Anderson 1983) or contingent fictions (Clifford 1988), which are continually produced through groupmaking processes (Brubaker 2004) such as collective remembering and nostalgia (Ahmed 1999; Bhabha 1990). In this view, history is not merely a fixed sequence of events, but also a narrative that is continually re-inscribed as a resource for identity construction in the present (Friedman 1992; Hill and Cromartie 2004).

Further, cultural narratives are continually under contestation because historical events can give rise to multiple, contested, and conflicting narratives. Foucault (1977), for instance, highlighted the operation of power in producing popular memory, which is the dominant narrative at any given point in time, and countermemory, which are alternative narratives that undermine the dominant narrative and are thereby silenced or delegitimised. Huyssen (2000) similarly distinguished between usable pasts – narratives which are relevant to identity construction in the present – and disposable pasts. Thus, wider discursive and mythmaking processes have the power to include and exclude, giving some individuals the right to call a place 'home' while denying a sense of belonging to others. However, there is no simple bifurcation between 'ungrounded' transnational migrants and 'grounded' locals. Because processes of contestation result in changes to dominant narratives over time, the seemingly natural boundaries between home and host, between migrants and locals, or between locals and cosmopolitans are always shifting, in flux, and negotiated.

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Identity

At the micro level of identity, interdisciplinary discourses are reinforcing postassimilationist views of acculturation and emphasising that cultural identities are dynamic and complex, broader than ethnic origin, inflected by histories of colonialism, and performed rather than essential.

While scholars of immigrant acculturation originally equated acculturation with assimilation, it is now widely accepted in interdisciplinary discourses that assimilation is only one of a wider range of identity outcomes for immigrants. Postassimilationist theories of immigrant identity emphasise the individual's negotiation of two cultural entities (Tropp et al. 1999). For instance, rather than losing their connection to their culture of origin, Glazer and Moynihan (1963) demonstrated how immigrants to New York City maintained their ethnic identities through successive generations. Berry (1980) in his seminal piece mapped four acculturation outcomes: assimilation, where an individual seeks to become part of the dominant society to the exclusion of his or her own cultural group; integration, where an individual retains their original cultural values but adapts to the dominant culture by learning necessary skills and values; separation, where an individual identifies exclusively with their culture of origin; and deculturation, where an individual perceives their culture of origin as negative but is unable to adapt to the dominant culture. Here, acculturation is assessed by examining language use, religious beliefs, educational status, employment, societal norms, social status, media usage, social relations, and gender roles (Berry 1980).

In addition, interdisciplinary views of identity have moved beyond essentialist and structural theories towards dynamic and complex conceptualisations. Rather than seeing ethnicity as an a priori and relatively stable category (Tajfel 1981), Barth (1969) viewed ethnic boundaries as the constantly shifting result of intercultural negotiation. This is in line with Hall's (1990, 226) view of ethnicity as "not an essence but a positioning." Along this thread, Farquhar (2010, 53) drew on Ricoeur's concept of identity as narrative to explain that:

> *Identity is not simply there like an objective fact. Rather, to possess a selfhood is to be "subject to," and "the subject of," dynamic experiences and instabilities. ... A narrative identity is neither stable nor seamless; rather, it involves a complex array of stories about one's self entwined in history, relationships with others, community, and memories. As it is possible to compose several plots about the same incidents, "it is always possible to weave different, even opposed, plots about our identities" (Ricoeur, Time and Narrative 3, 248).*

Furthermore, scholars in other disciplines emphasise the multiple and complex constitution of consumers' cultural identities and assert that ethnic origin is only one of many forms of social solidarity through which individuals organise their lives (Calhoun 2003). As Dwyer (1999, 65) observed:

> *No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental.*

Arguably, marketing scholars would more accurately represent consumers by considering the multiple webs of belonging in which they are embedded. From this perspective, migrant acculturation is broader than the dyad of home-host and migrant-local and instead involves a process of re-positioning, re-embedding, and reconfiguration within multiple "webs of belonging" (Calhoun 2003, 536) which include multiple social groups, places, and histories (Robertson 1992). This lens shifts fundamental assumptions of culture from the dyad of home and host culture towards webs of belonging, which comprise multiple and cross-cutting cultural affiliations. This lens also shifts the treatment of consumers from the default polarities of migrants and locals (Luedicke 2011), and 'home' and 'host' culture, to seeing that they are always at the intersection of entangled and mutually imbricated cultural webs. This enables a consideration of the ways in which multiple layers of identity negotiation intersect. Furthermore, in moving beyond the intercultural dyad, other phenomena such as on-migration (Fletcher 1999) and dual citizenship (Bloemraad 2004) which are shaped by these cross-cutting webs of belonging can be considered. In short, acculturation is seen as a continual negotiation and re-construction of identity through a complex and contested landscape of meaning.

More recently, postcolonial theorists have called attention to the ways in which cultural identities are inflected by histories of colonialism. These perspectives have underlined the role

of the Western and scientific gaze in constructing non-Western identities (Hall 1990; Said 1978), which form the focus of many immigrant acculturation studies. Spivak (1987) described processes of containment and appropriation which prevent colonised subjects from 'speaking for themselves'. Nadal (2009), for example, described the prevalence of 'colonial mentality' in the Philippines whereby the colonisers' culture is privileged at the expense of indigenous culture. Colonial mentality manifests in the everyday discursive and socio-cultural practices of local Filipinos, for example, in claims of Spanish or American descent, attempts to be less 'dark', and attempts to speak in a more 'American' accent (Nadal 2009).

Beyond the bifurcations of West/East and coloniser/colonised, postcolonial theorists also describe a space of hybridity in between these polarisations. Bhabha (1990) further described a unique dynamic of mimicry and ambivalence which characterises the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. Similarly, Snell-Hornby (2001) posited a hybrid text, which is a text written by the ex-colonised in the language of the coloniser, hence creating a new language and a space in-between. The issue of postcolonialism is particularly pertinent in settler societies where the majority of acculturation research is situated. For example, taking New Zealand as a national site, the complex interactions of bicultural, colonial, and multicultural discourses (Bennett 2001) deny any equivalence across the binaries of host/home, mainstream/minority, local/foreign, and culture/subculture.

Finally, emerging discourses of identity in a postmodern world are reconceptualising identity as performed rather than essential (Butler 1993; Parker and Sedgwick 1995). In these views, identity is not a core, stable, or unitary property inherent in the individual, but is a narrative which emerges through multiple performances across diverse and dynamic contexts. Here, individuals are considered social actors who change their performances to suit different audiences, thereby performing multiple identities in their everyday lives (Goffman 1971). In addition, these performances are framed by larger discourses and serve to position an actor in

relation to other actors within a wider discursive field (Hall 1990). As Li et al. (1995, 344) explained:

> *[Ethnic identity] is not merely a neutral description of ethnic group membership but is often a statement of a person's social position and power vis-a-vis members of another group. Thus the concept of positionality – the positions of individuals in the dynamics and structure of social and power relationships – is crucial to the understanding of ethnic identity.*

Performances do not merely constitute 'who one is', but more importantly, 'who one is in relation to others'.

BEYOND BERRY: ACCULTURATION AS PERFORMANCE

Luedicke (2011) called for marketing scholars to broaden the scope of consumer acculturation theory. Marketing scholars are exhorted to move beyond the constraints of the current postassimilationist school of thought, which is largely framed by Berry's (1980; 1997) original model of acculturation. As such, this thesis continues in the tradition in consumer culture research of using established theoretical frameworks to shed new light on 'old' phenomena, revealing aspects of the phenomena which are currently de-emphasised or under-explored. Integrating interdisciplinary developments, this thesis proposes an interdisciplinary view of acculturation *as performance* as an alternative lens which warrants further exploration.

Performance has emerged as an interdisciplinary view of how social action is simultaneously structured and dynamic. As Schechner (2006, 2) explained,

> *Performance must be construed as a "broad spectrum" or "continuum" of human actions ranging from ritual, play, sports, popular entertainments, the performing arts (theatre, dance, music), and everyday life performances to the enactment of social, professional, gender, race, and class roles, and on to healing (from shamanism to surgery), the media, and the internet.*

While performance has been a productive lens for understanding the dynamics and complexity of ethnic identity, it is yet to inform interdisciplinary theories of acculturation. Applying this interdisciplinary perspective to the area of acculturation, this study adopts a novel view of

performance as a dynamic interplay between multiple masks and multiple mirrors. Humans, as social actors, have multiple masks which represent a wide repertoire of performances across diverse and dynamic contexts (Goffman 1971) – we put on different faces for different audiences. With regard to cultural identity, for instance, there is increasing evidence that the framing of bicultural consumers' identities and roles can result in significant shifts in behaviour (Alvesson 2003; Briley, Morris, and Simonson 2005; Lindridge et al. 2004; Luna, Ringberg, and Peracchio 2008). As Alvesson (2003, 20) explained:

> *If somebody is interviewed as a "woman", a "leader", and a "middle-level manager", different identities are invoked, as well as different inclinations to interpret the entire interview situation and different specific questions and evaluations of what kinds of answers are appropriate.*

Further, identity is always performed for a real or imagined audience. As Lacan (1977) argued about infants and Falkenberg (2007) argued about human identity more generally, the experience of looking at oneself in the mirror – of seeing oneself through the eyes of the Other – is essential to the crafting of a self. It is not surprising, then, that Friedman (1992, 853) characterised identity as a "game of mirrors" and that Gallop (1982, 123) declared that "the self is an illusion done with mirrors." Shibutani (1955, 563) implicitly discussed mirroring processes in a seminal description of reference groups as "a structuring of [the actor's] perceptual field. In this usage a reference group becomes any collectivity, real or imagined, envied or despised, whose perspective is assumed by the actor." Giddens (1990) similarly argued that the performance of identity is an ongoing reflexive process which occurs in relation to a range of wider audiences. This perspective highlights the multiple and shifting mirrors which shift the ways in which we see ourselves and call forth different masks in different situations.

The masks and mirrors which influence social performances are not fixed, but recursively shape one another. Some masks may be normalised and affirmed by a reference

group while other masks are rejected, devalued, or denied (Shibutani 1955). Boal (2002) similarly portrayed how masks are sustained through mimetic or narcissistic mirrors, while other masks are diminished or destroyed through distorting mirrors, which answer, comment, enlarge, reduce, caricature, ridicule, destroy, or relativise the mask. By performing to the expectations of others, individuals choose masks to fit mirrors. As Falkenberg (2007, 304) wrote of his experience of being German in New Zealand:

> *I also give a performance, because what I see in the mirror of the people I meet is a construction of a "foreign" identity. I don't fully recognise myself in this representation, but I find myself performing accordingly.*

In addition to performing to others' expectations, individual actors may additionally subvert or even resist these expectations.

Because the lens of acculturation as performance sheds a unique light on issues of complexity, identity and subjectivity, and individual agency, this view of acculturation as performance provides a useful lens for addressing the identified conceptual gaps in consumer acculturation. This is because it does not assume the primacy of the intercultural dyad, does not assume an indexical relationship between consumption practices and individual identity outcomes, and encompasses the dialectics of agency and structure. The points of departure in relation to current theoretical assumptions in consumer acculturation theory are outlined in Table 5 and discussed in relation to the identified gaps in consumer acculturation theory.

Table 5
Current Theoretical Assumptions and Points of Departure

Current Theoretical Assumptions	Points of Departure
Largely informed by Berry's (1980; 1997) postassimilationist framework, derived from social psychology	Interdisciplinary view of acculturation as performance, informed by a wider range of disciplines
Primacy of the intercultural dyad, in particular, ethnic and national identity	Consideration of other sources of social and cultural identity with no a priori assumption of their relative importance
Consumption practices as indexes of individual identity outcomes	More complex relationship between structures of action and structures of feeling
Tension between identity as fluid and identity as structured	Encompasses both agency and structure
Consumer learning and socialisation	Consumer performances
Identity positions	Modes of performance

Does not Privilege the Intercultural Dyad

Instead of assuming the primacy of the intercultural dyad, the lens of acculturation as performance sees ethnic boundaries as one of many 'mirrors' which shape consumer performances. This enables consumer acculturation scholars to pose different types of questions for future inquiry. If ethnic origin is only one of many masks which consumers perform in their everyday lives, in what contexts, and through what processes, do immigrant consumers' ethnic origins become salient? Conversely, when do immigrant consumers' ethnic origins become inconspicuous? Furthermore, if the imaginaries of home and host culture are only part of the cultural landscape negotiated by immigrant consumers, scholars may need to consider other types of belonging to better understand the dynamics of acculturation. For instance, cultural identities may be inflected by colonial histories, which in turn affect the ways in which immigrants acculturate to their countries of residence. In a postcolonial vein, immigrant consumers may adopt silence as a mode of performance (Spivak 1987). An immigrant's ethnic

origin might also intersect with other performances of cultural identity, such as language

proficiency and accent.

Does not Assume an Indexical Relationship between Consumption Practices and

Individual Identity Outcomes

In addition, as suggested by Falkenberg's (2007) earlier quote about enacting a representation

of himself which he does not fully recognise, the lens of performance draws a distinction

between the enactment of expected practices and the subjective experiences of such

performances. In addition to exploring "doings and sayings" as one might do with a focus on

social practices (Warde 2005, 133), the lens of performance enables further exploration of how

these nexuses of "doings and sayings" are in turn related to more interior structures of 'feeling'

and 'being'. In particular, rather than assuming an equivalence between consumption practices

and individual identity outcomes, the lens of performance highlights the potential disjunctures

between practice and identity. As Luke and Luke (2000, 48) asserted:

> *Identity is thus a simultaneous process of agentive 'self-'formation' or self-incriptions,*
> *and a kind of 'interpellation' process, by which dominant social/cultural markers and*
> *practices position people represented as 'others' into identities not of their own making.*

In considering the effects of consumption practices on identity, the metaphor of masking

provides a useful way of considering how the same performance can result in radically different

effects on identity and subjectivity. In particular, how do acculturating consumers inhabit the

masks of consumption practice? Drawing on Friedman's (1992) distinction between 'ritual

masks' and 'theatre masks', are consumption practices experienced as ritual masks with

enduring and transformative effects on identity? Or are consumption practices experienced as

theatre masks which are temporarily 'put on' and easily discarded? As Friedman (1992)

asserted, this "game of mirrors" is a serious game. Beyond the postmodern questions of sign

substitution and truth-value, the practices of inventing one's own tradition can have an impact

on the ontological foundation of a given culture. Even as social actors wear multiple masks, this does not preclude the possibility of cultural identities being imagined and performed as an unchanging core as a result of popular mythmaking and dominant discourses of cultural identity.

Encompasses Agency and Structure

Moreover, if there is a tension between identity as fluid and identity as structured, the lens of acculturation as performance reinforces a dialectical view of agency and structure: the dynamic interaction between the multiple masks performed by immigrant consumers are shaped by, and recursively shape, the mirrors which legitimate or diminish these performances. Through the continual interplay of multiple masks and multiple mirrors, performances can be both structured and fluid, thereby incorporating aspects of both individual agency and structural constraint.

In addition, performance perspectives may shed further light on practices of consumer agency and their wider effects on socio-cultural boundaries. More specifically, the modes of performance that have been described in marketing literature to date can be extended beyond notions of 'culture swapping' (Oswald 1999). While Oswald (1999) has previously examined acculturation using the concept of a "semiotics of performance" (Oswald 1999, 313), this view of performance assumes a relatively structural view of cultural identity, in which the underlying cultural categories remain unquestioned. However, being a social actor in a social world does not merely entail the reiteration of given cultural codes creolised through everyday praxis (Oswald 1999). As Schechner (2006, 89) noted, such playful modes of performance are "double-edged, ambiguous, moving in several directions simultaneously. People often mix bits of play – a wisecrack, a joke, a flirtatious smile – with serious activities in order to lighten, subvert, or even deny what is apparently being communicated."

In the context of consumer acculturation, consumers may not only perform their 'home' or 'host' culture, but may also knowingly perform their hybridity, transnationality, disjuncture, and dislocation. As already indicated in interdisciplinary literatures, modes of performance may extend beyond switching between cultures and include playful performances of complex cultural identities which subvert, question, and parody existing cultural categories. For example, the cultural studies literature has already suggested the performance strategies of racial passing (Lahiri 2003), mimicry (Bhabha 1984), self-essentialising (Friedman 2009; Werbner 1997b), self-caricature through ethnic humour (Boskin and Dorinson 1985; Leveen 1996; Rappoport 2005), playing the fool (Welsford 1966), and strategic masking of ethnic identity (Li et al. 1995). In addition to the tensions, conflicts, and difficulties associated with immigrant acculturation, there may also be a sense of emancipation from one's past self and the potential to re-incarnate a new self within the host country. As Werbner (1997a, 5) wrote:

> *What is felt to be most threatening is the deliberate, provocative aesthetic challenge to an implicit social order and identity, which may also be experienced, from a different social position, as revitalising and 'fun'.*

These modes of performance may both reinforce and confound existing cultural categories, subverting, transcending, or at least calling into question the oft-reified boundaries of race, nationality, and ethnicity. Given the fluidity of identity in a postmodern, globalised era, in which these boundaries are frequently traversed and confounded (Appadurai 1997), other modes of performance beyond 'culture swapping' (Oswald 1999) are becoming increasingly relevant. Such modes of performance may potentially provide a way for immigrant consumers to not only articulate complex identities which exceed the boundaries of race, nationality, and ethnicity, but also to demonstrate a sophisticated awareness of prevailing cultural categories and stereotypes. As this remains under-explored in consumer acculturation theory, this represents a key gap and a fruitful area for further exploration. Rather than attempting to locate consumers' identity positions within Berry's etic framework, it would be more fruitful to ask:

what are the differing modes of performance deployed by acculturating consumers? What effects do these modes of performance have on these consumers' boundary negotiations?

In summary, the reframing of acculturation *as performance* enlarges the potential to generate productive insights in relation to the identified conceptual gaps in consumer acculturation theory. Further, the lens of performance enables greater engagement with complexities which have emerged in interdisciplinary developments in theories of culture, identity, and acculturation. Adopting the lens of consumer acculturation as performance as the conceptual basis for further exploration, this study is aimed at understanding how acculturating consumers perform acculturation and how such performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

To summarise, while consumer acculturation research has been marked by significant conceptual turns, it is also delimited by the Berry (1980; 1997) school of thought. Consequently, there is further opportunity to broaden consumer acculturation research beyond its current focus on a social psychological paradigm, which has resulted in the following conceptual limitations: an assumption of the primacy of the intercultural dyad, an assumed indexical relationship between consumption practices and individual identity outcomes, and limited knowledge of practices of consumer agency. To address these conceptual gaps, this chapter reviewed a broader spectrum of interdisciplinary perspectives and adopted an alternative view of acculturation as performance. Given its potential to enable further engagement with issues of complexity, subjectivity, and agency which have been de-emphasised in previous theorisations, the perspective of acculturation as performance warrants further development and forms the conceptual basis for further exploration in this study.

Chapter III: Methodology

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

What constitutes 'good' research? In Crotty's (1998) view, it depends: different paradigmatic assumptions about reality and knowledge underpin different modes of knowledge generation, and accordingly, different means of assessing research quality. To provide a useful structure for such an assessment, this chapter traces how the methodology, theoretical perspective, and epistemology framed and guided the choice of methods and tools used to address the research problem identified in the literature review. First, the chapter outlines the research purpose and chosen research context. Following this, the research philosophy is explained by situating a methodology of hermeneutic analysis within a theoretical perspective of hermeneutic interpretivism, which is in turn linked to an epistemology of social constructionism. The methods and tools of this study are then described and justified, including details of participants, interview tools and techniques, and data analysis procedures. Finally, the research quality is discussed with reference to issues of trustworthiness and reflexivity.

RESEARCH PURPOSE

The research objectives and questions that guided this study were formulated out of the identified conceptual gaps in the marketing literature and initial conceptual directions derived from multiple disciplines. As the literature review indicates, there is a need to reframe theories of consumer acculturation to capture further complexities which have emerged within interdisciplinary perspectives. While interdisciplinary research in this field has grappled with the increasing complexity of culture and the increasing sophistication of individuals' cultural identities in the context of accelerated global flows, Berry's (1980; 1997) post-assimilationist

framework continues to impose several implicit assumptions on consumer acculturation theory: the primacy of the intercultural dyad, an indexical relationship between consumption practices and individual identity outcomes, and a limited understanding of the practices of consumer agency.

To address these current gaps in consumer acculturation theory, an alternative view of acculturation as performance is adopted and this study broadly aims to understand how the performance of acculturation shapes acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations. The aims of this study are two-fold:

1. to identify the range of performances enacted by acculturating consumers; and

2. to understand how these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations.

Accordingly, the key research questions and corresponding research objectives are outlined in Table 6:

Table 6
Research Questions and Objectives

Research Questions	Research Objectives
What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers?	Identification of key modes of performance which are enacted by acculturating consumers
How do these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations?	Conceptualisation of the relationship between key modes of performance and boundary negotiation

RESEARCH CONTEXT

The chosen focus of this study is on skilled first-time migrants who have migrated from Southeast Asia to New Zealand. In investigating participants from more than one country of origin, this study moves the frame of analysis beyond the home-host dyad and instead acknowledges the multiplicity of 'masks' and 'mirrors' (see 'Beyond Berry: Acculturation as Performance' in Literature Review) which shape performances in the context of an increasingly glocalised world. While Southeast Asia is comprised of 10 diverse nations, participants were selected not so much based on their nationalities and ethnicities as for their shared experiences of inhabiting embedded multiplicities in Southeast Asia, complex disjunctures in New Zealand, and postcolonial inversions and contradictions.

Embedded Multiplicities in Southeast Asia

Southeast Asian migrants share embedded multiplicities which embody wider interdisciplinary discourses of cultural multiplicity. This is because individuals from Southeast Asia have been primarily acculturated to discourses of Southeast Asian regional identity (Cayla and Eckhardt 2008; Hefner 1998) which are highly resonant with interdisciplinary views of cultures and identities as heterogeneous and confounding of race, nationality, and ethnicity. These include discourses of Southeast Asian cultural diversity which acknowledge interdisciplinary views of cultures as heterogeneous (Boyne 2002; Szanton 1998) and entangled (Ang 2003; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Welsch 1999). Because Southeast Asian nations are highly heterogeneous and consist of multiple ethnic groups, the relationship between national and ethnic identity is often complex and contested. As Hefner (1998) asserts, Southeast Asian cultures resist being described as uniform Chinese, Malay, or Vietnamese cultures, but are more astutely described using a pluralised and distributional model of culture. In this vein, Cayla and Eckhardt (2008, 220) found that, rather than emphasising cultural homogeneity, regional Asian brands

constructed a "mosaic Asian culture" which invoked an assortment of cultural references. The "mosaic Asian culture" (Cayla and Eckhardt 2008, 220) which defines Southeast Asia results in constant slippages between race, nationality, and ethnicity.

In addition, the embedded multiplicities in Southeast Asia echo Dwyer's (1999) view that cultures cannot be described as singular systems. Rather, heterogeneity is observed along diverse dimensions such as ethnic origin, socioeconomic status, location, age, education, religious affiliation, and religious attachment (Dwyer 1999). Rather than reducing cultural identity to one's country of origin, this frame of analysis proceeds from the theoretical assumption that consumers' identities are transculturally constituted, comprising multiple forms of belonging and social solidarity (Calhoun 2003).

Furthermore, while this is not the primary objective, the diversity inherent in the chosen research context also allows for a comparative perspective. Rather than attributing a given performance to an individual's country of origin, this chosen research context would highlight similarities and differences in performance between individuals from a range of backgrounds. This allows for insights about the level at which these performances are operating and what types of boundaries they are reproducing – national, regional, ethnic, class, or others. This approach therefore moves from nation-specific insights to modes of performance which may have applicability beyond a specific nation or ethnic group. As such, public policymakers and marketing practitioners operating within multicultural markets may find that this study provides contextual insights which exceed the boundaries of a single ethnic group.

Moreover, as Eckhardt and Dholakia (2013) recently observed, there is a dearth of interpretive research on Asia. Immigrant acculturation studies in marketing have been primarily sited in North America (Peñaloza 1994; Oswald 1999) and Europe (Askegaard et al. 2005; Luedicke 2011; Sekhon and Szmigin 2011). This "mega imbalance" (Eckhardt and Dholakia 2013, 4) is slowly being redressed by pioneering studies on Asian consumers and contexts,

including studies of expats in Singapore (Thompson and Tambyah 1999), South Asian women in Britain (Lindridge et al. 2004), and first and second generation Koreans in Australia (Sutton-Brady et al. 2010). As such, there remains plenty of potential to continue expanding the range of sites and ethnicities represented within immigrant consumer acculturation research in marketing.

Complex Disjunctures in New Zealand

In contrast to more distinct binaries of home-host and local-migrant which may be at play in more established immigrant-receiving nations such as the United States (Peñaloza 1994) and Germany (Luedicke 2011), New Zealand represents a complex backdrop for acculturation in its contradictory position as both a 'Western' metropole and a postcolonial site. This may mean that Southeast Asian immigrant consumers potentially experience and negotiate complex disjunctures in New Zealand.

       As a national site, New Zealand represents an increasingly multicultural consumption environment. This is because New Zealand is a world-recognised immigrant receiving nation at the confluence of global economic forces which are accelerating international migration and catalysing the formation of increasingly multicultural societies (Fletcher 1999; Ip 2003; Spoonley and Butcher 2009). Within New Zealand, migration continues to be a significant contributor to the economy. Asian immigrant consumers in particular represent a growing contributor to New Zealand's immigration, with the Asian immigrant population estimated to double from 400,000 in 2006 to 790,000 by 2026 and currently representing the fastest growing ethnic consumer segment in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2010). This growth is even more pronounced in New Zealand's largest city, Auckland, where one-third of its residents are projected to identify with an Asian ethnicity by 2021 (Statistics New Zealand 2010).

At the same time, Asian immigrant consumers face unique challenges when acculturating to New Zealand, as their project of acculturation occurs against a socio-cultural and political environment in which Asians are at times viewed as inalienably foreign and perceived as economic, social, and cultural 'intruders'. A recent government survey showed that people who identified as Asian reported the highest levels of racial discrimination in any setting and that migrants are more likely to experience racial discrimination in the workplace than people born in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2012). Further, despite more nuanced and sympathetic reporting in the mass media since 2000, Spoonley and Butcher (2009) found ongoing evidence of mass media representations of immigrants as exotic or threatening Others. Discourses which position the Asian migrant as an unwelcome threat to New Zealand society become particularly salient within discussions of an increasing Chinese influence in New Zealand business, as illustrated in discursive eruptions on social media:

> *We do not need any more Chinese business, let them invest by supporting NZ business by being a SILENT partner and not by putting up non-English signs and creating a China town at every corner, this is a very multi-cultural place and it cannot stay that way if a country like China is allowed to get carried away and take over. (Reader comment on New Zealand Herald Facebook page, 4 August 2011)*

> *Asians are a very hard working race of people that place huge importance on bettering themselves and improving their lives. However they are equally as cunning and live within a corrupt society and think nothing of it..that is their way of life! Life is cheap in most of Asia… and that is why their govt's get away with breaches of human rights. We do not want NZ to become like their society at all! (Reader comment on New Zealand Herald Facebook page, 6 August 2011)*

Such discourses of Eurocentrism embedded in New Zealand's national identity also occur alongside competing discourses which underline New Zealand's geopolitical presence within the Asia-Pacific region (Ip 2003) and highlight issues of biculturalism, multiculturalism, and postcolonialism (Bennett 2001).

Within this context, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers further experience a double disjuncture (Bhabha 1990): Southeast Asian identities are both 'foreign' and invisible. The

category 'Asian' is stereotypically associated with people from Northeast Asia, predominantly

China, Japan, and Korea. Despite the increasing numbers of Southeast Asian immigrants in

New Zealand, particularly from the Philippines and Malaysia (Bedford and Ho 2007),

representations and stereotypes of people from Southeast Asia tend to be conflated with

representations and stereotypes of people from Northeast Asia within popular discourse and the

media (Rasanathan, Craig, and Perkins 2006). While New Zealand's economic relationship

with China has received more media attention than a recent free trade agreement with Malaysia,

at the same time, the perceived threat of cultural and economic invasion from Northeast Asia

receives more media exposure than that from Southeast Asia. This relative invisibility is

reflected in State nomenclature, where Southeast Asians have been historically subsumed under

the 'other' category in the New Zealand census and other representations of population such as

the AsiaNZ Outlook 07 Report (Bedford and Ho 2007).

Because Southeast Asian immigrant consumers remain relatively invisible in New

Zealand's national and geopolitical imaginary, individuals from Southeast Asia may have an

ambivalent relationship to the category 'Asian' – a category with which they might identify but

with which they are not stereotypically associated. Given various cultural differences and

disjunctures, for example between a Southeast Asian immigrant consumer's 'culture of origin',

cultural identity as ascribed and recognised by others, and cultural identity as enacted, it is of

interest to examine the ways in which participants understand and perform their identities

through these disjunctures. Is there an uneasy fit between the multiple masks that Southeast

Asians may perform and the multiple mirrors they experience within New Zealand's

multicultural consumption environment? For instance, can Southeast Asians adopt an 'Asian'

identity in New Zealand? Is it possible to self-caricature or make ethnic jokes (Boskin and

Dorinson 1985; Leveen 1996) about one's own cultural background if the invisibility of

Southeast Asian identities renders such performances unrecognisable or unintelligible? Is it

easier to strategically mask one's ethnicity (Li et al. 1995) if one does not fit the popular stereotypes associated with Asians in New Zealand? It is therefore of interest to examine the modes of performance that Southeast Asian consumers deploy to navigate these cultural differences and disjunctures (Bhabha 1990). As such, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand represent a fruitful site for understanding the multiplicities and complexities of performance within glocalised and multicultural consumer cultures.

Postcolonial Inversions and Contradictions

Finally, Southeast Asian immigrants in New Zealand are part of a significant stream of global mobility and migration which originated during the colonial era and has continued to be a significant force in the shaping of contemporary consumer cultures in the developed world since the end of World War II (van Amersfoot 2008). As van Amersfoot and van Niekerk (2006, 324) have observed of postcolonial migration to the Netherlands, France, and Britain, immigration flows tend to be "an inheritance of the colonial past." This is because historical ties between colonising nations and their previous colonies have produced intersections in language, educational systems, religion, and other consumption practices, which make Western 'mother countries' logical destinations for migration. More importantly, the privileging of Western ways of knowing, being, and consuming through discourses of Orientalism (Said 1978) have given rise to Eurocentric structures of desire which continue to privilege Western consumption forms in contemporary consumer cultures. Üstüner and Holt (2010), for instance, showed how the Western Lifestyle myth is privileged within a national social hierarchy that shapes the consumption practices of upper-middle-class Turkish women. In the context of consumer mobility, the movement of immigrants from formerly colonised nations to Western metropoles represents an inverse counterpoint to the previously researched streams of expatriate mobility. In contrast to the consumption practices of expatriates (Thompson and Tambyah 1999) and

tourists (Bardhi et al. 2010) which mirror colonial desires to consume exotic Otherness; in the case of Southeast Asian migrants in New Zealand, members of previously colonised nations have moved to a Western metropole in order to accrue the privilege and status associated with the ex-coloniser.

Consequently, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand embody multiple layers of contradiction which lie at the heart of consumer acculturation in the "postcolonial global economy" (Thompson and Tambyah 1999, 215). First, Southeast Asian immigrants in New Zealand are simultaneously privileged and subordinated: the capacity for mobility requires high levels of economic capital, yet Southeast Asian immigrants may find themselves inhabiting the status of the subaltern (Spivak 1996) in New Zealand. Second, because their countries of origin were historically colonised by Western powers, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers embody complex hybridities between 'East' and 'West' – hybridities which are both celebrated as assets in a Eurocentric global economy and viewed with ambivalence and anxiety (Bhabha 1994).

RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

To address the research questions and objectives, the researcher employed a qualitative approach, specifically using a hermeneutic analysis methodology situated within a theoretical perspective of hermeneutic interpretivism and an epistemology of social constructionism (Crotty 1998). Data generation was conducted using the methods of individual in-depth interviews involving metaphor elicitation, drawing exercises, and open narrative reflexivity with Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand.

Qualitative Approach

In light of the research questions posed, this study followed a qualitative approach, which does not use statistical procedures or any other means of quantification to arrive at findings (Miles and Huberman 1994) but rather aims to generate thick descriptions as a means of understanding human experiences (Geertz 1973). This was most appropriate for several reasons. First, as indicated in a review of consumer acculturation literature and interdisciplinary discourses of culture and identity, the performance of immigrant consumer identity is a complex, multifaceted and dynamic phenomenon whose parameters could not be presupposed (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Second, qualitative data facilitates rich and thick description in language that captures the complexity of the phenomenon (Miles and Huberman 1994). As Miles and Huberman (1994) note, qualitative data is rich and holistic, with a strong potential for revealing complexity and understanding latent or non-obvious issues. Third, the inherent flexibility offered by qualitative approaches allows space for unexpected insights to emerge beyond the researcher's pre-understanding during the data generation and interpretation stage (Flick, Kardorff, and Steinke 2004). Fourth, a qualitative approach is less structured, allowing for the articulation of emic perspectives in participants' own words rather than being constrained by a researcher's hypotheses or language (Esterberg 2002). Finally, qualitative approaches allow participants to

tell stories from their own experience (Esterberg 2002), providing a meaningful picture which enriches the data, impacts the reader, and enables a deeper understanding of participants' backgrounds and worldviews.

Methodology: Hermeneutic Analysis

A methodology refers to a strategy or plan guiding the overall research design which links the choice of methods to the stated research objectives (Crotty 1998). This study adopted a methodology of hermeneutic analysis (Arnold and Fischer 1994; Thompson 1997; Thompson, Pollio, and Locander 1994). As both a means of analysis and a philosophy, a hermeneutic approach has implications at the level of methodology and theoretical perspective. This section focuses on the methodological principles which underpin a hermeneutic approach, while the following section will address how hermeneutics shapes fundamental assumptions about knowledge.

At its core, a hermeneutic approach is concerned with interpreting the meaning of a text for the purpose of understanding consumers' lived experiences and the wider cultural viewpoints which shape these experiences. One of the cornerstones of this approach is the principle of the "hermeneutic circle" (Klein and Myers 1999, 79), whereby the reading of a text proceeds via a constant iteration between part and whole or a dialectical back-and-forth between text and interpretation, which evolves and develops over time. Another key concept is pre-understanding, which is the idea that the researcher, as a culturally embedded being, brings her own pre-conceptions to the phenomenon of interest (Arnold and Fischer 1994).

Within marketing, this tradition may be more accurately described as phenomenological hermeneutics, a "cross-fertilization between contemporary hermeneutic philosophy – exemplified in the works of Heidegger, Gadamer, and Ricoeur – and phenomenological psychology" (Thompson 1996, 389). While many hermeneutic studies in marketing also

employ phenomenological interviews as a method (e.g. Arsel and Thompson 2011; Giesler 2008; Scott and Solomon 2003; Thompson and Arsel 2004; Thompson and Haytko 1997; Thompson and Troester 2002), the sole focus on individual experience and the individual life world which is the cornerstone of an existential-phenomenological approach is extended via hermeneutic attention to the cultural field that shapes individual experiences. Thus, a unique feature of the hermeneutic approach as articulated within marketing (see Table 7 for examples) is an attention to the "person-culture dialectic" (Thompson et al. 1994, 432). Over and above a focus on individual experience, this approach also brings into relief the cultural background which shapes individuals' expressed views. Indeed, in recent times scholars working under the banner of consumer culture theory (Arnould and Thompson 2005) have started to direct their attention to the wider socio-cultural forces which ultimately shape individual consumer experiences. Askegaard and Linnet (2011, 381), for instance, called for a greater attention to the "context of context" which shapes consumer experience while Earley (2013) recently proposed a Badiouian framework for understanding how consumer subjectivities are shaped by social structures and cultural forms. Within consumer acculturation theory, Luedicke (2011) recently critiqued the 'individual-level' and 'voluntarist' perspectives, and encouraged greater attention to how individual consumption practices are shaped by wider socio-cultural structures. The adoption of a hermeneutic approach in this study is in line with these developments.

Table 7
Examples of Hermeneutic Studies in Marketing

Marketing Context	Methodology	Method	Example
Body-care practices and self-image	Hermeneutics	Depth interview	Thompson and Hirschman (1995)
Cosmopolitan consumption in expatriate mobility	Hermeneutics	Depth interview	Thompson and Tambyah (1999)
Extending the self through loved objects	Hermeneutics	Depth interview	Ahuvia (2005)
Cross-cultural consumer ethics	Hermeneutics	Depth interview	Belk, Devinney, and Eckhardt (2005)
Corporate co-optation within consumer countercultures	Hermeneutics	Depth interview	Thompson and Coskuner-Balli (2007)
Ideologies of technology consumption	Hermeneutics	Depth interview	Kozinets (2008)
Moral protagonism in consumers' identity narratives	Hermeneutics	Depth interview	Luedicke, Thompson, and Giesler (2010)
Ideology and morality judgements of credit card consumption	Hermeneutics	Depth interview	Henry (2010)

To provide a framework for assessing the quality of research in the hermeneutic tradition, this thesis draws on Klein and Myers' (1999) comprehensive explanation of seven key principles of hermeneutic research in business. First, the overarching principle of the hermeneutic circle was addressed through constant iteration between the consumer texts and the emerging interpretations throughout the data generation and interpretation process. Second, the principle of generalisation was also addressed through the use of concepts such as acculturation, performance, practice, and boundary crossing. Third, in line with the principle of suspicion (Klein and Myers 1999), consumer texts were read in light of interdisciplinary literatures such as anthropology, sociology, philosophy, geography, engendering an awareness of how wider socio-cultural discourses frame the ways in which immigrant consumer identities are (and are not) articulated. Fourth, by declaring the theoretical perspective and pre-

understandings which frame data generation and interpretation at the outset and comparing these with final interpretations, the principle of dialogical reasoning was satisfied.

Furthermore, the fifth principle of contextualisation (Klein and Myers 1999) was satisfied by eliciting rich, descriptive, and thick narratives in the participant interviews through open-ended questions, probing, projective techniques, and metaphor elicitation. Sixth, in line with the principle of interaction between researchers and participants (Klein and Myers 1999), the use of open narrative reflexivity further ensured that careful attention was paid to the participant's active role in co-creating knowledge in the context of the interview situation (Alvesson 2003). This also ensured that participants had adequate opportunity to not only reflect on and reflexively re-interpret the texts they have produced (Hertz 1997), but also to actively co-create the emerging theoretical framework.

Finally, in line with the principle of multiple interpretations (Klein and Myers 1999), multiple narratives emerged from the consumer texts. As such, the unified interpretation is only one of several which can emerge from the narrated texts, which remain open to re-interpretation. As Arnold and Fischer (1994, 59) explain, "while some interpretations will be judged superior to others, multiple interpretations are possible, and no interpretation can ever claim to be final or correct." Hence, the role adopted by the researcher in this piece is that of author-as-scriptor rather than author-as-creator. As Barthes (1977, 147) argues, "to give a text an Author is to impose a limit on that text, to furnish it with a final signified, to close the writing," and the reading with it. This is in line with Ricoeur's (1973, 103) view of texts as plurivocal and human action as open to interpretation:

> *Like a text, human action is an open work, the meaning of which is "in suspense." It is because it "opens up" new references and receives fresh relevance from them that human deeds are also waiting for fresh interpretations which decide their meaning. All significant events and deeds are, in this way, opened to this kind of practical interpretation through present praxis.*

Theoretical Perspective: Hermeneutic Interpretivism

A theoretical perspective states the assumptions underlying a particular methodology, giving the researcher a basis for methodological decisions and enabling him or her to create criteria for them (Crotty 1998). The hermeneutic analysis methodology is situated within a theoretical perspective of hermeneutic interpretivism, which takes the consumer text as the object of analysis and focuses on the construction of holistic meaning from the narrated text (Crotty 1998).

It is assumed in hermeneutic interpretivism that language goes beyond the mere expression of experiences; it is central and material to how individuals understand their experiences and construct their social realities (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002). Ricoeur (1991, 15) asserted that "there is no self-understanding that is not mediated by signs, symbols, and texts; in the final analysis self-understanding coincides with the interpretation given to these mediating terms." As Arnold and Fischer (1994, 58) explain, "language always shapes and constrains our experience of the world." This traces back to Heidegger's (1962) position that language embodies cultural history, and hence, to speak a language is to have one's life experiences always-already contextualised within a socio-historical field.

Given these assumptions about the centrality of language, interpreting the meaning of a text requires a reflexive view 'at' rather than 'through' the text (Geertz 1988). Consumer narratives are not transparent windows into consumer experience, but constitutive of consumer experience. People make sense of their experiences by telling stories with others, by having conversations with themselves, and by drawing on the cultural narratives available in the worlds they inhabit. What researchers have access to are not experiences *per se*, but evolving interpretations of experience which are always-already mediated by language. Rather than an objective perspective which treats performance as an objective 'thing-in-itself' whose nature is to be 'uncovered', or an existential phenomenological perspective which privileges the migrant

consumer's emic experience, this theoretical perspective privileges the narrated text – its co-creation and its interpretation – over the 'experience' per se. In this view, there is no way to access the experience of the Other, save through the interpretation of embodied, narrated, and mediated texts, which are in turn shaped by the wider cultural fields in which each individual is embedded.

Hence, the researcher and participant take an active role in co-constructing and interpreting the narrated text to produce shared meaning. The data is not assumed to speak for itself and the consumer's experience and voice is far from transparent; the role of the researcher in framing and co-creating the consumer narrative within the space of the research interview and the wider research project must be acknowledged. Rather than privileging the emic and aiming towards *Verstehen*, or a view of "the world from an insider's perspective" (Hudson and Ozanne 1988, 511) this perspective highlights the dialectical interaction between etic and emic lenses, or rather, the fusion of horizons, whereby the researcher's pre-understanding is extended and transformed through the process of interpreting the texts (Thompson et al. 1994).

Another assumption in hermeneutic interpretivism is that all individual experiences and accounts of those experiences are 'social texts' – always-already shaped by the wider cultures in which these experiences are embedded. Even while individual identity narratives bring an individual's identity into relief, such storytelling is a cultural event, drawing on wider cultural forms, structures, meanings, and myths. As such, individual narratives are a window into a culture (Farquhar 2010). As Arnould and Price (1993, 42) note, "the narrative of the experience is central to the overall evaluation. For these experiences, participants may access an array of culturally informed, preconscious scripts or narrative themes." Thompson et al. (1994, 432) summarise this view:

> *A major theme of contemporary hermeneutic philosophy is that a person's understanding of his/her life experiences always reflects broader cultural viewpoints that are implicitly conveyed through language. In these terms, expressions of personal*

meaning should be viewed as self-interpretations in which these more general cultural viewpoints are adapted to the unique contexts of one's life (Faulconer and Williams 1985; Hekman 1986; Packer 1985). Hermeneutic research seeks to highlight this often "unspoken" background of socially shared meanings by which a person interprets his/her experiences and to show how these cultural viewpoints are adapted to the person's unique life situations (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982).

Hermeneutic Interpretivism vis-à-vis Existential Phenomenology

While both hermeneutics and existential phenomenology seek to understand lived experience, there are key differences between these theoretical perspectives. In some ways, existential phenomenology has been heavily influenced by psychological perspectives which foreground individual meaning making while leaving in the background the wider cultural processes which frame the construction of each individual's 'unique' narrative (Merleau-Ponty 1962). In comparison to existential phenomenology, hermeneutic analysis foregrounds the wider sociohistorical conditions which shape individual psychological processes (Gergen 1991), thereby dethroning the individual as a privileged source of meaning. Within consumer research, Thompson (1996) has reframed his earlier privileging of individual experience (e.g. Thompson, Locander, and Pollio 1989) to better encompass how wider cultural forces contextualise and condition individual consumer experiences. Thompson (1996, 391) traces this evolution in qualitative consumer research as follows:

Although e-p research has borrowed quite liberally from contemporary hermeneutic philosophy (Thompson et al. 1989), its interpretations of lived experience typically do not pursue the hermeneutical (i.e., sociohistorical) dimensions of human understanding. Rather, e-p research accounts highlight the meanings that operate in the participants' field of awareness while leaving as an unstated background the historical and cultural processes that shape not only the life world but also the frame of reference from which the socially situated person understands his/her experiences.

Further, existential phenomenology maintains the 'epistemic primacy' of first-person descriptions of experience, and hence, the relationship between text and experience remains unproblematised in consumer research appropriations of existential-phenomenology (Arnold

and Fischer 1994; Moisander, Valtonen, and Hirsto 2009). As Moisander et al. (2009, 336) argue:

> *Whereas existential-phenomenology relies on first-person descriptions to reflect personal meanings, postmodern thought emphasizes the culturally and discursively conditioned, constructed and constitutive nature of these descriptions.*

Indeed, "the interview may be viewed as a performance in which people enact cultural meanings" (Denzin 2001, 21). In this vein, hermeneutic analysis calls attention to the role of the researcher and other actors in the production of texts and their interpretation, the plurivocality of narratives in research (sometimes with tensions between the emic and the etic), and questions the relationship between text and experience.

Hermeneutic Interpretivism vis-à-vis Alternative Textual Perspectives

Furthermore, in comparison to discourse analysis and narrative analysis, hermeneutic analysis takes a less formalist approach to linguistic and textual structure. Because consumer texts are considered unstable (Fludernik 2005) and plurivocal (Ricoeur 1973), the substantial content is considered indistinguishable from its semiotic construction (Moisander et al. 2009). In these views, meaning is multi-sited and emerges out of the reader's interaction with the text rather than its formal properties (Fludernik 2005; Scott 1994). Further, meaning emerges in a social context and is embedded in a specific discursive interaction (Ricoeur 1973). As Herman (2009, 34) writes, "Narratives do different things, and assume different forms, in different communicative environments." Thus, different conceptual and cultural lenses can be used to interpret the same texts in different ways (Riessman 1993).

Epistemology: Social Constructionism

An epistemology refers to the underlying beliefs of the researcher with regard to how knowledge is created as well as beliefs about the relationship between the researcher and the

participant (Lincoln and Guba 1985). The theoretical perspective of hermeneutic interpretivism is located within an epistemology of social constructionism, which assumes that all knowledge and reality emerges in and through the interaction between humans and their world, and that this knowledge of reality is transmitted in a social context in and through language (Crotty 1998).

Constructionism posits that rather than discovering an 'objective reality' (Crotty 1998; Gioia and Pitre 1990), individuals construct meaning in and through their interaction with reality. In this worldview, being does not precede language, but is constituted in and through language. The notion of an essential or Platonic ontology is therefore rejected, and language is not thought of as expressive, representative, or descriptive of an objective reality, but actively constitutive of our 'being-in-the-world' (Crotty 1998). As Crotty (1998, 87) explains:

> *We are essentially languaged beings. Language is pivotal to, and shapes, the situations in which we find ourselves enmeshed, the events that befall us, the practices we carry out and, in and through all this, the understandings that we are able to reach.*

Social constructionism thus acknowledges the constitutive role of language in shaping consumers' social realities and identities. In this view, the logic of reality and human identity shifts from one of 'being' to one of 'becoming' (Hardt 1993). This perspective strongly resonates with the performance lens which informs this research, which emphasises that identity is constituted through continual enactment rather than the expression of an unchanging 'essence'.

Moreover, while both the researcher and participant bring unique pre-understandings into their interpretation of a particular text, communication across idiosyncratic backgrounds remains possible due to linguistic and symbolic conventions common to individuals within a shared culture (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Hence, consumers' idiosyncratic narratives can be situated within a broader network of socially constructed meanings and shared conventions. While individual informants may perform their identities in different ways and construct unique

narratives of migration, these performances and narratives are embedded in and transmitted through wider 'circuits of meaning' in consumer culture (McCracken 1986). The social aspect of meaning construction emphasises that individuals do not create meaning on their own, but construct and negotiate meaning through their interaction with others (Crotty 1998). In this way, social constructionism is distinguished from constructivism, which focuses on meaning making as a project which is idiosyncratic to the individual.

Finally, in a social constructionist view, the researcher is not considered a passive recorder of pre-existing meanings, but an active facilitator in co-constructing meaning with the participant. Through an emphasis on consensus and triangulation, the methodology and methods deployed in this research aim to co-construct a trustworthy account of the shared social reality which constitutes migrant performances and boundary negotiations in acculturation.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research objective of understanding how acculturating consumers perform their identities and how these performances shape consumers' boundary negotiations was addressed through a series of activities which included the generation of consumer narratives through repeated depth interviews with migrant consumers, multi-modal methods including metaphor elicitation and drawings, and the use of a hermeneutic approach to analysis and sense-making. Open narrative reflexivity was further facilitated through a two-part interview method, where participants were presented with the researcher's emerging interpretations and provided an opportunity to correct, qualify, or further deepen their initial reflections. Detailed individual narratives around the central theme of performance in acculturation were co-created over a period of 15 months with 26 Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand. Interviews were digitally audio-taped and transcribed, with artefacts and drawings photographed and archived. Subsequent analysis was facilitated using NVivo10 qualitative data management software.

Participant Interviews

The researcher guided participants through two semi-structured depth interviews which incorporated elements of the Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET), drawing exercises, and open narrative reflexivity.

Individual Semi-Structured Interviews

Individual in-depth interviews were carried out as the intimacy and intensity of a one-on-one face-to-face interview was believed to be more conducive to obtaining the required depth of data (Esterberg 2002; Taylor and Bogdan 1998). This method was used in favour of focus groups or affinity pairs because the aim of these interviews was to explore multiple, and possibly conflicting, ways in which immigrant identities are performed. A focus group context

would have limited the amount of time each individual informant is able to respond, thereby restricting the depth of data gathered (Esterberg 2002). Individual interviews further limited the effect of social influence and normalisation process (Ritson and Elliott 1999) on participants' responses, thereby allowing responses to move beyond the expected master plots of migration (Ritivoi 2009), and from 'public accounts' to 'private accounts' (Cornwell 1984).

The interview followed a semi-structured format (Appendix C; Appendix D). Rather than a structured format, a semi-structured interview meant that questions were not restricted to a fixed order. This was so that the line of questioning was determined more by the flow of responses rather than the researcher's pre-understandings of the topic (Cavana, Delahaye, and Sekaran 2001). Even though the researcher's pre-understanding necessarily has a bearing on the manner in which any interview is conducted, participants' narratives are coloured, framed, and informed by potentially different backgrounds and worldviews to that of the researcher. In addition, this method also allowed for further probing of initial responses to gain a deep or thick understanding of consumers' views (Cavana et al. 2001; Geertz 1973). Further, the researcher incorporated participants' descriptions and terminologies as part of her probing questions.

Interviews were predominantly conducted on university premises, at participants' workplaces, or at a neutral public location as agreed between the researcher and participant. Where this was not possible, the researcher conducted the interview in the participant's home.

Depth Interview

To access consumers' identity narratives and facilitate participants' comfort in telling their stories, the depth interview began with the 'grand tour' questions (McCracken 1988) to get a sense of how participants came to be in their present situations. The first question for each interview was "Can you tell me how you came to live in New Zealand?" From this starting point, the course of the dialogue was largely set by the participant. Throughout the interview,

specific experiences were further probed to gain deep and thick responses involving greater

elaboration and contextualisation (Cavana et al. 2001; Geertz 1973). While some participants

initially began with a very specific account of the migration process, through probing questions,

and the metaphor-elicitation and drawing exercises described below, the final interview text

produced was a wider narrative about their life history, which included significant experiences,

people, events, and their meanings.

Because story-telling is a fundamental method of human sense-making, self-making,

and communication (Riessman 1993), narratives are a powerful way of accessing and

representing the complexity of immigrant consumers' thoughts, experiences, and identities.

Identity is continually reconstructed through participants' self-narrations (Fludernik 2007;

Norrick 2007) – the stories a participant tells, and the way she tells them, constitute what kind

of person she is, and the roles that she performs in her life. As Farquhar (2010, 30-31) explains:

> *When we talk about our identity, as in our life story, we include some things and not*
> *others. This process of exclusion and inclusion is carried out in the interests of*
> *constituting a particular kind of story about our self. It is in this process of making and*
> *telling the story that we produce the self.*

Furthermore, acts of self-narration involve the linkage of events across time through

emplotment, the assembly and contextualisation of discrete occurrences into a coherent

narrative (Ricoeur 1984). This process generates both an anticipated future and a retro-

constructed past (Gallop 1982) and imposes order on the flow of experience in order to make

sense of events and actions (Riessman 1993). Accordingly, the depth interview was particularly

appropriate for understanding how immigrant consumers make sense of their identities across

time in their identity narratives.

Two-Part Interview Method

This study used a two-part interview design. Each participant was interviewed in two separate

sessions of one to two hours each in length. The progression of interviews is summarised in

Table 8:

Table 8
Summary of Interview Progression

Stage	Overview
Interview One (1.5-2 hours)	• Broad 'grand tour' questions (McCracken 1988) • Projective questioning and probing of initial responses • Metaphor-elicitation using participant-selected items (Zaltman and Coulter 1995)
Interval	• Transcription and summary of Interview One • Summary of emerging global interpretation
Interview Two (1.5-2 hours)	• Confirmation and clarification of summary of Interview One • Further probing of selected narratives from Interview One • Further questioning on other emerging theoretical dimensions • Sharing of emerging global interpretation and invitation to reflect and respond

Pre-Testing

Prior to the actual data generation stage, an initial interview guide was pre-tested and refined

with six volunteers, generating 16 pages of single-paged summary notes which formed the basis

of iterative in-depth discussions between the researcher and supervisor. This pre-testing process

proved useful for several reasons. These pre-tests increased the researcher's skill and

experience as an interviewer in general, as well as her personal familiarity and comfort with

this interview format and the range of narratives to be discussed within the limited time

available for each interview. In line with the 'researcher-as-instrument' paradigm (Sanday

1979), as it was up to the researcher to probe and unpack responses (Cavana et al. 2001;

Esterberg 2002), the skill and experience of the researcher contributed largely to the richness of the text generated. Pre-testing also enabled the identification and modification of questions which were confusing or not achieving the desired depth of response. Any other feedback from the pre-test participants was also incorporated into the data generation stage.

Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET)

To enrich the depth interviewing method, the interview design incorporated elements from the Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique or ZMET (Coulter, Zaltman, and Coulter 2001). As Zaltman and Coulter (1995) explain, "ZMET uses consumers' visual and other sensory images and employs qualitative methods to elicit the metaphors, constructs, and mental models that drive consumers' thinking and behavior." For Interview One, participants were asked to bring at least 12 items which they felt represented their experience of settling in New Zealand. These items could include personal photographs, magazine cut-outs, newspaper articles, DVDs, links to online videos, paintings, or even food. This encouraged the participants to already begin shaping the narratives they would like to present about themselves before entering the interview situation and start thinking at a metaphorical level to facilitate the articulation of 'deep' narratives and metaphorical, sometimes unconscious, associations (Coulter and Zaltman 2000; Zaltman and Coulter 1995). In addition, by letting participants choose the objects, this enabled participants to better represent issues which were important to them and potentially unknown to the researcher (Coulter et al. 2001). Rather than imposing a purely etic agenda on the flow of the interview, this method allowed for an emic perspective to emerge. This non-verbal method also engaged participants, increased their cooperation and trust (Weiser 1988), and enabled them to speak about themselves in a less confrontational way (Gold 2004; Venkatraman and Nelson 2008).

The use of the ZMET technique is in line with the view that "[a]rtifacts and the stories that they sustain hold promise as a research tool to access information that might not be possible through observation, document analysis, even interviews" (Rowsell 2011, 332). While ZMET consists of several steps including storytelling, missed issues and images, a sorting task, construct elicitation, and vignette generation (Zaltman and Coulter 1995), not all elements of the ZMET technique were considered relevant for this study. Rather than using the ZMET as a way to reduce and abstract the complexity of participant narratives, in this study, it was used as a tool to enable such complexity to emerge. Thus, the ZMET technique was primarily deployed as a supplement to depth interviewing, with artefacts and photographs providing a way to open conversations, encourage reflection, and deepen consumer narratives.

Drawing Relational Maps and Self-Portraits

In the course of the interviews, participants were also asked to draw a relational map and several self-portraits (Bagnoli 2009; Gauntlett and Holzwarth 2006). As Belk (2013) argued, multimodal approaches can help consumer researchers to better produce richer and thicker descriptions of the contexts under study, and may carry further resonance with an Asian context. The benefits of mapping are further explained by Lilley (2000, 373):

> *Drawing a map [...] involves the subject (self), making mapping a personal, reflective experience. As a result, the map is a 'map' of experiences, and of course can be read as such. Its materiality, its texture and feel, is a critical part of the map's ability to provoke dialogue, and as a result, in turn, that dialogue becomes imprinted on the map.*

Resonant with Lilley's (2000) view of mapping, relational maps and self-portraits were used as projective stimuli and served as entry points into more abstracted conversations about participants' social networks and the different faces they presented to different audiences. Indeed, for many participants, their drawings served as a recurring image that they drew upon in explaining their narrative.

Open Narrative Reflexivity

As illustrated in the above interview progression, a key feature of this research design was the use of open narrative reflexivity, in which the informant was regarded as an active co-creator of knowledge and their voice was represented not only in a one-off data collection phase, but also in the interpretation and theory-building process (Marcus and Fisher 1986; Thompson et al. 1998). This approach recognises and attempts to redress the researcher's 'positional superiority' (Said 1978) in the representation of informant voices. In Interview Two, the researcher presented key narratives and interpretations from Interview One. The participant was then invited to respond, either confirming or disconfirming the researcher's initial interpretations, filling in any perceived gaps, and potentially re-emphasising narratives which are important to them. The second interview provided an opportunity for the participants to have their voices represented in the interpretation and theory-building process and have more control over the representation of their personal narratives. Here, participants had an opportunity to reflect on and reframe their initial responses. Furthermore, it provided the researcher with the option of following up any aporias, gaps, or further questions which were not addressed in the first interview.

In addition, the staged interview approach allowed time for further reflection by both participant and researcher between interviews, facilitating the articulation of deeper and more considered narratives in the second interview. This approach also facilitated a more sustained relationship between the researcher and participant, enabling trust and rapport to be built up over time. As Liu (2006) observed when interviewing older female workers in China, trust was essential to the participant talking openly. As trust increased, Liu (2006) found that the narratives produced in the interviews moved from public accounts to private accounts.

Participants

In contrast to the majority of consumer acculturation studies where the sampling frame is defined using ethnic and national origin, in this study, it was deliberately decided to widen the sampling frame beyond a single country of origin. This is in accordance with an emerging interdisciplinary view that identity construction exceeds ethnicity and nationality (Calhoun 2003) and emerging views within marketing that shared experiences of mobility provide a viable alternative for understanding specific types of consumers (e.g. Bardhi, Eckhardt, and Arnould 2012; Figueiredo 2012). Rather than a common ethnicity or country of origin, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand potentially have common experiences of inhabiting embedded multiplicities in Southeast Asia, complex disjunctures in New Zealand, and postcolonial inversions and contradictions. The theoretical advantages of this choice have been discussed earlier in the Research Context section, while the implications for reflexivity are discussed in the section on 'Participant-Researcher Roles' further in this chapter.

Selection Criteria

Participants were selected using the following criteria:

a. Migrated to New Zealand from an ASEAN nation, i.e. Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam

b. Gained permanent residence or citizenship in New Zealand through the skilled migrant stream (i.e. did not enter New Zealand as a business investor, refugee, or through family sponsorship)

c. Employed in New Zealand in at least a part-time capacity

d. Able to converse in English

e. Either the principal or secondary applicant, i.e. this study did not include children of migrants who would be considered the 1.5 generation if they moved to New Zealand

between ages six and 18 as part of a family unit or 2nd generation if they were born in

New Zealand (Bartley 2010)

f.   Arrived in New Zealand from 2000 onwards

g.   First-time migrant, i.e. have not resided as a permanent resident or citizen in a country

other than New Zealand or their country of origin

In order to explore how acculturating consumers might inhabit and negotiate complex

contradictions between privilege and subordination, the selection criteria were designed to

target immigrant consumers who had already achieved a degree of economic and social

privilege in New Zealand, as indicated by success in gaining permanent residence of citizenship

status as a skilled migrant, ability to gain employment in New Zealand, and ability to converse

in the language of New Zealand's dominant culture. Indeed, the majority of Southeast Asian

immigrants have entered New Zealand under the skilled migrant category (IMSED Research

2010a), and will have already demonstrated a reasonable standard of English as part of their

residence application requirements. In addition, as the aim of this research was to elicit complex

identity narratives, it was essential that participants were comfortable in discussing and

elaborating abstract thoughts and feelings.

In order to allow for a range of views to emerge while achieving theoretical saturation

and defining the limits for generalising the findings (Eisenhardt 1989), it was also decided that

participants would have several common characteristics. Given that the influx of Southeast

Asian immigrants into New Zealand is relatively recent, with much of the short term growth

originating from immigration rather than natural population increases (Bedford and Ho 2007),

the study focused on Southeast Asian immigrants who were not born in New Zealand. In

addition, participants would either be the principal or secondary applicant. This meant that they

were actively involved in making the decision to migrate rather than 'being moved' to New

Zealand as a child or young adult. Additionally, it was also decided that participants would have arrived in New Zealand from 2000 onwards. This meant that the sample of participants would have been part of a similar era or wave of migrants and have had the opportunity to be exposed to a similar backdrop of socio-cultural discourses and practices. For example, as Spoonley and Butcher (2009) have shown, mass media representations of Asian migration have shifted from politicised and problematised representations in the 1990s to a greater appreciation of the economic benefits and complexity of migration since 2000. This criterion also allowed for a range of lengths of stay in New Zealand, ranging from recently arrived to more established migrants. From a policy perspective, while the settlement process is seen as a continuum which does not necessarily correspond to length of residence, achieving speedy and positive acculturation outcomes within the early settlement phase is seen to be of critical importance (IMSED Research 2010b). Finally, the participants were all first-time migrants rather than serial migrants. Beyond these common life experiences, it was decided not to restrict the sampling frame in terms of age or gender.

Recruitment Strategy

A purposive sampling approach was used in this study because there was a predefined group sought based on the premise that interviewing those people would maximise the chances of uncovering insights about performance in acculturation. Participants were recruited using two main methods: canvassing the researcher's personal networks for introductions to potential participants and snowballing to identify further potential participants from the initial sample (Miles and Huberman 1994). Apart from being a valuable technique to make contact with people who met the recruitment criteria and were able to articulate their worldview, snowballing was a useful way of negotiating access to individuals who were outside of the researcher's usual network. Further, the referees vouched for the researcher's credibility and trustworthiness prior

to the researcher making the first contact (Ger and Sandikci 2006), thereby facilitating a degree of rapport with the participants.

The researcher's acquaintances were asked to forward a research invitation with the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix A) via email to people who might be eligible and interested in participating. The researcher suggested that the most suitable participants would be from an ASEAN nation, have lived in New Zealand for up to ten years, be currently employed, and have gained either permanent residence or citizenship in New Zealand. Further, the most suitable participants would also be comfortable in discussing and reflecting on their lives, and hence, openness and an ability to articulate and reflect were crucial. Prospective participants were provided with the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix A) via email and invited to respond to the researcher directly via email or telephone. Recruitment continued until theoretical saturation was reached, that is, no new themes emerged from the interviews (Spiggle 1994).

Screening Methods

Potential participants who expressed a definite interest in participating were asked to provide a phone number and contacted directly by the researcher. They were asked the following screening questions:

a. What is your country of origin?

b. How did you come to live in New Zealand?

c. How long have you been in New Zealand?

d. What do you currently do for a living?

In addition to confirming if participants met the screening criteria, this process enabled the researcher to screen each potential participant to ensure that they were comfortable in telling their story and able to reflect on its meanings. Accordingly, the researcher deliberately selected

for verbosity, willingness to help, enthusiasm, and sense of rapport established through the initial conversation. Potential participants who met the screening criteria were briefed on the time and nature of involvement required, and invited to nominate suitable times and comfortable locations for interviews to take place.

Participant Consent and Compensation

Ethics approval was granted for this study by the University of Auckland Human Participant Ethics Committee (UAHPEC), reference number 2011/7608. The Participant Information Sheet and Participant Consent Forms as approved under this application are attached in Appendices A and B.

In recognition of the time commitment required for this study, participants were offered koha (a token of appreciation) in the form of a $25 gift voucher per interview ($50 in total). The purpose of the gift was to show gratitude to the participants, especially given the time-intensive nature of the interviews and the process of selecting photographs and items in preparation for the first interview. Refreshments at the interviews were also offered by the researcher as a simple courtesy and acknowledgement of the commitment made by the participants. However, regardless of the koha, participants retained the right to withdraw themselves or their information from the study up to a month after each interview without giving any reason (Appendix A; Appendix B).

Profiles of Research Participants

Table 9 summarises the 26 research participants' profiles, highlighting gender, age, approximate duration of stay in New Zealand, country of origin, family status, and area of work. Each participant has been given a pseudonym which is intended to capture whether their actual first name reflects their cultural background. For example, if a participant's actual first name is

Anglicised, his or her pseudonym is similarly Anglicised. Conversely, if a participant's actual first name connotes a specific ethno-linguistic tradition, the chosen pseudonym is derived from that tradition. Participants are ordered chronologically according to the date of their first interview.

All participants were first-time migrants from Southeast Asia to New Zealand via the skilled migration stream and at the time of the interview, were in paid employment in New Zealand. While this group of 26 individuals was not intended to constitute a representative sample of all skilled migrants from Southeast Asia, participants were selected for a balance of characteristics including gender, age, country of origin, and area of work. The final sample of 26 participants consisted of 14 men and 12 women, ranging in age from 29 to 56 years, and originating from a range of Southeast Asian nations (7 from the Philippines, 6 from Malaysia, 6 from Indonesia, 3 from Singapore, 2 from Vietnam, 1 from Burma, and 1 from Thailand). At the time of their first interview, 22 participants had successfully secured local professional and managerial roles which matched their educational backgrounds in a range of areas including information technology, law, finance, engineering, design, education, business management, and hospitality management. Three participants worked in administration and retail and one participant was a religious worker.

Table 9
Profiles of Research Participants

Participant	Gender	Age	Est. Years of Stay	Country of Origin	Family Status	Area of Work
Ed	M	51	9	Philippines	Partnered, two adult children from previous marriage	Professional role
Jill	F	36	6	Philippines	Married, two school-age children	Professional role
Abby	F	52	6	Malaysia	Married, two adult children	Administration
Paul	M	37	6	Philippines	Married, two school-age children	Professional role
Jane	F	40	6	Philippines	Married, two school-age children	Professional role
Kaitlyn	F	33	7	Malaysia	Partnered	Management
Samson	M	55	5	Singapore	Married, three adult children	Management
Tamsin	F	32	10	Singapore	Partnered	Design
Wei	M	33	6	Malaysia	Married	Design
Manny	M	52	6	Philippines	Married, two adult children	Own Professional Business
Carlo	M	46	7	Philippines	Married, four school- and university-age children	Own Professional Business
Asima	F	40	4	Malaysia	Married, two school-age children	Professional role
Siti	F	37	7	Malaysia	Married	Education
Marwan	M	29	6	Indonesia	Married, two pre-school-age children	Professional role
Simon	M	29	3	Malaysia	Single	Design
Kiet	M	33	9	Thailand	Partnered	Professional role
James	M	39	10	Burma	Married	Religious Worker
Ardhi	M	34	9	Indonesia	Married, one school-age child	Professional role
Patricia	F	56	6	Philippines	Married, three adult children	Own Professional Business
Boon	M	41	9	Singapore	Married	Education
Tommy	M	33	7	Indonesia	Married, two pre-school age children	Professional role
Ria	F	47	9	Indonesia	Married (husband in Indonesia), one school-age child and one university-age child	Administration
Hue	F	31	10	Vietnam	Married, one pre-school age child	Education
Thanh	F	31	8	Vietnam	Married	Education
Aini	F	46	9	Indonesia	Married, two school-age children	Retail
Dian	M	33	4	Indonesia	Married	Hospitality

Transcription

Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed into an electronic version using Microsoft Word. Participant-generated items were either provided by participants in a soft copy version or photographed by the researcher during the interview.

Transcription and Proofreading

24 transcripts were transcribed into an electronic version using Microsoft Word by the researcher and 28 by a commercial transcriber, who signed a confidentiality agreement (Appendix E). Additionally, all 52 transcriptions were proofed against the audio recording by the researcher to ensure accuracy. This process further increased the author's familiarity with the data and facilitated the process of data immersion, which aided in the analysis stage as it enhanced the author's ability to perceive underlying commonalities, linkages and connections between text units across interviews (Spiggle 1994).

Translating Conversations into Transcripts

One issue that arose within this sample was the diversity of participants' accents. Further, the diversity in their English speaking backgrounds meant that sentences in some cases were structured differently, or native country slang was incorporated into their narratives. Hence, it was decided that to sanitise the transcript would be to lose the character and flavour of the conversations as they actually unfolded. The interviews were therefore transcribed verbatim to preserve the actual words, fillers, grammatical idiosyncracies, pauses, and changes of words that occurred in the actual interview. Non-verbal communication such as explanatory gestures and laughter were indicated in the transcripts by the researcher.

In some cases, participants mentioned culturally specific terms pertaining to food or traditional items. Due to her cultural background, the researcher was familiar with the majority

of these terms. However, in some instances, the cultural terms were new. In these cases, care was taken during the interview to repeat the term back to the participant to ensure that the researcher had heard the term correctly. Where necessary, the researcher consulted personal contacts with similar backgrounds to the participants to confirm that the term and its explanation were correct. Within the transcripts, brief explanations of such terms are provided in brackets.

In two cases (Paul and Patricia), participants spoke at length in their native language, Tagalog. In these cases, the translation was provided in italics to indicate which words were originally spoken in Tagalog. All Tagalog translation was done with the help of a native speaker.

While most interviews were conducted in a quiet room on university premises or in participants' homes, some interviews were held in public locations such as cafes where there was some ambient noise. In some cases, the sound of the wind, papers rustling, vehicles passing by, roadwork, or heavy rain amplified the ambient noise on the final recording, making it difficult to discern the participant's words. Best efforts were made to discern the conversation in these instances, however, where some words could not be heard these are marked as "[unclear]" in the final transcript.

Confidentiality

Participant names, workplaces, friends' names, and other identifying information were disguised to protect participant confidentiality. While the participant items and drawings provided a rich source of nonverbal information about participants, confidentiality was of particular concern as many images included faces, names, company information, addresses, and other identifying information. Accordingly, any identifying information in the visual data has been blurred to protect participant confidentiality.

Analysis
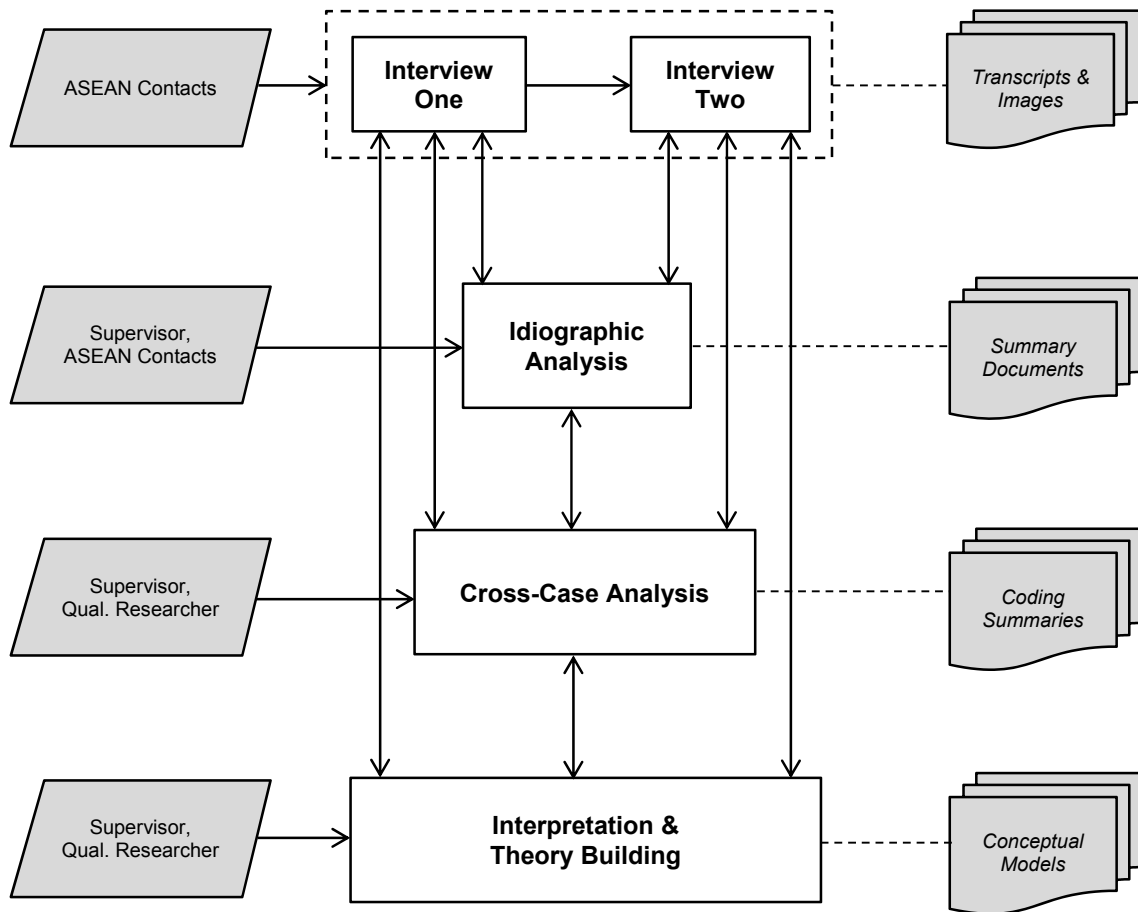
Figure 1
HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS OF DEPTH INTERVIEWS

As summarised in Figure 1, each of the 26 participants was interviewed twice, with interviews ranging from one hour to 2.5 hours in duration and the average interview taking slightly over 1.5 hours. Each participant provided an average of 19 images (ZMET items and drawings), and the number of images each participant provided ranged from five to 49 items. All in all, the data collection process generated over 85 hours' worth of audio recordings, 1843 pages' worth of single-spaced transcripts, and 493 image files.

Data Immersion

Immediately after each interview, the researcher listened to each audio recording to get a feel for emerging themes. The researcher also summarised the key themes which emerged from each interview, generating 56 summary documents which covered 239 single-spaced pages. This process increased the researcher's familiarity with the data and facilitated the process of data immersion, enhancing the researcher's ability to perceive underlying commonalities, linkages, and connections between narratives across interviews (Klein and Myers 1999; Spiggle 1994). In addition, this allowed for improvements in the questioning technique and highlighted any points to be probed further in subsequent interviews. This step also indicated whether or not theoretical saturation was reached, that is, no new narratives were emerging with subsequent interviews (Spiggle 1994).

Coding and Interpretation

The interview texts were coded and categorised into themes using NVivo10 qualitative data management software. Data was reduced by categorisation into common themes, abstracted into higher level nodes, and integrated into a broader interpretive framework using the constant comparative method (Spiggle 1994; Taylor and Bogdan 1998). The interpretive process followed constant iteration between the evolving framework and the consumer texts, in line the principle of the hermeneutic circle (Gadamer 1975; Klein and Myers 1999). This iterative process followed three levels of hermeneutic analysis as outlined in Figure 1. First, each participant's two interviews and set of images was treated as one text and an idiographic analysis was conducted by both the researcher and the supervisor to gain a sense of the person's narrative as a whole. Second, a cross-case analysis was conducted to get a sense of shared meanings, parallels, and patterns across participants (Thompson et al. 1994). Third, the emerging theoretical interpretation was constantly iterated with respect to marketing and

interdisciplinary perspectives on consumer acculturation. This stage was conducted in line with

Thompson's (1997, 449) guidelines:

> *This stage in the interpretive process draws most explicitly from the researchers'*
> *immersion in a background of historical literature relevant to the research domain. This*
> *interpretive movement is neither a case of deriving a theory that is "in" the data waiting*
> *to be discovered nor a matter of a researcher "projecting" an a priori framework onto*
> *the text. Rather, the process is a dialectical one in which a researcher's developing*
> *knowledge of the cultural and historical background provides an orienting frame of*
> *reference from which to interpret the narratives, and conversely, the engagement with*
> *the textual data enables these initial conceptions to be modified and extended.*

This provided a constant comparison between 'emic' and 'etic' perspectives (Esterberg 2002;

Malhotra, Agarwal, and Peterson 1996), allowing for the emergence of a more holistic

understanding of consumers' performances and their effects on consumers' boundary

negotiations.

RESEARCH QUALITY

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is a key criterion for evaluating the research quality of studies following the interpretive tradition (Cavana et al. 2001). In this study, trustworthiness was achieved through the triangulation of multiple methods and the triangulation of multiple perspectives.

Triangulation of Methods

A multi-modal approach involving depth interviewing, metaphor elicitation using participant-selected items, and participant drawings was deployed and triangulated (Cavana et al. 2001) to increase the trustworthiness of the findings. In addition, each participant was interviewed twice as a further triangulation process.

Triangulation of Perspectives

As represented in Figure 1, a variety of perspectives were triangulated (Cavana et al. 2001) throughout the interview and analysis process. First, as a member of the target group, the researcher is reasonably familiar with diverse aspects of Southeast Asian culture. Through her experiences of being a native of the Philippines, growing up in Brunei, studying in Singapore, and migrating to New Zealand, the researcher has gained extensive experience in interacting with people from diverse backgrounds which facilitated rapport with participants and facilitated a degree of understanding of their cultural mores and styles of linguistic expression. At the same time, the researcher's first language is English, thereby facilitating a certain level of cultural distance required to question cultural norms.

        Second, the supervisor provided the perspective of a highly experienced researcher who is further removed from the participants' experience, being a migrant who is not from Southeast

Asia. For example, the supervisor's involvement enabled the identification of potential power asymmetries between the researcher and participants, prompting the use of open narrative reflexivity as a key aspect of the research design. As the data collection and data analysis progressed, the supervisor questioned aspects of the data that the researcher took for granted and prompted alternative interpretations. Regular discussions between the researcher and supervisor during the analysis stage provided independent confirmation (Lincoln and Guba 2000) for coding decisions undertaken by the researcher and facilitated consensus and resolution around coding difficulties and issues.

Third, the final coding scheme was confirmed by an independent researcher who was an experienced qualitative researcher, ensuring that true consensus emerged by triangulating various perspectives throughout the coding process and ensuring the trustworthiness of the interpretation.

Finally, personal contacts from Southeast Asia were consulted throughout the data collection and analysis phase. They were called on to brief the researcher on specific cultural mores, cultural protocols, and other cultural issues which require special attention. This ensured that all participants were treated with dignity, respect, and sensitivity to their particular cultural and social frameworks. Throughout the data analysis phase, personal contacts from Southeast Asia were also called on to explain any culturally-specific terms which emerged in the interviews.

Reflexivity

This section now turns to issues of reflexivity in the research approach, which is another key criterion for evaluating the research quality of studies following the interpretive tradition (Thompson et al. 1998). In this discussion of reflexivity, I have chosen to adopt a personal voice

to avoid presenting myself as an objective observer and instead highlight my situated and active role in the co-production of knowledge with my participants.

Researcher-as-Instrument

As Schneider (2000, 162) notes, interviewers are not "simple conduits for answers but rather are deeply implicated in the production of answers." Consequently, I paid attention to several aspects of my self-presentation throughout the interview process. Throughout the email, phone, and face-to-face interactions, I aimed to maintain a warm, responsive, and professional persona. For the initial interview, I dressed in a semi-formal manner in line with the norms for local business meetings to convey an air of professionalism and seriousness to the interaction. Once rapport had been established in the first interview, I then adjusted my attire in the second interview based on the interaction in the first interview.

Refinements were also made throughout the data collection stage, and in doing these, my personal and co-created reflections with my supervisor were a key part of being aware how I drove the direction of each interview. For instance, my supervisor reflected that in the initial part of the interview, I mirrored the syntax of the participants. Further, as I became more experienced in conducting and analysing the interviews, I found myself better attuned to the flow of the narrative in subsequent interviews and better able to anticipate the direction of a narrative. I also became more sensitive to questions which favoured one direction over another, and took care in subsequent interviews to maintain the neutrality of the questions.

Refinements were also made in terms of tone. Throughout the interview process, I found that the interviews were a balance between being professional and being friendly, being similar and being different, being receptive and being directive, and being protective and being probing. Here, weekly meetings with the supervisor to review participant transcripts proved valuable. In the later interviews, for example, the supervisor highlighted that I was being too much of a

'friend' (e.g. laughing along with the participant) and needed to shift into a more neutral tone. This shift enabled some participants to delve into the more difficult and even painful aspects of being a migrant.

Participant-Researcher Roles

Hertz (1997) notes that the different roles one brings to the interview will inevitably influence the process. As Alvesson (2003, 19) notes, "The interplay between two people, with their gender, ages, professional background, personal appearances, and ethnicities, puts heavy imprints on the accounts produced." With the hermeneutic paradigm which considers the active role of the researcher in knowledge generation, I was very conscious that my position – as a young, female, presumably unmarried, Filipina-who-has-lived-in-Singapore-and-Brunei, who understands Malay and Tagalog, lives in New Zealand, and who happens to be undertaking a PhD – made me both an insider and an outsider in relation to the participants. This in turn influenced the participant-researcher dynamic and the kinds of knowledge generated in these interviews.

While the overt paradigm under which the interaction was conducted was that of the professional researcher entering into a purposive dialogue with a knowledgeable participant, I found that this performance intersected with, and at times was disrupted by, other markers of identity: I reminded participants of their daughters, of their Asian friends, of their relatives who were also doing PhDs. Despite attempts to maintain neutrality, I could not be anything but a slightly built young Asian/Southeast Asian/Filipino female who is an anomaly in not being able to speak her mother tongue, Tagalog.

In the context of the interviews, these markers of similarity and difference proved useful. There were sufficient sources of similarity to establish a sense of rapport and facilitate a degree of openness in the interviews. This echoes Song and Parker's (1995) observation that

the researcher's assumed cultural identity affects what and how participants disclose in the interview context. Indeed, for some participants, my shared status as a Southeast Asian who was not born in New Zealand enabled access and facilitated rapport. Accordingly, I started each interview by briefly tracing my cultural affiliations with the Philippines, Singapore, and Brunei. I further demonstrated knowledge of culturally specific terms mentioned by participants, for example, *nasi goreng*, *batik*, and *hijab*. However, at the same time, there were enough sources of difference for me to be able to plead ignorance and request explanations of cultural terms and meanings where required. The use of English, in particular, invoked the performance of Whiteness (Burton 2009), marking the conversation as a professional interaction in which I was positioned as a curious outsider. Because I was at times viewed as an outsider, participants were more able to articulate ambivalent views and misgivings about their own ethnic communities.

Hence, the performance of the participant-researcher relationship was, in itself, complex and multifaceted. In reflecting on the researcher-participant roles, the following metaphors in Table 10 are intended to give the reader a flavour of the multiplicity, fluidity, and dynamism of the roles and voices that I felt were adopted within the space of the research interview:

Table 10
Participant-Researcher Roles

Participant	Researcher
Native	Alien
Primitive	Anthropologist
Preacher	Pagan
Wise elder	Naïve youth
Sage	Student
Mentor	Mentee
Friend	Confidant
Patient	Therapist
Faithful	Confessor

Thus, the consumer narratives in this study are the artefacts of socially constructed performances; they emerged in and through the dynamic performance of these multiple and dynamically shifting roles (Alvesson 2003; Hertz 1997; Song and Parker 1995).

Fusion of Horizons

While my pre-understanding of performance in acculturation was shaped by my own experiences and by a reading of the theory, the extended encounter with participants and their texts have taken me on a journey in which my pre-understanding of the topic has been transformed.

The initial story of this study was preconceived as a story of migrants' agency as fluid shape-shifters who are free to go beyond the constraints of ethnicity and nationality. In telling this story, I intended to share a 'knowing wink' with my participants and readers. While the reading of consumer texts has confirmed these dimensions of shape-shifting and fluid identity adaptation, these encounters have revealed more than was initially pre-supposed: negotiations of tensions, dislocations, and conflicts which create a disquieting doubleness in participants' lives. I found that participants balanced surface performances and deep performances to restore meaning and recreate order. I also found that participants negotiated loss, grief, and emotional scars – leaving home, experiencing fundamental changes to their everyday realities, letting go of who and what they were before.

Shaped by my mobile background and a value system informed by cosmopolitan and assimilationist discourses, I also believed that to 'stick with one's own' was a sign of weakness and inability to adjust. However, this view has been reframed by an understanding of the difficult dilemma that migrants negotiate: even though there are pressures to assimilate, to go out into the world without a tribe is to lose a sense of who one is, to become decontextualised, to lose one's speech, to become eroded, or to become lost. Being a migrant means attempting

to carve a life in the world as a stranger who is not-at-home. This is an untenable situation – humans have a fundamental need to be comfortable, to have a place to rest, to have zones of safety in the midst of danger and exposure.

Reflecting on beginnings and pre-understandings, I began by feeling removed and sheltered from my participants' life-worlds, stories, and difficulties. While I started the study with one intellectual position, through these unexpectedly emotional and visceral encounters with participants and the texts that they have chosen to co-create with me, I have come to an understanding of the ways in which their stories intersect and resonate with my own.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter detailed the research philosophy and procedures used to investigate how consumers perform their identities in acculturation. First, the research purpose and research context were discussed. Following this, the research philosophy was explained and justified by situating a methodology of hermeneutic analysis within a theoretical perspective of hermeneutic interpretivism, which is in turn linked to an epistemology of social constructionism. The methods and tools of this study were then described and justified, including details of participants, interview tools and techniques, and data analysis. Finally, the research quality was discussed with particular reference to issues of trustworthiness and reflexivity.

Chapter IV: Findings

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers? How do these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations? Driven by the current theoretical gaps in consumer acculturation literature, and informed by interdisciplinary perspectives on culture and identity, this study seeks to understand these questions. This chapter presents the findings which emerged through this inquiry. First, the major constructs and key findings that emerged from participant interviews are overviewed. Second, each of these major constructs with themes, subthemes, and illustrative text units is described in greater detail. Thus, this chapter forms a prelude to Chapter Five, where the implications of these findings are re-lensed and discussed in relation to current theories of consumer acculturation.

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS: COUNTERFEIT CROSSINGS

Through two-part depth interviews with these participants followed by an iterative analysis of their transcripts, several major constructs and key findings emerged. It was found that participants enacted a range of boundary performances which involved an interwoven set of boundary objects, sites, and practices. These performances were informed by, and recursively shaped, multiple socio-cultural boundaries which encompassed both cultural and status boundaries. Given that these socio-cultural boundaries were constructed through multiple framing discourses, power hierarchies, and conflicting ideologies, it was unsurprising that boundary objects, sites, and practices contained plurivocal meanings and were experienced by participants with varying degrees of ambivalence and tension.

In particular, the consumer texts revealed two recurring tensions underlying boundary performances: a tension between settlement and dislocation, and a tension between agency and mimicry. First, while boundary performances enabled participants to gain status and social entry, thereby *appearing* settled, eruptions and contradictions in their narratives pointed to a deeper experience of dislocation. Second, boundary performances were fragmented by conflicts between agency, the desire to perform subaltern and individual narratives which conflict with dominant expectations, and mimicry, the desire to mirror expectations imposed by wider power structures. Consequently, participants experienced a deep disjuncture between structures of action (as enacted through boundary performances) and structures of feeling (experiences of counterfeit as a result of these two key tensions). On one hand, the acculturating immigrants in this study were driven to acquire and consume the exterior trappings of boundary crossing and, on the other hand, found themselves coming to terms with an interior sense of being 'stuck at the border', unable to completely re-enter the culture of origin or completely enter the culture of residence. In short, the inner experience of acculturation belies its outer appearance. To underline the complex and paradoxical effects of boundary performances on consumers' boundary negotiations, this chapter concludes with illustrations of the central concept of counterfeit crossing, which is discussed in further depth in Chapter Five. An overview of these major constructs and key findings is presented in Figure 2.

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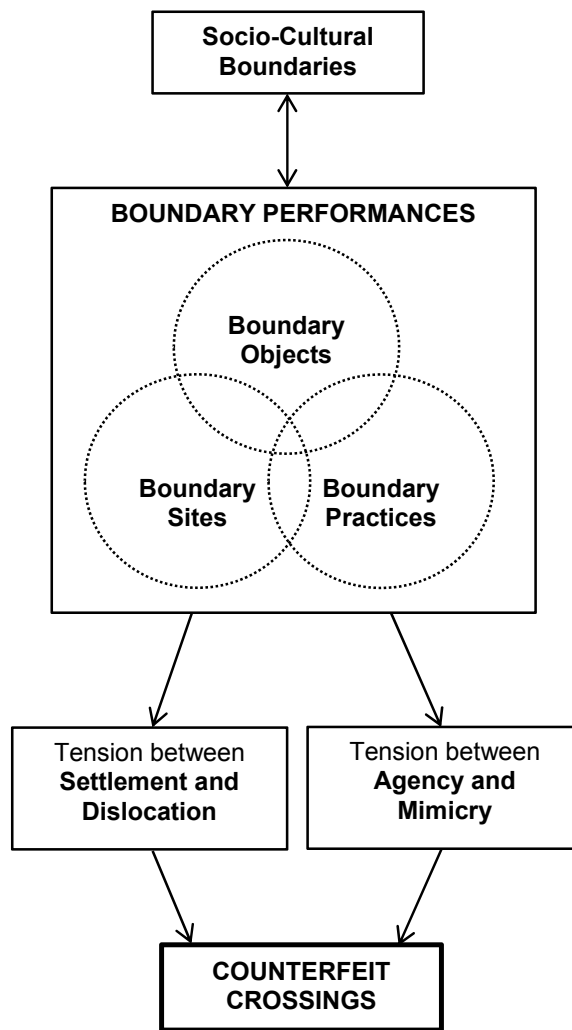
Figure 2

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

SOCIO-CULTURAL BOUNDARIES

Participants' boundary performances were shaped in and through multiple socio-cultural boundaries, which included cultural boundaries between Southeast Asian and New Zealand cultures, as well as status boundaries between migrants and locals. These socio-cultural boundaries were constructed and reinforced through intersecting discourses of New Zealandness, Asianness, migrancy, and cultural multiplicity. These boundaries, which shape multiple and competing expectations attached to participants' various performances, were largely articulated through positive and negative stereotypes. However, the articulation of discourses of cultural multiplicity suggested that participants also recognised a hybrid and ambiguous space in between the oppositional polarities through which these cultural boundaries are constructed.

First, participants largely constructed the myth of life in New Zealand in a positive way, often in contrast to negative aspects of life in Southeast Asia. Participants often reinforced a utopic image of New Zealand life and Kiwi culture, thereby constructing New Zealand as a desired destination for migration and settlement and justifying their decision to leave their countries of origin. At the same time, participants also articulated negative stereotypes about Kiwi life and culture. These positive and negative discourses of New Zealandness are exemplified in Table 11.

Table 11
Discourses of New Zealandness

Themes	Description	Text Unit
Nourishing environment (+)	In contrast to the pollution, congestion, and crowdedness of Southeast Asian cities, NZ offers a clean, green environment with many open spaces	*A lot of them [migrants] come from maybe very urban jungles where it's so polluted, and so densely packed with people. When they come here [to New Zealand], suddenly they feel like free, like you know, it's like a big burden lifted off of them, like ahh! The air's so fresh, it's so clean, it's like good to have a fresh new start. (Wei, 09B: 503-506)*
Better economic and professional opportunities (+)	NZ promises better economic and professional prospects for both migrants and their children	*You're in a situation right, you know that uh you can win but maybe with a margin of 1, okay. And you can put yourself in a situation that you see that you can win with a margin of 100. So where would you rather be? [...] After being in business for, for that long, we, we decided that uh we wanted now the 100 instead of the 1. (Manny, 10B: 64-66; 67-68)*
Tolerant society (+)	NZ is more tolerant (or at least less overtly racist) than other countries like the USA, UK, or Australia	*They [Kiwis] are not the dominant type that will ensure that you are reminded [laughs] that you are foreign. They are the local, they don't do such thing. That's not in their nature. (Boon, 20A: 1223-1225)*
Transparent (+)	From corrupt and unjust government systems and work practices in Southeast Asia to greater transparency and fairness in NZ	*I don't care much for the Philippines in terms of the government and the corruption. To me, that's, you know, it's a closed door. (Paul, 04A: 256-257)*
Better work-life balance (+)	From working and studying too hard to having more family and leisure time	*I don't want to just merely survive, go through the motions [...] And I see a lot of people in Malaysia just to do that, they just exist, they work really long hours, enough just to pay rent and feed their family, and that's it. (Kaitlyn, 06B: 1418; 1421-1422)*
Safe (+)	From threats to personal safety in Southeast Asia to a safer environment in NZ	*That's one of the symbols, a, a door with no bars, and a window without any bars. In our house [in the Philippines], we had three layers: we had a glass door, a wooden door, and bars, so with the windows. [...] Our walls were 12 foot high with glass on top, shards of glass, and then wire, razor-wire, on top. [...] I didn't think that it would be a problem but it took me a while to get used to not locking down [in New Zealand]. (Carlo, 11A: 639-641; 642-643; 654-646)*

Themes	Description	Text Unit
Civil society (+)	From uncivil and irresponsible social conduct in Southeast Asia to responsible social conduct in NZ	*Here in New Zealand people are fairly fair-minded [...] For example, if you go to a place and people queue, you don't, you don't, you know cut in there, you know [laughs]. [...] [In Burma] not all people follow that [laughs]. (James, 17A: 1383; 1384-1385; 1393)*
Supportive state (+)	In comparison to uncaring and at times exploitative governments in Southeast Asia, the NZ government provides a high standard of infrastructure and public services such as healthcare	*When you ask, "Are you happy in New Zealand?" Yeah it's good, uh government supply you, you've got benefit, you've got uh, you don't worry if you sick, all those beautiful benefit for yours in here. Compare in Indonesia you don't have benefit because government doesn't have, uh don't give you any benefit for you. In Indonesia you have to survive by yourself. (Ria, 22B: 996-1000)*
Better educational opportunities (+)	NZ promises more educational opportunities and a more well-rounded education system for both migrants and their children	*Education here [in New Zealand] is perfect. It's not like exam-oriented. [...] Even like last week, the whole week they have like 30 minutes of swimming as part of their curriculum, and it's free. You wouldn't get that in, in our country [in Malaysia] we wouldn't get that. (Asima, 12A: 735-736; 12B: 102-104)*
Kiwi ingenuity (+)	Kiwis are innovative, talented, and have a 'can-do' attitude	*I like the Kiwi ingenuity you know, their positive attitude you know, can-do, will-do attitude of Kiwis (Paul, 04B: 871-872)*
Lazy Kiwi (-)	Kiwis are laid back, slow, inefficient, and have a culture of welfare reliance	*New Zealanders, they tend to, to, to slack a little bit [laughs] [...] They can't find the job that they want, they just be on benefit, they, they are on dole. I, I think it's, it's not our character or our way of life that we, we have such support back home. That's why we have to work hard to get something to earn a living. (Aini, 25B: 418; 418-421)*
Small economy (-)	NZ economy is small and limited, e.g. in comparison to Australia	*It's just a small market. I'm just talking in terms of economy, uh, it's just a small market and, uh, it's just very competitive 'cause, um, the Kiwis are leaving Australia in droves and then there a lot of other migrants who's coming here [to New Zealand], who's kinda fighting for the same piece of the pie. (Simon, 15A: 1490-1493)*
Too quiet (-)	Unlike the bustling activity associated with large cities in Southeast Asia, NZ is too quiet	*At the time I arrived here [in Auckland], it's, I feel like, "Oh this city sucks!" I mean, it's so quiet. (Marwan, 14A: 80-81)*
Parochial (-)	Some Kiwis are insular and lacking exposure to other cultures, as revealed in their treatment of migrants	*New Zealand, it's a small pond. I think Kiwis don't realise it's a small pond. (Carlo, 11B: 723-724)*

Second, participants were also aware of wider socio-cultural discourses of Asianness (see Table 12). These included double-edged stereotypes which characterise Asian workers positively as hard workers, but who typically hold lower-level or mid-level technical and service jobs. Further, while participants acknowledged negative stereotypes attached to individuals who appear Asian, they also articulated essentialist definitions of Asianness, constructing themselves and others as Asian by virtue of genealogy and appearance.

Table 12
Discourses of Asianness

Themes	Description	Text Unit
Asian workers	Myths and stereotypes of Asian workers, e.g. Asians are hard workers and typically hold technical or service jobs	*They [people in Western countries] always think that Asian peoples is smart, hard worker and I take an advantage from that. [...] Yeah of course we are smart, we are uh, we are hard workers. (Dian, 26B: 1476-1477; 1477-1478)*
Asian stereotypes	Stereotypes of Asian people, e.g. Asians are bad drivers, small in stature, and quiet	*The Asians migrant, the countries we come from, we are basically very reckless driver. (Abby, 03B: 2367-2368)*
		[People say that Asians are] so timid you know… they're so timid and they're easily bullied, you know you can tell them to do whatever and they'll do it. (Simon, 15A: 1379-1380)
Asian by appearance	Phenotypical definitions of Asianness based on appearance or country of origin	*You cannot hide your appearance, you know, so whether… even you are born here in New Zealand and you are a third generation, a fourth generation Kiwi. If you look like this, you know, someone, a European will come, you know, "You are Asian." (James, 17A: 1286-1289)*

Third, participants also drew on wider discourses of migrancy in their identity negotiations (see Table 13). The myth of the migrant was predominantly constructed through the image of 'homo economicus', one who is driven primarily by economic and financial considerations. In addition, migration was viewed by participants as a normalised cultural expectation. Further, even though all of the participants were first-time migrants, some

participants expected to migrate multiple times rather than stay permanently in one place. However, participants were also aware that migrants are viewed by some in New Zealand as foreign invaders, particularly for more visible ethnic groups such as the Chinese.

Table 13
Discourses of Migrancy

Themes	Description	Text Unit
Homo economicus	Migrants are driven primarily by economic and financial considerations	*It's all about economics. And opportunities. (Ed, 01B: 2203)*
Migration is normal	Migration is now normalised due to familial migrations, prior travel, and discourses of globalisation	*For me it's [migration is] something that is common, especially this, this time around where everything is getting global, and with all the technology and everything, it does help a lot. And I think it should be like that. There's no boundaries between countries because we are all moving around. I mean, that's the way it is. So it's not something that it's luxury anymore, it's a lifestyle. (Aini, 25A: 135-139)*
Multiple migrations	Cultural expectation that migrants will locate multiple times in their lifetime	*[I] try to tell to my both, especially my children look outside the world. Now we know Indonesian, we know New Zealand. Might be different in Japan, might be different in Canada, might be different in wherever country, Dubai or wherever. (Ria, 22B: 1620-1623)*
Permanent commitment	Migration is a permanent one-way journey	*I already decided in my brain when you want to mig-, immigration to that country, I cannot back again. I just, I want to put my two legs in here, not one leg in Indonesia and one here. (Ria, 22B: 1106-1108)*
Foreign invasion	Migrants (usually Chinese) invade, intrude, and overtake the host country economically, socially, and culturally	*If you look at Auckland they're everywhere right? The Asians are, are, are making its presence. (Siti, 13A: 1300-1301)*

Finally, echoing interdisciplinary views of culture and identity as interwoven (Ang 2003; Robertson 1992), participants were also well-versed in discourses of cultural multiplicity and global intercultural flows. Participants' stories of heterogeneity, hybridity, and marginalisation underline the uneven and kaleidoscopic character of Southeast Asian and New

Zealand cultures. Participants also expressed, in addition to dyadic oppositions between Southeast Asian and New Zealand cultures, a sophisticated awareness of postcolonial complexities and tensions as they impact on their individual identity projects. Indeed, many acknowledged the ambivalent legacy of Western colonialism in their countries of origin, which has resulted in ongoing inequalities between Asians and Westerners, as well as individual insecurities concerning the value of Asian or 'third world' educational qualifications, competencies, and identities. These discourses of cultural multiplicity are illustrated in Table 14.

Table 14
Discourses of Cultural Multiplicity

Themes	Description	Text Unit
Postcolonial complexities	Negotiating between postcolonial discourses of First World (white) superiority and Third World (ethnic) inferiority	*The way we are is when we talk to white people, we lose our minds. […] If you research that word "colonial mentality" and use it in the context of the Filipino people, you've been, the Filipinos have been under Spain, or was under Spain for 333 years and then under uh America for 40 years and then under the Japanese regime and then back to, to Americans. All those times, uh we've been told what to do. We've been subjugated. We, uh the, the natural characteristics that we had uh would be something like timidity, uh non-challenging, uh… aspects that are, or characteristics that are, that makes us very very easy to, to be again subjugated, to become subjects of other people. And… and we look at ourselves as inferior. (Manny, 10A: 967; 10B: 1022-1029)*
Pre-translations	Experiences of heterogeneity and dislocation prior to migration which motivate migration, e.g. multicultural exposure through travel and experiences of marginalisation in the home country	*I've been looking to move out of the Philippines for a bit. I've worked in [Western country], I've worked in [Asian country], I've done work in [another Asian country], I've studied in [Asian country], I've studied in [Western country], I have family in the US as all Filipinos. (Carlo, 11A: 17-20)* *Being Chinese, you don't feel, you don't feel like a Malaysian, you feel like… every day you're reminded that you're a Chinese Malaysian. (Simon, 15B: 1625-1626)*

Themes	Description	Text Unit
Hybrid blood	Intermarriages and hybrid ancestries dissipate clear-cut cultural boundaries	*I grew up a bit Dutch. Like I know about bread, how to make bread and I love that bread. So when I move here [to New Zealand], I'm more happy because the bread more nice. (Ria, 22B: 558-559)*
Regional differences (NZ)	Different regions in NZ perceive and receive migrants differently	*It's very cosmopolitan now in Auckland you see. Everybody around the world come here, so they are more accepting, more open, but I think if you go to more suburb area somewhere in South Island or South of North Island it would be a different scenario. (Abby, 03A: 304-307)*

BOUNDARY OBJECTS

To navigate multiple socio-cultural boundaries, participants consumed a range of boundary objects in their performances of acculturation. These boundary objects included food, status tokens, clothing, and transitional objects (see Table 15). As Star and Griesemer (1989, 393) define them, boundary objects are:

> *[O]bjects which are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use, and become strongly structured in individual-site use. They may be abstract or concrete. They have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. The creation and management of boundary objects is key in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting social worlds.*

In other words, boundary objects enable the translation of embedded knowledge and information across multiple social worlds. For participants, consuming these boundary objects did more than translate knowledge and facilitate social entry into a new cultural context; they also embodied or simulated the world left behind and thereby enabled participants to translate their relationships and memories across boundaries. However, because the meanings of these objects were socially constructed in different cultural contexts, they contained plurivocal, destabilised, and at times oppositional meanings. Consequently, they were experienced by participants with varying degrees of ambivalence and tension.

Table 15
Boundary Objects and Key Tensions

Boundary Object	Key Categories	Key Tensions
Food	Local food Multicultural cuisines 'Home' food	• Settlement and dislocation
Status tokens	Houses PR & citizenship Local qualifications Cars	• Settlement and relocation
Clothing	Cultural clothing Status clothing Biographical clothing	• Settlement and dislocation • Agency and mimicry
Transitional objects	Iconic objects Indexical objects	• Settlement and dislocation

Food

Food consumption emerged as a major theme which was initiated and discussed at length by many participants. This is unsurprising as food consumption has previously been shown to play a significant role in the negotiation and maintenance of cultural boundaries (Bardhi et al. 2010). Affirming earlier findings on American tourists in China (Bardhi et al. 2010) and expatriates in Singapore (Thompson and Tambyah 1999), participants in this study experienced tensions between a desire to perform local integration or celebrate multiculturalism and a desire to find comfort in the cuisine of one's country of origin. Additionally, extending Bardhi et al. (2010), the practice of consuming 'home' food in New Zealand was experienced as a destabilised simulacrum or copy of home and thereby laced with both feelings of comfort and disappointment.

Mirroring Local Food Consumption Practices

Food is shorthand for identity, and hence, consuming food like the locals becomes shorthand for localisation. To symbolise their degree of acculturation into the host culture, participants

frequently discussed their adaptation to local food consumption practices. These predominantly included the consumption of 'Kiwi' food, the performance of local food consumption rituals, and the consumption of fresh food and produce. Four participants also discussed their adoption of healthier eating practices in New Zealand.

While some participants contested and questioned what constituted a unique 'Kiwi' cuisine, participants tended to adopt and perform the stereotypical conflation of Kiwi cuisine with European-originated foods such as fish and chips, roast meats, sandwiches, and scones. In addition, many participants performed stereotypical 'Kiwi' food consumption rituals such as having a barbecue, eating outdoors, and participating in coffee and wine culture.

> *I understand a flat white [coffee] is quite unique to New Zealand. [Interviewer: What's the significance of consuming things which are unique to New Zealand?] I don't know. Um, I suppose that, once again, it goes back to, it makes you feel like, you know you belong. It makes you feel more of a local as such, because you're doing what the locals do. You're enjoying and consuming what the locals know and enjoy, so you're part of them. You're one of their "peeps". (Kaitlyn, 06A: 1315-1326)*

Several participants also experienced the local practice of 'bringing a plate', whereby guests are expected to bring a dish when invited to someone's gathering, as an initial novelty that they have now adopted. By consuming local food and enacting local food consumption practices, participants were able to signal acculturation, minimise the appearance of difference, and enter into local social circles.

Further, some participants consumed fresh food and produce including fruits, seafood, and dairy products in line with the touristic place brand of '100% Pure New Zealand' (Ateljevic and Doorne 2002). Images of kiwifruit picking, strawberry picking, apple picking, and oyster collecting recurred across multiple participants. These consumption practices did not only involve the physical act of food consumption, but more importantly tourist-like rituals of harvesting the food as part of a group, photographing the harvest, and sharing these photographs with a wider audience.

If they [migrants] come from like the city, where there's no plantations or orchards around, whatever they get is straight from the supermarket. Whereas here you can just go somewhere, pluck fresh, take it home [...] New Zealand has it all. This place where you can get clean air, and unpolluted, good food. (Wei, 09B: 654-656; 687)

It's something also that you can show back home [in the Philippines] because like we don't have apples there. Oh we do have apples but not really you know from the tree, from the origin! (Jill, 02A: 1903-1905)

As such, these consumption practices enabled participants to consume the myth of 'clean and green' New Zealand and display their consumption to family and friends in the country of origin.

Consuming Multiculturalism

In addition to negotiating local cultural boundaries, participants negotiated multiple and confounded food-based cultural boundaries in the context of New Zealand's increasing multiculturalism, which manifests most evidently in its largest immigrant-receiving city, Auckland. On one hand, participants drew on a discourse of celebratory multiculturalism: by consuming a wider variety of national cuisines, they gained social entry with individuals of different cultures and performed their openness to other cultures. Participants often conflated the practice of sampling the cuisines of other cultures with understanding and respecting those cultures.

Eating the various different types of food will actually get you to understand what's going on in those particular cultures, right. (Boon, 20A: 907-908)

Moreover, many participants commented negatively about people who are overly attached to eating their own food, suggesting a wider socio-cultural discourse in which practices of culinary parochialism are negatively sanctioned.

He [my husband] is still very Chinaman, "aiyo"! [Laughs] He doesn't like European food, like Continental food, like pizza, burger, all these he doesn't eat, and like Korean food, Japanese food, he doesn't like. He's not open, he doesn't… you know? Straight away he has a mental block. He only likes Chinese, Malay, Indian food, that's all, mostly Chinese. (Abby, 03B: 2206-2209)

On the other hand, the translation of food consumption practices across national boundaries has also resulted in hybridised cuisines, which destabilise the imagined origin of these cuisines and disrupt clear-cut cultural boundaries. The multicultural foodscape has become a fluid field of signifiers – a simulacrum (Baudrillard 1994) detached from a stable sense of origin and reality. For example, despite Boon's earlier celebration of multicultural food consumption, his adamant insistence that Singapore fried vermicelli is a "lie" suggests a deeper fracture in his post-migration reality in New Zealand.

> *Every time I look at the, the menu I think, I told all my, all my people here [in New Zealand], "They're all lying." Because there's no such dish in Singapore. There's no such thing that's called Singapore, Singaporean fried vermicelli, there's no such thing. [...] It was one of my [ZMET] items because it constantly remind that you know these people here are lying, right. People who doesn't know Singapore of course will think that that is a Singaporean food, but that's not. [Interviewer: Mm hm, mm hm. So who's perpetrating the lie?] I don't know. I don't know who is uh, uh, screwing around people's brain. But definitely no such dish in Singapore, mm. So every time I go to that, those kind of shop including one near the [local building], and you know those noodle shop, when you see these you start laughing because you know, there's no such thing in Singapore. (Boon, 20A: 465-467; 473-484)*

As such, consuming in a multicultural foodscape can be an unsettling experience.

Consuming the Simulacrum of Home

In addition, participants frequently used food in an attempt to re-inhabit home. Over and above the centrality of food in Southeast Asian cultures, the importance of food as a source of comfort was intensified after migration. This is because in its sensory richness and immediacy, food embodies the familiar and is strongly linked to memories of the home culture.

> *You find like a snack food like instant noodle but it just evokes certain memories and emotions. A bit of homesickness in a way, but once you find it and enjoy it, you feel happy, contented. A temporary escape from something in a way, I don't know how to explain it. [...] It brings me back to a place, a time when you called Malaysia your home. (Wei, 09A: 116-119; 216-217)*

The cuisine of home was further valorised through the denigration of other cuisines, with participants frequently describing other cuisines as inferior, simpler, more generic, or less

healthy than the cuisine from the country of origin. Consuming the cuisine of home enables participants to span spatio-temporal boundaries and provides a portable simulacrum of home. As Tommy (21A: 1014) elegantly noted, Indonesian food for him is the "medicine of homesick."

However, food provided an imperfect simulacrum of home. Food consumption experiences could not be perfectly replicated from one place to another; this process involved compromise and negotiation. For instance, some participants attempted to reconstitute the cuisine of home by cooking the dishes themselves or sampling local restaurants. However, these replications were often experienced as incomplete and disappointing. The names of dishes, which used to connote a set of expectations and embodied experiences in the country of origin, did not fully deliver on their promise.

> *Even if I'm cooking at home it's got Kiwi touch already or local, I mean you use what's locally available so, and that's not what I am used to. Although it's, I have accepted or appreciate it but it's not like, what I used to have at home. [Interviewer: So how do you feel in that situation?] Um, I really miss, miss food back home. (Jane, 05A: 1659-1668)*

Furthermore, Southeast Asian food and food consumption practices could potentially be perceived as foreign, smelly, or even disgusting by others in New Zealand. Particularly for the Muslim participants, the translation of Islamic food practices from a Muslim-majority country to a Muslim-minority country created another layer of negotiation.

> *When I eat on like uh for example here [in Auckland] at Crowne Plaza I usually bought like uh the food they call "terasi noodle" [spicy Indonesian noodle soup]. When I eat that food, because the noodle is quite thick and quite brownish, people when they walk they just look at my food and, "Urgh, what's that one?" It's quite, they might think about it quite disgusting 'cause the colour or maybe like that. But for me when I look, it's not disgusting but it's tasty. But still like uh you can't really… eat as enjoyable as you eating at home. Because I think in Indonesian culture, when we eat, even at uh, restaurant sometimes we put our legs up. So it's like you know just more enjoyable like that one. But here in restaurant you can't put your legs up [laughs]. (Tommy, 21B: 656-671)*

As Tommy's comment illustrates, the consumption of food from home can also mark participants as 'foreign' in the context of New Zealand consumer culture.

Because the lived experience of food consumption was disrupted in these ways, the consumption of 'home' food not only provided a source of comfort and connection to one's biographical and cultural roots, it also exacerbated participants' sense of dislocation. Therefore, while food-related nostalgia has been framed as a positive coping mechanism (Holak 2014; Stamboli-Rodriguez and Visconti 2012), this finding draws attention to its dislocating effects.

Status Tokens

Participants acquired and displayed a range of status tokens, including houses, permanent residence and citizenship papers, local qualifications, and to a lesser degree, cars. A minority of participants also discussed luxury consumption objects and experiences. For participants, the acquisition of status tokens materialised and symbolised their upward social mobility as a migrant, thereby facilitating status translation and local social entry. While the drive to acquire such objects mirrors previous literature on status consumption (Rucker and Galinsky 2008; Üçok and Kjeldgaard 2006), the remarkable number of text units (323 text units, spread across all participants) suggests the degree to which these objects have become normalised and essential within the 'map' of migrant performance. Paradoxically, status tokens enabled both settlement and relocation.

Houses

An overwhelming number of participants (21 participants, 115 text units) discussed the importance of owning a house in New Zealand. While house ownership already represents a cultural imperative and wealth display norm in Southeast Asian and New Zealand cultures, house ownership further enabled participants to perform place attachment in New Zealand along economic and emotional dimensions. For instance, Jill (02B: 747; 747-748) observed that with a home, "you cannot just go anywhere […] you're tied up to your mortgage" while Manny

(10B: 1130-1131) noted that his "dream home… will then be our anchor in New Zealand."

Further, as the physical site of the family home, a house provides a site for familial performance

and memory-making, thus deepening one's sense of rootedness in New Zealand.

> *This is where you grow up, where your kids grow up, this is where you grow old, this is where the all memory, all the memories will stay, you will keep the memories. […] When I visualise a home it is somewhere that, um, you, um, you go back after hard working day, you cook the meal, sit down, um, um at the dining table with your family, smiling each other, go and then carrying my kid up to bed, um, telling stories before bed and… Um, during even weekend I will be cooking in the kitchen and she will be playing in the front yard or the back yard and, um, we can grow veggie, she can jump through, well she can run through the back door and say, "Mum I found something." I thought, you know that something really nice to, to think of and to live in. (Hue, 23B: 557-559; 568-575)*

Given the economic and emotional import of owning a house, it was unsurprising that

participants who owned houses in their country of origin often cited these houses as reasons to

return. Asima (12B: 733-734) for instance desired to return to Malaysia "because the salary

there, because I, we have a home there, it's like almost like um fully settled." Conversely, the

disposition of houses and material possessions in the country of origin constituted a significant

ritual for partially decoupling the location of home from the country of origin.

Paradoxically, while the acquisition of a house enabled settlement and even rootedness

in New Zealand, it also enabled mobility, giving participants license to return to their country

of origin as a proud and successful migrant.

> *If I go back [to Indonesia] like this [in] December I will… I'm not going back as um someone that um… if someone asked me, like family, "Oh [Ardhi] you come back?" And, "Oh what do you do there [in New Zealand]?" I can be proud. "Oh I'm a manager now." So I can really proud to… "Oh really? So you, wow you've been…" "Yeah." "Did you finish your study?" "Yeah I finished my study and have a house. I have my, my investment." I have, I have all the things that I can tell them as a… "See?" (Ardhi, 18B: 592-597)*

In this way, a house also functions as a status token which enables potential re-entry and re-

location into the country of origin.

Permanent Residence and Citizenship Papers

Permanent residence and citizenship letters were a recurring feature in participants' ZMET items and narratives. On one hand, the achievement of one's permanent residence papers symbolised the beginning of settlement in the migrant map, particularly for participants who acquired permanent residence through the Work-To-Residence Scheme. This status token marked the end of an initial period of struggle and uncertainty, opened up more work and economic opportunities, and provided access to local benefits such as domestic education fees and healthcare. Accordingly, permanent residence enabled participants like Tommy to display and claim settlement in New Zealand.

> *I have a barbecue with, with my Kiwi friends. Yeah because my, my wife boss is a Kiwi, so is native Kiwi. So when, on the New Year a couple of years ago, so they invite us and then yeah, and we, we tell us, "Oh no we have our PR and then we have a house." "Oh you are Kiwi now." (Tommy, 21B: 1454-1457)*

On the other hand, participants like Ed saw New Zealand permanent residence and citizenship less as a marker of settlement and more as a status object which enables further international mobility.

> *I didn't want to travel before without the New Zealand citizenship because it's difficult to travel with a Philippine passport. […] It's just like driving a… Cales- rickshaw, and driving a BMW. Yes. It can facilitate, you can, you can go a lot faster and more comfortable and more in style. (Ed, 01A: 2441-2442; 2511-2512)*

Local Qualification Papers

The acquisition of local qualifications and educational awards was another form of immigrant status consumption. The frequency with which local qualifications recurred (16 participants, 57 text units) suggests that, like houses, they have become normalised objects within the 'map' of migrant consumption. Local qualifications did not only increase participants' perceived value to New Zealand employers but also conferred participants with confidence, voice, and authority in the context of their workplaces.

> *You can go through the proving process, uh as they say you take the stairs, climb up uh, climb up that ladder, especially when you're talking about the corporate ladder, climb the top, or you can take a lift, right. And to me, that [degree] is a lift. [...] Just having that [postgraduate degree] created a change of, of perspective that, "What the hell, I'm now, I'm now the same footing with other Kiwis!" (Manny, 10B: 1170-1173; 1200-1202)*

Over and above their effects within New Zealand workplaces, local qualification papers also functioned as a social status signal. Indeed, many participants took great pride in having achieved postgraduate degrees, which often signalled a higher level of educational achievement in comparison to local New Zealanders, other migrants in New Zealand, and their peers in the country of origin. Ed (01A: 2118), for instance, had his and his children's degrees professionally framed and displayed on the walls of his home office, asserting that "if I have to be judged against all, I will always be proud." In a similar vein, at the same time as local qualification papers enabled status translation within the host culture, they also enabled status translation within and re-entry into the country of origin (see, for instance, Ardhi's earlier comment under 'Houses').

Cars

Finally, cars are used as status tokens which signal the achievement of status and enable settlement. Many participants acknowledged that, because the brand of car one drives still signals status and wealth within immigrant communities, "other immigrants" usually aspire to own luxury vehicles. This brand-based aspiration therefore affirms Luedicke's (2011) observation of Turkish immigrants in Germany. However, within the context of New Zealand consumer culture, the prevalence of an egalitarian ideology creates sanctions against the overt display of wealth. Consequently, many participants disavowed participation in status consumption, deferring such aspirations to "other people" or citing functional reasons for their purchases.

I don't believe car is a mark of wealth. Even though I'm buying the uh [Volkswagen] Polo, that just my minor interest of having it and I don't see the significance of that. So it may be an indication of wealth for someone else but not me. (Kiet, 16B: 1084-1086)

Several participants also predominantly discussed the car as a product category rather than discussing the brand per se as a status differentiator.

At that time, our kid, it was only my, my son. So at that time, if we want to go to anywhere, to go to our community, well we, we always been picked up by anyone else. So me and my wife's thinking so we, we couldn't, we couldn't, we couldn't, I mean, we couldn't, we couldn't depend on anyone else. So having a car it's really help us to, to be independent. (Marwan, 14A: 944-948)

In these instances, participants consumed these cars as necessary aids for settlement, enabling independence and an enjoyable family life.

Clothing

Clothing was used by participants to inhabit cultural identities, perform status, and memorialise their pasts. As a boundary object which constitutes the visible carapace of the performing body, clothing acts as a potent indicator of social identity. As Ger and Østergaard (1998, 48) have observed, "[d]ressing is a daily ritual involving the body, which is integral to identity. Clothes are expressive props." At the same time, clothing may also act as a placeholder for biographical memory, providing a material connection with signal moments and relationships. As such, the consumption of clothing was motivated on the one hand by agency, the desire to perform individual biographies, and mimicry, the desire to mirror expectations imposed by wider power structures.

Cultural Clothing

Participants used clothing to inhabit cultural identities, with several participants including traditional cultural clothing in their ZMET items and discussing their significance at length. The items of cultural clothing included a Vietnamese traditional costume, a *cheongsam*

(Chinese dress) and *sarong* (Malay garment) from Singapore, a series of *kebaya* (blouses) from Indonesia, and several items made of Indonesian *batik* fabric. In addition, two female Muslim participants discussed the significance of the *hijab* (Islamic head scarf) and *jubah* (long prayer dress). These items of cultural clothing were either worn or displayed to memorialise the culture of origin and to represent the culture of origin to others in New Zealand.

However, because these same items of clothing mark a person as foreign in New Zealand, the meaning of cultural clothes was sometimes marked by ambivalence. Hue (23B: 370-375), for instance, wore the traditional Vietnamese costume to special Vietnamese events such as Vietnamese New Year or Independence Day. While she at first disparaged the sense of obligation for Vietnamese people to "showcase," "advertise," and "sell" their country when overseas, when asked to imagine how she felt when wearing the costume, she began to inhabit the memories of her home culture and the role of a proud cultural ambassador. At the same time, she did not wear this costume outside of the Vietnamese community to avoid being seen as "odd."

> *[Interviewer: What does it give you when you put it on?] True, you feel very proud. First thing is because it's beautiful costume. Um, the second one, it does remind you of really beautiful memories you used to have when you used to put it on in Vietnam. So you feel like you are in Vietnam if you put on that costume. Um, you feel like… mm… yeah it remind, I think the main thing about it is… it's a social belief that the costume really stand for the spirit of the country. So when you put it on you are an ambassador to the country and that's why you feel proud. You feel like you're also upholding the values, that's why you feel proud. [Interviewer: Mm, when would you wear it?] On you know national days. Like the New Year, the Independence Day. Oh yes I would only wear it to particular functions. Not just I wear it for work, yeah. So yeah otherwise people would feel I'm very odd. (Hue, 23B: 356-375)*

Some participants also used clothing to display their degree of acculturation to New Zealand. In particular, winter clothing such as snow jackets and thermals were included in participants' ZMET items to perform their successful acclimatisation to the colder weather in New Zealand.

> *This one [Image 03]. Because here [in this image] you can see that we're all clothed up for the winter which is something that you can't do in the Philippines. And this really shows that you know we're migrants trying to adapt to a new culture including weather. (Paul, 04A: 1374-1376)*

In some cases, a more casual or less conservative style of everyday dress was adopted to mirror New Zealand dress norms. Wei (09B: 1180-1181), for instance, drew himself wearing an *All Whites* (New Zealand's national football team) jersey, jandals, and flip-flops, and described himself as "really laid-back and easy going." However, while some participants were aware of these dress norms, they rejected and denigrated this style of dress as a compromise of one's 'real' identity.

> *New Zealand skin I think isn't particularly fantastically much better than the Filipino skin [...] the short skirts and the torn shorts with the pockets coming out, all of those things, those are skins that do not provide identity. I think identity comes from inside you. (Carlo, 11B: 1017-1018; 1021-1022)*

In reflecting on the idea of 'skinwork', a formative concept presented to some participants in their second interview, Carlo understood and yet rejected the belief that adopting new dress norms or "skins" provides identity value.

Status Clothing

Further, some participants wore status clothing, particularly in the workplace, to signal and perform their professional identities. Items of status clothing included formal attire, suits, high heels, a work-related medal, and a kitchen apron. On one level, participants expressed a tension between the desire to perform status and the desire to feel comfortable. Tamsin (08A: 397-398) for instance described wearing "high heels when I really find it bloody uncomfortable." On another level, participants also acknowledged a wider cultural tension between the norm of overt status display, which participants usually associated with Asian cultures, and the norm of status discretion, which participants usually associated with the egalitarian ideology of New Zealand.

[Asians are] maybe um a bit more polished than the normal Kiwi. [Interviewer: Polished?] I would say so, yeah. Maybe dress up a little bit more. Sort of Kiwi have this kind of um dressing up naturally, you know, like you look… or sometime they don't care at all. But when they care, they still look a bit natural. And I think sometime, Asian a bit… dress up and then make up a bit too much. I don't say too much but I can um… they look like you are, they want, they do it deliberately to stand out. (Hue, 23A: 1290-1300)

Biographical Clothing

In addition to expressing cultural and status-based identities, clothing also functioned as a placeholder for memory, providing an embodied and material connection with signal biographical moments. Clothing was used by several participants to mark and re-enter key life events, places, and relationships. Items of biographical clothing were mainly everyday items of clothing such as walking shoes, blouses, and T-shirts. Marwan (14A: 978-982), for instance, wore the same T-shirt during the births of his son and daughter in New Zealand and used the T-shirt to evoke the memory of those moments. Kaitlyn similarly associated a rugby jersey gifted by her friends with the happiness and excitement of her initial stay as well as the relationships which led her to eventual migration.

I associate that [jersey] with my experience on the exchange programme, which… and the highlight of that exchange programme is my stay at [Auckland hostel] where I met a lot of interesting people including this guy that I came here for. Um, and this is really important to me because it was bought to me by my friend [Jessie], who (a) is the person who really encouraged me to choose New Zealand to come on my exchange programme and (b) played such an important role in helping me settle here in New Zealand. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 144-150)

As Kaitlyn's comment illustrates, the memorial function was further intensified when items of clothing were presented as gifts, enabling these objects to serve as material reminders of significant relationships.

Transitional Objects

In their ZMET items and verbal narratives, participants presented and discussed a wide range

of transitional objects, which functioned as tangible reminders of a place and time left behind.

The concept of transitional objects originates from early childhood psychoanalysis:

> *(If we study any one infant) there may emerge some thing or some phenomenon –*
> *perhaps a bundle of wool or the corner of a blanket or eiderdown, or a word or tune, or*
> *a mannerism – that becomes vitally important to the infant for use at the time of going*
> *to sleep, and is a defence against anxiety, especially anxiety of depressive type. Perhaps*
> *some soft object or other type of object has been found and used by the infant, and this*
> *then becomes what I am calling a transitional object. This object goes on being*
> *important. The parents get to know its value and carry it round when travelling. The*
> *mother lets it get dirty and even smelly, knowing that by washing it she introduces a*
> *break in continuity in the infant's experience, a break that may destroy the meaning and*
> *value of the object to the infant. (Winnicott 1953, 90)*

Applying this concept to consumer acculturation, transitional objects provide both emotional

and sensory mobility through change. These objects both enable and disable border crossing,

providing both a source of comfort and a reminder of the "break in continuity" (Winnicott 1953,

90) – of dislocation.

Iconic Objects

Echoing Mehta and Belk (1991), some transitional objects carried iconic authenticity (Grayson

and Martinec 2004) in that they symbolised the culture left behind, enabling participants to

perform a pastiche of Asianness and symbolically reconstitute their cultural identities in New

Zealand. Tamsin (08B: 969-970), for example, bought a shadow puppet and a Chinese cutlery

set in New Zealand as a "little symbolism of home" and "to represent myself." Her other items

included a bamboo plant and small Buddha statue which are displayed on her work desk.

> *I think when I've freshly come back from a trip [to Singapore] I do have that need to*
> *represent myself. Um, but… And possibly again when, um, I'm being sort of – this you*
> *will find interesting – stereotyped into an Indian, sort of, an Indian girl that's come to*
> *New Zealand to find a good life. (Tamsin, 08B: 970-973)*

Thus, the importance of these objects was heightened during moments of physical border crossing and border negotiation within the culture of residence.

Indexical Objects

Providing an extension of Mehta and Belk (1991), some transitional objects carried indexical authenticity (Grayson and Martinec 2004) and acted as powerful proxies for relationships left behind in migration. These included musical instruments, stuffed toys, jewellery, and in one case, a message in a bottle. Because these objects had either physically originated from the country of origin or been physically handled by significant others, they carried a heightened emotional charge and became an even more powerful proxy for home than iconic objects. Hence, these objects enabled participants to cope with the emotional turbulence associated with the loss of their social support network, particularly in the initial stages of migration. In the same way that a security blanket provides physical comfort to a child in the absence of its mother, indexical objects comforted participants as they came to terms with the absence of their family and close friends. Samson (07B: 132; 685), for instance, referred to a rare Taylor guitar purchased in Singapore as "my good companion" and "like my second wife."

> *When you are a migrant, then you got… At least you can, you can occupy your time, yeah. Like when you are, you are still establishing, when you got… you are lonely, when you got nobody to talk to, then this will be your good complement what. […] Depression works in a good way what. Loneliness ah, in that sense. They got nobody to talk to ah, then no choice what, talk to God. Or talk to your guitar. (Samson, 07B: 122-124; 1180-1182)*

In some instances, indexical objects were used to enact grieving rituals for those who were no longer physically present in participants' post-migration lives. Here, the indexical objects tended to have been in direct and prolonged contact with the remembered person's body. For instance, in the first few months after Dian migrated to New Zealand, Dian's father wore and slept in Dian's T-shirts because "he feels that I'm there" (Dian, 26B: 833-844). Siti

similarly wore a bracelet, which had been worn by her mother in Malaysia and gifted to her

prior to migration, in order to keep her mother "close at heart." Later, after her mother passed

away, she continued to wear and revere her mother's jewellery to memorialise their

relationship.

> *That [Image 09] kept me close, that kept me on the ground even when I'm in New Zealand having, you know, having known that this, you know, my mother is close. [Interviewer: Close?] At heart. 'Cause I wear this [Image 09] before I, you know, before I acquired this [current bracelet] so this, this is always here [on my wrist] throughout from 2005 until when I acquired that 2008. So it's always a reminder that my mother is there even when, you know, even when I was here [in New Zealand]. Yeah it just, just keeps my mother close I suppose. […] I keep it in my dresser, yeah it's always there. And since she passed away I've acquired quite a few of her jewelleries and I, yeah, once in a while I put them on. [Interviewer: Mm, what thoughts and feelings come to mind when you do that now?] Yeah just… I don't know, I just miss my mum. (Siti, 13A: 1567-1577; 1603-1610)*

> *It's hard, even as a… you know, living in New Zealand, that you know, the heart is not there sometimes. 'Cause you know my mother is not here. (Siti, 13A: 1614-1615)*

As Siti's interview revealed, these grieving rituals are bittersweet, providing comfort through

loss but at the same time triggering feelings of dislocation.

BOUNDARY SITES

Boundary practices and objects were performed within and through multiple and interconnected boundary sites, which included subaltern communities, families, local sites, work, religious communities, friendship networks, media, transitional sites, and educational institutions (see Table 16). In the performance of acculturation, boundary sites fulfil important staging and bridging functions. They do not only provide a social space for the performance of boundary practices and the consumption of boundary objects, but they also constitute a mechanism for social order – normalising, delimiting, and directing the ways in which these performances unfold. For participants, these boundary sites provided a space for symbolic identity translations along the dimensions of status and social identity, which enabled partial border crossings between Southeast Asian and New Zealand cultures. However, given that boundary sites are constituted within multiple cultural contexts and informed by conflicting ideologies and discourses, boundary sites also became defamiliarised and contested spaces which were experienced by participants with varying degrees of ambivalence and tension.

Table 16
Boundary Sites and Key Tensions

Boundary Site	Key Categories	Key Tensions
Subaltern communities	Ethnic communities Migrant communities	• Settlement and dislocation
Families	Immediate family Extended family	• Settlement and dislocation
Workplaces	Local workplaces Professional bodies	• Settlement and dislocation • Agency and mimicry
Local sites	Local people Local landscape	• Settlement and dislocation
Religious communities	Christian communities Muslim communities Buddhist communities	• Settlement and dislocation

Boundary Site	Key Categories	Key Tensions
Friendship networks	Local friends Old friends Surrogate families	• Settlement and dislocation
Media	Translational media Online forums 'Ethnic' media Virtual communications	• Settlement and dislocation
Transitional sites	Airports Farewell gatherings	• Settlement and dislocation
Educational institutions	Schools Hostels Tertiary institutions Community schools	• Settlement and dislocation • Agency and mimicry

Subaltern Communities

Beyond the 'home' and 'host' culture, participants drew on multiple cultural boundaries in order to claim social entry in relation to multiple socio-cultural groups, which are referred to here as subaltern communities. Subaltern communities were not only formed out of ethnic or national groupings, but also formed out of other shared belongings such as being an immigrant (as opposed to being a local), being Chinese (as opposed to being non-Chinese), or being Asian (as opposed to being Caucasian). Thus, the subjective and continually shifting definition of 'we' and 'not-we' drew on multiple cultural boundaries and bifurcations: East versus West, First World versus Third World, Asian versus European, Malay versus Chinese, Southeast Asian versus mainland Chinese, and English speaking versus non-English speaking, to name a few. In doing so, consumers wove multiple "webs of belonging" (Calhoun 2003, 536) which exceeded and confounded the dimensions of ethnicity and nationality.

While these communities varied in their degree of formalisation and longevity, ranging from one-off interactions, close friendships, and official organisations, it was found that an implicit set of expectations governed how community members treat one another. These expectations were both celebrated and critiqued by participants. While subaltern communities

provided an important platform for socialisation within the local culture and a sense of connection to the culture of origin, they imposed heightened obligations on those who were considered as members. Hence, participants' experiences within these communities were fraught with ambivalence.

Community Expectations

As members of their nation of origin, their ethnic group, and the larger population of skilled migrants in New Zealand, participants were expected to perform a 'duty of care' towards others in the same category. Many participants celebrated and proactively performed this duty of care. For instance, an overwhelming number of participants discussed experiences of providing or receiving informational and practical help. In particular, many participants emphasised the importance of helping and guiding newer migrants. The guidance offered touched on significant consumption decisions, including where to find accommodation, how to deal with the bank, how to enrol one's children into a school, and how to find a suitable job in New Zealand. It also encompassed advice concerning mundane consumption matters, such as where to catch the bus, how to choose an Internet provider, and how to send remittances to family members in the country of origin.

Moreover, because more experienced migrants felt a strong desire to reciprocate the help they received, subaltern communities provided a self-perpetuating source of informational and practical support for newly arrived migrants. As Asima (12B: 606-621) explained, "we feel the pain last time" and "they'll be feeling the pain. So we know, so that's why we share." For some participants, giving advice enabled them to perform the role of a community elder whose experience in acculturating to New Zealand is valued and respected. For example, Patricia described the payoff of her role as a "tita" (aunt) among other Filipinos.

> *[Interviewer: What does that mean to you?] Seniority [laughs]. Seniority, then, then sometimes you know, that I can say whatever I want and do whatever I want because I have the seniority. And yeah, I like giving advice sometimes. (Patricia, 19B: 730-732)*

Further, chains of leadership were perpetuated through these communities of practice, with some participants encouraged to become more active participants, organise community events, and lead community organisations. Marwan, for instance, was identified and recruited as a community leader within an Indonesian organisation in Auckland.

> *We have a gathering like every, at that, every weekend. And then, and I just start helping, I mean, start helping, just getting involved on the gathering. And then I think they, the people, the people look there is a potential on me to, to become a board of trustee and then in the meeting I think, I think it just... six months ago I think. I, I just become a board of trustee, yeah, yeah. They, they, they want to change, I mean, they want to shift the role between the, between the community so they are looking for a young [laughs], young person and then they, they, they choose me to, to involve in the community. (Marwan, 14A: 582-588)*

Additionally, subaltern community members were expected to perform an instant and heightened connection with other members, for instance by performing greeting rituals, engaging in friendly conversation (preferably in the mother tongue), and divulging personal details.

> *It was a really nice feeling. It's like, I don't know what it is but when you're in a foreign country, when you see somebody that you share common roots with, you instantly just form some sort of bond. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 680-682)*

Community members were also expected to perform this connection by socialising and making friends with individuals from one's community. By forming friendship networks with other community members, participants became part of a wider community of practice through which they would perform familial rituals such as birthdays and weddings as well as cultural rituals such as New Year and Independence Day. As Jane (05A: 2125) explained, performing these rituals enabled her to "assimilate Filipinoness." In performing these rituals, community members reaffirmed their connectedness and memorialised the culture of origin.

> *[A community is] important when you feel the need to... validate – no, that's not the word – to ah, remind – that's not the word as well – to practice ah, some of the norms*

or the traditions or whatever that you're used to. You wanna be able to do that in a foreign environment so that, for people who want to do that, to re-emphasise their identity or whatever, you know, the norms and practices and culture. Um, they need the people from the community to do that in a foreign environment. (Siti, 13A: 212-217)

Conversely, individuals who resist these community expectations were viewed with suspicion. Jill (02B: 2162), for instance, labelled unfriendly Filipinos as "snobs." Some participants also perceived those who married non-community members to be outsiders.

Another reason is you try to be, maintain to be Vietnamese so that you can socialise with similar Vietnamese and then you can form a community, which is really your home overseas, your family overseas. Because some, okay some, some of my friends who marry foreigners and Kiwis they're out of that loop, they out of that circle because you know no matter how much you try they wouldn't think in the same way, they wouldn't be able to speak Vietnamese. And so if you invite them along, you know people still speak Vietnamese and they wouldn't be able to understand. So it's really hard to mixing Vietnamese when part of your family is, um, Westerners. (Hue, 23B: 315-323)

As Hue explained, marrying someone from a similar ethnic background provides a social and linguistic entrée into a given subaltern community, which not only provides a means of cultural preservation, but a sense of home while overseas.

Traps of Community

While participants shared an understanding of these community expectations, some participants kept their participation in subaltern communities to a minimum for various reasons. Participants like Wei (09B: 330-331) and Boon (20A: 1014) maintained a connection with the culture of origin through frequent return trips to Malaysia and Singapore respectively, and as such, felt less of a need to consume proxies which simulate the experience of the culture of origin. For other participants, other dimensions of identity took precedence over ethnic identity. For instance, Jill's religious beliefs precluded her from celebrating Christmas and birthdays with other Filipinos (Jill, 02A: 389-431) while Thanh's (24B: 631-632) professional commitments meant that socialising with other Vietnamese was less of a priority in her life.

However, over and above these reasons, many participants explicitly expressed their personal discomfort with performing these community norms in New Zealand, discussing several traps associated with subaltern community membership and performance.

> *The first warning [from my Indonesian friend] is not, "Oh you have to study English." Or anything. "Don't mix up with Indonesian. Don't uh make a friend with Indonesian." And I said, "Why?" She come back with the result as well. "They will ask you where do you live? Where is your house? What car? What is your husband doing?" If they're saying, oh you say, "Oh I'm a millionaire." They will close with you. But if you say, "Mmm… I'm part-time job, I'm casual." They say, they just look you in the half eyes. (Ria, 22A: 1323-1329)*

> *When we came here [to New Zealand] our expectations of ourselves were also high, like there was pressure to us to get our own house immediately. Because like, especially if you're part of that [Filipino organisation in Auckland] migrant group, you'd hear stories left and right like, "Oh after only three months of working we were able to buy a new house." Something like that, like there's pressure as a result that… and also, "Oh we got our permanent residence visas only after three months, four months." Eh for us then, four months, nothing yet. I don't know why, so there were, there are pressures really. There are lots of pressures, expectations and what, so that's the roadmap. (Paul, 04B: 305-313)*

Ria's and Paul's comments reflect a recurring theme about heightened levels of status surveillance within subaltern communities. As many participants observed, practices of status surveillance create mutual envy, promote internal conflict and fragmentation, and exacerbate the social pressures on individual migrants to achieve and display success.

Subaltern communities also reinforce heightened expectations about what it means to be from the culture of origin, extending to areas like parenting and influencing decisions such as when to send a young child to crèche. As Hue (23B: 90-91) explained, "you're under more pressure to keep up those values and traditions, more than if you were in Vietnam." Furthermore, while some participants saw the formation of a subaltern community of practice in a positive light, other participants saw this community of practice as constraining; one could easily become "stuck" in the world of an ethnic enclave. The gravitational pull of the community was illustrated in some participants' experiences of being imposed upon by

community obligation and intrusions. In this vein, Ardhi used the metaphor of the solar system

to describe his relationship with the Indonesian community.

> *I don't really like sociable with my own community [...] It's like our solar system [Image 05]. So if this is Indonesian community, um as a sun, probably I'm more on Saturn [both laugh]. (Ardhi, 18A: 1202-1203; 1206-1207)*

> *That's what I found the bad things about the community. Because once you got interact, you just like to be interact to, to that community. This is the one that, one of the things that I avoid. Try to box yourself, make your own boundaries. [...] Once you got a minority, people don't like you, even it's only 20% you will feel that bigger. So, so that's why I don't really like to be involved, but probably people have any reason to be like, "Okay I have to be because I'm Indonesian, I have to be with Indonesian. I have to go with Indonesian." That, that kind of thing. And then that's bad to the baby step of making a boundaries. Yeah. Once you "stuck" in there, you gonna be stuck. (Ardhi, 18A: 1270-1274; 1276-1281)*

As such, while subaltern communities provided a space for connection and acceptance

within the country of residence, participants' comments revealed that these were

simultaneously spaces of heightened obligation, surveillance, and judgment. Ardhi's

ambivalent relationship with the Indonesian community, and indeed, the ambivalence prevalent

within participants' experiences of their subaltern communities, was captured in his concluding

thought on this metaphor: "Don't go too close but you can't get away" (Ardhi, 18A: 1302).

Families

Families motivate and facilitate migration, providing the driving purpose for migrants to

attempt boundary crossing in the first instance. However, migration also fragments,

destabilises, and defamiliarises the performance and experience of family. Consequently,

families can engender tensions between feelings of settlement and feelings of dislocation.

Settlement

Families provide a central locus for identity construction. The desire to advance the project of the family often provided a teleological purpose which structures the lives and decisions of many participants.

> *Actually it's [family is] your purpose. Because when you come here, you don't come here for yourself. Uh, your other, your, your main purpose would be you're coming here because of your kids. To give them better life. (Patricia, 19A: 293-295)*

As Patricia's comment illustrates, the decision to migrate and the willingness to endure its associated sacrifices were motivated in many instances by the desire for a better future for one's children.

Concerns about the welfare of one's parents and siblings, who were in most cases left behind in the country of origin, also played an ongoing role in several participants' lives. Nine participants discussed sending money back to their extended family members.

> *My mum, my family can actually… financially they support themselves, they don't need help, but I think it's important for them to know that we remember. (Jane, 05A: 2154-2155)*

Despite the additional financial obligation, these practices were performed as an expected cultural expression of filial piety and a memorialisation of the familial bond.

In addition, families provided a locus of home and enabled participants to partially anchor their identities in New Zealand. In many cases, the location of home was not so much attached to a country as to the location of one's family. For some participants, the presence of spouses or prospective partners in New Zealand motivated migration, provided stability and strength, and enabled them to feel a degree of comfort in New Zealand. Kaitlyn (06A: 20) and Simon (15A: 15), for instance, moved to New Zealand to pursue prospective relationships, Wei (09A: 1033-1034) met his wife in New Zealand, and James (17A: 1079) and Dian (26A: 647-648) returned to their countries of origin to get married and brought their wives to New Zealand. For participants who were already married with children prior to migration, the presence of a

complete family unit in New Zealand, and in particular one's children, similarly enabled them to feel a degree of comfort and gave them license to call New Zealand home. In these ways, performing the project of family gave participants a sense of location and settlement. The centrality of family to the social imaginary of settlement was brought into relief by Simon, who was the only participant at the time of interviewing who was not in a relationship.

> *I consider this [New Zealand] a place, a base, a base where I, um, that I will come back to. I wouldn't say it's a "home home." Maybe 'cause I'm, I'm kind of single and I'm just one guy so I don't have a home, I don't have a fam-… [Not "home home"?] No, maybe my idea of a home is, may differ, my idea of a home is with family, um settled. (Simon, 15B: 712-730)*

Furthermore, the project of the family is one which is publicly performed. Many participants displayed 'trophy families', using the educational, work, and other achievements of their family members to signal establishment in New Zealand.

> *My eldest, this one, is a full scholar at [Auckland tertiary institution]. And she's coming up next and she's probably number two in her year, and she's coming up next, she's probably number one in her year, and she's Year 8 and 12 years old. (Carlo, 11A: 666-673)*

While some female participants proudly mentioned their husband's accomplishments, trophy working wives were conspicuously absent from the male participants' narratives.

Dislocation

At the same time, the act of migration destabilises the experience of family, from a space which is taken-for-granted and unified into a space which is contested and dispersed. Given the centrality of the family within Southeast Asian cultures, it was unsurprising that these processes of defamiliarisation heightened participants' feelings of dislocation.

Even when family members were physically present in New Zealand, contestations occurred as a result of conflicting cultural norms. In particular, tensions between the desire to mirror local cultural practices on one hand, and fears of cultural erosion on the other, were

frequently played out in parent-child relationships. Some participants expressed conflicts and disconnects with their parents, while also expressing fears that the next generation would make unwise career decisions, not show their parents respect or take care of them in their old age, live together with a boyfriend or girlfriend before getting married, no longer be able to speak their mother tongue, or forget about their country of origin. In this way, these cultural conflicts and disconnects with one's parents and children engendered a degree of alienation within the previously sheltered space of the family.

> *It's the parents who came here first who always has a struggle to assimilate even, they even feel out of touch with their own children who, who's you know been to, been at school here and… You see on the street, sometimes I see kids talking to their parents in like Kiwi accent English while their parents keep talking to them in their native tongue and they keep replying them in English [laughs]. […] They're [migrant parents are] trying to assimilate themselves within their own family even, let alone like bigger social context. (Simon, 15B: 453-458; 465-467)*

In addition, migration often resulted in the dispersal of family members across nations, creating a source of dislocation and an unsettling sense of 'lost time'. Participants who have had to live separately from their spouse or children, in particular, experienced a heightened degree of dislocation and loss. While the separation of the nuclear family was seen as a necessary sacrifice for some migrants, it results in psychological tensions and carries long-lasting emotional costs. Jill (02A: 1552-1556), for instance, brought a picture of her infant daughter which was taken at the time of her and her husband's departure to New Zealand, and repeatedly expressed strong feelings of anger and regret in having left her daughter behind in the Philippines for the first several months of migration. Even though she was reunited with her daughter several months later, her absence during her daughter's early childhood was irrevocable and continued to unsettle her narrative of migration.

> *When I see developments from seven months old to like one year two months old, I feel like that I wasn't there. I'm angry because I wasn't there. […] I think it's my biggest mistake because it still keeps on haunting me. (Jill, 02A: 1562-1563; 1573)*

More often, participants experienced physical dispersion from extended family members in the country of origin. In these cases, participants experienced tensions between the desire to locate home with one's partner or children in New Zealand, and the desire to locate home with one's parents and extended family in the country of origin. For participants in this situation, their parents, siblings, and wider family embodied one's roots and origin, thereby providing a primary point of connection to the culture of origin. Kaitlyn (06B: 1006-1008), for instance, said that "my sisters [in Malaysia] are who remind me of who I really am and my roots, who I've come from, where I've come from." The experience of being absent from one's extended family therefore engendered feelings of dislocation in New Zealand. Dian's enumeration of such occasions echoes Jill's sense of 'lost time'.

> *A lot of um something's happened that I'm not there and make me feel like sometime I feel like I shouldn't be here [in New Zealand], you know. Like my auntie is passed away, I'm not there. My uncle is passed away, I'm not there. My sister's getting married, I'm not there. My old brother getting married, after he declined, he going back Indonesia and get married, and I'm not there. And there's a lot of, lot of, lot of uh something's happened that I'm not involved right now, I'm not there. (Dian, 26A: 651-656)*

These feelings of dislocation were particularly intensified during special times of the year, such as Christmas, Ramadan, New Year, and important family rituals, such as weddings and deaths.

Workplaces

Work was another central boundary site for many participants. By providing a primary platform for economic settlement and socialisation with a multicultural network, workplaces enabled participants to translate their identities along economic and social dimensions. Many participants derived significant identity value out of having professional-level jobs and achieving success at work. However, as subalterns within Anglo-centric, postcolonial workplaces, participants encountered tensions between the desire to advance professionally and the subordination of their value due to the operation of power differences.

Local Employment

For most participants, securing local employment provided a major portal and anchor for settlement in New Zealand. At the most basic level, finding local employment gave some participants a catalyst for moving to or continuing to live in New Zealand and enabled other participants to achieve permanent residence status. In addition, having local employment enabled participants to provide for their families. Having a permanent job, in particular, was considered a key marker of settlement and success on the migrant map. Work, for instance, was a central component in Wei's (09A: 190-191) discourse of citizenship, which meant "to call this country home, to have your family here, to raise your family, to earn your income, to work, to have a career over here, to be able to provide for your family." Finally, some participants also asserted that having professional satisfaction is important to feeling settled. As Jill (02B: 228-229) noted, "part of settling would be having work, a good work that you enjoy."

Work Star

Over and above being employed in order to have an income and provide for their families, many participants derived significant identity value from their professional achievements. An overwhelming number of participants (22 participants, 118 text units) discussed success stories, awards and recognition at work, service contributions such as professional mentorship, and optimism about their career prospects in New Zealand. For instance, Ed (01A: 331-332) discussed his work achievements at length and recounted his colleague's comment that "I probably was the best export the Philippines had ever made." By narrating these professional achievements, participants were able to prove their value and justify their presence as skilled migrants in New Zealand. As Boon explained, skilled migrants have "more to prove" than the locals.

Once upon a time, when you have to bring people in to this country – which might still apply, right – that it has to, you have to be like, you know, they can't find the same person in this country. So they have to bring somebody from overseas, right. So, in that way, right, you, you've got a bigger tank and then saying that, "Look, you are more, we can't find the similar you in this context, so we have to bring you in." Right? So in that sense that you will have to prove much more than what, you know, a typical person should do, right. In order to sort of justify your tags that they put inside you, right. Tags as in T-A-G, right, mm. [...] That you are a talent, right. (Boon, 20B: 450-457; 469)

Ed's and Boon's comments around the centrality of professional identities in participants' identity projects aligns with State-legitimised discourses which construct the skilled migrant as a productive and necessary addition to New Zealand's labour force and continued economic growth (Nana, Sanderson, and Goodchild 2003). While such constructions may reduce the skilled migrant to a labour market commodity, many participants have internalised this discourse into their personal identity narratives.

Power Negotiations

At the same time, participants encountered and negotiated power-based boundaries which imposed limitations on how their value was recognised in the workplace. As Peñaloza (1994, 47) explained, "[l]earning one's place in society […] was an integral part of consumer acculturation." Similarly, while participants hailed from highly educated backgrounds, ostensibly offered much-needed skills, and performed well, they occupied the subordinate position of the subaltern within Anglo-led New Zealand workplaces. Many participants thus found it difficult to advance into higher level management positions.

Maybe we're as good as them or you know, educated, intelligent, stuff like that. But um, you know when it comes to higher management, I don't think they, they trust Filipinos to be really good. But sort of… good hardworking people, but not to be president of the company. (Patricia, 19A: 709-712)

Ardhi (18A: 390-398) further described differences in the ethnic mix of upper management ("always Kiwi there"), middle management ("it's more mix"), and production ("bottom level is always Pacific Islander"). In negotiating the different value systems of each

of these layers, Ardhi (18A: 358-370) deployed different approaches to gain a degree of trust:

following directions to the letter and being completely transparent with Kiwi managers, and

acting like family with Pacific Island workers. In recognition of his efforts to gain the trust of

the local community, Ardhi proudly brought an award certificate from work as one of his ZMET

items. Tellingly, however, his surname on the certificate was misspelled and Anglicised.

> *This [Images 10, 11] is the achievement of, of the trust basically. Employee of the year, even though they, they wrong spelling my name [both laugh]. This is the, this is a bit funny because, because you gain trust, but they still can't spell my name isn't it. [Interviewer: Yeah! What do you make of that?] I see that as… it's not a 100%. This is what I said to you, it's hard to be a community. Because how come they, they beli-, they trust me, they give me a reward [Images 10, 11]. They say that, "Oh you are really worth it to be with us or to be with us." But spelling my name even… [laughs]. (Ardhi 18A: 1425-1437)*

Thus, Ardhi's item embodies the conundrum of the subaltern professional, whose labour

contributions are valued, but whose identity as a person remains incompletely intelligible.

Local Sites

Boundary performances also included a range of local sites, which included interactions with

local people and the local landscape. By performing within and through these local sites,

participants learned about New Zealand consumer culture, symbolised their entry into local

social circles, and signalled the achievement of economic status in New Zealand. However,

while local sites enabled participants to *perform* localisation, it did not follow that participants

became more local.

Local People

Echoing previous findings on the role of family and friends as acculturating agents (Lindridge

et al. 2004; Peñaloza 1994), interactions and relationships with a variety of local people

provided a space for learning and socialisation. Participants discussed four main types of locals

who performed this function: familial seers, local seers, neighbours, and Kiwi families. In the first stages of their arrival in New Zealand, immediate and extended family members provided a portal into New Zealand, not only providing an initial place to stay, but also providing insight into local consumption norms. For instance, Tamsin's older sister, who had studied in New Zealand prior to her arrival, briefed Tamsin about key differences in lifestyle and culture.

> *My sister did warn me about like, not warn me, tell me, about the drinking, drinking culture, getting drunk and going out and stuff like that. And the interplay of the Pacific Island, Maori, white, sort of the biculturalism. Of course this was for [New Zealand city]. And you know, university life and things like that. (Tamsin, 08A: 56-60)*

Beyond one's family members, several participants formed friendships with local seers, who provided mentorship and guidance about how to act and consume in New Zealand. Tommy, for instance relied on Darren, a 65-year-old Kiwi man who Tommy (21A: 467) described as "my role model." Apart from giving him professional advice, Darren acted as Tommy's building inspector, helped him with legal matters when Tommy bought a house, and referred Tommy to his family doctor when his wife fell ill (Tommy, 21B: 458-460; 525-526). Simon similarly relied on a more experienced migrant from Malaysia and her Kiwi husband for advice on various consumption practices.

> *She's been here [in New Zealand] for like nine years or more. And so I guess it's like she knows this, she knows New Zealand. And her husband's Kiwi, so, um… like I can call on them for advice in terms of like… buying stuff and like job hunting […] And also [Amy] works in a law firm, so say there was a problem with my landlord, my rent, um and bond and stuff like that previously. So I ask her for advice 'cause she knows all these legal contract and so she helped me. […] And [Rangi] which is her, who is her husband, he's kind of like, um… yeah he's Kiwi so [laughs] like, um, he knows a little bit about cars and stuff. So if I wanna buy a car he would just know. (Simon, 15A: 465-467; 476-478; 482-484)*

For some participants, their local neighbourhoods provided a space for social interaction and community engagement. For instance, Aini performed the ritual of the Kiwi barbecue upon arriving in her neighbourhood. While Aini admitted that the conversation remained at a superficial level, she nevertheless saw this as an important step in "reaching out" to the locals.

When I moved to my first home and then I organised, uh, like a barbeque, you invite your neighbours, your closest neighbours. If they are not… normally they are not um from one of us [laughs], you know, like they should be Kiwi. Kiwi neighbours, I'm talking about Kiwi neighbours. And get along with them. (Aini, 25A: 519-523)

In a minority of cases, participants grew close with Kiwi families. Ria (22A: 418-419), for instance, considered her elderly Kiwi neighbour as "my mum" while Kaitlyn (06A: 311-329) performed many quintessentially Kiwi activities with her boyfriend's family, including sailing trips and summer holidays in the family bach. Siti similarly performed Kiwi activities with her Kiwi sister, who had previously stayed with Siti's family in Malaysia.

I think my Kiwi sister [Lyndsay] took it upon herself um that she has to, she had to bring me around. So um, Christmas, um, birthday parties, I've been to a lot of that, Christmas, birthday parties, um, and this is mum's birthday celebration and um, uh, they took me on a Kiwi camping weekend, um… That sort of, yeah, exposed me to a lot of, you know, the typical Kiwi activities I suppose. And um, and that's, you know, I understand how, I suppose I understand or I get it that, you know, they like to be outdoors and that, um, so yeah. I just had a lot of, I just realised that the 2005, 2006, there were a lot of activities that [Lyndsay] and I did together that I suppose facilitates the process. […] Facilitate yeah, um yeah so um, a lot of the activities and how I behave, I should behave myself around them. (Siti, 13A: 402-409; 428-429)

In these ways, Kiwi families provided a more intensified level of local social interaction and accelerated the process of learning about New Zealand consumer culture.

Local Landscape

The New Zealand landscape is central to the myth of New Zealand (Ateljevic and Doorne 2002). Consequently, an overwhelming number of participants (24 participants, 167 text units) used landscape consumption practices to perform localisation. Many participants consumed the myth of '100% Pure New Zealand' through outdoor consumption rituals and visits to widely-known tourist attractions such as Queenstown, Milford Sound, and Mount Ruapehu. To a lesser extent, city icons such as Auckland's Harbour Bridge, Sky City, and Rangitoto Island were also used in localisation rituals, enabling participants to signal local arrival. For a minority of participants, the local landscape provided a simulacrum of remembered landscapes, especially

that of the country of origin. The local landscape enabled Ardhi (18A: 1549-1553), as an example, to resurrect his father's love of gardening in New Zealand.

These practices of consuming the local landscape were similar to tourist rituals in that they involved high degrees of routinisation. Simon, for instance, observed that immigrants tend to take the same type of holidays, suggesting that the New Zealand tourist map has become a normalised part of the migrant map.

> *Everyone says, "Oh when you come to New Zealand you have to visit the South Island." And they all do the same routine, so I guess that's, just defines my time in New Zealand. I just went to this Milford cruise just so I can, you know, everyone has done and I'll do it. […] I guess it's also word of mouth you know, 'cause when my parents and my family came and visit me I took them on the same route, on the same trip [both laugh]. So it's sort of a repeat of my tour, and, "Ok this is New Zealand. You wanna see nature? Alright I'll take you to nature." I mean I'm not, guess like they're not very adventurous as well, I'm not gonna take them hiking in some more obscure spots, you know, more… just gonna bring them to the most, um, conventional tourist route and just to get the rough idea of what New Zealand is about, yeah. (Simon, 15A: 1750-1753; 1797-1803)*

Indeed, Simon's observation was reinforced by the remarkable recurrence of New Zealand tourist destinations in participants' ZMET items.

In addition, these consumption practices were characterised by high degrees of social display. As Patricia (19B: 1513-1515) observed, "you want to show your Facebook friends your pictures in New Zealand [laughs]. It's sort of like, "Hey look! Where am I now?"" Such displays signal that one has become economically established as a migrant and facilitates social entry with locals.

> *[Interviewer: What secrets about immigration can these items tell me?] That you have arrived, that you can afford this. (Ed, 01B: 2145)*

> *Kiwis are quite well travelled, whether locally, within New Zealand or internationally, and so I think if you know that, you will be able to talk to them and you know, and get them to like you. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 1348-1350)*

Thus, rather than enabling consumers to create a sense of being-at-home in New Zealand, the emphasis on the display of cultural signs conferred a quality of touristic pastiche on these performances.

Religious Communities

For many participants, religion provided a foundational philosophy and practice which anchored identities in transition. Moreover, many participants sought and co-created religious "communities of practice" (Goulding, Shankar, and Canniford 2012). As sites of performance, these religious communities provided a source of social interaction, material help, and religious knowledge. However, while practices of religious identification provided a sense of continuity and belonging through change, in some cases, they also marked individuals as foreign.

Faith is Foundational

While participants practised a diverse range of religions and religious denominations including Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, their faith was a foundational philosophy that provided a moral purpose to their lives and formed the core of their identity.

> *I would say it [religion] is important because Buddhism or religion is one of the um component in Thai identity. And, and over there, we've been taught through, after the World War II I think, through one of the dictator. And, and we have three key things – oh, in combination with Rama VI – three things to form nationalist identity, i.e. king (and that represent royal family at large but the word is say "king"), nation, and religion. (Kiet, 16A: 879-883)*

> *Church, our church is very important to us. We are Catholics and we make an effort to serve and we make an effort to abide and to think of our existence as… or rather, we think of our existence as a gift, a gift from God. And that's the reason why we give back to God in terms of our time, talent, money. (Manny, 10A: 697-700)*

> *We say Muslim is the way of life. For us, Muslim is the way of life. (Asima, 12A: 875-876)*

In the context of migration, faith and faith-based practices thus served as an identity anchor, providing a sense of continuity through change.

Religious Communities of Practice

Over and above the individual observance of religious practices, many participants sought and

co-created "communities of practice" (Goulding et al. 2012) within their churches, mosques, or

temples. As boundary sites, these religious communities performed three main functions. First,

they provided a source of social interaction, either with one's ethnic group or with a wider

multicultural network. As Manny explained, the church group acts as an initial social bridge

which gives one the confidence to enter into and engage with a wider community, which in

Manny's perspective is the local neighbourhood.

> *The [church group] is like a candle, you light it, people will see its light, it will direct you to the parishes which are the "kampungs" [Malay: villages] [...] The [church group]'s role is not to hold you. The [church group]'s role I think is for me to hold your hand and pass you over to somebody else. Because you'd be living with this group. They will be your neighbours, they will be your friends, they will be buying from the same store as you. You'd be meeting them on a daily basis. (Manny, 10A: 728-729; 739-743)*

Second, religious communities provided a source of practical help and emotional

support. James, for instance, received gifts of clothing and household items from church

members when he was a new migrant. Simon further saw his Buddhist religious community as

a liminal space in which he "could be anybody" and "they wouldn't judge me."

> *When they [new migrants] come they need, um, they need a practical help. Such as, for example, um, you know just providing… providing something, you know, clothes, bedding, mattress you know, when they come. You know small little things, just to start a new life you know. When I came here, you know, I did not buy my coats and things, you know people give it to me. (James, 17A: 555-561)*

> *It's a support group I guess, like a spiritually support network. Um, just people that I could… 'cause they don't know me very well so I could just be, um, be anybody in front of them really. I could… I could tell them about my problems you know. Um, it's sort of like a church thing, um, yeah. I could tell them about my problems and they wouldn't judge me 'cause they don't know my background, my history, they're not my close-, and, um, I guess and we share the same faith so it's like, I feel kinda open with them. I could tell them my problems and they would just help me solve it. Um, either through just supporting me and just giving me advice or just, yeah just that bond, the spiritual bond. (Simon, 15A: 841-848)*

Third, religious communities provided a source of religious learning, support, and

mentorship. For instance, in moving from the Muslim-majority environment of Malaysia to the

Muslim-minority environment of New Zealand, Siti considered her Muslim friends as an

important support group for her religious practice and further provided support to other

Muslims.

> *The Muslim friends are there, um… that's where I, um, to practice the religion. Um, because in the religion doesn't only uh, it's not only about solitary, um, obedience or doing practices in solitary. It also encourages community, mass prayers and things like that. So that's where that comes in important, 'cause I still do my, my, my, the practices, you know when I worship God. But um, there are elements that require me to seek advice about the religion, about specific aspects of the religion from the more knowledgeable and it's also a way… ah, this group also, um, is another channel for me to reinforce – well not reinforce – practice my religion a bit more. (Siti, 13A: 926-933)*

> *I attempt to be, you know, some, like a support system for them [non-Malaysian Muslims] being, you know, not within you know, not being um in a Muslim minority country. (Siti, 13B: 1297-1299)*

In a context where one's religion is practiced by a small minority, the function of religious

communities as a source of religious knowledge and affirmation becomes even more important.

Traps of Religion

However, while practices of religious identification provided a sense of continuity and

belonging through change, in some cases, they also marked individuals as foreign. Siti, for

instance, drew an "invisible potion" as part of her self-portrait.

> *Sometimes it's just… just wanna be invisible. […] You can blend with the environment and not stand out, but the physicality still stand out. That's what I don't like about… I mean, not that I don't like, but you know it's something that… I don't, I don't enjoy, but it's something I have to do. But you know being in a Muslim minority environment you just have to live, live with it. (Siti, 13B: 1246; 1253-1256)*

At the same time as Siti considered her identity as a Muslim to be central to her overall identity

narrative, and expressed her Muslim identity through her clothing, she was also conscious that

her religious practice immediately marked her as different in New Zealand.

Friendship Networks

Participants co-created friendship networks which consisted of local friends, surrogate families, and old friends, to respectively signal their degree of integration in New Zealand, create pockets of belonging in New Zealand, and re-affirm a connection with a remembered past in the country of origin. In these ways, the co-creation of friendship networks functioned as a sign of border crossing, enabling participants to symbolise both social entry into the local culture and re-entry into the culture of origin. However, the gaps between the appearance and experience of these friendship networks were brought into relief when participants compared friendships with local Kiwis with friendships in the culture of origin, and when participants compared friendships with people in the culture of origin before and after migration. While friendship networks provided a source of connection and belonging, they also provoked feelings of disconnection and disappointment.

Local Friends

At the most superficial level, friendship networks functioned as a social signal: having an established circle of friends, especially a multicultural one, demonstrated to others that one has adjusted well to New Zealand. Many participants described their own or their children's local circle of friends as markers of healthy integration. However, because of conflicting socio-cultural expectations of friendship in Southeast Asia and New Zealand, many participants found their friendships with Kiwis to be distant and lacking in emotional depth. Patricia, for instance, described her difficulty in establishing friendships with local Kiwis and saw a multicultural friendship network as a form of social display.

> *I actually tried to make friends with the "puti" [Filipino: whites], you know. But I don't know… uh, even if you invite them over, they seem like they're your friends but they, it's hard, I don't know. It's hard to get close, yeah, I don't know. Uh, in all my uh connections that, that I made here [in New Zealand], it seems that I only have, have*

one… friend, I can say that's really my friend, but not even as close as my Filipino friends. (Patricia, 19A: 648-653)

It [having a mix of friends] would be good, I mean, for, for maybe for your pictures [laughs]. You know that you, you know, like you're in New Zealand, you have friends of all you know, all, all kinds of friends, uh "puti" [Filipino: white people] and of course what… So post those pictures on Facebook. Yeah but otherwise, not really. [Interviewer: That's interesting. So if you were to have one of those pictures, what would that say about you?] That I've integrated well, you know. That I've adapted to, to New Zealand very well because I have all kinds of friends here. (Patricia, 19B: 442-453)

Local Surrogate Families

At a deeper level, close friendship networks in New Zealand were regarded as surrogate families, providing a source of emotional support, comfort, and care, and thereby functioning as a simulacrum of the absent family. Local surrogate families were established most commonly with other members of subaltern communities and religious communities, and to a lesser extent, through student communities and hobby groups. Kaitlyn (06B: 1132-1136), for instance, chose to share her personal problems with her local surrogate family rather than with her family members in the country of origin. Further, the physical presence of local surrogate families enabled participants like Patricia (19A: 1087-1092) to re-constitute Christmas celebrations in New Zealand. In these ways, local surrogate families provided participants with zones of comfort in New Zealand. However, as Abby was swift to point out, while close friends are "like family," they do not take the place of one's 'real' family.

My friends are like family because we leave our family back home. Coming here, friends are families […] They're my family in New Zealand. (Abby, 03A: 776-777; 1113) [Interviewer: When you say friends are like family, have they taken the place of...?] Um of course not [laughs]. (Abby, 03A: 1148-1151)

Old Friends

Several participants also maintained contact with friends from the country of origin, with whom they had established close friendships prior to migration. While in a minority of cases, these friends had also migrated to and were physically present in New Zealand, in the majority of cases, these friends remained in the country of origin and these friendships were maintained through virtual communications and regular return visits to the country of origin. Furthermore, while performing old friendships enabled participants to memorialise their shared biographies and shared cultural origins, thereby triggering feelings of nostalgia, these performances were also laced with feelings of disappointment and disconnection. Ed, for instance, attended a university alumni reunion in the Philippines with the ostensive purpose of re-inhabiting old memories of his "student days." However, his expectations were disrupted by another alumnus who used the event to "show off" his social status.

> *The whole night of the conversation it's all about brotherhood and camaraderie and for him it's all about showing off. I mean we were trying to reminisce the day when we were students, so everything had to be forgotten for, I mean, whatever you are at that moment. [...] So, basically, at that particular moment we were trying to get back to the student days you see. (Ed, 01B: 824-827; 829-830)*

In another vein, Wei described his feelings of displacement when witnessing the stream of activities undertaken by his old friends on social media vehicles such as WhatsApp and Facebook.

> *I have a very good, close group of friends from high school. And they always like organise trips and food outings and whatever, so yeah, being over here [in New Zealand] sort of like sometimes makes me miss all that in a way. And they like post pictures on their Facebook accounts and what not, and so yeah, sometimes you feel like, "Oh I'm missing out." (Wei, 09A: 135-139)*

In these ways, feelings of disconnection permeated the experience of old friendships within both offline and online networks.

Media

Participants consumed a range of media, which included translational media, online forums, ethnic media, and virtual communication tools. Media institutions not only functioned as informational 'bridges' which facilitated the process of learning about a new culture, but also served as emotional bridges which facilitated transition into the culture of residence. In particular, online media platforms enabled the formation of liminal and subaltern communities, which provided a source of comfort through transition. Moreover, while the consumption of 'ethnic' media and virtual communication tools enabled the re-consumption and memorialisation of the culture of origin, these very same tools at times contributed to a sense of dislocation from both the culture of origin and the culture of residence.

Translational Media

Participants consumed a range of media which served to translate socio-cultural norms between Southeast Asian cultures and New Zealand culture. These included New Zealand mainstream media, the Internet, and other global media texts. Extending previous findings on the role of the media as a transnational acculturating agent (O'Guinn et al. 1986), it was found that media consumption facilitates the process of forming expectations prior to arriving in the country of residence and enables familiarisation with acceptable norms and performances within New Zealand culture. For example, in order to familiarise herself with local accents, colloquialisms, and current affairs topics, Kaitlyn became a regular viewer of a primetime New Zealand soap opera, *Shortland Street*. This enabled her to decode New Zealand culture and better participate in local conversations with her colleagues.

> *From there [watching Shortland Street], you know, I learnt a lot about the accent and about, I suppose, some of the issues that the country is facing, like, you know, shortage of medical staff and some of the issues that teenagers face and things like that, and so that was quite a good teaching tool for me, like an induction tool, if you like, for me in New Zealand. So I suppose being exposed to that got me quite used to the Kiwi accent*

and things like that, and expressions that I was never used to. So accent of a New Zealand European person and also Pacific and Maori people. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 502-508)

In addition, participants actively used translational media as resources in representing their culture of origin to New Zealanders, or vice versa. Kaitlyn (06A: 1006-1007), for example, shared online links to educate her colleagues in New Zealand about Chinese cultural traditions. Conversely, Wei (09A: 889-890) frequently shared video clips from New Zealand comedy duo *Flight of the Conchords* with his friends in Malaysia because it "gives them a little bit more insight about… how Kiwis are." In these ways, locals in New Zealand and Southeast Asia were also exposed to translational media, suggesting that the importance of media as agents of acculturation extends beyond migrant populations.

Online Forums

Over and above their function as an informational bridge, some media sites also served as emotional bridges into the culture of residence. Examples of such spaces included an email group formed out of alumni networks in the country of origin (Manny, 10A: 676), a personal blog written to memorialise a family's migration journey (Jane, 05A: 1719-1772), and a website for expats in New Zealand (Simon, 15A: 1834). These online forums enabled the formation of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983) or 'heterotopias' (Davis 2010), providing spaces for interpersonal connection and outlets for emotional expression. Similar to the function of transitional objects, these 'imagined communities' served as emotional transition spaces, providing a source of comfort to participants in the absence of their family and close friends. During her first one-and-a-half years of migration, for instance, Hue (23B: 1127) wrote poems and shared personal stories with others in an online discussion forum, giving her a source of comfort and a space in which she was able to express the "real me." However, while Simon found a "sense of belonging" in the "expat exposed" website during his initial period of

migration, he acknowledged that its contents drew him into a "loop of negativity" which disconnected him from the local culture.

> *I've brought this item [Item 01: www.expatexposed.com] because I feel like that's, this is the change, like that's a turning point, right. You know this website used to be like, um, I used to visit this website so often. But now I kinda have a different outlook and I kinda disagree with all the things that they say in there. Even though it might be true, people have been discriminated, but I always say that there's always a bigger, you know I kinda look at a bigger picture now. It's not… and now I still think that people take things too personally in there. […] What do I think motivates them? Just the sense of, they just want a sense of belonging. I guess like, like a sense of community, just wanna band together. And they feel they're not happy with their life at that moment, they're dissatisfied with something, whatever that is. And they just want to find a group of like-minded people and just, um, kinda assure them that they are correct I guess, they're correct. But you know, I mean yeah, which is, yeah it's negative in there, it's just this loop of negativity. Um, which is really bad for you especially if you're like jobless and, yeah. So I choose not going to that loop I just wanna be more positive and make things work for me rather than just expect things, you know. (Simon, 254-260; 314-321)*

Therefore, such media sites may contain emotional traps and result in the formation of 'online ghettoes'.

'Ethnic' Media

Participants also consumed a range of 'ethnic' media, including songs in one's mother tongue, online news from the country of origin, and ethnic community newspapers. The consumption of 'ethnic' media re-affirmed participants' connection with their countries of origin, their subaltern communities in New Zealand, and their cultural identities. For instance, Boon often listened to a Singapore-based Chinese radio station via online streaming because "every time I listen to this, I feel like I'm you know, on sort of close to be on the plane to, back to Singapore" (Boon 20A: 1456-1457). In doing so, Boon was able to consume the mediated experience of home in the everyday environment of his Auckland-based office.

Virtual Communications

Further, participants also used virtual communication tools such as Skype and Viber to maintain relationships with family and friends in the country of origin. The increased accessibility of virtual communication tools enabled participants to maintain daily contact and partially bridge geographical distances. For instance, Thanh (24A: 1504) spoke with her parents every day, and as a result, "you don't feel that you're too far away from them." However, interactions with family and friends online were experienced as unsatisfactory substitutes.

> *What I miss honestly is um, like I'm far away. I cannot see my family like every month [laughs], unfortunately. Maybe if I have opportunity just once a year. So and even the contact by email, Facebook, whatever now, the communication, still different. It's just the voice. It's not physically like you can share. Like this one [this interview] will be different. If you talk with me by phone maybe you will be a bit, "Okay, rah, rah, rah, finish, finish, tomorrow." Something like that. Different. That's why I feel miss that catching together with your own families physically, not by phone, by Facebook, not that one. Physically and traditional like that. (Ria, 22A: 1537-1544)*

> *If my wife says she's talking to her family in the Philippines, I can't join the conversation. Because I'd be preparing my coffee… if the setting was a physical setting, I'd be preparing my coffee, they'd be sitting there, and I'd be throwing in a, a piece or two in the conversation. But here [in New Zealand], she'd be typing away, I won't be able to read what she's typing. Or maybe there would be headset and she would be talking, I can't, it's a one-sided conversation. It's a different, different kind of uh setting. (Manny, 10B: 712-718)*

As Ria and Manny experienced, virtual communication tools created a different set of relational practices which made them counterfeits for face-to-face contact.

Transitional Sites

Participants also described a set of ritualised practices which were performed with family and friends in preparation for and prior to their physical departure from the country of origin. These 'leaving rituals' were mainly enacted through and within farewell gatherings and airports. For many participants, these transitional sites represented emotionally charged places and moments. While these leaving rituals functioned as emotional bridges and facilitated emotional

translations across borders, in intensifying the close relationships that would soon be left behind, these leaving rituals also exacerbated participants' sense of dislocation. Hence, transitional spaces both fortified and weakened participants' resolve to undertake border crossing.

Farewell Gatherings

Several participants described gathering with family, friends, and acquaintances in the time leading up to their departure. These farewell gatherings included farewell parties, where participants hosted larger groups over a meal in the home or at a restaurant, more intimate meals with family, and in some instances, gatherings centred on prayer. Notwithstanding the overlay of religious practice in the instances of prayer gatherings, the recurrences of such performances and the patterns within them suggested a high level of scripting. Indeed, Tommy (21B: 1010) described his gathering with family and friends as "a regular farewell" while Patricia (19B: 922) commented in a matter-of-fact way that "it's just part of leaving." In particular, the performance of these leaving rituals enabled family and friends to impart gifts (see 'Transitional Objects' earlier in this chapter), blessings and well wishes, and words of advice to participants.

The emotional import of these leaving rituals on participants was two-fold. On one hand, by enabling participants to weave threads of continuity between their past in the home country and their anticipated future in New Zealand, they provided participants with strength and confidence to face the impending uncertainties of migration. James' (17B: 809-810; 813) prayer gathering with his family in Burma, for instance, "gives you more peace of heart […] and a better sense of confidence." For Ardhi, the prayers, blessings, and advice of his familial elders from his time of departure continue to echo nine years after leaving Indonesia.

> *Once you come here, yes, you always remember that message. "Yeah you have to be, you have to, as the pride of a family. Not a lot of people have an opportunity like you, come overseas, not even in the family. You can count how many people that in the family*

can go overseas like you.” So that's why. And then that message is still in my ears basically [laughs]. (Ardhi, 18B: 556-560)

On the other hand, by drawing family and friends closer than usual, these leaving rituals made it even more difficult to leave. Simon and Ria, for instance, described the inner conflicts experienced in leaving family and close friends behind.

It's harder with family. I don't really care about like saying farewell to friends and acquaintances. So family that's, that's, that makes you feel heavy hearted to leave. (Simon, 15B: 1086-1088)

I was really sad because I like that family because she really need a help and she, like she's depending on me. And suddenly I'm goodbye, I say goodbye to them and I feel a bit some, my heart is like "no no." (Ria, 22B: 1543-1545)

In addition, participants' departures provoked ambivalent responses around the expected length of their absence. As Boon (20B: 1246) observed of his friends in Singapore, "they don't think that I'll be gone forever but they also don't think that I will come back." While exhortations to return to the home country formed part of the farewell script, several participants observed that their family and friends said goodbye as if they were leaving 'forever'.

My husband's family was crying like a bucket of tears, mm because they thought New Zealand is like the other end of the world that it just… Because once again they, Indonesia people they don't have the idea of migrating. So for them one family is off, for them is like they will never come back [laughs]. It's like going to another planet. So uh yeah that's the way they, they, they… they said goodbye to us. It was pretty sad. (Aini, 25B: 983-987)

Airports

'Final' farewells were also performed at airports (or in one case, a bus station), where family and friends gathered to send off participants on their migration journeys. Thanh, for instance, vividly recounted the moment in which she realised she had physically crossed the border and left her family behind.

It's the moment that you actually, you know that when you depart from a country, that when you going to the border, gate border, that when you can't see people again? You know that when people, a lot of people go with you to the airport, you still can talk to

them, have a chat, you don't feel the moment at that time. But the moment that you have to going through the um immigration, and after that you can't see people again. And then you just started crying, "Oh my gosh!" [Laughs] You know? [Interviewer: Yeah, and how did it feel in that moment?] Mm, it's terrible, to be honest. (Thanh, 24B: 567-578)

Because they materialised the physical crossing from the country of origin to New Zealand and symbolised the threshold from home to the unknown, these transitional spaces were intensely charged with memory and emotion.

Educational Institutions

Finally, echoing the findings of Peñaloza (1994) on the role of educational institutions as acculturating agents, a variety of educational institutions such as schools, hostels, tertiary institutions, and community schools played a role in participants' boundary negotiations. However, as an extension of these findings, educational institutions were also found to be spaces of dislocation and contestation.

First, by providing a starting point for meeting people, making friends, and becoming part of a community, educational institutions functioned as a platform for building a social network in New Zealand. As Manny (10B: 373-374) explained, educational institutions make it easier for younger migrants to socially adjust because "there is that ready environment for you to take up that same social aspect." Wei's stay at a student accommodation centre, for instance, seeded the growth of his circle of friends.

I stayed at a… student accommodation so straightaway you get to know people around, your neighbours and stuff. But once I started my course, I made more friends then. And of course, friends' friends and the circle gets bigger and bigger. So that's how I met [my wife] as well, through friends of uni. (Wei, 09A: 83-87)

However, because international students commonly ended up leaving New Zealand or falling out of contact, these friendships were often short-lived. For instance, Asima formed close

friendships with people from a student organisation in Auckland and regularly faced the prospect of saying goodbye to them when they returned to their home country.

> *We are close like most of my friends [studying] here for three years, after three years, it's, it's very sad, they need to leave, they need to go back to Malaysia. (Asima, 12A: 232-233)*

Echoing Thompson and Tambyah's (1999) findings on expatriates in Singapore, while these friendships provided a sense of belonging and community, the transience of these friendships also contributed to participants' dislocation.

Second, educational institutions such as schools and hostels facilitated the transmission of acceptable cultural performances. Ria's daughter, for instance, became conversant in English and familiar with Kiwi food consumption practices through making friends at school. Through her daughter, Ria then learned about and shifted her food consumption towards 'Kiwi' choices.

> *Six month cannot talk. After that, she just wah, got a friend and talking in English and just all the food become Kiwi. The first year, still alright. Uh, we have a traditional food like Indonesia, you know, we are Asian, rice, always breakfast, lunch, and dinner. Rice, fried rice, rice with egg, rice, whatever rice in the container. And she's happy. After one year, "No, no, no more rice mum. Sandwich, yoghurt, all those Kiwi food." Because she copies her friend. "All my friend… oh okay, mum, should be…" That's why I learn how to make all those cupcake, cakes, and everything. So now I enjoy all those Kiwi food more easily, yeah. (Ria, 22A: 1079-1086)*

However, the transmission of such norms was contested. While Ria assisted her daughters in mimicking local consumption norms at school, she also reminded them that they would always be Indonesian.

> *But I always tell them, "You cannot change, you become like really Kiwi. Your blood, your skin is, this is Indonesian." So you have to accept yourself. And then your friend will be alright. (Ria, 22A: 1040-1042)*

These essentialist discourses suggest that, within the space of the educational institution, the desire to mimic local consumption practices was held in tension with the desire to memorialise one's cultural identity.

BOUNDARY PRACTICES

The consumption of boundary objects and the performance of acculturation within boundary sites were, in turn, patterned according to six distinct boundary practices as outlined in Table 17. Boundary practices represent a set of distinct but interwoven modes or structures of action which were deployed by participants in their navigation of cultural boundaries. While previous studies have discussed practices which enable immigrants to negotiate boundaries between two distinct cultural systems (e.g. Askegaard et al. 2005; Peñaloza 1994), these accounts have tended to focus on translating practices, which facilitate adaptation into the culture of residence, and remembering practices, which facilitate maintenance of the culture of origin. This study extends these previous accounts by explicating further practices and the ongoing tensions surrounding these practices.

Table 17
Boundary Practices and Key Tensions

Boundary Practice	Key Categories	Key Tensions
Translating practices	Linguistic translations Socio-cultural translations Mundane translations Status translations Gendered translations	• Agency and mimicry • Settlement and dislocation
Remembering practices	Cultural remembering Biographical remembering	• Settlement and dislocation
Masking and mirroring practices	Masking practices Mirroring practices Bridging practices Code-jamming practices	• Agency and mimicry
Conquering the migrant map	Call to adventure Road of trials Arrival and flight The return home	• Settlement and relocation

Boundary Practice	Key Categories	Key Tensions
Dominating others	Mobile vs. immobile mind-sets Ethno-national othering Mobility and residence status Socio-economic status Age-based othering	• Agency and mimicry
Justifying practices	Stronger person Closer to God Closer to family Freedom and possibility Real person	• Trial and transformation

Translating Practices

Translating practices are the discursive strategies through which migrant consumers make sense of and perform through the significant environmental and cultural changes in migration. As Peñaloza (1994) observed, Mexican immigrants in the United States used processes of translation to navigate differences in language, social relations, and currency. Similarly, the participants in this study deployed translating practices to negotiate differences in language, socio-cultural systems, and consumption practices. It was additionally found that participants used translating practices to negotiate significant changes in status and gender roles.

Through these translating practices, participants were able to integrate and make compromises between the competing cultural models of Southeast Asia and New Zealand. However, this was an uneasy integration. While the ability to reconstitute the culture of origin enabled settlement and comfort, these practices were also defamiliarised and marked as foreign, thereby provoking a sense of dislocation. In addition, participants found themselves negotiating a tension between agency and mimicry: on one hand, exhorted to inhabit and express their 'real' cultural and individual identities; but on the other hand, exhorted to perform the privileged norms of New Zealand culture. In these ways, translating practices were laced with double binds and tensions, placing participants in neither one culture nor the other, but squarely within the borderland between two cultures.

Linguistic Translations

Language is a powerful marker of identity, enabling the symbolic re-constitution of the home culture on one hand and social entry into multicultural environments on the other. It was unsurprising that language emerged as a major translating practice which was discussed at length by many participants. As Oswald (1999) demonstrated, the practice of 'code-switching' between different linguistic codes enabled Haitian immigrants in the United States to move between multiple cultural and class identities. In a similar vein, participants frequently negotiated between the codes of their mother tongue and other tongues in order to gain social entry with multicultural audiences. However, in addition to code-switching, participants's linguistic negotiations also included the hybridisation of multiple codes in their everyday speech. Furthermore, in contrast to Oswald's (1999) conclusions, these practices of code-switching and hybridisation were not associated with postmodern experiences of "mutable selves" (Shields 1992, 16). Rather, participants reaffirmed clear-cut boundaries between their 'natural' cultural identity, as expressed through one's mother tongue, and 'strategic' identities, as expressed in their performance of other tongues. Whereas one's mother tongue was essentialised, other tongues and cultural performances were seen as temporary carapaces which were 'put on' and strategically performed. In these ways, the practice of language was marked by tensions between agency and mimicry, and between settlement and dislocation.

The performance of one's mother tongue represents and embodies the sound of home. The participants in this study identified a range of mother tongues, which included languages like Mandarin, Tagalog, Malay, and Bahasa Indonesia, regional dialects like Hokkien, Cantonese, and Cebuano, and hybridised codes like Singlish (Singaporean English) and Manglish (Malaysian English), which are unique to Singapore and Malaysia, respectively. As a purely embodied practice which requires only a shared ethno-linguistic community for its performance, the mother tongue is also more readily transferrable across boundaries than other

material practices like food consumption. Even though most participants were educated in English from a young age and were fluent English speakers, many participants felt that the experience of speaking their mother tongue was qualitatively different from the experience of speaking English. Participants explained that speaking in their mother tongue "makes you feel comfortable" and "very much at home" (Samson, 07B: 1503-1504), "strengthens the connection" (Jill, 02A: 1293) with others from the culture of origin, and "reminds us that we're Filipinos too, not just Kiwis, not just migrants" (Paul, 04B: 453-454). In some cases, the mother tongue was romanticised. For instance, Carlo and Thanh explained the deeper qualities of their respective mother tongues that, for them, were lacking in English.

> I think Tagalog is a romantic language. It has a lot of um indescribable qualities. (Carlo, 11B: 1241-1242)

> Even though I've learned English when I was small, but maybe 'cause we are not very good at language or something, but you can see that for Vietnamese language you can feel it, but not for English. […] When it's in our language you can feel it. Like you can feel it, like you can feel by the tone and the things. But in English, you can't feel anything. (Thanh, 24A: 629-631; 638-640)

However, for English-educated migrants and the children of migrants, difficulties in translation resulted in experiences of dislocation. Given the importance of the mother tongue as a connection point to home, those who were unable to perform it proficiently experienced a double dislocation within their ethno-linguistic communities in New Zealand and in the country of origin. Wei (09B: 267), for instance, ethnically identifies as Chinese but was raised in English by his parents in Malaysia and therefore did not learn how to speak Mandarin. As a result, he experienced dislocation as a Chinese person who was unable to speak a Chinese dialect, feeling "kind of left out" around his wife, her parents, and her Chinese friends in New Zealand. Conversely, when performing their mother tongue in the country of origin or in interactions with ethnic community members in New Zealand, some participants felt as if they were deliberately and unnaturally mimicking their own mother tongue.

If anything I tend to put on the Manglish accent when I go back to Malaysia. Yeah, um, 'cause I don't know, I just don't feel very comfortable talking to them like how I would, would talk to a Kiwi or an Aussie or a European. So I don't wanna be like kinda hoity-toity you know with my friends that I grew up with, you know. (Simon, 15A: 1216-1219)

To pre-empt these issues of dislocation, many participants expected that their children would be able to perform the linguistic norms and proper modes of address of the mother tongue. This expectation of mother tongue literacy becomes particularly salient when returning to the country of origin.

We like it [when our daughter speaks Tagalog] because when we go back home, at least you know when they talk to other people we will not be embarrassed. (Jill, 02B: 2088-2089)

Furthermore, at the same time as the performance of one's mother tongue provided a connection to home, it also dislocated individuals within the culture of residence. In the context of New Zealand workplaces and public spaces, the performance of one's mother tongue marked one as foreign and was negatively sanctioned by others. Marwan, for instance, learned from an early experience that speaking Indonesian in public spaces may not be acceptable in New Zealand.

When I was a student, me and my friend are speaking Indonesian. There is one old man, he seems like unhappy with us speaking Indonesian […] He was just came to us and then, "Why don't you talk English? Are you talking about me?" (Marwan, 14A: 1359-1360; 1369-1370)

Over and above the mother tongue, participants also adopted hybridised English and other linguistic codes to gain status and social entry into multicultural environments, thereby enabling participants to traverse intercultural and class boundaries. In particular, participants also adopted hybridised codes in two ways. First, they adjusted their speech to mirror New Zealand accents, words, and colloquialisms, resulting in hybrid modes of speech. Kaitlyn (06A: 1671; 1617-1623), for instance, peppered her speech – which she described as a "confused hybrid" of American English, British English, and Kiwi English accents – with Maori phrases like "kia ora" (hello) or South Auckland colloquialisms like "peeps" and "sup bro." Second,

they performed the linguistic codes of other cultures beyond English and their mother tongue. By mirroring the languages, accents, and colloquialisms of other cultural groups, participants were able to gain social entry with members of those groups.

> *Because I know that person speak in Cantonese, when automatically I see that person I speak in Cantonese. But when I speak to another person I know that person is from Taiwan, it's Mandarin, automatically I will speak Mandarin. [...] If you can speak somebody's language, you just, you just belong, you know? It's like you, you go in a group of friends, like teenager, peer influence, like the whole group smoke, you don't smoke... If you smoke you belongs to the clan! [Laughs] Welcome! (Abby, 03A: 1908-1911; 1932-1935)*

Moreover, many participants saw the ability to perform other tongues as an acquired skill which confers privilege and connotes a greater capacity for mobility in the context of a globalised world. An overwhelming number of participants asserted that English is the international language of business and professionalism. Consequently, the ability to speak English proficiently and with the 'correct' accent connotes superior global adaptability. For example, Abby (03A: 914-916) referred to English as a more straightforward "international language" in contrast to Mandarin, which she described as "primitive." Furthermore, given that New Zealand is an English speaking environment, English proficiency further confers superior adaptability and status in New Zealand. In order to avoid being seen as backward, many participants were encouraged to code-switch to English in public spaces and workplaces, particularly in the presence of Kiwis.

> *I start to speak Thai with her [an older Thai woman] and then she said, "No, you shouldn't speak Thai because it just like..." Uh, she, she used Thai word, something like... [Interviewer: What's the word?] Um, [Thai word]. [First word] mean "language" and [second word] is the uh, tribal people in the um, peripheral... the border of Thailand. So it's just like um, backward people who actually still live in the hillside, hilltop in Thailand and it's not that well-educated. (Kiet, 16B: 488-498)*
> *She's not actually insulting her own language or anything. But in that particular context or environment she just doesn't want to speak Thai because it will be perceived, be perceived as being backward or uncivilised and you can't actually speak English because you're speaking your native language. [...] I mean people who can speak English probably being looked upon positively as being an elite. (Kiet, 16B: 501-504; 535-536)*

Code-switching also extended to naming practices, whereby individuals adapted foreign

names and naming practices to mirror English naming practices. For example, Jane (05A: 121-

128) described adapting from the Philippine naming practice of addressing individuals by their

nicknames to the New Zealand naming practice of addressing individuals by their first name.

Code-switching further extended to one's accent. Because many participants learned English in

a different environment and spoke with a 'foreign' accent, they struggled to understand others

and be understood. While they weren't able to change their accent, as Thanh explains, the

objective is to "neutralise" one's accent.

> *I believe that there's no way you can improve your accent, you know. Like in, in the way that if you was born in Vietnam and you got a Vietnamese accent, toward, you know, like speaking English. There's no way you can improve yourself unless you was born here [in New Zealand] or you moved here when you were very small. But the other thing is, it doesn't mean that you don't learn to have an accent. Because, you know what I mean, like sometimes people find it hard to understand you. And especially for my work, like if I'm trying to stick with my Vietnamese accent and if the student couldn't understand me in the [classes], they will complain. And it's a way that you just improve your pronunciation in a way that you neutralise your accent, I'm just trying to say that words. You don't trying to learn a Kiwi accent, but you're trying to neutralise your accent in order to accommodate people and it's make it easier for people to understand you. (Thanh, 24B: 1040-1052)*

The widespread privileging of English and the denigration of native tongues by

participants reflects the will to perform Whiteness (Burton 2009) as a result of the postcolonial

condition, wherein the value systems, cultural practices, and languages of the Western coloniser

are adopted and privileged over and above those of Oriental cultures. In this way, code-

switching practices are not merely a matter of performing multiple identities, but also reflect

the operation of wider socio-cultural power structures. At the same time, sanctions against

individuals who performed English revealed a conflicting discourse in which the performance

of the coloniser's tongue was seen as artificial. While English proficiency was desired, it was

also viewed with distrust and suspicion, reflecting ambivalent perceptions of the coloniser

which continue to shape postcolonial identity binds. These tensions also translated into the New

Zealand context, wherein migrants who acculturated "too much" to the language of the host

culture, either by speaking English with other migrants or changing their accents, were viewed

as cultural counterfeits. Manny, for instance, views such performances by other Filipinos as

artificial pretences.

> *I was chatting to the [10-year-old] daughter, I started chatting to her in Tagalog and [her mother] came up to me and said, "Oh she doesn't understand Tagalog anymore." And that surprised me, because at four, when she left the Philippines at four, she would have known Tagalog. And in six years, she won't forget that. And in my mind it's like, "What is this, this lady trying to say?" Is she saying that she's now very, very, a full Kiwi?" If there's such a term. Um, that she's no longer a Filipino, that she doesn't have a… So I stopped. I, I didn't say anything. But in my mind, I knew that in six years nobody forgets his first language in six years. Especially if, if uh you keep on hearing other people use that language. […] Why pretend that her, her child does not understand Tagalog? I think she's pretending. So why, why do that? Is it because uh she'd like to say that if there is a social structure or pecking order, uh her, she is different from me? Uh, she is better off than me? Or her kid is better off than anybody else's kid? Or that uh she despises, she hates the Filipino language? (Manny, 10B: 568-576; 607-611)*

Thus, the mother tongue connotes home, but marks one as foreign. English enables social entry,

but marks one as a pretender. In these ways, the performances of both the mother tongue and

English were laced with double binds and tensions.

Socio-cultural Translations

In confronting intercultural boundaries, participants also faced a challenge to previously

implicit and unquestioned value systems and socio-cultural norms which govern acceptable

modes of consumption and social performance. In particular, participants found themselves

negotiating between competing cultural models of hierarchy versus egalitarianism,

conservatism versus liberalism, and intimacy versus privacy.

First, while Southeast Asian cultures placed great emphasis on the observance of social

hierarchy along the dimensions of rank, wealth, and age, New Zealand culture ostensibly

disavowed social inequality. Participants therefore found themselves negotiating between

conflicting expectations to do with rank (expressing greater respect for those of higher

professional or educational status versus expressing respect for all individuals regardless of their status), wealth (conspicuously displaying status symbols versus avoiding status display), and age (respecting and defering to one's familial and community elders versus expressing one's opinions regardless of age). Further, participants also negotiated between Southeast Asian communication styles of 'face-saving', where one is expected to be polite, tactful, and civil to others, even to the point of being superficial, and a New Zealand communication style which is direct and straightforward, even to the point of being blunt.

Within the consumer texts, the ostensive celebration of New Zealand egalitarianism often masked more deep-seated ambiguities around the signification and performance of status. While participants saw the avoidance of wealth display in New Zealand as a positive force which relieved pressures to maintain the appearance of wealth and success through status consumption, participants also recognised that egalitarianism may also be an "outward" performance.

> *What I like about the Kiwis, at least outwardly, it seems they've disavowed the, the trappings of- isn't it that here it's an egalitarian society. That's what I like about New Zealand it's like we're all at the same level. What I like here in New Zealand is that even if, even if I'm a [professional], when I'm talking to the janitor, it's like we're only equal. (Paul, 04A: 493-497)*

> *[Interviewer: Do you feel those status markers are no longer present here?] Ah, less ah. Less. Not so obvious. [Interviewer: But it's still there?] Mentally yeah but the people don't display it lah. […] I can drive a junk [car] also nobody will pressure me. (Samson, 07A: 1346-1355; 1366)*

Even as participants celebrated egalitarianism, it did not follow that they no longer desired to acquire and display status. Because the signifiers of status are undermined and fragmented in New Zealand consumer culture, status consumption became problematic. For example, several participants noted that the exclusivity of golf in Southeast Asia is no longer present in New Zealand, and as such, it no longer connotes status. As Ed (01B: 1736-1737) observed, "Golf is a rich man's game in, mostly in Southeast Asia. It's not like here where it's a backyard thing."

Because of the lack of a clear alignment between professional status, education, and financial wealth in New Zealand, several participants faced difficulties in clearly distinguishing their place in relation to others in New Zealand consumer culture.

> *There's a class system [in the Philippines], isn't it. So there's the first, uh Class A, which is the, the people who live in Dasmariñas Village in Forbes Park. Or there, there's a Class B, living in Ayala Alabang or somewhere, you know. So, sort of, it's quite obvious, the class system eh. But here [in New Zealand], you cannot really tell, you cannot really tell. He's driving a nice car, but he's a, he's a plumber. At home [in the Philippines], plumber, ooh. That's, "Hoi, fix it!" Isn't it, like that? Yeah. But this plumber can be, the plumber here can be even richer than you, so [laughs], you just say sorry. So different, it's really different. [...] How can you tell here? I, you can't tell, you can't tell. Even if the English is worse than yours, you still can't tell, yeah. (Patricia, 19B: 388-396; 402-403)*

Second, while Southeast Asian cultures tended to be more conservative and overtly religious, New Zealand culture tended to be more liberal and overtly secular. For instance, many participants were confronted with practices which were considered taboo in Southeast Asia, which included marital separation, non-patriarchal families, living with a partner before marriage, gay marriage, drinking, and wearing revealing clothing. Conversely, the previously normalised discussion of religious beliefs and affiliation was now considered taboo in the context of New Zealand's overt secularism. Because these values were deeply held, the inversion of what is acceptable and what is taboo in New Zealand engendered strong feelings of discomfort in participants. James (17B: 246), for instance, felt "uncomfortable to say the least" when considering that couples in New Zealand frequently live together before getting married. He further attributed such loosening of morals with a decrease in religiosity in wealthy nations. Indeed, the extremity of his discomfort erupted in an almost Biblical condemnation of people who "indulge in appetite… doing what they please."

> *When it comes to values and moral, moral values that would be… sometimes uncomfortable. Such as for example, when a young man or a young girl just have boyfriend and they just live together, living together in a partnership relationship. That is not the acceptable, culturally acceptable or morally acceptable practice in my country and therefore it is very uncomfortable to say the least yeah [laughs]. [...] People have no problem, I mean in terms of good, you know the basic necessity and therefore they,*

they tend to be less spiritual, to be less religious. They just want to go on their own way indulging in appetite, drinking, eating, doing what they please. So if you want to uh go after pleasure it is much more easy to, to go after pleasure in New Zealand than in Burma. (James, 17B: 241-246; 1148-1152)

Third, social relationships were framed by conflicting expectations of social intimacy (usually associated with Asian cultures) and individual privacy (usually associated with Western cultures), each with their own internal paradoxes. On one hand, while the Asian view of interpersonal relationships created expectations that they would disclose intimate personal details and be highly social, such relationships could be simultaneously experienced as being intrusive and imposing. Hue, for instance, felt "torn" between her desires for a "crowded" family life and her desires for "independence."

I love the sense of independence [in New Zealand]. But at the same time I like the feeling of big family living together. So yeah I'm torn in a sense. You know I want to be surrounded by people, you know family members. [...] I still want to maintain a little bit independence, a lot independence in that crowdedness. (Hue, 23B: 155-157; 163-164)

On the other hand, while interpersonal relationships in New Zealand were framed by the expectation that they would respect individual privacy and boundaries, they could be simultaneously experienced as being isolating. Several participants experienced a lingering disconnect in their social relationships with Kiwis, which were often experienced as "aloof" and "superficial."

The friendship with a Kiwi would be, how would I say, more business-like I think. When I say more 'business-like' it's more casual and not really, you don't, you don't need, you don't need to make a commitment. Whereas the friendship in Burma, the friendship back home in my community, even though you may not like the, you may have, um, occasionally conflict with your, your friend, but when he meets you, you are there. When you need him, you are still there, uh, he is still there with, for you. You, you know that kind of commitment. But in the, uh, in the friendship with Kiwi it's more superficial I think. (James, 17B: 312-319)

Kiwis are aloof. It's like they're not quick to make friends, they're very polite but the deep friendship is hard. Like you really have to spend a lot of time with them to gain their trust, to let you into their lives, as it were. Although their house is open to you physically but the intimacy of rel-, I find it easiest to make friends with Filipinos actually. (Paul, 04A: 1029-1032)

Mundane Translations

Participants also navigated environmental and informational changes which affected their everyday lives. The change in climate, from a hot and humid environment in Southeast Asia to the colder weather in New Zealand, represented the most primary and most immediate embodied adjustment for many participants. In particular, the seasonal climate in the Southern hemisphere provided a surprising contrast to the seasonal calendar that participants had grown accustomed to through American and European media images. Wei, for instance, selected several pictures of a pohutukawa tree to represent his adjustment to celebrating Christmas during New Zealand's summer season.

> *From Malaysia, I never have any seasons of the, any kind, it's just hot the whole way through. Once you get here, there are seasons but they're sort of like the opposite from what you usually think. Like usually Christmas, people associate with snow and all that. But here, Christmas is hot, the summer, so you get like pohutukawa trees. (Wei, 09A: 351-355)*

In addition, as part of settling in New Zealand, participants acquired functional information and knowledge about consumer systems and practices in New Zealand. These included learning about and adjusting to street names, driving on the left hand side of the road, setting up electricity, daylight savings, time differences, currency exchange rates, using the correct power adaptors, and recycling. Several participants also mentioned the acquisition of legal knowledge, including how to pay one's taxes, set up a loan, set up insurance, and create a will. These types of information translation formed an essential platform to becoming a functional and literate consumer in New Zealand. As Kaitlyn (06B: 1792-1793) stated, "It's nothing special, but quite necessary in the day-to-day life."

Status Translations

In addition to the aforementioned changes, participants who had started their working lives and developed careers in Southeast Asia also underwent major changes in their socio-economic

status, including reductions in occupational status, social status, and level of household support. Even though these participants had already had the local relevance of their professional skills and educational qualifications legitimised through the State-level immigration process, gaining entry into the employment market often involved sacrificing occupational status and earnings capacity. In the initial stages of migration, for instance, several participants took jobs which were below their skill level. Furthermore, even when participants had secured jobs related to their area of work, their potential for future career progression was much more limited compared to their previous career prospects in Southeast Asia. These dramatic disruptions in professional identity narratives created significant and ongoing tensions for participants, who often cited a better lifestyle in New Zealand as a justification for their sacrifice.

> *In Singapore I was a Vice President and here you're just [a manager] so how you're gonna compare? I was earning quarter million there and then I'm earning less than 100,000 here. […] You have to deal with it lah. You tell yourself what you want lah, you know. There you quarter million, you lose five years of your life, but here you earn less, you gain five years of your life, so which one do you want? Yeah, less stressful right, yeah, lifestyle. (Samson, 07B: 348-350; 363-365)*

> *Am I successful professionally? Probably not, because had I not left the Philippines I would have gone higher, but then the lifestyle would have not been better. Could have not been better. (Ed, 01A: 1186-1188)*

Participants also navigated significant reductions in their social status and lifestyles. Participants faced reductions in purchasing power as a result of reduced earnings, exchange rate differences, and a higher cost of living in New Zealand. Paul (04A: 403-404), for instance, commented that, "I was considered rich in Philippines standards. Not a multi-millionaire but rich. But here, middle class, I mean, just you know the average Joe." Simon represented his lifestyle translations in New Zealand using a can of supermarket-brand tomatoes.

> *I'm not saying I'm from a wealthy family, but somehow it doesn't, you know there's no such concern back home [in Malaysia] regard, regard-… I could always afford to buy something better. Like you know, um, or just indulge. So over here [in New Zealand] I just feel you know money's harder to come by, um, and that, um, yeah, you just tend to shop [laughs], so this is kind of a representation of that whole lifestyle change, um, from where you were before. […] 'Cause food, the things in, um, New Zealand are not cheap,*

it's relatively quite expensive. And like I said the wages aren't that high and so I guess it all plays a part. People need to save and people need to be careful with their money. (Simon, 15A: 1581-1587; 1593-1595)

Finally, participants also experienced significant reductions in their level of household support for three reasons. First, while participants had ready access to support from parents and extended family in the country of origin, migrating to New Zealand meant that participants lost this source of support for labour-intensive tasks such as childcare and household maintenance. Second, while participants were able to afford hired workers such as maids and taxi drivers in Southeast Asia, their reduced earnings and the increased cost of labour in New Zealand meant that these options were no longer affordable in New Zealand. Third, this lack of household support was reinforced by a 'do-it-yourself' culture in line with New Zealand's egalitarian ideology (Mouly and Sankaran 2002), whereby individuals are expected to be self-reliant rather than dependent on others. Tommy for instance brought a 'You-Know-How' card from *Placemakers* (a well-known New Zealand retail chain which sells household materials), to represent the necessity of doing his own household repairs and in doing so, learning to appreciate and take greater care of his property.

It force you to be more responsible for, because you know how to fix it now, you don't want to break it. Because to fix something is not cheap, it's not easy. And then you start have appreciation of your house, your home. You try, I'm trying to look after it, it's not just, um, you know make things more worse. Because in Indonesia just you know, you're paying someone to fix something, it's very cheap. But here paying someone to fix only for a couple of hour, oh! Make your bank account empty. (Tommy, 21A: 1327-1332)

Gendered Translations

Finally, participants also re-negotiated what it means to be a man or woman. Often these re-negotiations were shaped by competing cultural models of what it means to be a husband, wife, father, or mother. Women in particular were subject to conflicting expectations: on one hand, many participants expressed 'traditional' expectations that women should be supported by their

husbands, leaving them more time for childcare and leisure hobbies, while other participants

expressed expectations that women would work and have a career.

> *When I was a graduate last time, I put promise to myself, I say, when I age 40, I will stop working. That is my mission. I just turned 40 like last month, lah, oh actually [recently], but then I still working. […] I think I need to sacrifice lah. Hmm, I like here [in New Zealand], but I don't want to work. I want to stay at home. (Asima, 12B: 200-202; 725-726)*

> *My dad has always been trying to teach us girls, we're all girls, to be independent and, you know, it's not about marrying off and finding a guy who can give you a roof over your head, it's about, you know, investing it and doing it yourself. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 2141-2143)*

In addition, changes in economic circumstances after migration often triggered

challenges to patriarchal familial models. While the husband is implicitly expected to perform

the roles of breadwinner and head of household in Southeast Asian cultures, this implicit norm

was sometimes challenged when women became the sole or higher-earning breadwinner in the

family. Such challenges were a source of tension for participants and their families. For

instance, even though Siti had a higher degree, worked in a professional role, earned more than

her husband, and shared the household chores, she drew on Islamic discourses to construct her

role as a wife and preserve her husband's status as the head of the household.

> *In Islam there's a certain role that wife um needs to fulfil, must fulfil, with regards to the relationship to the husband. So I, you know, I still, I think, I would like to think, that I still preserve that even though I'm, you know, I'm the one earning more, even now I'm the one earning more um, or I'm the main breadwinner. We see it as a responsibility, uh, towards the husband that we still have to fulfil even though we're the ones, you know, of a higher social status or of a higher, you know. Or the one that earns more than the other, but you still need to maintain that balance between the husband is the, you know, the head of the family. [Interviewer: Okay, okay, so you're still doing that within the home?] Um [sighs] not the traditional housework and things like, I still have that um… respect that I should be giving to my husband. (Siti, 13A: 1345-1363)*

Additionally, Hue expressed frustration with her role as the sole breadwinner for a household

which comprised her husband, young daughter, and her parents.

> *The problem is, for other Vietnamese families the man is the bread earner. So I don't think that the wife should be frustrated or the man should be frustrated because traditionally the man is bread earner. But it's quite the reverse if I'm, if I'm providing*

for the family. I'm supporting four people, four adults people at the moment. So that's tiring sometimes. (Hue, 23B: 725-729)

A few female participants also re-negotiated expectations that women should be quiet, demure, and dependent in favour of expectations that women should be independent and have a voice. For Jill (02A: 2061-2078) and Ria (22A: 806-812), for instance, the simple act of learning how to drive bolstered their sense of independence from their husbands. Similarly, even as Hue expressed frustration in her role as sole breadwinner, she also expressed discursive resistance to patriarchal discourses which reduce women to quiet housewives and felt "liberated" in her professional role in New Zealand.

Whenever I speak up [in Vietnam], people say oh I'm sort of um, trespassing my age, and I'm not showing people respect, and turn quite a few mens off because of that. They're older than me and they think they know better than me and I should just shut up. [...] But when I came here [to New Zealand], um I find that it's very liberating in a sense, you know. I can speak my mind out even with my professor, you know, and most of the time I hold different opinion. Yeah and that's, so I'm respected purely on a professional ground. And I love that. Yeah, being able to, to speak my mind was quite liberating for me. (Hue, 23A: 703-705; 713-716)

Remembering Practices

In the face of translations which continually challenge and compromise a previously unquestioned way of being on multiple fronts, some participants performed remembering practices, which involved the memorialisation of cultural and biographical pasts. For the participants in this study, remembering practices often involved ritualised and communal performances of familial and cultural stories. These remembering practices were not only repetitions and recollections of actual pasts, but also heightened and vivified re-imaginations of these pasts. As Kaitlyn observed of nostalgic recollection:

Maybe it is more pronounced in migrants because they don't see that anymore. I think it's more special when it was, it's a memory, like something had happened in the past or something, a way of life in the past but now no longer. (Kaitlyn, 06B: 1223-1225)

By re-vivifying and re-affirming shared origins and roots, these practices of collective remembering enabled participants to anchor their identity narratives and perform connection with significant others. As such, this finding is in line with current views of nostalgic consumption as a positive source of identity and comfort through the stresses of acculturation (Askegaard et al. 2005; Bardhi et al. 2010; Lindridge 2012; Stamboli-Rodriguez and Visconti 2012). In particular, as these practices were deployed by participants in an attempt to create utopic spaces which provide a temporary zone of refuge from the onslaught of changes in the new cultural context, the findings of this study resonate with the use of nostalgic practices as a form of shelter (Stamboli-Rodriguez and Visconti 2012).

However, in addition to evoking positive memories of the home left behind, remembering practices also reminded participants of their spatio-temporal distance from home. Remembering practices therefore provided both comfort and dislocation. In this way, the past provides an important narrative resource which provides significant yet ambivalent identity value for participants. Paradoxically, remembering practices, which have been theorised as a mechanism for coping with dislocation, can itself contribute to experiences of dislocation.

Cultural Remembering

Many participants engaged in and discussed the importance of cultural remembering, which involved the reconstitution of practices from the culture of origin in the new cultural context. Cultural remembering practices centred around discursive performances, including the performance of language, accents, and jokes, and communal ritual performances, including Christmas, Ramadan, Independence Days, and other cultural and religious festivals. In addition, some participants also used cultural clothing and iconic objects to remind themselves of the home culture (see 'Clothing' and 'Transitional Objects' earlier in this chapter). Jane (05A: 1850-1888), in particular, used online media to construct a familial ritual of cultural

remembering, watching a series of 'Filipino 101' online videos by Filipino-Canadian social media personality Mikey Bustos with her young children. As a pastiche of Filipino accents, mannerisms, and practices (e.g. always eating rice, dining with a spoon and fork, drinking coffee out of a pitcher), these videos provided an important reminder of and reconnection to Filipino culture, which in turn connoted the essence and origin of Jane's identity.

> *For myself, it reminds me of what I'm, who I really am. 'Cause that's still part of me although I'm not exposed to those things anymore or it's different, but that's still part of me. [...] It's still part of them [my children] although… they don't have that much recollection about the place, didn't go there, but I think it's very important for me that they know where they came from. (Jane, 05B: 115-118; 128-130)*

Indeed, the idea of reaffirming and returning to one's cultural 'root' recurred across several participants, provoking the image of a deep-seated genealogical, organic, and even primordial connection with the people and earth of one's homeland. In these ways, the country of origin was discursively reified by participants as one's essential and irreplaceable origin.

> *Obviously you can't turn into be a, turn into Western anyway. You, um, so you want to maintain that root in you so that you feel that you are connected somewhere. (Hue, 23B: 306-308)*

> *We are still Indonesian, we, we don't forget that we are still Indonesian. So I think, um, yeah that just remind us that we are still having that root, that it still exist. (Aini, 25B: 180-182)*

In contrast, participant narratives of New Zealand culture contained the implicit peril of making one forget and lose one's essential identity. While practices of cultural remembering were often performed in a spirit of positive celebration, these practices were also fuelled by a fear of forgetting and involved an ethos of preservation and defence against identity loss. As Jane (05B: 136-137; 145) explained, reminders of the home country are important because "I don't want to forget about it […] I'm not turning my back." Given the discursive privileging of roots, forgetting constituted not only a loss for the individual, but also a form of cultural disloyalty.

Biographical Remembering

In addition, some participants also performed practices of biographical remembering, discursively memorialising key chapters and events from their family and life histories, usually with family and friends from the country of origin. While biographical remembering practices certainly evoked feelings of nostalgia (Emonstpool and Kjeldgaard 2012), this was not their only function. As Samson (07A: 1034-1035) said, biographical remembering "makes you more or less have some base, where you can always carry on your living." For migrants like Samson who have experienced multiple defamiliarising changes in their environment and life circumstances, remembering practices serve an important re-orienting function, providing a spatio-temporal point of origin, connection, and continuity.

Biographical remembering was driven by a fear of forgetting and losing one's essential identity. Kaitlyn (06B: 1177-1178), for instance, reflected on the importance of walking "down memory lane" with her sisters in Malaysia and her Malaysian friend in New Zealand. Drawing parallels between cultural remembering and biographical remembering, Kaitlyn underlined the importance of "roots" and the converse danger of becoming "lost."

> *I think if I lose that, it's, it can be easy to just forget who you are sometimes. Which I think I did have a bit of that during the breakup [with my ex-partner], or just before the breakup as well. It's just like, "Who the heck…?" Sometimes I would just walk the streets and just think, you know, "Why am I here? Why am I, you know, what am I doing here? What have I done?" I think just having that close relationship with people who love you, who care about you, and who knew who when you were really, like grew up with you basically, it's, it's, it reinforces your sense of identity and tells you, I think, guides you when you're lost. [...] Kind of the same as what I mentioned around the roots here as well. Kind of, it gives me the identity, reminds me who I was back then. (Kaitlyn, 06B: 1030-1037; 1196-1197)*

Masking and Mirroring Practices

In the face of social ambiguities arising from multiple and competing cultural models, participants also deployed masking and mirroring practices – protective, adaptive, and

subversive performance strategies which included practices of masking, mirroring, bridging, and code-jamming. In deploying these performance strategies, participants protected their identities and projected desired 'faces' in their social interactions.

These masking and mirroring practices contained an underlying tension between agency and mimicry. On one hand, participants demonstrated a high level of individual agency and reflexivity in deploying these strategic and purposive performances. For instance, masking practices enabled participants to navigate political situations, mirroring and bridging practices facilitated participants' social entry into multiple social groups, while code-jamming practices enabled participants to subvert the power of negative stereotypes. On the other hand, these very performances simultaneously cast participants into the role of the subaltern, thereby reinforcing externally imposed expectations. For instance, masking practices reinforced the stereotypical image of the migrant as a diminished cipher, bridging practices largely reinforced the image of the migrant as a cultural Other, and code-jamming practices reinforced negative stereotypes of Asians and immigrants. In these ways, practices of masking and mirroring were both actively chosen by knowing individuals for strategic purposes and constrained by wider socio-cultural discourses.

Masking Practices

Masking practices refer to suppressed or contained performances which are deployed for protective or strategic purposes. A remarkable number of participants talked about keeping quiet or maintaining a low profile in order to avoid drawing attention to oneself in the context of work, in larger groups, and in interactions with local Kiwis. Related to this, some participants also adopted an approach of being a watchful observer, which involved silently watching and listening to others in order to learn the accepted modes of performance in the new culture. These practices of receding into the background enabled participants to avoid exposing one's lack of

knowledge and looking "like a fool" (Samson, 07A: 1681) in important social situations, especially in the initial stages of migration. Moreover, ongoing postcolonial power and status dynamics often resulted in participants interpellated into the role of the silent subaltern. These dynamics of deference and subordination are illustrated in Samson's comment:

> *If you do not know the subject, or like in my like meeting environment, it's better to let my boss talk than you talk lah. Ah, let somebody take over right. Even if you know the subject more, let the person higher than you talk. Mm. Because you do not know the subject so don't talk. Because you end up you look like a fool. (Samson, 07A: 1676-1681)*

Silence was further used as a strategy for managing conflict and discrimination. Many participants talked about not being assertive, for example by minimising complaints and avoiding potentially negative confrontations. Paul (04B: 216; 222-223), for instance, said that "in terms of work, you have to be a chameleon, put up with a lot of B.S. […] even if you think you're being exploited, you… you know you don't really express it." In a similar vein, many participants affected nonchalance when asked to comment on negative socio-cultural discourses surrounding Asians and migrants. For instance, Abby (03A: 1437-1451) saw "a common remark" like "bloody Asian" as normal in the context of her workplace and reflected that "it's not good to be overly sensitive… it's small small things."

In addition, in the context of work, some participants affected performances of humility, in accordance with their reduced professional status and their status as new migrants. Samson, for instance, discussed the work strategy of lowering himself when managing a team of Pacific Island workers.

> *I used to manage 600 men you know. So how to maintain and motivate your guys? You have to bring yourself down to talk to them in order to motivate them to [do the work] you know. Because these are the people who will save you. (Samson, 07A: 408-411)*

Further, Paul (04A: 209-301) explained that "old migrant expect new migrants first to be humble… in the sense that whatever advice they give them they should follow and they resent it if you don't." Related to this, many participants preferred to let their work 'speak for itself'

rather than boast about their work performance to others. The degree of masking shown in these instances was remarkable, especially when considering that participants derived significant identity value from performing and displaying their professional accomplishments (see 'Work Star' earlier in this chapter).

Mirroring Practices

In addition to masking practices, participants deployed reflexive and sophisticated mirroring practices, whereby they adapted or switched their performances for different audiences and situations. Mirroring often took place along the dimension of culture. Participants mirrored a range of local consumption performances which included Kiwi sporting rituals, Kiwiana and art consumption, and bargain hunting. A significant number of participants mentioned the importance of understanding and participating in Kiwi sporting rituals in order to facilitate social entry. Icons in this category included rugby, New Zealand's national rugby team the *All Blacks*, their iconic pre-match war cry the *haka*, and the New Zealand national anthem. Asima, for instance, conveyed her experiences of watching rugby matches with her family in the local stadium and her family's excitement in attending a victory parade in Auckland after New Zealand won the Rugby World Cup in 2011.

> *My husband he love sports, but I'm not interested in rugby. But then ah, when we landed here, 'cause New Zealand icon is always like rugby, rugby, ah. And that [Item 03] is when uh, the, the, the trophy after the day after we won, after New Zealand won. [...] Rugby World Cup is like, like sports – how do you say that – it is uh, that is like icon to the New Zealand, icon… It's like, it's different kind of feelings ah, rugby. It's like how you're, you feel very energetic ah, when you go to the stadium, and then when you support All Black, ah you are, my daughters knows uh most of the player, the All Black player, yeah. (Asima, 12B: 45-48; 416-420)*

Some participants also consumed iconic Kiwi media and arts and crafts. Paul, for instance, included *Footrot Flats* (a New Zealand-based comic) and *Slice of Heaven* (an iconic New Zealand song) in his ZMET items to symbolise his belonging in New Zealand.

This is what New Zealand, a slice of New Zealand for me is, you know, yeah. [Interviewer: Why is this part of your story?] Well as a migrant the, you have to acknowledge that you have been adopted by New Zealand, you know, as a New Zealand migrant, so it's part of it. They come together. It's part of the package. [Interviewer: So you've been "adopted by"?] Yeah. We, we, yeah, we embrace New Zealand as our second country. We're, we're grateful so it's actually our, my second homeland. (Paul, 04B: 848-864)

Participants also learned about and engaged in Kiwi consumption practices of bargain hunting. These included the consumption norms of buying at discounted prices using sales, catalogues, coupons, and budget brands as well as the importance of the TradeMe website for real estate and second-hand purchases. The majority of Abby's items, for instance, consisted of catalogues, flyers, and discount coupons, to represent purchasing practices which she had learned and practised in New Zealand. As Wei explained, the culture of re-selling and buying second-hand goods represents part of New Zealand culture.

Everyone's buying and selling stuff on Trade Me. And then I soon found out that, I spoke to one my [colleagues] in [Auckland organisation]. He said it's quite interesting it's because in New Zealand, like they've always had the culture of hand-me-downs. So when they came here long time ago, they were so far isolated from everyone so they sort of re-used things, so they tend to have that culture of buying and re-selling their old stuff and buying second hand goods. So that's why like Trade Me is such a big thing over here in a way. (Wei, 09A: 624-630)

Furthermore, participants frequently spoke about the importance of not only mirroring dominant cultural norms in New Zealand, but also being able to adapt their performances for multiple cultural audiences beyond the home and host culture. Manny (10A: 828; 10B: 547-548), for instance, described himself as "an individual with compartments [...] in this situation I'll use my old cultural trait but in this kind of situation I start using this new cultural trait." For example, if asked to "bring a plate," he would bring savouries to a Kiwi gathering and bring a Filipino dish to a Filipino gathering (Manny, 10B: 552-556). He further considered himself to be a "global person" whose "globality will allow [him] to work with other geographical places, different politics, different cultures" (Manny, 10A: 870-872). Such forms of cultural mirroring were experienced as both a reflexive and habitual practice. While Manny was intensely aware

of "fine-tuning" his performances to mirror the characteristics and expected norms of his audiences, this acquired competence for mirroring was something that increasingly came "naturally" to him.

> *I can't treat you the way I would treat a white friend, for example, or a Kiwi friend. I am more aware about the differences and I have been able to develop different ways of treating people as individuals. (Manny, 10A: 828-830)*

> *There's greater awareness about, about, an assumption about their ethnicity, an assumption about the culture, an assumption that you will have to test when you talk to them. [...] When you wait for signals to come from that individual, [then] you are fine-tuning something which is, may or may not be your original assumption. You are fine-tuning the way you, you talk or react to that person right. So there is, there is that stronger awareness of, of the fine-tuning, stronger awareness of what approach to use. And it comes, it comes naturally. At some point it comes naturally. (Manny, 10A: 835-837; 841-845)*

On another level, participants also talked about the importance of being able to perform multiple personas beyond the dimensions of culture. When discussing their self-portraits, participants often emphasised the idea of adaptability and flexibility in a broader sense. These self-portraits included Abby's (03B: 1972) figure of a chameleon that "changes colour to suit its environment," Siti's (13B: 1197-1205) image of a shape-shifter that can "be in different roles in different situations," and Hue's (23A: 1419-1420) drawing of a football whose "shape will change the way that people kick it." These discussions of adaptability extended beyond culture swapping (Oswald 1999) and included other dimensions of identity such as professional, gender, and religious identities. As with cultural mirroring, these more general forms of mirroring were reflexively practised and gradually naturalised. Siti, for instance, celebrated her individual agency in her ability to "pick and choose" within a wardrobe of different identities and personas. In addition, while Hue originally experienced switches between multiple personas as an artificial "mask," she eventually saw the mirroring mode as "part of me."

> *I can be a [professional], be a member of the community, be a friend, be a Muslim friend to a non-Malaysian Muslim uh person [...] It's not a mask you know, it's like I have a wardrobe of... um, there are times when I'm a rock, a rock, there are times when I am*

a… a chocolate bar, a sweet, you know, a lolly, a candy. So I can just pick and choose. (Siti, 13B: 1176-1178; 1185-1188)

In the workplace I will be professional. Among my friends, I will be quite giggly and you know girly. Like you put on different masks. And that's why I'm saying, I'm not sure that I think of it as masks anymore. It's just that you switch on to different sides of you depending on the circumstances. It's not like I consciously make a choice. It's like, you know like your colour changes depending on your environment. I think I used to make that conscious choice and I keep saying this is… Now it's so part of me that I, when I make the switch, I don't think about it anymore. (Hue, 23A: 1473)

Bridging Practices

Participants also enacted bridging practices, whereby they performed the role of cultural ambassador and educated others about 'their' cultures. Participants variously performed the roles of cultural and religious representative, New Zealand representative, and to a lesser degree, Kiwi Asian representative. Paradoxically, while bridging practices largely reinforced intercultural boundaries and constructed the migrant as an exotic foreigner, these practices at the same time enabled migrants to bridge intercultural boundaries and gain social entry into multicultural social groups. In this way, cultural discourses provided important symbolic resources for individual migrants in their intercultural interactions.

Many participants (18 participants, 83 text units) adopted the role of the cultural representative, which involves performing as a cultural authority who represents and explains the culture of origin to unknowing others. In contrast to mirroring, whereby one attempts to minimise one's difference by mimicking dominant norms, performing as a cultural representative involves leveraging and accentuating one's difference. In the face of low awareness about Southeast Asian nations in New Zealand, participants proudly shared information about their country of origin, including national history, geography, places of interest, differences in work practices, and unique cultural practices. Thus, this finding is related to recent studies which have shown how acculturating consumers reflexively perform the host

culture's image of nostalgic Otherness (Veresiu and Giesler 2013) or display national belonging

in line with institutionalised expectations (Emonstpool and Kjeldgaard 2013).

Extending these findings, this study also found that the role of the cultural representative

was both externally imposed and individually celebrated. For instance, Kaitlyn (06B: 689-690)

felt uncomfortable with her role as the representative of Chinese culture and described her

performance as "saying but not actually knowing," referring to an externally imposed

expectation to be more Chinese than she knew how to be. In order to mirror the expectations of

her colleagues, she referred to Google for information on Chinese festivals and traditions. At

the same time, the process of performing as a cultural representative made her feel proud of her

ethnic origins. Moreover, she saw her Chineseness as an advantage that made her unique in the

context of her work team, and willingly "showed off" when the opportunity arose.

> *I learn about it [my Chinese culture] as well [laughs]. Crikey I don't know about all the history and some of the things, like you know I would just Google it and they're, "Ohhh!" You know I tell my colleague about it like I'm some sort of expert. Do you know what I mean? So it's like, when I'm talking about it, I actually feel proud of it. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 995-998)*

> *Sometimes during welcome, like as the [management] team, when we organise [special events for colleagues], we do have the welcome thing and in, in, in the Pacific Island and Maori cultures, it's always good to start with a prayer or introduce everyone and when it's your turn to introduce yourself, you know, you talk about your mum, your dad, your ancestors and you're also encouraged to speak your mother tongue and so I like to take the opportunity to show off all the different dialects that I speak and they're usually very fascinated by it. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 1721-1727)*

Parallel to the role of cultural representative, others also performed the role of religious

representative, adopting the role of religious authority who educates others of different religious

backgrounds about one's religious practices and philosophies.

> *Like we have to do the fastings, like Ramadan... And I try to explain why and yeah. And every Friday I have to go to mosque because every uh Muslim man has to pray together and that's why I, I always ask uh every Friday I need to get off, to, to get a day off because I have to go there. (Dian, 26B: 1179-1183)*

Conversely, participants also inhabited the role of New Zealand representative, becoming a cultural authority on New Zealand matters to newer migrants or to people in the country of origin. By partaking in New Zealand cultural discourses, participants were able to symbolise their degree of engagement with New Zealand. For instance, Wei (09A: 414-430) proudly promoted the sporting successes of the All Whites and the All Blacks to his friends in Malaysia while Asima (12B: 1863-1864) promoted New Zealand tourism, saying that "New Zealand is very nice, very scenic... a good place for a holiday." For Patricia, being able to perform the role of "New Zealand expert" for a newer migrant from South Africa made her feel "less alien" and "more comfortable" in New Zealand.

> *When I went to this uh office party, uh to a party, my husband's uh team, they were all "puti", they were all white. But you know this South African lady she just arrived and she, and she actually started talking to me about stuff here, what to do here. And so I was the actually, the New Zealand expert [laughs], isn't it. So like it makes you more comfortable because you're, you're not, you're not as alien. (Patricia, 19B: 1250-1254)*

Additionally, a minority of participants inhabited the hybrid role of the 'Kiwi-Asian' representative, in which the unexpected juxtaposition of divergent cultural referents is used to assert a unique place for Asians in New Zealand's cultural landscape. Kaitlyn (06A: 1601-1639), for instance, affected Maori and Pacific Islander accents and sayings as a form of hybrid mimicry, defying stereotypical expectations of how Asians would be expected to speak. In the initial stages of his migration journey, Simon (15A: 495) became part of an Asian singing troupe who performed Maori songs to "connect with the roots of this country." In doing so, Simon's performance of acculturation went beyond the mirroring of dominant New Zealand European or 'Pakeha' culture, and extended into a deeper engagement with New Zealand's indigenous and foundational history.

> *It's really fascinating to hear about, um, stories behind some of the Maori, um, Maori songs. Yeah because like we hardly know any Maori people when we arrive as migrants. You know we always thought New Zealand is a very, how shall I put it, white, European country. But then you know you start to, you start to understand the roots of the Maori and the history and their culture. [It's] not the touristy stuff that they tell you when you*

go… when you go on a tour and bring you into the Maori cultural performance thing, which is all kinda touristy stuff. But when you start to make an effort to learn about their culture, language and songs and you get, I think you connect with them in a very deep, in a deeper way. (Simon, 15A: 522-531)

Code-Jamming Practices

Finally, participants also practised code-jamming. In contrast to code-switching (Oswald 1999), which refers to fluidly performing multiple cultural and class identities, code-jamming practices refer to adaptive and creative interruptions of dominant cultural codes. Code-jamming is a hyper-reflexive mode of performance which may involve unexpected inversions of dominant hierarchies, unexpected combinations of usually separate cultural codes, as well as irony, parody, and humour. For instance, widespread stereotypes suggest that immigrants are hapless, low-literate, and usually forced to work in low-level jobs and that Asians are bad drivers, generally quiet, good at Math and technical skills, and like to eat exotic food. While such stereotypes have potentially negative effects on individual migrants' identity projects, some participants hyper-perform these stereotypes for positive and subversive purposes. As a subversive and at times critical commentary on wider cultural discourses, codes, and stereotypes, beyond the idea of 'culture consumed' (Askegaard et al. 2005), code-jamming represents the idea of 'culture critiqued'. Paradoxically, while code-jamming practices enabled participants to playfully subvert the power of negative stereotypes of Asians and immigrants to constrain their individual identities, at the same time, this subversion relied on repeating and reinforcing the very same stereotypes that they are aimed at eroding.

Participants conveyed four key code-jamming practices: self-caricature, intercultural stereotyping, nostalgic humour, and guessing games. First, self-caricature refers to consuming stereotypes about one's own groups in an exaggerated and often self-deprecating manner. For instance, Kaitlyn was aware of the stereotype of the Asian immigrant struggling to speak English as a second language. However, as a fluent English speaker with an English-educated

background, Kaitlyn confidently hyper-performed this stereotype within the context of her multicultural workplace.

> *Even if I say things, "Oh I no speak English" or whatever, because they know that I can but then I'm just doing that because that's what some people, some other people actually who don't speak English do, then they find that funny. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 1653-1655)*

Kaitlyn (06A: 1662; 06B: 1833-1834) performed the stereotype of the low-literate migrant in order to "lighten up the situation," "make them laugh," and make "it a little bit easier for us to work together." In these ways, Kaitlyn used self-caricature strategically to manage conflict and bridge intercultural boundaries with her work colleagues.

Second, intercultural stereotyping refers to making overt references to stereotypes about another ethnic group when interacting with members of that group, often in a spirit of mutual mockery and parody. Carlo's clients from India, for instance, hyper-performed stereotypes about Filipinos in order to bridge intercultural and class boundaries.

> *They [my Indian clients] poke fun like that. And then they say, "Oh do you, you must eat a lot of uh chicharrón [Filipino: fried pork rinds]?" That's a very common thing. Uh, "Oh you're not so brown like our mates in… Why are you not brown?" (Carlo, 11B: 347-350)*

> *Because they want to connect. And they're nervous because these are workers. So, so I, it allows them to get over the first hurdle of, of meeting a lawyer for the first time. [Interviewer: To what extent do you think it's effective?] For them it's effective because they, they get to come in here [to my office], and they get comfortable themselves very quickly. (Carlo, 11B: 350-359)*

Third, nostalgic humour refers to consuming stereotypes about one's own groups to evoke memories of the past and create connection. In his interview, for instance, Samson took great pleasure in recounting a joke which makes light of Singaporean accents. Such re-performances of humour from the culture of origin provides a way to memorialise the culture left behind and create a sense of connection with other members of their culture.

> *You always have that nostalgic feeling right, talking about good old days, the phrase "the good old days" you know, yeah. So we always like to talk about the good old days ah. Make fun of our country, make fun of our politicians, make fun of our family members. (Samson, 07B: 1305-1308)*

Fourth, guessing games refers to obfuscating one's ethnic background or social position, thereby resisting the imposition of stereotypical expectations on one's individual identity. For instance, in response to a confrontation in which she was labelled as a foreigner, Tamsin deliberately affected a performance which included putting on a hybrid accent and consciously 'speaking back'. This performance was intended to reclaim individual agency and defy stereotypical pre-conceptions of the Asian with a foreign accent and the Asian who keeps quiet.

> *Someone was making fun of my driving, actually being really awful. […] They said, you know, "Go home to where you came from!" Which is an awful thing to say and then, so I got out of the car, and I noticed my accent was very pronounced. (Tamsin, 08A: 1090-1091; 1095-1098)*

> *So from being completely foreign to something they can't imagine that I'm from, it's quite comfortable in that sense because it just doesn't fit into any of their boxes [laughs] […] Like you know the little Asian girl or the, that's not going to speak back. (Tamsin, 08A: 1100-1102; 1115-1116)*

At the same time as code-jamming practices enable participants to connect across intercultural boundaries and subvert the power of dominant cultural codes, the use of ethnic humour often served to dominate others. While the ironic performance of stereotype enabled participants to distance themselves from these stereotypes, participants also reinforced these stereotypes through repetition. As Kaitlyn conceded, such humour may be exploiting others who are less privileged.

> *I suppose like there's comedy in other people's misfortunes [both laugh]. And not necessarily just with Asians. I mean it's, like, like people make fun of not only accents but I don't know, all sorts of different things, like the way certain people look or fat people, or I don't know, old people. I mean there's all these negative, people always make fun of things like negative, things that may not necessarily be positive. (Kaitlyn, 06B: 1926-1931)*

In this way, code-jamming practices share commonalities with dominating practices (see 'Dominating Others' later in this chapter) – as individuals exercise their individual agency, they are also exercising power over others.

Conquering the Migrant Map

Alongside practices of translation, remembering, masking, and mirroring, participants derived significant identity value out of conquering the 'migrant map', that is, materially realising the 'migrant's dream' by progressing through key consumption milestones. The migrant map is a socially constructed pattern of status consumption and identity narration which is shared and reinforced within subaltern communities. As a shared pattern of status consumption, the performance of progress along the migrant map mainly involved status tokens such as permanent residence papers, houses, local qualifications, and cars (see 'Status Tokens' earlier in this chapter). As a shared pattern of identity narration, participants' stories of the migrant map commonly incorporated a call to adventure and a road of trials, two key stages of the archetypal hero's journey (Campbell 1973). However, the anticipated terminus and resolution of these narratives was unstable: while progression along the migrant map enabled participants to experience a degree of settlement, at the same time, the acquisition of status markers in New Zealand increased participants' global mobility, enabling them to consider relocation to other countries and returning to the country of origin.

Call to Adventure

Participants were asked to begin their narrative by recounting the course of events which led to their migration to New Zealand. Notably, while some participants had planned to migrate out of their countries of origin, they originally did not see New Zealand as the first choice of destination for migration compared to other choices such as the United States, Canada, and Australia. As Manny (10B: 1141-1142) quipped, "[New Zealand] was not in the shortlist when we first came here. We just added it to the shortlist after we came here." Often, these participants decided on New Zealand as their migration destination due to its less stringent entry

requirements or due to the influence of family members, friends, or other figures who facilitated the initial movement into New Zealand.

> *Actually our first target is USA [laughs], that is '89, '90, so since then we've been applying for the amnesty, been applying for like 15 years we didn't get it. So 15 years, we didn't get it and then comes the bombing of the September 11, the twin tower. So you know we sort of scrapped the idea and actually my sister-in-law came here first. She migrated here first and it so happened when that happened, she went back to Malaysia after three years here so we were talking about it and saying, "Why not we try New Zealand?" (Abby, 03A: 201-219)*

For others, the initial migration to New Zealand was less of a deliberate decision and more of an ad hoc move resulting from unplanned events and opportunities. Simon (15A: 15), for instance, moved to New Zealand "for a girl," while Samson (07A: 19-20) lodged an online application for residency after a holiday in New Zealand "just for the fun of it." For many, the initial stages of the journey were marked by feelings of excitement and optimism alongside feelings of anxiety and homesickness.

> *Even though it was all very exciting, but it was also very stressful because of a lot of uncertainties of you know, not having a job. (Siti, 13A: 65-67)*

> *I cried a lot 'cause I miss mum and dad. And I don't know how I can, how I could survive when I'm just on my own, you know what I mean. Because I've never been like doing the cooking by myself, or just being on my own, you know what I mean. But on the other hand, it's a bit like excitement, in a way that, "Okay I'm going overseas." (Thanh, 24B: 376-381)*

Road of Trials

After the initial call to adventure, participants then faced a road of trials, an extended period in which they faced multiple setbacks and sacrifices in the process of becoming more settled in New Zealand. These included economic trials, such as facing barriers to finding employment, as well as enduring a markedly reduced standard of living in order to survive. Paul, for instance, recounted the "humiliating" experiences of relying on welfare payments and keeping a tight rein on expenses in order to make ends meet.

> *There was a time that we received benefits because of we really couldn't cope. So reluctantly I applied for benefits because we were qualified. And you know that's the, I'll be honest with you, that's the most humiliating time for me. […] When going to places like McDonald, "Two Big Mac…" Like I even had a calculator then, the cell phone one. And then my children, "We want that." "Can you just have a cheeseburger instead?" Like that. That's humiliating, very humiliating for a father. (Paul, 04A: 412-414; 463-466)*

Some participants also undertook additional studies in order to become locally qualified, and in doing so, faced the difficulties of enrolment, balancing study with long part-time work hours, and balancing work restrictions attached to their student visa status against the need to provide for one's family.

> *When I was study, because, uh, the, the rent is very expensive in New Zealand, so even my wife working under the table, she got very small money and I still have to work after school as a, a cleaner. I work with uh [my Indonesian classmate]. Sometime we finish around one in the morning, four in the morning, and then wake up in the morning to go to classes. And so it's hard work. (Tommy, 21A: 742-746)*

The heightened vulnerability of migrants in these initial stages of migration was dramatically underlined in some participants' experiences of being fooled or being taken advantage of in the areas of employment and financial matters, both by locals and members of subaltern communities. Asima (12A: 699-703), for instance, felt underpaid and over-worked in her first job while Paul (04B: 423-424) recounted that his first employer "milked" his vulnerable status as a temporary work visa holder. With regard to contracts, Abby (03A: 583-601) paid $600 worth of "under the table money" demanded by an Asian bank manager in exchange for securing a bank loan, while Manny (10A: 472-484) recounted stories of insurance agents who took advantage of migrants' lack of knowledge to bind them to exploitative contracts. With regard to housing, Paul (04B: 114-125) was charged exorbitant rent by a relative and Marwan (14A: 1504-1512) lost $800 to a rental fraudster posing as a landlord.

These economic difficulties were often compounded by social and personal trials. As expected, participants often felt initially isolated, with little or no support network in the initial stages of migration. As Asima (12A: 631) put it, "when we are landed here, we got no one, no

relative, no friend at all." Others further experienced profound losses in their migration journey.

Several participants experienced relationship breakdowns with spouses or partners. Ed's

divorce, for instance, involved not only a shattering of his personal image of having an "ideal

nuclear family" (Ed, 01B: 1965) but also losing his friends and his "faith in friendship" (Ed,

01B: 1943). Paul's financial difficulties lost him his wife's respect and "almost tore our

marriage apart" (Paul, 04B: 127-128). Other participants experienced losses in relation to

children: while Jill (02B: 1857-1874) lost eight months of her daughter's childhood, Asima

(12A: 1286) and Dian (26B: 666) lost children through miscarriages.

As a whole, these sacrifices and setbacks often resulted in feelings of depression and

doubt, with many participants experiencing feelings of ambivalence about the promise of New

Zealand and whether they would stay. Often these feelings of uncertainty were tied to

difficulties in finding a job or maintaining the level of socioeconomic status that they had

previously enjoyed in their home countries. Asima, for instance, felt "depressed" and "trapped"

while Kaitlyn felt "frustrated" and "angry" in the initial stages of their migration journeys.

> *I was so depressed. Because I had a good life there, and when I moved here [to New Zealand], yeah so we got relocation cost, find a house, okay good house, it was fine. But when I got my pay check, "Oh this much only I got?" Like minus 30% tax. "So this much I got?" It's like in Malaysia, I got like, like triple than this, yeah, so but I feel like I've been trapped. 'Cause like, because I bond for two years, I cannot resign right. So for, for, but I still remember for that three months, the first three months, I was so depressed. I like keep emailing my friend, I said, "I make a big big mistake. So once I finish this two years contract, I will move back to Malaysia." (Asima, 12A: 665-673)*

> *Second one [initial stage] is more, a little bit of frustration, a little bit of sadness, and all the rest of that. So either red or orange […] orange is kind of warm colour, it's hot, like frustrated, angry… (Kaitlyn, 06B: 796-797; 814)*

Arrival and Flight

The road of trials ended in most cases when participants found a suitable job and gained permanent residence in New Zealand. The next narrative stage of the migrant map was a stage of quasi-arrival, in which participants symbolised their claim to arrival in New Zealand in different ways. Some participants claimed arrival through their awareness of, presence within, and contribution to local communities and the wider society. Other participants defined arrival as having achieved one's personal purpose for migrating, whether it was to upskill, to have a better lifestyle, or to pursue education for one's children. Others still claimed arrival by including a 'happy ending'; describing feelings of relative calm and optimism after the trials of migration have subsided. Aini, in discussing her self-portrait, included parallel metaphors of peace and growth to claim her arrival in New Zealand.

> *I'm becoming a more, um, peaceful person, not to worry about a lot of things because this country gives you a lot of peace. The natures say itself, the nature of New Zealand says itself and, um, satisfied with my life and I can see that my future is bright. (Aini, 25B: 1218-1220)*

However, the resulting arrival was unstable: on one hand, enabling feelings of settlement and growth in New Zealand, but on the other hand, enabling participants to consider relocation to other countries. Indeed, gaining work experience and permanent residence in New Zealand provided participants with potent indices of global mobility which could potentially facilitate entry into other Western metropoles. For Ardhi, being "inside the gate" in New Zealand enabled him to "feel comfortable" and at the same time enabled him to start considering entry into "other gates."

> *My friend said to me, "You're, you're okay, you can do anything, you feel comfortable because you are already inside the gate." [Laughs] […] He is the one that's still doing a course, still doing, still want to be inside the gate. They still have like a, he, he describing it as a small tent around that. So there's a lot of people that's still on a working permit still want to be a resident, and still want to be, still outside the gate with the tent. So every, anytime can be kicked out [laughs]. (Ardhi, 18B: 873-874; 880-884)*

> *[Interviewer: Once you enter it, which you have, um, is there another gate?] I don't see any other gate. Um, probably it's not other gate but probably looking, try starting looking to the neighbour [laughs]. As you know the, the, the neighbour grass is always look greener anyway. Yeah, so you still thinking, oh about the gates that's Canadian gates, oh how about the Australian gates, or that's, can start doing that. (Ardhi, 18B: 910- 922)*

In this way, conquering the road of trials enabled both 'arrival' in and flight from New Zealand.

The Return Home

In particular, the achievement of 'arrival' in New Zealand through the acquisition of consumption milestones enabled participants to return home to their countries of origin as a proud and successful migrant. Such returns were particularly enabled by the achievement of permanent residence. As Dian (26A: 675-676) noted, "I got my residence until now and I feel like relieved and yes finally, I can go home." Many participants enacted short-term returns to their countries of origin in which they performed the 'hero's return' (Campbell 1973) through various forms of status consumption. Ed (01A: 2230), for instance, performed the role of "financier" within his family and his old university network in the Philippines, while James (17B: 833-851) and Patricia (19B: 828-829) performed their status by giving gifts to their families. Further, in addition to sharing the "good story" (Ardhi, 18B: 607) about the acquisition of professional positions, permanent residences, and houses, several participants performed their success through educational achievements. Kiet (16A: 49), for instance, expected that his degree and "overseas experience" would enable him to "progress faster than other people" when he eventually moved back to Thailand while Tommy's mother in Indonesia kept a prospectus which featured his achievement as a top student in his New Zealand educational institution (Tommy, 21A: 624-625). As Tommy's comment below outlines, his migration journey enabled him to shift his image from the rich and dependent son to someone who is capable of finding success on his own.

> *They can tell by you know you have a house, you have a job, and happy, yeah. Now with, when I back after I have my house and I have my PR and my permanent job, they seem quite proud of me. You know, even my extended family said that it's proud because I can prove that I can be successful without the family business. (Tommy, 21B: 1064-1067)*

In addition to maintaining one's presence in the country of origin (Gaviria 2012), these return journeys enabled participants to augment their previous identities.

Dominating Others

Another key boundary practice was the performance of multi-layered status games, which involved appropriating the real or imagined stories of less privileged others, benchmarking one's position and progress in comparison to these others, and thereby elevating one's achievement of 'migrant success'. This form of domination was directed at a variety of individuals and groups (including members of one's own subaltern communities), who were disparaged either implicitly or explicitly on the basis of reduced competencies for global mobility and intercultural adaptation. These 'underdogs' of global mobility were recurrently purported to be limited by their immobile mind-sets, ethno-national origins, residence status, socio-economic status, or age. Hence, the project of acculturation was not only defined by a desire to mimic the host culture, but also by a desire to disassociate and distinguish oneself from the underdogs of global mobility. Beyond the cultural boundary separating the home and host cultures, dominating practices reproduced multiple boundaries of power within subaltern communities.

These practices of dominating others harbour implicit tensions between agency and mimicry. On one hand, in the context of wider socio-cultural discourses which construct migrants as low-literate and economically disadvantaged 'victims', these practices of domination enabled individuals to reclaim agency by deflecting and resisting the imposition of such discourses in their everyday lives. Thus, the practice of dominating other migrants

constituted a form of *schadenfreude*, whereby participants derived pleasure or alleviated their own pain by looking at the relative misfortunes of others. On the other hand, by implicitly privileging the ability to mimic Kiwis and achieve status markers within New Zealand's Anglo-centric system, and by reinforcing negative stereotypes of other subalterns, these practices of domination constituted a logical extension of the will to perform Whiteness (Burton 2009) and re-affirmed Orientalist discourses of subordination and domination.

Mobile versus Immobile Mind-sets

An overwhelming number of participants (23 participants, 183 text units) drew on discourses of cosmopolitanism (Thompson and Tambyah 1999), arguing that migrants should be open to other cultures rather than limiting themselves to only their culture of origin. 'Mobile mind-sets' were most often performed through language, food consumption, and intermingling, and to a lesser extent, intermarriage. Participants often aligned themselves with a mobile mind-set while deflecting immobile mind-sets and practices to other individuals and groups. Indeed, migrants who performed insular practices were perceived as bringing 'cultural baggage' from the country of origin which prevented their effective integration into New Zealand. Patricia (19B: 527) and Boon (20B: 687), for instance, labelled such individuals as "weak."

While some participants performed 'insular' practices themselves, they viewed these same practices with denigration. Boon (20A: 803-805), for instance, performed the ostensibly insular practice of preferring Singapore-bought food and medicines, saying that, "I just feel that those are nice, right, those are nice, so stick with it, right. There's no harm, right." In his second interview, however, he spoke at length about the importance of being globally adaptable rather than parochial, arguing that, "If you only choose to love your local food, and say, 'Look I can't live with these foods in the Kiwi market at all, regardless of which restaurant.' Then you have a serious problem. You should leave." Such in-text contradictions reflect wider tensions

surrounding the consumption practices of immigrant consumers in the context of the "postcolonial global economy" (Thompson and Tambyah 1999, 215). While acculturating immigrants consume reminders of home to facilitate a degree of embodied comfort during mobility, they face negative sanctions when enacting these consumption practices. Boon's (20B: 905) remark that such individuals "should leave" reflects a repeated utterance among other participants.

Mobility and Residence Status

As a State-legitimised marker of one's ability to legally cross national borders, one's residence status constitutes a critical sign of global mobility, and hence status in a globalised world. In the first instance, even attempting to relocate one's place of residence from one country to another requires an elevated level of privilege. As Kaitlyn pointed out, while many of her peers in Malaysia desire a better life elsewhere, not everyone has the opportunity, ability, or resources to migrate.

> *The fact is I have this choice when other people in Malaysia and [other Asian country] don't necessarily have it, so in that sense I am better off because I have more options. (Kaitlyn, 06A: 1852-1853)*

Further, in the context of New Zealand, attaining residence as a skilled migrant conferred an elevated level of privilege in comparison to other categories of mobile person such as refugees and students. As several participants noted, skilled migrants have more agency and choice compared to refugees. Tamsin (08B: 1136-1137), for instance, noted that her status as a skilled migrant "differentiates my stream of migrants from… the other streams of migrants." Some participants also considered those on student visas to be a more transient population who had not demonstrated the same level of commitment to New Zealand as skilled migrants. As an example, Jill (02B: 2412-2414), underlined this point in her comparison of Japanese and Korean

students who are "here for studying" to Indian migrants who are "here for settling because they take all their families with them."

Finally, in the context of both the country of origin and New Zealand, one's ability to stay in New Zealand provided another marker of status. On one level, the achievement of permanent residence in New Zealand is brought into relief when compared to the stories of other migrants who have attempted to relocate to New Zealand but returned to the home country. Tommy's comment about his cousin having "given up" reflects a shared view in which people who return to the home country without achieving permanent residence are seen as having 'failed' in New Zealand.

> *I have a cousin or nephew came to New Zealand and she asked me okay she wants to study and try to live, get a PR in New Zealand. So okay. I remind her it's not easy job, it's hard work. I explain to her what I did, I worked double shift, I explain everything to her and she said, "Oh I can do that one." Because she might only see me what I'm getting now. I'm a lot better now. But when she's here she's given up. She's given up yeah, because one year she decide it's go home, better in Indonesia. (Tommy, 21A: 1272-1278)*

On another level, length of residence is often used as a comparative marker in the performance of status surveillance within subaltern communities, with 'seasoned' migrants asserting superiority over 'new' migrants. Dian, for instance, had been in New Zealand for four years and expressed discomfort with the conflation of length of residence with status within the Indonesian community.

> *Feels like uh, feel more bigger than, "Okay I'm the, I'm a senior here. Just like that. You don't know nothing, you don't know nothing." And uh, okay. Superior! And like, "Oh I've been here [in New Zealand] like 15 years and blah blah blah and I know everyone." It's like, "So?" [Laughs] (Dian, 26A: 1217-1220)*

Ethno-national Othering

In addition, many participants drew on stereotypes of other ethnic and national groups in asserting their own elevated competencies for global mobility and adaptation in New Zealand.

Participants also frequently blamed other ethnic or national groups for the negative perceptions

of subaltern communities in New Zealand. Such dominating practices were most often directed

at the Chinese, who were seen as the most visible group of Asians in New Zealand and were

stereotyped as rich, unable to speak English, insular, rude, and overly concerned about status.

Asima's comment, for instance, reflects wider 'yellow peril' discourses (Kawai 2005), in which

the Chinese are seen as overly numerous and dominant, and therefore more readily constructed

as scapegoats for local economic problems.

> *The newspaper statistic is all say it's Chinese right, I think the main-, yeah, yeah. So if I'm for example, I'm taking a bus to city, I think half of that maybe, at least like 40% is the Chinese, yeah, yeah. [...] Yeah, it's a so many Chinese. And now me, I got upset because the property's going very very high now. And we think this is because of the Chinese they are afford, they are rich so those that come from China, they are rich so they can buy property easily. (Asima, 12A: 930-932; 934-937)*

Such perspectives appear to be rooted in historic relations between Southeast Asian Chinese

and other ethnic groups in Southeast Asia. As Aini's following comment revealed, a historical

distrust of ethnic Chinese stemming from their economic success in Southeast Asia parallels

and feeds into discourses of Chinese domination in New Zealand.

> *We have, um, an issue in Indonesia, not only lately but a long time ago until now. Um, specifically with the Chinese Indonesian. Um, because they came here [to Indonesia], uh, to do tradings a long time ago like maybe, um, like hundreds of years ago, you know, uh during the Dutch colonialisation, so they came here to do tradings. So their intention is mainly business. So um, Indonesia it's a rich country where there are a lot of natural resources that we can use it to, to build our economy, that's why they are interested to get that um special resources to improve their business, to, to widen their business. But they're still in contact with their um ancestors in China so they have double-face in a way, so they are not truly Indonesian. (Aini, 25A: 356-364)*

Stereotypes of the Chinese were similarly transposed to other Asians. Stereotypes of Koreans,

Japanese, and Indians, for instance, partially mirrored stereotypes of the Chinese in that they

were assumed to be unable to speak English, more insular, and less able or willing to integrate

in New Zealand.

Further, some participants also constructed individuals from other Southeast Asian nations as more backward and less globally adaptable. In particular, in contrast to views of Southeast Asian Chinese as status-driven, indigenous populations such as native Malays and native Indonesians were stereotyped as less motivated and less intelligent.

> *The Muslim, they don't want their people to be too smart [laughs]. From English-medium school, they changed all to Malay-medium school. But the only people who suffer are the Malays. Because the Chinese and the Indians, like my children, the first language at home I speak English to them. So it's not important what school they go to because the mother's tongue is English. (Abby, 03A: 894-898)*

Such comments reflect wider discourses of the 'backward native' (Fougère and Moulettes 2007; Goldie 1989). This discourse was also reflected in comments around Maori and Pacific Islanders in New Zealand, who were often assumed to be overly reliant on government hand outs, or at least of lower socio-economic status. Ardhi, for instance, characterised Pacific Islanders as disenfranchised labourers, a comment which constructs indigenous peoples as victims of economic immobility who are still struggling to adapt to a global capitalist system.

> *They [Pacific Islanders] are people that always want to work on the field because they came from a farmers' background. Different, not, not New Zealand farmers. New Zealand farmers is different. Farming here is more management, is more like an office basically. This is the one that I found it's quite different as well. Um, Pacific Islander is more like our farmers, like Asian farmers. More like the one that's, that's digging by, by yourself. Not even your own land. (Ardhi, 18A: 413-418)*

Socio-economic Status

Participants also constructed 'paper privileges' based on their educational backgrounds and professional status. Even prior to migration, one's educational background conferred an advantage over less educated others, with several participants referring to the universities they had attended in the home country as sources of prestige within the global economy. Ed, for instance, drew a link between being more highly educated and having a mobile mind-set.

> *The educated ones are the one who travelled more and the less educated ones are the one probably practically who didn't leave the country for... So, they are more exposed. (Ed, 01B: 1221-1228)*

Further, in the context of New Zealand, those working as professionals in their areas of work which were related to their educational backgrounds were considered better off than those who were blue collar workers or struggling to find local employment. Jane (05B: 1306-1308), for instance, drew a distinction between "professionals who manage to continue what they're trained to do" and those who "resort to getting lower-level jobs." Further, while Samson experienced occupational status reduction in New Zealand, his reference to other migrants who are worse off enabled him to claim that he's "made it" in New Zealand.

> *Even coming to New Zealand a lot of people also, even they could be successful in Singapore, when they came here [to New Zealand], they are struggling to establish a career right. So for... Some of them make it, some of them don't make it. For me, I make it in such a way, in a small way lah that I have a good job, good position, you know. Yeah but some of them do not have my kind of privilege, the privileges I have or the benefits I have, yeah. So I just uh, I'm quite uh satisfied in that sense lah, that I'm able to do that ah. (Samson, 07B: 323-329)*

Age-based Othering

Finally, younger migrants were considered more globally adaptable than older migrants. Children were often considered better able to integrate into local cultural practices, such as language and food, than their parents. Several participants also mentioned differences in approaches to acculturation in different eras or 'waves' of migration.

> *From my perspective, "These old timers, their mind-set is like "trapo" [Filipino: traditional politician, washcloth]. Just like that." They're like, very traditional, one has to act like this or like that... "We're not in the Philippines anymore." Yeah, like that, let's drop the old thinking. That's why we're here in New Zealand, eh. (Paul, 04A: 230-234)*

As Paul explained, compared to later-wave or more recent Filipino migrants like himself, older-wave Filipino migrants were more conservative and traditional, and were thereby less able to integrate with the local community in New Zealand.

Justifying Practices

As has been seen in the range of boundary practices so far, participants' migration journeys consisted of multiple translations and tensions which compromised and challenged participants' individual identity narratives. These included significant readjustments in socio-economic status and in foundational value systems, and ongoing postcolonial identity binds which kept participants 'stuck at the border'. Hence, migration involved a deep sense of defamiliarisation and frustration.

In order to cope with these ongoing frustrations, many participants enacted justifying practices, which involved the reclamation, reprioritisation, and heightening of alternative identities which had been previously taken for granted or subordinated. These included religious, familial, and heroic identities. These interior-focused narratives were often constructed through tensions between trial and transformation, and patterned using a mythic story arc (Campbell 1973): the unsuspecting hero undertakes a journey, faces a vale of tears, and through trial, comes to a realisation that transforms him or her into a better person. Further echoing the pattern of the hero myth, even though migration narratives were ostensibly motivated by a search for external 'riches', personal growth formed the 'hidden treasure' in these narratives. By patterning their individual narratives in accordance with wider myths of heroism and purification, participants were able to construct a renewed and enhanced interiority that provided justification for the sacrifices and frustrations endured in migration. Further, by de-emphasising the importance of cultural identities in relation to other dimensions of identity, justifying practices enabled participants to create a narrative space in which mythic boundaries were elevated.

Stronger Person

A remarkable number of participants (17 participants, 73 text units) extensively patterned their personal migration journey to the narrative of the enduring hero, one who weathers the trials and hardships of migration and in doing so, emerges as a stronger person. These personal transformations took various forms: some participants talked about becoming wiser and more mature, others talked about becoming more self-reliant and less dependent on their families, while others still became braver and more resilient. Participant narratives were raft with rich symbols of uncertainty and danger contrasted against symbols of courage and metamorphosis. Carlo's metaphor for his migration journey, for instance, was materialised in the form of a large painting by his daughter, which he had framed and prominently displayed in his office. Inspired by Rembrandt's painting, *Storm in the Sea of Galilee* (a print of which Carlo also framed and kept in his office), Carlo said of his daughter's painting, "That's my life and the lives of everyone that I deal with." He further explained its meaning in the context of migration:

> *You have to get to the shore and you have to get through the sea. And um, it's difficult all the time, it's scary, it's uncertain. Actually, actually the rock… I always tell my kids, you know, you can't look too far ahead because if you look too far ahead it gets scary because it's so uncertain. So that rock, I, I, I wanted, I said to my daughter, I want a big rock because you don't know what's around the bend. It could be, it could be that there's a nice sunny beach around the bend. But you have to get around it. And you, but that's what you see, you don't see what's around the bend. So life's like that, especially for migrants, you don't know what's going to happen to you around the bend. (Carlo, 11B: 854-862)*

Other participants, such as Manny (10B: 1002) and Ria, represented their hero narrative using the image of the butterfly's metamorphosis. Ria (22B: 933-935) conveyed the image of a cocoon transforming into a butterfly and the image of moving from the safety of a boat to the uncertainty of water: "Once you just put your wing out or you walk from the boat, start swimming, you feel fresh, different. And actually, "Oh I can swim!"" In a similar vein, Ardhi used the image of a flightless and nocturnal Kiwi bird foraging in the darkness to represent who he had become in New Zealand. He noted that as a migrant, "You are really want to take a

chance even though you don't see what is in front of you. […] You can't just stay in the hole. You have to be brave, walk in the dark" (Ardhi 18A: 1355-1356; 1370-1371). Finally, Paul couched his personal and moral transformation through migration as an irreplaceable treasure: "I'm not perfect but I can honestly say I'm a better person than where I was now and I wouldn't change that" (Paul, 04A: 386-387). The readiness and fervour with which participants used symbols and metaphors to describe their transformation suggests that this was a narrative that was deeply held by and provided significant identity value for participants.

Closer to God

In addition, the uncertainties and hardships of migration triggered participants to reframe and intensify the role of their faith and religious practice in their lives, with many participants coming to a renewed appreciation of and closer engagement with their faith. Despite the diversity of participants' religious affiliations, which included Christian, Buddhist, and Muslim backgrounds, a pattern of religious 're-awakening' recurred across several participants (13 participants, 58 text units). In these cases, a taken-for-granted or dormant religious consumption in the country of origin became heightened and intensified in New Zealand, often expressed in the form of greater participation in religious communities and greater learning about the philosophies and teachings of their religion. Echoing the Biblical narrative of Saint Paul's conversion to Christianity on the road to Damascus, whereby Saint Paul's spiritual epiphany was catalysed by a temporary loss of sight, participants' dramatic narratives of religious re-awakening often coincided with experiences of loss. Abby, for instance, renewed her involvement in church during her initial arrival to New Zealand when she felt "cut off" from family and friends in Malaysia, and further intensified her involvement after she was made redundant at work. Simon, a previously "self-proclaimed atheist," became involved in a Buddhist temple after he experienced a relationship breakup.

26 year I've been drifting along. I call myself a Christian, I don't know what it is about, I don't even go to church regularly. But until I come to New Zealand, I didn't even read the Bible you know. So when I come to New Zealand, because Malaysia there is so much happening with relatives and friends around, you know more friends in the sense that even our childhood friend when we go to school together… You come here, you just cut off everything already you know when you come here. So when you come here, it's like New Zealand is such a boring place [both laugh]. So you, you, you just need to interact with somebody. So the best, the most sensible thing to do is to go to church, right? […] More than a year ago, my previous company, I worked for three years and then it wound up, it closed shop. But before it closed our hours has been cut, I find I have some time so I go for Bible study. Then I realised, I realised I know more about Bible. I realised how real God is. (Abby, 03B: 717-726; 729-732)

I don't really care much about organised religion. I mean, I'm, I was a self-proclaimed atheist but, but now, yeah like I guess since I arrive in New Zealand I become… I kinda seeked that network of, um… 'Cause I'm born into this, um, religion and so I've always known, known everything about it. But it's only recently that I really got into it and got back into it really and start praying and, and meeting the people. [Interviewer: Mm, why do you think that was?] Mm, well for personal reasons I guess. Like, um… well one of it is just 'cause I just broke up with my girlfriend and it was kind of a, it triggered a change in me. It's such a, um, it's a turning point in my life and I just thought, I just wanna be balanced in all areas in my life. So I just wanna commit to a daily practice of, um, being emotionally, spiritually, physically, and mentally balanced. So I just wanna seek and I just wanna be as healthy as possible in all these areas. And I thought, "Yeah why not?" You know just, "Why not seek the religion of my childhood and get back into it and make some friends?" (Simon, 15A: 866-882)

Furthermore, the experience of religion was not only intensified, but also purified. Several participants contrasted the feeling of practicing religion in order to mimic social norms in their countries of origin with the feeling of enacting a more private and "real" relationship with God. This distinction was particularly brought into relief for Muslim participants, who had transitioned from Muslim-majority environments in Malaysia and Indonesia to the Muslim-minority environment of New Zealand. Siti (13A: 2057-2058), for instance, experienced a "more meaningful relationship with my religion" when the overlay of Malay culture was removed from her practice of Islam in New Zealand. Such distillation of Islam's essence were manifested, for instance, in differences between observing Ramadan as a "huge festivity" in Malaysia and "simpler" observances in New Zealand.

The fasting month in Malaysia has always been a huge festivity. That you know the only thing that people look forward to is the reward at the end of the fasting month, which is

the Eid, the Hari Raya [Muslim holiday in Malaysia that marks the end of Ramadhan]. Whereas the more… as I realised, the more important aspect is that fasting month itself and being able to do that here [in New Zealand] and practice the fasting month here enables me to, um… to appreciate why, to appreciate the act of fasting and the other things that are encouraged for us to do during those fasting month, more than when I was in Malaysia. So I felt that it was, um, an… and it's not so much a festivity here and so much simpler, so much, um, um… laid back that I felt, "Oh okay, that, this is the whole objective of it, you know, it's trying to be humble, trying to be simple and trying to experience… or experiencing how the poor people are not eating during the day." (Siti, 13A: 1056-1068)

These text units underline the role of faith as a central identity anchor in migration, providing not only a source of social interaction and social identity (see 'Religious Communities' earlier in this chapter), but also a more private sense of transformation and purification which provides a zone of comfort through the difficulties of migration.

Closer to Family

For several participants, their transformation narratives were focused on the family, as they realised its importance and became closer to their family members. Many participants inhabited and performed their familial roles and relationships in a more quintessential way by becoming better parents, siblings, spouses, or children after migration.

Such realisations were catalysed by a number of factors. First, experiencing physical separation from immediate and extended family members reconfigured the relationship from the mundaneness of everyday proximity to the intensified significance of more occasional interaction. Samson's nuclear family, for instance, was initially dispersed between Singapore and New Zealand and was unified when his son decided to move permanently to New Zealand. For Samson, his family photo symbolised the renewed importance of family through migration.

Now we realise that the family unit's so important. Because in Singapore we all are dispersed right. We, we don't think much of the family coming together. But now with, we all dispersed all over, family photo is always very important to remind us of the family, that you must keep our family together. [...] Migration is bringing the family closer together, yeah or instead of, instead of pulling us apart, yeah. So absence make the heart grow fonder. (Samson, 07B: 221-224; 235-236)

Second, the reprioritisation of family was enabled by shifts in economic and work circumstances. In particular, for Marwan, migrating to New Zealand enabled his family to live on a single income and resurrect his childhood vision an ideal family, in which the father performs the roles of breadwinner and head of the household.

> *We learn that ideal family since primary school, they have it in a book, in the, in our book that a family should be like this. Uh, the realisation over there [in Indonesia], it's not like that because both of, both of parent needs to work because the foundation over there, the economic. So we can make that happen in here [in New Zealand]. So I uh, I don't have, uh my wife, uh she doesn't need to work because I can fulfill my, uh what our needs, just from one income. (Marwan, 14B: 1037-1042)*

More frequently, however, participants used narratives of familial transformation as a justification for reduced economic status. Asima for instance experienced reduced purchasing power in New Zealand, but was able to find a better work-life balance in New Zealand, with the decreased time spent on working and commuting translating into time for more leisure activities with her family. As she assured herself, "Even though we sacrifice in term of the money, where we can get more over there [in Malaysia], but we gain family value" (Asima, 12B: 1931-1932). Carlo similarly justified the trial of having reduced earnings in New Zealand to his transformation into a better husband and father.

> *I think I'm a more pleasing husband and father at home and so my, my kids, you know they see the struggle but they see you becoming a stronger person. And the struggle being good for you in the sense that, "Oh Dad's you know, he doesn't criticise so much anymore." Or, "Dad is much more what, he thinks more now about buying something." Or, you know, something like that. And, and so they see some self-restraint. It helps them develop their self-restraint because you're, you're teaching them by your life and by your example. (Carlo, 11A: 424-430)*

Freedom and Possibility

Furthermore, migration represented a "completely new life" (Patricia, 19A: 1236) which afforded the possibility of pursuing a different set of identity projects beyond those which were prescribed in the culture of origin. While the meaning systems and routines of the culture of

origin provided a source of familiarity, comfort, and home, they were at the same time constraining and restricting. Participants frequently contrasted images of entrapment in their previous lives in Southeast Asia to images of expansion and rebirth in their reconstituted lives in New Zealand.

Given that participants hailed from middle class backgrounds, the ethos of economic security and upward socio-economic mobility was a powerful constraining force in their lives, defining the levels of education, social networks, and types of careers which were considered acceptable. Within the ethos of upward socio-economic mobility, the pursuit of marriage and children was also a central and related concern. While many participants reconstituted these expectations in New Zealand to a large degree, they talked about pursuing educational or business opportunities that they previously wouldn't have considered, and spending more time on leisure activities. Simon in particular embodied the most dramatic disavowal of middle class constraints, explaining how migration afforded him a release from such expectations of upward mobility and progress.

> I think coming to New Zealand and being in a new environment afford me the um freedom of anonymity and being anonymous, so you get to rebuild yourself again. You kind of, you get to rebuild your own identity. You can be anyone again to anybody. No one knows your background. No one knows where you come from. So again the expectation is lesser of who you should become. Um, for example if I wanna be a warehouse worker here no one's gonna look down on me and say that, "You can't be a warehouse worker you know you're not from that class of people whatever." (Simon, 15B: 1462-1468)

Indeed, since Simon's move to New Zealand, he had become single and given up the security of having a professional job in order to travel and reassess his career. His self-portraits, which contrasted images of being "a square" and living within a "caged box" in Malaysia to becoming a "shooting cannon" in New Zealand, captured the sense of breaking out of previous constraints and embracing a new perspective on life.

> A square [laughs]. That's all I remember about my time in Malaysia. I was always in my room. I have like a little studio at home and it's just always my room I guess. And

spent too much time in there in front of the computer and… yeah. Just being in this caged box and not really venturing out. […] I guess this is like a cannon. I just felt more, um, I get a bit more confident I guess in going after my dreams and shooting… it feels kind of like… a breakthrough. Again I think it's due to like change of lifestyle and, um, the fact that I changed my, I wanna change my career. I feel like I'm breaking through a barrier and I'm no longer afraid of, I don't, I'm no longer afraid of my own limitations of not being able to survive by myself without a girlfriend or a partner. (Simon, 15B: 1394-1397; 1277-1282)

Real Person

Finally, some participants also became less superficial and more 'real' people. Such transformations were catalysed through the trials of migration, particularly through experiences of socio-economic status reduction. Many participants, for instance, have had to adjust to reductions in occupational status, reductions in earnings, and from having hired help to having to do one's own household chores. Through these trials, participants described their transformation from being overly focused on status performances in Southeast Asia to becoming more grounded in New Zealand. Kaitlyn, for instance, talked about how the process of "start[ing] from scratch in a new country" challenged her previous "cockiness" and taught her "humility."

I was telling [my partner] that I used to be very cocky and I think, and I may have mentioned in our first interview as well that moving here [to New Zealand] has taught me a lot of humility. So toned down that cockiness by probably ten times [laughs], tenfold. […] I wouldn't be surprised if a big part of relocating and migrating and settling down in a different country would teach anyone some level of humility. (Kaitlyn, 06B: 474-477; 478-480)

In relation to the decreased emphasis on status performances, some participants also experienced a shift from exterior-driven to interior-driven social performances. Paul (04B: 700), for instance, described migration as an "escape from the shallowness" of the Philippines and has personally transformed from being "plastic" in the Philippines to becoming "true" in New Zealand. Patricia similarly described choosing her friends in New Zealand out of genuine liking rather than social obligation.

When you say you have a blank slate, then you have to fill it, isn't it, you have to write on it. So… since it's blank, there are no rules. Like, there are no rules that you know, "Ah this is that person's child." So you have to have friends, to be a friend to her or… it's not like that, isn't it, there's none of those constraints isn't it. So this is your friend's friend, so you have to be a friend, you know. Or your neighbour or your, like that. So like… like, you get to really choose. (Patricia, 19A: 627-632)

In these ways, participants have experienced a shift from having to mirror surface obligations

and expectations to making decisions based on one's own priorities and preferences.

COUNTERFEIT CROSSINGS

Having presented the three interwoven elements which constitute boundary performances, this section now turns to the role of boundary performances in consumers' boundary negotiations. If "border crossings are becoming a constant in the contemporary glocalizing world" (Askegaard and Özçaglar-Toulouse 2011, 217), do boundary performances enable consumers to cross cultural boundaries? The findings of this study suggest otherwise. To underline the complex and paradoxical effects of boundary performances on consumers' boundary negotiations, this final section concludes with illustrations of the central concept of counterfeit crossing, which is discussed in further depth in Chapter Five. Counterfeit crossings refer to boundary crossings which appear successful on the surface but are plagued by an element of artificiality, lack, and incompleteness. This sense of counterfeit refers to both the objects, sites, and practices which are consumed as substitutes for something else as well as a subjective way of being not quite 'inside' a social world.

As has been shown in the preceding discussion, boundary performances produced two key tensions in consumer narratives: a tension between settlement and dislocation, and a tension between agency and mimicry, ultimately rendering consumers' border crossings as counterfeit: on one hand, appearing successful and enabling functional entries into multiple social worlds, and on the other hand, plagued by an interior sense of lack and incompleteness. In other words, the structures of action performed by acculturating consumers are fundamentally disconnected from the structures of feeling they experience. As a result, acculturating consumers occupy ambivalent positions as settled interlopers and estranged homecomers, half within and half outside of, not completely crossing into their culture of residence or able to completely return to their culture of origin.

On one level, many boundary performances produced contradictory experiences of settlement and dislocation. Take, for instance, boundary practices of remembering the country

of origin which are enacted using the boundary object of food within the boundary site of the family. While food practices from the country of origin are re-enacted for familiarity and comfort, their imperfect reproduction and destabilised meaning also reminds participants of their dislocation in the new environment. Aini's (25B: 639) comment that Indonesian food in New Zealand is "90% close" reflects many participants' inability to find complete comfort through one of the fundamental, pervasive, and invasive forms of consumption in their post-migration lives. Furthermore, the enactment of food practices and norms became contested within the space of the family, and particularly in the context of negotiations between parents and their children. In these ways, remembering practices, which are aimed at reconstructing the familiar and creating zones of comfort within an unfamiliar environment, simultaneously produced contradictory feelings of estrangement and defamiliarisation.

On another level, boundary performances were fragmented by conflicts between agency, the desire to perform subaltern and individual narratives which conflict with dominant expectations, and mimicry, the desire to mirror expectations imposed by wider power structures. In other words, participants experienced a tension between the desire to perform their cultural roots and the desire to transform themselves into the privileged Other. The performance of language and accent, for instance, placed participants in a double bind: on one hand, performing the mother tongue invited accusations of insularity, while on the other hand, performing English invited accusations of being artificial. In these ways, performances which are aimed at achieving status and belonging in multiple social worlds were undermined by multiple sanctions which produced contradictory feelings of belonging and not-quite-belonging in both the cultures of residence and culture of origin.

What do these tensions mean for how consumers experience acculturation? Ultimately, boundary performances produce counterfeit crossings – boundary crossings which appear to be effective and successful on the surface, but which belie a profound sense of dislocation and

disquiet. Even though boundary performances enabled symbolic border crossings, these performances did not completely enable a sense of dwelling 'inside' a culture. Moments of tension, eruption, and contradiction in consumer narratives revealed an unsettling disconnect between the outer appearance and the inner experience of these performances. Participants encountered a deep disjuncture: on one hand, feverishly acquiring and consuming the exterior trappings of boundary crossing, and on the other hand, coming to terms with an inner sense of being "stuck at the border" or "pulled from both sides… and trapped between worlds" (de Burgh-Woodman 2013, 300). As the following subsections demonstrate, participants found themselves ultimately unable to completely achieve a feeling of being-at-home within their culture of residence and, even more surprisingly, their culture of origin.

Counterfeit Crossings within the Culture of Residence

Participants found themselves partially inhabiting both the 'inside' and 'outside' of their new culture of residence. While many participants performed and asserted a narrative of 'successful' border crossing and integration into New Zealand, the veneer of this narrative often fractured in the face of unresolved tensions and frustrations. Broadly, participants' attempts to cross into the culture of residence were delimited by the postcolonial logic of mimicry (Bhabha 1984), whereby the subaltern dons the *performances* of the privileged Other but fails to *become* the privileged Other.

Residual Boundaries

Despite earnest efforts by participants to perform integration, the boundaries which delimit who can call New Zealand home were not completely erased. These 'residual' boundaries, which were reinforced in interactions with both locals and members of subaltern communities, gave rise to a lingering sense of disconnection and estrangement within the country of residence.

Echoing Luedicke's (2011) observation that wider socio-cultural discourses prevent complete acceptance of migrants within the host culture, these residual boundaries were externally imposed by the host culture. Indeed, many participants (19 participants, 91 text units) shared experiences of being made to feel foreign or being excluded from work and social opportunities due to their ethnic difference or status as a migrant. Ardhi, for instance, felt that his voice in the workplace carried less authority and was not trusted as readily as those of his Kiwi (New Zealand European) counterparts. Despite his efforts to "blend" in, he could not completely achieve the trust of, and belonging within, the dominant culture.

> *Even though we are, we are live in New Zealand, but we are not a part of a Kiwi community. Definitely not. That's what I'm thinking. We're still on our own community. We are still on our small kingdom. […] Even though… we are blending, but still having that, that, that [issue of] trust. […] Like, like Pacific Islander is more, no matter what happen, they're not gonna trust the Kiwi people – Kiwi here is the white people – they're, they're, they're not gonna trust what they're gonna say. (Ardhi, 18A: 294-296; 299; 301-303)*

Ardhi's view is reflective of Leal's (2011, 331) description of contemporary globalised life which is characterised by "cultural worlds brought together but kept apart."

Further, participants also internalised these externally-imposed discourses of essential difference into their personal narratives. Despite claiming a New Zealand national identity, several participants qualified such claims with acknowledgements that they would always be seen as migrants. Kaitlyn, for instance, reflected that despite her best efforts at integrating, she would never cross the boundary into being considered a local in New Zealand.

> *I'm just kind of in the journey of being a more of a local, I suppose, I mean I suppose I will never be a local will I, in terms of you know people look at me and if I weren't born here and I don't speak that way and probably I will never, can't be a local but as local as I can get, I suppose. (Kaitlyn, 06B: 734-737)*

On another level, these residual boundaries were also self-imposed and reinforced by participants. Even with intercultural exposure and social interaction, relationships with Kiwis often did not penetrate into participants' inner circles or provide the same emotional depth as

family and friends from the culture of origin. For instance, despite Siti's acceptance into a Kiwi

family and her performance of a wide variety of Kiwi consumption practices as part of this

family, she still felt disconnected from them and still desired to return "home" to Malaysia.

Even though Siti represents a participant in the higher end of exposure to New Zealand cultural

consumption activities, and her consumption performances suggest that she has embraced and

adapted well to New Zealand culture, such behavioural adaptations do not overcome a deeper

sense of ennui.

> *My Kiwi family is there but, ah... [laughs] the connection is not as strong I suppose*
> *because we don't share as many aspects in life 'cause here [Image 02: Immediate*
> *Family], you know, we share values, religion, other things. And this one we only share,*
> *you know, some values, some overlapping values, so the connection is still not there.*
> *(Siti, 13A: 1508-1511)*

In this vein, Hue (23B: 326-327) stated that without her Vietnamese friends, "you're really

alone in a country that you know you can't belong to. You don't really belong to anywhere."

At its core, being a migrant connoted a deep sense of estrangement from a familiar

reality, with a set of known truths and a rooted genealogy. Manny, for instance, experienced a

discombobulating inversion of deeply held truths in having to translate Asian patriarchal values

to liberalist and egalitarian values in New Zealand.

> *When you move this, this "true" situation from Asia to this situation in New Zealand, it*
> *becomes false. And how are you going to deal with uh something that you all the while*
> *knew was true becoming false all of a sudden? (Manny, 10B: 296-298)*

Further, while Samson (07B: 1225) saw "loss of contact, loss of family member, loss of

comfort" as "part and parcel of migration," he also discussed the role of family, Singaporean

friends, and transitional objects to "keep you sane" (Samson, 07B: 263-279) in the face of the

confronting defamiliarisation of one's known reality. Thus, alongside a pervasive sense of

alienation is a need to come to terms with this sense of estrangement.

Identity Tensions

Participants experienced further tensions in the location and expression of their cultural identities. On one hand, many participants reinforced assimilationist views of acculturation in their desire to blend in with the local culture. 'Blending in' often involved subordinating one's values and practices to mirror dominant cultural norms, as well as alternating between 'natural' expressions of their 'original' cultural identity within their households and strategic performances of cultural integration in public. For these participants, integration was not the unproblematic combination of multiple cultural identities, but rather the overlaying of a strategic 'skin' over and above an essentialised 'core'. James and Kiet, for instance, adopted 'suppression' and 'compliance' as performance modes in order to mirror the expectations of Kiwis.

> *You can dial down, uh which means you, you leave or at least you subordinate your previous assumptions and values you know. And then just adapt or adopt uh the Kiwi way of things, mm. […] When I say, "dialing down," I don't mean my values disappear. I meant in a way that I adopt, um, I adopt the Kiwi practice and you know suppress or at least hold on my, my values. For example, calling people by name regardless of their, their, their age. I was very uncomfortable at first. But when I say I dialed down, then I quickly adapted that one and you know without saying, without using the title, now I'm, I can call with, um, a great degree of comfort. (James, 17B: 398-400; 414-419)*

> *[Interviewer: I'm getting the sense that it's, the integration is only a surface?] Yes! That is so, what I actually mean. Mm, the integration is, you know you are just adapting or adopting mm… the culture, the practices in order for you to have access to or to meet with, with them [Kiwis]. (James, 17B: 473-478)*

> *We're [skilled migrants are] probably wanting to be able to, to react or respond, it look like complying with whatever they [New Zealanders] want to be. But in reality, at home or at your single unique nuclear family then you just do whatever you want and try to maintain your identity. (Kiet, 16A: 279-281)*

At the same time, such performances were also experienced and perceived as artificial facades by performers, who experienced negative sanctions from both local and migrant audiences. For instance, Paul (04B: 498-529) initially affected a Kiwi accent, even practising in front of the mirror, in an attempt to "blend in," but dropped the act after a few days when he

felt it was "artificial." Further, as Boon (20B: 1569-1570) explained of local Kiwis, "the more you want to behave like them, the more they will tell, they will know that you are trying, and they don't like it, because you are not them." As a result, many participants experienced these performances as counterfeits and abandoned initial attempts to minimise their overt differences.

Moreover, while boundaries of belonging were imposed by local New Zealanders (see earlier section on 'Residual Boundaries'), boundaries of belonging were also reinforced through practices of identity surveillance within subaltern communities. An overwhelming number of participants (21 participants, 113 text units) perceived those who assimilated 'too much' as insecure and artificial pretenders who were abandoning their own culture. As Aini (25B: 1463-1465) declared, "It's not honest being somebody else you know, it's like pretending or… being something that we are not or being somebody that we are not. It's, it's, for me it's pretending. It's not honest." Paul further labelled such performers as "try hards":

> *[Interviewer: What do you think about Filipinos who, as you say, "try on"?] [Laughs] I cringe… I'm getting goose bumps, like there's, I feel ashamed for them [laughs], like "aww"… But they don't know it of course. They feel that they're Kiwis now. So there's those… Oh! Here's another concept in Tagalog that's best expressed which cannot be expressed in English. "Trying hard." […] Trying hard in the Philippines means… you're trying hard to be fashionable that it's embarrassing. Like an old man trying hard to be a young man. (Paul, 04B: 532-539; 545-547)*

In these ways, participants were caught within a postcolonial identity bind (Bhabha 1984; Spivak 1987), experiencing tensions between the desire to become the privileged Other but facing sanctions from both locals and fellow subalterns in performing these desires.

These tensions were reflected in identity disjuncture and hybrid modes of identification, which were expressed in various ways. For instance, Ed (01A: 2053-2054) considered himself to be neither a Filipino nor a New Zealander, concluding that "I am in a limbo," while Paul (04B: 880-881) asserted the hybrid identity of a "Kiwi-Filipino." Participants also frequently expressed disjuncture between their ethnic identity and national identity, often discursively constructing their ethnic identities as essential and irrefutable in contrast to the fluidity of

national identity. Abby (03A: 1632-1634), for instance, asserted that "Basically we are Asians. You see? We are Asians. You can't deny that although even if you migrate, change our nationality but it's still, the blood, the skin, we are still Asian."

Because of these residual boundaries and identity tensions which confound participants' attempts to locate their cultural identity, participants found themselves in an ambiguous space, partly inside and partly outside of the culture of residence. Boundary performances can thereby be understood as mere counterfeits which functionally perform and approximate belonging, but which do not produce genuine experiences of being-at-home within the culture of residence. In these ways, while boundary crossings into the culture of residence were desired and attempted through boundary performances, these crossings remained incomplete.

Counterfeit Crossings within the Culture of Origin

More surprisingly, it was also found that participants were unable to recapture the unproblematic sense of belonging to and being-at-home within their cultures of origin. Because attempts to consume home in New Zealand often resulted in a sense of incompleteness, such forms of consumption exacerbated participants' feelings of dislocation even further. As simulacra of the country of origin, the practices of consuming home in New Zealand functioned as surrogates, which imperfectly approximated the structure of feeling of the home culture. Hence, the culture of origin was essentialised and romanticised as the destination of ultimate return and exerted a strong pull on participants' desires for the future. At the same time, attempts to return 'home' through physical homecomings were ultimately unrealisable.

The Siren Call Of 'Home'

Despite acquiring the markers of settlement and reconstituting consumption practices associated with the culture of origin, many participants expressed feelings of ambivalence in

considering New Zealand as their home. This suggests that the structure of feeling of being-at-

home could not be completely reconstituted across borders. Objects, sites, and practices take

on different meanings in different cultural contexts; once re-enacted in a different cultural

context, they become hybrid reconstructions – copies of an original. Further, in enacting

boundary performances associated with 'home' in a new cultural context, these boundary

practices evoke the home which one has left behind and bring into relief its Otherness within

the new cultural context. Therefore, reconstituting home in a place which is not home can also

provoke feelings of dislocation. Indeed, many participants referred to New Zealand as a *second*

home, a simulacrum of the home left behind. Aini, for instance, had no intention of leaving

New Zealand, and yet maintained a distinction between Indonesia as her "home at heart" and

New Zealand as a "home to live":

> *We do a lot of hard work to, to make, make New Zealand as a second home probably*
> *because we can't erase uh who we are and where we're coming from even though…*
> *[Interviewer: Second home?] Yeah, I mean home in… at heart, not home to live, you*
> *know, that feeling. (Aini, 25A: 1599-1607)*

Many participants further expressed a desire to "one day" return to the homeland.

Contrary to the discourse of migration as a permanent move, these participants discursively

constructed migration as a long-term sojourn which holds the promise of an eventual return to

the country of origin. Here, the country of origin was mythologised as the placeholder of one's

family, biography, and genealogy. As Kiet (16B: 112) declared, "my root is always my home

country." Ardhi further reflected on why Indonesia exerted such a strong pull on his psyche. As

his comments illustrate, returning to Indonesia was not only an individual desire, but reflected

a wider familial and cultural expectation.

> *It's funny feeling I think. It's just, you were born there and you wanna go back there*
> *[laughs]. You just wanna pass away there. It's just a funny feeling I think. It's just…*
> *can't explain it. I can't explain why um people at the end want to go back. But I think*
> *it's just that strong connection. […] For my uncle that live in, in [Western country], he*
> *already not only [resident] now he is already got the citizenship of [Western country],*
> *but he still want to go back. He is now 60…7 years. No hang on, 64 years. So he still*

> *want to go back one day. […] So it's already expected. (Ardhi, 18B: 760-763; 767-769; 787-788)*

For some participants, the siren call of home created ongoing uncertainties and tensions about the location of home. Tamsin, for instance, felt a strong "push-pull" between Singapore and New Zealand, describing both lives as "incomplete."

> *If I go back to Singapore now, it's incomplete as well, because I've got my life here [in New Zealand]. So I've been here long enough that um I've sort of established two homes… And um, so they, in a sense it's very much um, my family is at home. Um, the city I grew up in is at home. Um, so there are a lot of things that I still really like, and really miss. Um, I've still got problems at home, it's not like I don't, like 'cause I've left, they've gone. Um, I do wonder about if I'll ever move back home as well. (Tamsin, 08B: 242-248)*

Further, several participants made parallel references to retiring, passing away, or having their remains returned to the country of origin. These fundamental desires to physically return to one's "root," especially "at the end," reflect a wider 'myth of return' (Anwar 1979). The myth of return further echoes the final stage of the archetypal hero's journey (Campbell 1973): the return home. As the expected terminus of the migrant map, the return home reflects a wider pattern in cultural narratives of migration and journeying.

Impossible Return

At the same time, participants who attempted to re-inhabit 'home' through physical returns to the country of origin found that their desires to recapture home were unrealisable. For these participants, the experience of home had changed irrevocably. As has been recently observed by scholars of sociology, "homecoming is approached not as a return to one's origins, but as a movement that implies dislocation and displacement and puts the homecomer in a position that is, in important ways, not essentially dissimilar to that of a stranger" (Bielsa, Casellas, and Verger 2014). In this study, it was found that participants' sense of dislocation when returning to Southeast Asia occurred for two main reasons. First, the 'home' that they re-entered was not

the same as the home that they had left behind. Wei (09A: 177), for instance, found himself re-orienting to changes in the built environment and perceptible shifts in his old friendships in Malaysia, such that he felt "like you're a tourist again." In her most recent visit to Singapore, Tamsin experienced jarring temporal dislocations as a result of the physical relocation of her familial home, and consequently the dislodgment of a lifetime of memories that had been embedded in that place, as well as the aging of her family members.

> *The government has this thing called on-block, where they move you out of your old house, into a new house. And um, we had to pack up the old house completely and things like that. And I walked past the old house and I just see it and there was all these memories, there was all… and it's just going to go to a shopping mall now. Which happens to everyone. But it's more than just my apartment block, it's, a whole area is gone. It's gonna change, crazy. And the whole area has changed. And, which is funny because that [Image 14] reminded me of the old house in a sense you know. 'Cause I, before I came to New Zealand I had an amazing time there. It was actually really fun, and um… And that shift actually tilted my Dad into… we haven't diagnosed it, but potentially mild dementia as well. So, so that whole move um, so that familiarity with being home is, is sort of gone now. 'Cause everything's changed. And my nieces and nephews are so much older. My sister who came down from [Western country] with her family is all different. So it's, that whole experience has changed. (Tamsin, 08B: 854-867)*

Second, participants found that they themselves had changed and could no longer inhabit and experience the home culture in the same way that they used to. For instance, while Aini and her family eagerly sought 'original' food when visiting the home country, they felt acute disappointment in the inability to realise and match the memory of home. Given the importance of food as the most immediate sensory embodiment of the familiar, the inability to reconstitute it completely even in the home country represents a fundamentally disorienting experience.

> *When we going back [to Indonesia] we taste the original food and we thought, "Oh it's not that nice." Yeah true! So that's sort of strange feeling actually. Yeah it's not as nice as, because maybe our taste bud has been um adapted to, to the dishes here [in New Zealand] for so many years and then when we go back home and we try to taste that dishes that we used to taste before, it taste, didn't taste the same as we thought it would be. Because we can't record you know the taste, or maybe our taste bud has changed, or maybe they have different ingredients now, or you know there are a lot of fake things back home now. Chicken, uh they swap with uh maybe mouse or whatever. It's just…*

we don't know. [Interviewer: How does that feel when you're trying to recapture it and you can't?] Disappointment [laughs]. Disappointment, a lot of disappointment. [...] Things has changed. (Aini, 25B: 679-692; 696)

In these ways, acculturating consumers found themselves desiring and yet failing to consume home on two fronts: within the country of residence and within the country of origin. Whether or not one physically returns to the country of origin, the act of migration is an act of leaving home for good; home is rendered as an impossible myth. Even if home remains as a focal point of return, mobility reconfigures and denaturalises who the migrant is within it, resulting in the disorienting experience of finding oneself a stranger in a place which once was home. The performance of 'returning home' is plagued by a sense of incompleteness and counterfeit: these performances appear, but do not feel, the same as the original.

SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

This chapter has presented the findings from two-part depth interviews conducted with 26 Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand. In addition to providing contextual information regarding the participants, this chapter has detailed the major constructs, themes, subthemes, and illustrative text units with respect to the following motivating research questions: What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers? How do these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations? It was found that participants enacted a range of boundary performances which involved an interwoven set of boundary objects, sites, and practices. Boundary performances contained plurivocal meanings and were characterised by multiple paradoxes and binds. In particular, the consumer texts revealed two recurring tensions underlying boundary performances: a tension between settlement and dislocation, and a tension between agency and mimicry. As a result of these tensions, participants felt a deep disjuncture: on one hand, studiously acquiring and consuming the exterior trappings of boundary crossing, and on the other hand, coping with an interior sense of being 'stuck at the border'. In short, boundary performances resulted in counterfeit crossings, enabling the *appearance* of successful border crossing but lacking the unproblematic *experience* of being-at-home in either the culture of residence or the culture of origin.

Chapter V: Discussion and Conclusion

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Having presented the interwoven, multi-layered, and ambivalent performances enacted by acculturating consumers, what then does the performance of acculturation 'do' to consumers' boundary negotiations? What do these findings mean for consumer acculturation theory? This chapter turns to these questions and discusses the import of the study's findings in relation to the identified gaps in the consumer acculturation literature. In particular, the following discussion develops an understanding of the disconnect between structures of feeling and structures of action in acculturation by further developing the concept of counterfeit crossing – a boundary performance which *appears* successful on the surface but fails to completely produce the desired *experience* of being-at-home. In doing so, this chapter introduces new theory which reframes dominant assumptions in consumer acculturation theory. To conclude, this chapter will summarise the study's key contributions for marketing academics, marketing practitioners, and public policymakers, as well as outline limitations and directions for future research.

DISCUSSION

As scholars of consumer acculturation have previously highlighted, in the context of accelerated global mobility, a clearer understanding of how consumption performances aid or inhibit the settlement of mobile consumers is an issue of increasing pertinence. In order to better understand the role of consumption performances in migrant settlement, this study aimed to explore two research questions. The first research question was: What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers? This research question was addressed in the Findings chapter,

which explained how consumers enact a range of boundary performances involving an interwoven set of boundary objects, boundary sites, and boundary practices. However, underlying these boundary performances were recurrent tensions between settlement and dislocation, and between agency and mimicry.

The second research question was: How do these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations? It has already been discussed in the Findings chapter that, while boundary performances created the *appearance* of border crossing, consumers wrestled with a deeper *experience* of being 'stuck at the border'. This profound disconnect between structures of action and structures of feeling is further probed, re-lensed, and elaborated in the following discussion. It is argued that boundary performances promise three different types of identity value at the boundary: *symbolic value*, *embodied value*, and *dwelling value*. However, the slippages between these three dimensions of identity value then produces tensions between settlement and dislocation, and between agency and mimicry. Ultimately, 'successful' performances of border crossing are undermined by these slippages and tensions, resulting in counterfeit crossings. Further extending current theories of border negotiation, this discussion also presents three new coping performances deployed by acculturating consumers in the face of an ongoing inability to completely cross cultural boundaries: *subverting* status and cultural boundaries, *multiplying* status and cultural boundaries, and *elevating* mythic boundaries.

Figure 3 provides a conceptual model of how boundary performances shape the boundary negotiations of acculturating consumers. In line with the principle of the hermeneutic circle (Klein and Myers 1999; Spiggle 1994), Figure 3 emerged out of multiple rounds of reflexive iteration between emic and etic perspectives. Using the initial diagram in Figure 2 in the Findings chapter as a starting point, the empirical findings in this study were iteratively re-lensed and reconsidered in relation to current assumptions in consumer acculturation theory and a range of interdisciplinary theoretical perspectives, resulting in the conceptual model as

presented in Figure 3. While the constructs and relationships in gold have been previously uncovered and discussed at length in the literature, the constructs and relationships in black represent extensions to consumer acculturation theory. The pivotal concept of counterfeit crossing, in particular, will be discussed in depth.
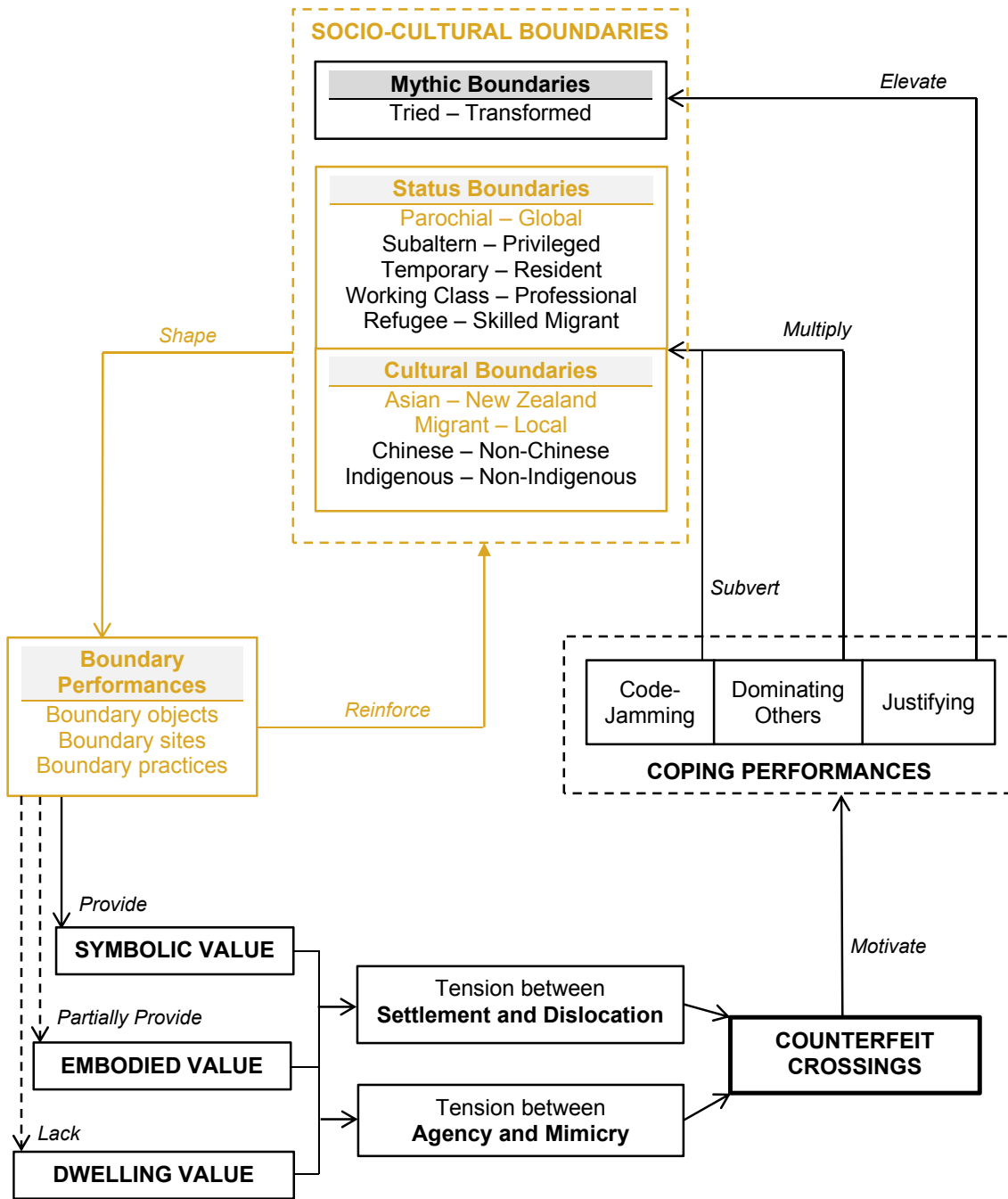
Figure 3
A MODEL OF BOUNDARY NEGOTIATION IN CONSUMER ACCULTURATION

Counterfeit Crossings

To conceptualise the profound disconnect between structures of action and structures of feeling in the performance of acculturation, this thesis draws on the metaphor of 'counterfeit' which is commonly associated in marketing with the realm of counterfeit goods and branding. According to the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (2014), a counterfeit is "something that is made to look like something else… and likely to be mistaken for something of higher value." In a similar vein, counterfeit goods are copies of genuine articles which are usually of inferior quality (Lai and Zaichkowsky 1999) and "mimic certain characteristics of genuine goods" (Staake, Thiesse, and Fleisch 2009, 321). In these various usages, counterfeit refers to that which is an imitation or pretence, but also that which appears as something which it is not. Balkun (2006, 7-8) analysed the plurivocal meanings of the idea of 'counterfeit' in relation to identity performance and consumption:

> [Counterfeit] has connotations that the word "impostor" does not. "Counterfeiting" is associated with making and with reproduction, associations that are consistent with a study that looks at the intersection of people and material culture. […] On the one hand it implies deception and trickery, but on the other it can mean to "resemble, be like (without implying deceit)."

As such, counterfeit crossings refer to boundary crossings which appear successful on the surface but are not experienced as 'real' or genuine. This sense of counterfeit refers to both the objects, sites, and practices which are consumed as substitutes for something else as well as a subjective way of being not quite 'inside' a social world (cf. Linnet 2010a). Similar to consumer experiences of counterfeit consumption, which are often motivated by aspirations to perform prestige (Wilcox, Kim, and Sen 2009), counterfeit crossings are motivated by the desire to perform mobility across cultural categories and signal status and belonging in multiple cultures. However, counterfeit crossings are plagued by an element of artificiality, lack, and

incompleteness. Because counterfeit crossings are always experienced in reference to a more highly privileged original, these performances carry symbolic value along socio-economic dimensions but cannot effect the same degree of experiential value.

As presented in the Findings chapter, boundary performances are highly structured modes of social action which involve multiple objects, sites, and practices. Indeed, the degree of patterning in these performances across the acculturating immigrants in this study suggests that boundary performances may perform important social functions. These structured modes of action highly resemble rites of passage – socially shared and highly codified rituals which serve to transition individuals from one social role to another and strengthen social ties within groups (van Gennep 1960). For immigrant consumers in particular, boundary performances may provide a template for action which promises to effect separation from, or incorporation into, the multiple cultures that they inhabit, thereby facilitating movement to and from the 'inside and 'outside' of these cultures. In essence, consumers are driven to enact and re-enact boundary performances because they promise movement across cultural boundaries.

The implicit promise that consumption enables border crossing has also been largely reinforced within consumer acculturation theory. Here, consumption practices have largely been conflated with identity positions, with less attention given to the relationship between the consumption practices that consumers perform and how such performances affect how consumers understand and experience their own identities. As Luedicke (2011) has highlighted, behavioural outcomes need to be more clearly linked to individual and social identity consequences. However, it is difficult to avoid conflating structures of action with structures of feeling when this conflation is also reinforced in consumer narratives. Within this study, for instance, acculturating consumers pointed to shifts in their consumption practices as evidence of their ability to settle in New Zealand. The underlying reasoning is that, if one performs the acceptable modes of consumption, one will then 'cross the border' into a culture.

However, as the findings of this study have recurrently shown, this implicit promise of consumption remains incompletely realised: participants were unable to fully return 'home' or fully enter the 'host' culture. Despite participants' proficiency in performing the expected rites of passage to mark identity transitions, and their ability to engage in a wide range of local social circles, their narratives remained fraught with ongoing tensions. While boundary performances marked identity transitions on the exterior level, enabling participants to display their upward status mobility and acquired cultural competency, boundary performances failed to catalyse identity transitions on the interior level. Even as participants performed 'home' through nostalgic practices, they felt both comfort and disappointment. Even as participants gained cultural competency and proficiency in performing 'local' practices, they still felt like cultural outsiders and did not feel completely at home in New Zealand. This echoes Ahmed's (1999, 343) characterisation of migration as a "process of estrangement" and Flusser's (2003, 25) analysis of the experience of the migrant:

> *All three phases of the process are unsettling: being expelled, wandering in the void, and finally, being beached somewhere. The first phase unsettles us out of the ground that supports our reality; the second exposes us to unreality; the third transports us into an unacceptable second-degree reality.*

As such, attempts to consume both the culture of origin and the culture of residence were marked by counterfeit, with participants competently performing the motions of socio-cultural entry and yet finding themselves partially dislocated in relation to the multiple cultures they inhabit. In this way, the consumption of culture in acculturation remains unfulfilling, a 'reaching for' but not grasping. Boundary performances are like weak incantations: repeatedly performed by believers in search of the promise of transformation, who then find that the transformation only occurs on the surface.

The concept of counterfeit crossing, which has emerged as a central finding in this study, contributes to consumer acculturation theory in several unique ways. Broadly, counterfeit

crossing reframes current knowledge on the relationship between the performance of structured consumption practices and their impact on consumer experience in consumer acculturation. In particular, it is proposed that the current understanding of 'culture consumed' (Askegaard et al. 2005) in consumer acculturation remains incomplete without acknowledging the dimension of counterfeit, artifice, and incompleteness experienced by acculturating consumers in their boundary negotiations.

In addition, the concept of counterfeit crossing calls attention to the slippages between the exterior and interior layers of consumers' boundary negotiations. In doing so, this concept integrates divergent interpretations of cultural consumption as both a form of postmodern fluidity (Oswald 1999; Sutton-Brady et al. 2010) and as a source of phenomenological struggle (Askegaard et al. 2005). While consumer acculturation theorists have pointed to phenomenological struggles that arise in and through consumer acculturation processes (Askegaard et al. 2005), the concept of counterfeit crossing further brings into relief three key paradoxes and contradictions at the heart of consumer acculturation and discourses of global mobility: a contradiction between the outward appearance of mobility and the interior experience of immobility; a tension between postmodern mutability and existential authenticity in mobile consumers' experiences of cultural identity; and a paradox between the importance and incompleteness of cultural consumption in an era of accelerated global migration.

First, the concept of counterfeit crossing calls attention to a fundamental paradox between the appearance and experience of consumer acculturation, with the acquisition of the symbols of border crossing contradicting the interior immobility and ambivalence experienced by consumers. Even as acculturating immigrants enact a highly routinised and scripted set of performances in their attempts to inhabit multiple cultures, these performances are mere carapaces which mask an incomplete and ambivalent metamorphosis: one does not fully return home or become local. As Bielsa et al. (2014, 64) noted, the experience of displacement even

in homecoming calls attention to the "existential limits to the international mobility of people."

The repetition of boundary performances may be predominantly symbolic: enabling consumers

to index economic and social identities which are in line with an ethos of upward socio-

economic mobility, but not enabling one to become the cultural Other or to completely feel at

home in a new country. In contrast to the majority of current frameworks which, by definition,

tend to conflate consumption practices with identity outcomes, this first paradox suggests that

a single consumption act may actually produce uneven effects on different layers of consumer

identity.

The concept of counterfeit crossing therefore challenges the definitional conflation of

structures of action and structures of feeling in consumer acculturation theory. Such a conflation

would assume, for example, that consuming like a local indicates assimilation, while adapting

elements of both local and home cultures indicates integration. Instead, this study qualifies the

relationship between consumption and border negotiation, and in doing so, prompts a

reconsideration of the key acculturation outcomes or identity positions derived from Berry's

(1997) postassimilationist framework. In particular, it is proposed that the identity positions of

assimilation, integration, and maintenance are more accurately described as *counterfeit*

assimilation, *counterfeit* integration, and *counterfeit* maintenance. First, the availability of

assimilation as an identity position for acculturating consumers is called into question. The

findings of this study suggest that assimilation is not possible for acculturating immigrants, as

it is held in tension with a deeper sense of separation and Otherness. Rather, assimilation-*like*

practices are continually undermined by tensions between agency and mimicry. Second,

extending previous findings about the existential tensions associated with the identity outcome

of integration (Askegaard et al. 2005), integration for immigrant consumers was found to be an

overlaying of strategic performances over an already formed core self. While consumers may

appear to be fluidly moving between identity positions on the surface, the consumer narratives

in this study revealed that the consumption of Other cultural practices was not only experienced as a source of tension (Askegaard et al. 2005), but also as a strategic performance or façade. Third, the identity position of maintenance is similarly problematic. As we have seen, attempts to recapture the familiarity of home are undermined by tensions between settlement and dislocation, such that attempts to reconstitute and maintain practices from the culture of origin were both comforting and disorienting. Therefore, the notion of cultural counterfeiting stands in contrast to Mehta and Belk's (1991) notion of pastiche consumption. While pastiche consumption is celebratory, the concept of counterfeit crossing emphasises the difficulties and conflicts experienced in performing a cultural origin. In these ways, the proficient performance of border crossing is continually undermined by the experience of counterfeit, artifice, and incompleteness.

Thus, in contrast to the majority of consumer acculturation research which has largely focused on what consumption enables acculturating consumers to do, this study focuses on what consumption does *not* do. de Burgh-Woodman (2013, 302) for instance asserted that the "constant encountering of Otherness [in globalisation] irrevocably shifts our own identity… and brings the Other in close proximity." However, the results of this study suggest that these 'shifts' remain at the surface and sign level. While previous scholars have discussed how conflicting desires are related to conflicting consumption practices (e.g. Thompson and Tambyah 1999), this thesis highlights a different contradiction: consumption behaviour can be both successfully performed and yet felt to be inauthentic and incomplete. These insights suggest a more complex and multifaceted relationship between consumption performances and consumer experience than has been previously theorised.

The second paradox at the heart of consumer acculturation concerns the paradox between postmodern mutability and existential authenticity in consumers' experiences of cultural identity. While acculturating consumers were able to 'culture swap' between multiple

cultural codes, contrary to Oswald's (1999) argument, it did not follow that they saw their cultural identities as mutable. Even as acculturating consumers performed multiple cultural identities with a sense of postmodern playfulness, this was also held in tension with a deeper existential conflict about cultural authenticity. In contrast to the celebration of postmodern playfulness (Oswald 1999), cultural playfulness may arguably be a coping mechanism which enables consumers to mask an inner sense of profound anxiety. In this way, a crisis of cultural identity belies the playful veneer of postmodern consumer reflexivity.

Providing further support for Askegaard et al. (2005), the participants in this study expressed concerns about existential authenticity, with recurring anxieties about abandoning one's 'real' cultural identity and roots. As a further extension to Askegaard et al. (2005), authenticity concerns tended to be heightened when performing as the cultural Other. In contrast to the 'natural' and essentialised performances of cultural codes from one's country of origin, the performance of Other cultural codes was seen as temporary and strategic, akin to wearing a disposable garment. Rather than the 'mutable self' theorised by Oswald (1999) or the oscillating pendulum theorised by Askegaard et al. (2005), the boundary negotiations in this study were found to be layered rather than horizontal: the consumers in this study maintained a clear distinction between a mutable skin and an essentialised core.

Finally, the concept of counterfeit crossing calls attention to the paradox between the heightened importance and immanent incompleteness of cultural consumption in an era of global mobility. The intensification of migration towards industrialised metropoles (Leal 2011) coincides with the dearth of traditional rites of passage which facilitate the incorporation of 'outsiders' into these very societies (Giddens 1991; Northcote 2006). As Adams (2006, 512) has observed, "[t]he binding power of tradition and social structure has ebbed away […] resulting in a post-traditional and individualizing society." In the absence of formalised symbolic performances which enable movement from one status, social position, or social role

to another, consumption performances have supplanted more traditional mechanisms for incorporation and have become pivotal in immigrants' attempts to inhabit multiple cultures. While the permanent residence letter and citizenship ceremony may still function as State-sanctioned rites of passage for immigrants, the types of boundary performances described in participant narratives suggest that the experience of home is increasingly mediated by market performances. Scholars of consumer culture have similarly reinforced the ideology of consumption, celebrating the central role of consumer culture and market-mediated performances in facilitating entry into multiple social worlds.

Flusser (2003, 6), however, questioned whether migrants could really ever achieve 'heimat' (the German word for being-at-home) through the mechanistic performance of the expected modes of consumption:

> *Sociologists would like us to believe that foreigners (such as sociologists or persons without a heimat) can learn the secret codes of heimat, because after all, the natives had to learn them too, which confirms the meaning of initiation rites among so-called primitive peoples. A person without heimat should therefore be able to wander from one heimat to another and settle in each one, if only he carries with him all the necessary keys needed to unlock them. But the reality is very different.*

As Flusser (2003) foreshadowed in his philosophical writings, consumption is similar to a broken bridge; its promise remains unfulfilled. In a similar vein, the concept of counterfeit crossing calls attention to the pitfalls of over-reliance on market-mediated performances as a bridge to immigrant settlement.

Why, then, is consumption not delivering as promised? Why is there a gap between the performance of acculturation and the realisation of what it promises? An explanation can be found in a closer look at the recurrent tensions underlying boundary performances. As outlined in Figure 3, it is proposed that boundary performances promise three distinct types of identity value at the boundary, or effects on consumers' social identities and subjectivities: symbolic value, embodied value, and dwelling value. It is then argued that boundary performances carry

uneven effects on these three types of value, thereby producing tensions between settlement and dislocation and tensions between agency and mimicry. Boundary performances can be understood as surrogates and mirrors – cultural counterfeits – which merely *approximate* the experience of crossing into these cultures.

In particular, drawing on Baudrillard's (1994) theory of the simulacrum, the tension between settlement and dislocation is lensed as a disconnect between the cultural original and the cultural simulacrum which frustrates migrant consumers' attempts to fully return 'home' to their culture of origin. Further, drawing on the concept of subaltern mimicry from cultural studies (Bhabha 1984; Spivak 1987), the tension between agency and mimicry is lensed as a historically ambivalent relationship between the privileged (colonising Westerner) and the subaltern (colonised Easterner) which undermines immigrant consumers' performances of dominant cultural practices in Western metropoles. While boundary performances may mark border crossing on the surface level, enabling participants to display status and cultural mobility, boundary performances fail to catalyse a sense of being-at-home on the interior level. In enabling only partial and often superficial passage, the promise of boundary performances as rites of passage into a culture remains incompletely realised. Because of these tensions, immigrant consumers find themselves perpetually 'stuck at the border'.

Symbolic Value, Embodied Value, Dwelling Value

To trace the chasm between structures of action and structures of feeling in consumer acculturation, it is proposed that boundary performances promise three distinct types of identity value at the boundary, or effects on multiple layers of consumers' social identities and subjectivities: symbolic value, embodied value, and dwelling value. Within consumer culture theory, identity value has been seen to accrue from, or be eroded by, multiple sources such as brands (Holt 2004), commercial mythmaking (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Luedicke,

Thompson, and Giesler 2010; Thompson and Tian 2008), advertising consumption practices (Jayasinghe and Ritson 2013), singularised objects (Epp and Price 2010), and heterogeneous consumption communities (Thomas, Price, and Schau 2013). Based on the empirical findings of this study, it is further proposed that for acculturating consumers, boundary performances confer uneven effects on different layers of identity value.

On one level, boundary performances provide symbolic value, enabling acculturating consumers to index and display movements between multiple social identities. For instance, acquiring a house in New Zealand carries the connotation of upward status mobility, enabling acculturating immigrants to mark and express a shift from a situation of transience and uncertainty to one of settlement in New Zealand. Similarly, acculturating immigrants use food to express the ideals of global mobility, with the consumption of Kiwi food connoting a willingness to adapt to New Zealand culture and the consumption of a wide range of multicultural cuisines suggesting cosmopolitan sophistication and cultural openness. As such, the dimension of symbolic value is to do with performances that index a consumer's socio-economic status and cultural mobility. Because boundary performances connote whom one is in a society, the dimension of symbolic value tends to be exterior facing. However, this is not to diminish the importance of this dimension or to suggest that symbolic value carries immaterial effects on consumers' lives; indeed, the fervour with which status-related performances are pursued and performed suggests otherwise. However, the effects of such performances largely remain at the instrumental, strategic, or expressive level. By saying something about the consumer's socio-economic status or cultural adaptability, symbolic performances primarily enable consumers to functionally navigate the new cultural context. Indeed, the signalling function of boundary performances enables acculturating consumers to perform 'as if' they have crossed the border and, notwithstanding disruptions stemming from wider socio-cultural discourses and stereotypes (Luedicke 2011), largely enables others to

perform accordingly. In this way, boundary performances enable the mimesis of local integration and acceptance.

Symbolic value is significant in both a social and individual sense. By enabling consumers to mark and claim positive progress towards a life that is now better than the one left behind, boundary performances provide consumers with symbolic indices to show (to both themselves and others) that their migration journey was not undertaken in vain. In this way, symbolic value is important as it enables consumers to mentally justify and rationalise their decision to become migrants and to cognitively reconcile themselves to living far away from their homeland. In short, they enable consumers to be 'at home in the mind'.

On a deeper level, boundary performances provide embodied value by enabling consumers to reproduce familiar routines for orienting the body spatially, temporally, and socially in a new environment – enabling consumers to be "at home in the body" (Thompson and Tambyah 1999, 228). Migrant consumers are faced with multiple embodied disorientations, which stem from differences in the physical environment, differences in its temporal rhythms and routines, and differences in its forms and norms of sociality. In short, migration involves not only a cognitive adjustment but an embodied one. In addition to the dimension of symbolic value which enables cognitive adjustments, boundary performances are also used to enable these embodied adjustments.

This distinction between symbolic and embodied value is illustrated in Collins' (2008) distinction between the use of cultural consumption to signal "group loyalties" versus the "importance of practical know how, familiar sensations and sociality in feelings of belonging and attachment in everyday lives." Ahmed (1999, 341) further underlined the role of the body in migration:

> *The journeys of migration involve a splitting of home as place of origin and home as the sensory world of everyday experience. What migration narratives involve, then, is a spatial reconfiguration of an embodied self: a transformation in the very skin through*

> *which the body is embodied. [...] So, while Parminder Bhucha's question about*
> *migration is 'how is cultural baggage relocated?' (Bhucha, 1996: 284), mine would be,*
> *'how do bodies reinhabit space?'*

By considering how bodies reinhabit space, it can be seen how boundary performances – such

as the consumption of food from the country of origin, the reconstitution of the familial home

through the acquisition of a house and the re-performance of what family means, and the

reproduction of cultural rituals within subaltern communities – function as navigational bases

or anchors within the new environment. Like oases in a desert, these performances confer a

degree of embodied familiarity in the face of multiple disorientations.

However, in contrast to current views of embodiment in theories of acculturation and

mobility (Bardhi et al. 2010; Thompson and Tambyah 1999), it was found in this study that the

embodied value provided by boundary performances often remains partial and incomplete.

Bardhi et al. (2010, 148) for instance found in the context of tourist consumers that the

consumption of familiar foods constitutes "a symbolic process of restoring the fragmented

world of these travelers through reconstructing the sensory totality of the home abroad."

However, because the tastes, smells, sociality, and practices associated with food consumption

in one's memory of the country of origin could not be satisfactorily replicated in New Zealand,

participants found such consumption to be incomplete and ambivalent experiences. While

participants derived comfort from these boundary performances, participants simultaneously

felt a degree of disappointment and lack. In contrast to current views of embodiment in

acculturation and mobility, in which consumers reconstitute familiar embodied practices to

achieve familiarity and reconstitute a sense of home (Bardhi et al. 2010; Emontspool and

Kjeldgaard 2012; Thompson and Tambyah 1999), it was found in this study that the embodied

value provided by boundary performances often remains partial and incomplete.

Finally, at the deepest level, boundary performances promise dwelling value, a structure

of feeling of being 'at home in the heart'. Dwelling is a Heideggerian (1971) concept that refers

to a sense of being rooted within a place, characterised by a natural intimacy with an environment and a sense of ease with who one is within it; it is the absence of ambivalence and dislocation. Further, drawing on spatial metaphors, to dwell is to be within a zone of refuge or shelter. Griffiths and Pozesky (2010, 30) explain Heidegger's concept of dwelling further:

> *In Heidegger's sense, dwelling is rooted in the evocation of a tangible relationship with the earth upon which one lives, but it extends much further. Dwelling is more than just living, and more even than simply living on the land one happened to be born on. It means relating to that land as a homeland, a dwelling place. A dwelling place is a home in the sense defined by Martin and Mohanty—of a place that feels culturally congruent and supportive of a "secure, safe, familiar, protected, and homogenous identity" (1987).*

In contrast to symbolic value, dwelling value is more interior-facing and tied to deeper concerns about who one is and where one truly ought to be. In contrast to embodied value, dwelling value exceeds notions of familiarity and touches on intangible affect – a structure of feeling (Williams 1977). This conceptualisation of home as a structure of feeling further resonates with Ahmed's (1999, 341) analysis, where she argues that "[t]he question of home and being at home can only be addressed by considering the question of affect: being at home is here a matter of how one feels or how one might fail to feel."

The concepts of *heimat* (Flusser 2003) in cultural studies and *hygge* (Linnet 2010a) in consumer culture theory can be used to understand the interior experience of being-at-home. *Heimat* is a German term that carries connotations of a deep connection to a homeland (Flusser 2003). Furthermore, the sense of being-at-home suggested by *heimat* tends to remain unspoken and even unconscious. Flusser (2003) notes that, "If the code [of home] becomes conscious, then its rules are exposed as something banal and not sacred." Within consumer culture theory, the understanding of dwelling has been significantly advanced by Linnet's (2010b, 2) analysis of Danish *hygge* as a specific instance of interiority in consumer culture, which is described as the "feeling of being in a well known, secluded space or even shelter" and "the experience of "inner space" as a form of identification and placement rather than a relation to spatial form."

The conceptualisation of dwelling value in this study extends recent scholarly engagements with embodiment and dwelling by showing that embodied familiarity and a structure of feeling of being-at-home are distinct concepts. While Linnet (2010a; 2010b) and Thompson and Tambyah (1999) conceptualised dwelling as the reproduction and repetition of familiar forms, this thesis underlines slippages between the dimensions of embodied familiarity and the structure of feeling of being-at-home. In contrast to the harmony between symbolism, embodiment, and dwelling that Linnet (2010a; 2010b) found with Danish locals, it was found in this study that the reproduction of familiarity in an embodied sense does not easily translate into the experience of being-at-home. Thus, the reproduction of embodied familiarity does not necessarily beget dwelling value.

Contrary to Linnet's (2010a, 202) assertion of a "universal human ability to create zones for dwelling," it seems that in migration, there are no zones of refuge to be found. Even in 'familiar' social structures and objects, the immigrant consumers in this study did not experience the sense of being-at-ease as exemplified by Danish *hygge*. As has been observed in the participant narratives, even though many participants were able to successfully perform status and cultural competence in New Zealand, and to some extent consume the familiar, these forms of consumption were held in contradiction with a deeper sense of not-being-quite-at-home either in New Zealand or in their country of origin – of being existentially dislocated. Beneath the veneer of successful settlement, participants betrayed a chronic and deep-seated sense of homelessness and alienation in their narratives. Thus, the loss of dwelling in the context of migration is not a geographical, material, or even embodied loss, but a subjective one. Griffiths and Pozesky (2010, 30) explained the loss of dwelling in the context of migration:

> *One experiences what Heidegger calls homeliness because one is truly at home in one place—and thus, inevitably, less at home in other places. This is why it is so difficult to leave one's dwelling place and move to another. The move is much more than just leaving one geographical site for another. One has to learn to "dwell" on other*

"earth," with different "mortals," under another "sky" and to learn the nature of other "gods."

Furthermore, even though there are a number of studies which examine the concept of homeyness in social and commercial settings (Debenedetti, Oppewal, and Arsel 2014; Linnet 2010b), this thesis calls attention to the ways in which migrants' attempts to create homeyness are continually challenged and undermined. As will be discussed in greater detail in the next section, this is because 'familiarity' in migration is experienced as a second-order reality, a copy of something else. This counterfeit quality impedes the ability to completely dwell or be present in the experience, as the shadow of lack remains immanent in this consumption experience. By extending the concept of dwelling through the components of embodied value and dwelling value, this study calls attention to the slippages and disconnection between these dimensions of identity and subjective experience.

By integrating the different dimensions of boundary negotiation in consumer acculturation through the dimensions of symbolic, embodied, and dwelling value, and mapping the uneven effects of consumption practices on these different dimensions, this framework enables marketing scholars to better understand the relationship between the exterior performances of consumer acculturation (structures of action) and deeper experiential outcomes (structures of feeling). In the current literature on consumer acculturation, these dimensions have either remained implicit or have been discussed independently of one another. Consequently, scholars have not been able to map the impact of consumption practices on different layers of consumers' border negotiations, or to map the slippages between these layers. This thesis addresses this gap and demonstrates that, for acculturating consumers, consumption practices enable the appearance of socio-economic integration (symbolic value), partially enable the achievement of embodied familiarity (embodied value), and do not enable a natural sense of being-at-home in a new environment (dwelling value).

This framework further augments the current predominance of the 'learning and socialisation' perspective and emerging perspectives on embodiment in consumer acculturation theory (e.g. Bardhi et al. 2010; Thompson and Tambyah 1999) with a more holistic view that considers the relationship between symbolic identity, embodiment, and structures of feeling. With the distinction between symbolic, embodied, and dwelling value in mind, it can also be seen that identity positions in consumer acculturation theory have largely been focused on the symbolic level, with an emphasis on how consumption norms are transmitted, practised, and contested. For instance, Luedicke's (2011) latest model of consumer acculturation includes consumer motivations, competences, and practices – a view which is very much in line with the view of acculturation as a goal-directed task which emphasises the acquisition of skills and knowledge (to gain symbolic value) in order to achieve the instrumental, indexical, and expressive effects of consumption performances. By using this study's framework, scholars can reframe the view of acculturation agents beyond its focus on norm transmission and socialisation and consider the role of acculturating agents in the production of embodied comfort and a sense of dwelling. In this thesis, for example, it was shown how media are not only agents of socialisation, but also perform important emotional functions as emotional surrogates for home. Considering these multiple dimensions of identity value, it can be seen how the structured modes of action in consumer acculturation might be related to, or disconnected from, deeper concerns beyond the 'how-to' of living in a new cultural context. By clarifying these dimensions, this thesis emphasises that acculturation is not just about instrumentality, but also encompasses aspects of producing embodied comfort and phenomenological rootedness (embodied value and dwelling value).

Tension between Settlement and Dislocation

Moving further in the interpretive model, it can be seen how the partial disruptions to embodied value and the inability to achieve dwelling value give rise to tensions between settlement and dislocation. Deconstructing this recurring tension between settlement and dislocation, it is proposed that this recurring tension is due to an unbridgeable gap between a cultural original and a cultural simulacrum which frustrates the mobile consumer's desire and attempts to recapture the familiarity of home. Even as consumers performed concerted and repeated efforts to re-constitute the home left behind, these performances engendered conflicting feelings of both settlement and dislocation. The consumption of home – which included the reconstitution of food practices and ritual celebrations with familial and subaltern communities, the maintenance of relationships with family and friends left behind, and physical return visits to the country of origin – approximated the culture of origin and thereby provided a degree of familiarity to consumers. However, these performances were simultaneously experienced as unsatisfactory and disappointing substitutes for experiences remembered from the country of origin. Hence, the consumption of home in migration was consumption at a remove: what migrants consumed was not home *per se*, but its decontextualised and recontextualised facsimile. The consumption of home in migration was, at its heart, undermined by a gap between the original and its simulacra – on one hand, fuelled by the desire to recapture a lost original, and on the other hand, fraught with the frustration of finding only imperfect surrogates.

The tension between settlement and dislocation can be better understood using Baudrillard's (1994) distinction between the original and the simulacrum, which offers a productive lens for understanding the problem of consuming home in mobility. The original connotes an object or a way of being which is real, natural, and essential; it possesses the qualities of substance and authenticity that typify the experience of being-at-home. The simulacrum, in contrast, is a mere likeness which superficially resembles the original, but lacks

key elements and fails to adequately encapsulate its qualities. As such, the simulacrum connotes an inauthentic and inferior stand-in which, in its essence, is incomparable to the original.

Adapting Baudrillard's (1994) concepts to consumer acculturation, it is proposed that the consumption of home in migration always occurs within and through cultural simulacra – objects and practices which are *something like* home and are therefore simultaneously comforting and disorienting. While immigrant consumers desire cultural origins, roots, and authenticity in their attempts to consume home, such desires can only be materialised in the form of simulacra which evoke and yet fail to adequately capture the original experience. This gap creates a veil between consumption and fulfilment, and between performance and realisation. Because the consumption of home in migration is the consumption of simulacra, even the most familiar and essential boundary performances, such as food consumption and familial practices, can become defamiliarised and disorienting.

On one level, the dislocation experienced by immigrant consumers is a spatio-territorial one (Bielsa et al. 2014), stemming from differences in material practices between the culture left behind and the culture now inhabited. Material practices such as food consumption, for instance, take on different meanings in different cultural contexts, and especially so when one crosses a national border. Once re-enacted in a different cultural context, it becomes a hybrid reconstruction – a copy of an original. Further, in performing boundary practices which reconstruct a home culture within a different cultural context, these boundary practices evoke the home which one no longer inhabits and its Otherness within the new cultural context. In this way, boundary performances are merely substitutes which consumers use to approximate original structures of feeling. Indeed, the undercurrent of dislocation in consumer narratives of consuming home suggested that structures of feeling associated with home could not be properly reproduced across cultural boundaries, and that the original meanings of consumption objects and performances could only be fully realised in the country of origin.

On another level, the dislocation is a temporal one, stemming from differences between one's memory of a lost past and one's experience in the present. This is because migration breaks the continuity of one's relationship with the home country for an extended period of time, thereby rendering one unable to fully recapture an unproblematic sense of belonging to the culture of origin that may have been taken for granted prior to migration. As we have seen, physical return visits to their country of origin did not remedy consumers' sense of dislocation. Instead, such visits reinforced the sense that one could no longer 'be-at-home' in a place which once was one's home. Because leaving home reconfigures one's social relationships and embodied tastes, one cannot re-enter the home country as the same person. Even with physical border crossings, both the migrant and the country of origin have changed, resulting in experiences of estrangement in a place that was once familiar. As Ahmed (1999, 343) writes, "it is impossible to return to a place that was lived as home, precisely because the home is not exterior to a self, but implicated in it." Thus, in contrast to displacement, which has been widely used as a term in cultural studies (e.g. Bielsa et al. 2014), dislocation better represents a sense of existential uprooting that exceeds the sense of being physically removed from a place of origin. Bielsa et al. (2014, 66) further write that:

> Homecomers face difficulties and ruptures, not merely because they need to adapt to a place that has been transformed as much as they have changed themselves in their absence, a place which is familiar and yet strangely foreign, but also because they encounter explicit resistance, or ambivalence at the very least, towards the newness which they represent.

Further, practices of memorialisation, in which the culture of origin is vivified and takes on a special role in the migrant's imagination, create an ever further disconnect between the memory and reality of home. Because of the tension between settlement and dislocation, consuming home in migration can be a deeply alienating experience for acculturating consumers.

The tension between settlement and dislocation offers several novel contributions to the current literature on consumer acculturation. First, this tension reframes acculturation agents as

sites of contestation and ambivalence. While previous studies have framed acculturation agents as positive spaces of learning about and socialisation into the new environment (Lindridge et al. 2004; Luedicke 2011), this study reframes acculturation agents such as family, friends, and ethnic communities as ambivalent and contested sites which produce feelings of both familiarity and dislocation. In particular, with regard to the consumption of food in mobility, this study extends Bardhi et al. (2010) by demonstrating that the experience of 'home' food is laced with feelings of both comfort and disappointment.

Furthermore, by emphasising that the consumption of home in migration is an ambivalent rather than a positive experience, this study stands in contrast to the work of consumer acculturation scholars who have primarily viewed nostalgic consumption in positive terms. Lindridge et al. (2004, 219) for instance posited that "nostalgia might be used to resolve some of the cognitive dissonance which arises from immigration" while Stamboli-Rodriguez and Visconti (2012) re-conceptualised nostalgic consumption as "not only an effect of acculturation but also a powerful part of it." More recently, Holak (2014, 185) conceptualised nostalgia as a "psychosocial mechanism, which allows individuals to cope with major life transitions." Other scholars in this vein have collectively framed the consumption of the home culture as a positive source of identity and comfort through transition (Askegaard et al. 2005; Bardhi et al. 2010). Paradoxically, it was found in this study that nostalgic consumption, which has been theorised as a central coping mechanism in the face of dislocation, itself gives rise to feelings of dislocation.

In addition, while this is not the first study in consumer acculturation to conceptualise the difficulties of reconstituting home in a new cultural context, these have mainly been attributed to ideological conflicts. A number of pioneering studies in consumer acculturation have underlined the inherent tensions experienced in consuming 'home' in a place which is not home. Expatriates in Singapore, for instance, yearned for the familiarity of home but held these

desires in tension with desires for travel, novelty, and exploration (Thompson and Tambyah 1999). Squatters in urban Turkey used the ritual of knitting from their originating villages as a "potent ritual of counterhegemonic identity construction" (Üstüner and Holt 2007, 49). Jafari and Goulding (2008, 73) similarly showed how UK-based Iranians used "commodified cultural symbolic mediators" to reaffirm a self and identity and covertly resist the dominant order. Thus, these tensions have been commonly attributed to ideological conflicts between the values of a consumer's originating culture and externally imposed pressures to appear assimilated, integrated, or cosmopolitan. In addition to issues of ideological conflict (discussed further in the following section on 'Tension between Agency and Mimicry'), the tension between settlement and dislocation provides an additional explanation for the alienating effects of consuming home in mobility. By introducing the tension between settlement and dislocation, it can be seen how such ideological conflicts are further compounded by additional processes of cultural and temporal dislocation which are arguably inherent to migration narratives.

Moreover, this study helps to reframe the story of homecoming. While homecoming has been predominantly understood as a return to one's origin and roots, and therefore framed as a positive experience for consumers, this study calls attention to the ambivalent experience of consuming home in physical returns to the home country. By explaining tensions in consuming home predominantly through ideological conflict, an implicit assumption is that these conflicts are only present within the new cultural context and that, therefore, physical returns to the country of origin are predominantly positive experiences. Askegaard et al. (2005, 166), for instance, showed that for Greenlandic immigrants living in Denmark, enacting physical border crossings back into their country of origin provided a way for them to "recharge their batteries." Gaviria (2012) further explained how 'homecoming tendencies' enabled successful Latin American migrants living in Belgium to maintain their presence within their countries of origin even after many years of living overseas. In contrast, this study lends support to recent studies

(Üçok and Kjeldgaard 2006; Üçok-Hughes 2012) which have shown that physical returns to one's country of origin can be profoundly alienating. Extending previous explanations (Üçok and Kjeldgaard 2006; Üçok-Hughes 2012) that the phenomenon of alienated homecoming arises from barriers to capital translation, this thesis introduces the tension between settlement and dislocation as an additional explanation for this surprising finding. While Thompson and Tambyah (1999) focused their analysis on how the 'the ideal of the local' is mythologised as a desired way of being, it is shown in this thesis that even with physical border crossings into the country of origin, the ideal of home is similarly experienced as elusive.

Tension between Agency and Mimicry

Another key tension that emerged in the findings was the tension between agency and mimicry. Even as the immigrant consumers in this study performed concerted and repeated efforts to consume the practices of the dominant Kiwi culture of New Zealand, these performances were undermined by conflicts between agency, the desire for performances which reaffirm one's original cultural identity, and mimicry, the desire to mirror expectations imposed by wider power structures. Thus, the tension between agency and mimicry arises out of conflicts between the desire for embodied and dwelling value and the desire for symbolic value.

The tension between agency and mimicry underlines the dramatic difference between *performing* the practices of the dominant culture and *belonging* within it. Mimetic performances, which included the acquisition of status tokens and the mirroring of local consumption rituals, facilitated functional entry into the host culture by enabling consumers to accrue status, minimise the appearance of difference, and enter into local social conversations. At the same time, these attempts to establish status and belonging in their new cultures of residence were continually confounded through negative sanctions on multiple fronts. Hence, the tension between agency and mimicry illustrates broader conditions of modernity (Giddens

1991), whereby the increased reflexivity of identity within post-traditional societies is experienced as simultaneously liberating and troubling. Performing as the Other was negatively sanctioned and perceived as artificial and inauthentic by members of the dominant culture, members of subaltern communities, and participants themselves. In this way, the consumption of the dominant culture in migration was undermined by tensions between agency and mimicry – on one hand, fuelled by the desire to cross the border into a new culture, and on the other hand, undermined by wider socio-cultural discourses which devalue these performances.

The tension between agency and mimicry can be better understood through theories of postcolonialism which trace how complex historical legacies of Western colonialism and cultural imperialism have produced an historically ambivalent relationship between the privileged (associated with the image of the Western coloniser) and the subaltern (associated with the image of the colonised Easterner). This power dynamic, in which the practices, values, and ways of knowing of the Western coloniser are privileged, has been produced through Orientalist discourses and representational modes which construct Eastern cultures as exotic and backward, and therefore vulnerable to colonisation (Said 1978). Orientalism has also relegated colonised Easterners to the position of the subaltern, a marginalised subject who is outside of the cultural and political centre and who is a silent and passive victim of colonial forces (Spivak 1987). Within colonial and postcolonial contexts, then, the dynamic of mimicry (Bhabha 1984) describes the imitation by subaltern subjects of the behavioural patterns of their colonisers. However, because the coloniser is a subject of not only privilege but also envy and distrust, the dominated subaltern's mimicry of the privileged norms of the coloniser's culture produces ambivalent effects: on one hand, according status to the individual, and on the other hand, rendering him culpable in reproducing structures of domination as well as abandoning his cultural identity.

Adapting these concepts to consumer acculturation, it is proposed that the consumption of local cultures and the promise of border crossing is continually undermined by a tension between agency and mimicry. Even though colonialism is a relic of the past, the dynamics of mimicry continue to play out in relationships between immigrants from previously colonised immigrant-sending nations and locals in immigrant-receiving Western metropoles. For the immigrant consumers in this study, growing up in Southeast Asia meant being exposed to wider socio-cultural discourses in which Western ideas, practices, products, and identities were privileged and, consequently, possessing a Western education or overseas experience in a Western nation is seen as a status marker. Indeed, the ongoing flow of migration towards Western metropoles such as New Zealand and the fervent consumption of local cultural products by immigrant consumers is driven by the desire to acquire these privileges.

However, the legitimacy of such performances is continually undermined by practices of cultural boundary maintenance, including practices of exclusion by members of the local culture and practices of identity surveillance within subaltern communities. Further, the findings of this study suggest that the negative sanctions for attempted boundary crossings may be greater within subaltern communities: many participants expressed strong views that those who 'overassimilate' are artificial pretenders who are abandoning their own cultures and identities. For immigrant consumers migrating to Western metropoles, attempts to consume the dominant Western culture are laced with double binds which continually undermine their projects of status accumulation and cultural integration. While the desire to perform Whiteness (Burton 2009) exerts a powerful influence on boundary performances, it also produces significant identity tensions.

The tension between agency and mimicry offers several novel contributions to the current literature on consumer acculturation. First, this tension extends current understandings of the boundary between migrants and locals using the lens of postcolonial theory. While

scholars have already conceptualised important conflicts between cosmopolitan ideals and desires for home (Thompson and Tambyah 1999), between village ideologies and urban consumer culture (Üstüner and Holt 2007), between theocratic ideology and the promise of emancipatory consumption (Jafari and Goulding 2008), and between desires for status consumption and externally imposed stereotypes about immigrants (Luedicke 2011), this contribution further highlights the importance of postcolonial discourses in creating an additional layer of tension and conflict in consumers' boundary negotiations. In particular, this concept highlights how postcolonial discourses produce conflicting desires to both perform and resist Whiteness, thereby creating ambivalence in the practice of consuming the dominant culture.

In addition, the tension between agency and mimicry answers Üstüner and Holt's (2007) call for further research into dominated consumer acculturation. While our sample of skilled Southeast Asian immigrants does not experience the same lack of resources as their sample of poor women in Turkish squats, their crossing is similarly incomplete due to the operation of postcolonial discourses and identity tensions. Beyond the lack of capital (Üstüner and Holt 2007) and ideological conflict (Jafari and Goulding 2008), this thesis introduces the tension between agency and mimicry as an additional factor which undermines and constrains migrants' projects of assimilation and integration.

Furthermore, in addition to processes of exclusion by locals (Luedicke 2011), it was found that practices of identity surveillance within subaltern communities played a significant role in the maintenance of boundaries between migrants and locals. Thus, acculturating immigrants' identity narratives are reflexively constructed not only in relation to host cultures but also migrants from other cultural backgrounds (Giddens 1990). In Luedicke's (2011) recursive theory of consumer acculturation, it was proposed that identity outcomes are externally conditioned and delimited by wider socio-cultural discourses, as revealed through

key moments of social interaction in which locals affirm or reject migrants' consumption practices. In addition to the local gaze, it has emerged in this study that the subaltern gaze may play an even greater role in legitimising or delegitimising migrants' consumption practices. For example, many participants enforced or experienced sanctions against the performance of English, which was seen as an artificially affected performance of the ex-coloniser's tongue. In this way, it can be seen that an historical ambivalence in the relationship between the ex-coloniser and ex-colonised continues to structure interactions and produce postcolonial identity binds which constrain the identity projects of acculturating immigrants.

Coping with Counterfeit Crossings

Hence, immigrant consumers find themselves in an unsettling position: driven to perform by a desire for cultural entry and chronically unable to fully realise this desire – they can only ever consume cultural counterfeits and can only ever become cultural counterfeits. With the tension between settlement and dislocation and the tension between agency and mimicry creating an ongoing disconnect between the performance and realisation of cultural entry, how do acculturating consumers cope? The following section discusses three answers to this question. As can be seen in the conceptual model in Figure 3, while boundary performances often reinforced and left unquestioned wider socio-cultural boundaries, some boundary performances also transformed and shifted wider socio-cultural boundaries. Further extending theories of boundary negotiation in acculturation, these coping performances are presented: subverting status and cultural boundaries through code-jamming practices, multiplying status and cultural boundaries through dominating practices, and elevating mythic boundaries through justifying practices. In addition, their implications for the understanding of boundary negotiations in consumer acculturation research are considered.

Subverting Status and Cultural Boundaries through Code-Jamming Practices

In the face of externally imposed cultural discourses, codes, and stereotypes which constrained the identity projects of immigrants in their new country of residence, immigrant consumers did not remain passive and powerless. Rather, acculturating immigrants subverted cultural boundaries through practices of code-jamming, whereby they playfully performed both positive and negative stereotypes about Asians and immigrants in their everyday social interactions. Code-jamming is a hyper-reflexive mode of performance which involves unexpected inversions of dominant hierarchies or unexpected combinations of usually separate cultural codes, usually performed using ironic, parodic, and humorous modes.

On one level, these code-jamming practices were adaptive ways of bridging intercultural boundaries and entering multicultural spaces with marginalised identities. By deploying recognisable cultural stereotypes about their own cultural groups, Southeast Asian immigrant consumers were able to demonstrate a sophisticated awareness of prevailing cultural discourses and reflexively acknowledge the expectations of others. Paradoxically, even though stereotypes about Asians and immigrants were largely negative, they provided a recognisable language for navigating the ambiguities of intercultural interaction, thereby facilitating connection across cultural borders and enabling functional entry into multicultural spaces such as the workplace.

Beyond their connective effects, code-jamming practices additionally served to interrupt, redirect, and reframe intercultural interactions. Often, code-jamming practices were characterised by the hybrid juxtaposition of seemingly incompatible cultural categories: ethnic migrants who speak flawless English, minorities who talk back, and bad drivers who might not necessarily be Asian. In articulating these complex hybridities (Bhabha 1990) and 'ironic dualisms' (Leveen 1996) which are characteristic of skilled Southeast Asian migrants, these modes of cultural consumption undermined cultural oppositions between Caucasians and

Asians, home culture and host culture, and locals and migrants. In this way, code-jamming practices resonate strongly with Snell-Hornby's (2001) 'hybrid text', a text written by the ex-colonised in the language of the coloniser, hence creating a new language and a space in-between. Code-jamming practices therefore represent a moment of potential disruption and revelation for both the stereotyper and stereotyped. By providing a way for immigrant consumers to play with, comment on, and subvert dominant cultural boundaries, code-jamming practices provide a way to reflexively interrupt and resist the wholesale imposition of reductive cultural dichotomies on consumers' individual identities.

Furthermore, the practice of code-jamming carries additional significance when immigrant consumers are viewed through the lens of the subaltern. The subaltern refers to a diminished subject who has been historically assumed to be a silent and passive victim of colonial forces (Spivak 1987). Indeed, modes of silence, compliance, and conflict avoidance, which characterise subaltern subjectivity, continue to be dominant performance strategies for the immigrant consumers in this study (see 'Masking Practices' in Findings). Code-jamming, on the other hand, provides a way for the subaltern immigrant to reclaim and re-assert agency, status, and voice. Many participants used self-caricature to not only refuse being marginalised by negative stereotyping, but also used intercultural stereotyping and nostalgic humour to create shared identification within subaltern communities. Through code-jamming practices, negative stereotypes are cumulatively being recoded into positive and productive codes by those who experience their marginalising effects. Such reclamations of negative codes attached to Asians and migrants parallels the historical re-appropriations of the word 'black' (Kennedy 2002) within African American communities in the United States and the word 'queer' (Jagose 1996) within lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities. In this way, code-jamming practices have become part of the discursive re-production and re-formulation of culture.

This intriguing finding offers several novel extensions to consumer acculturation theory. First, this finding demonstrates that stereotypes are not only experienced as negative constraints, but are actively used by acculturating consumers as resources for boundary negotiation. While acculturation scholars have shown that cultural stereotypes form a significant part of the wider cultural discourses encountered by acculturating consumers and called attention to the constraining effects of cultural stereotypes on migrants' identity projects (Jafari and Goulding 2008; Luedicke 2011; Tolstikova and Molander 2012), this finding additionally suggests that acculturating consumers actively re-consume and re-appropriate these stereotypes for their own purposes in their intercultural interactions. Despite the reductive and often negative effects of cultural stereotypes, code-jamming practices empower consumers to creatively re-claim and re-code wider socio-cultural discourses in positive and productive ways.

In addition, beyond the effects of cultural discourses on consumers, this finding helps to advance initial discussions of consumer agency in acculturation (Luedicke 2011; Regany et al. 2012). While Luedicke (2011) has modelled acculturation as recursive processes in which migrants are both influenced by and contribute to wider socio-cultural discourses, this proposition was a largely conceptual one. In particular, it remained unclear whether consumer practices could affect wider socio-cultural discourses, and through what practices this might occur. This finding addresses both these literature gaps, first by providing empirical evidence for the recursive effects of consumer practices on cultural codes, and second, by offering code-jamming as a specific practice of consumer recursivity.

Moreover, code-jamming practices suggest a different dimension of reflexivity and agency than previously theorised. In consumer acculturation, cultural reflexivity has been largely represented as a process of acquiring competency in multiple cultural code systems and being able to perform different codes in different situations. For instance, while Oswald (1999)

has previously examined acculturation using the concept of a "semiotics of performance" (Oswald, 1999, p. 313) and Veresiu and Giesler (2013) have recently framed ethnic entrepreneurship as the performance of nostalgic Otherness, these conceptualisations of performance have assumed a relatively structural view of cultural identity. Even though consumers were shown to fluidly move between multiple cultural and class-based identities, the underlying cultural codes which constitute these cultural categories remained unquestioned.

In contrast, with code-jamming, cultural categories are not merely reproduced; they are knowingly critiqued. In contrast to code-switching (Oswald 1999), the performance of nostalgic Otherness (Veresiu and Giesler 2013), or the strategic display of national belonging (Emonstpool and Kjeldgaard 2013), whereby acculturating consumers reflexively change their performances to *traverse* cultural boundaries, code-jamming practices represent a new level of consumer agency in which consumers *subvert* dominant cultural boundaries. Therefore, this finding challenges the givenness of intercultural boundaries between migrants and locals. Even though intercultural boundaries were largely reinforced through boundary performances, intercultural boundaries were also subverted and hybridised through the practices of code-jamming. In doing so, this thesis emphasises the role of migrant consumers as active agents in the ongoing re-constitution of wider cultural meanings and discourses. What these code-jamming practices suggest is that consumers are not mere conduits for the expression of pre-existing (albeit multiple) cultural categories, but that they are active agents in interrupting and critiquing the givenness of culture. Ultimately, code-jamming practices represent a novel practice of consumer agency wherein culture is not merely consumed (Askegaard et al. 2005), but also critiqued.

Multiplying Status and Cultural Boundaries by Dominating Others

Another coping performance that was recurrently observed in participant narratives was the discursive domination of less privileged others. While consumers drew on multiple cultural boundaries to perform social entry, they also drew on multiple cultural and power boundaries to assert status and superiority. In the face of counterfeit crossings which undermined their ability to completely be-at-home within the new environment, immigrant consumers asserted their privilege in comparison to 'lesser others' in order to affirm the relative value of their own compromised identity projects. These discursive practices of domination enabled acculturating immigrants to re-emphasise their progress and in doing so, reinforce a 'successful migrant' identity. These forms of domination were directed at a variety of individuals and groups, who were implicitly disparaged based on reduced competences for global mobility and intercultural adaptation, which was variously conflated with immobile mind-sets, ethnic or national origins, residence status, socio-economic status, and age. Through these discursive practices of domination, dominating practices reproduced multiple boundaries of power within and beyond subaltern communities.

These forms of cultural boundary multiplication offer several contributions to consumer acculturation theory. While Üstüner and Holt (2007) and Luedicke (2011) have discussed the domination of acculturating consumers by structural forces such as lack of capital and wider socio-cultural discourses respectively, this is the first study to observe and discuss how acculturating consumers *themselves* perform domination. For skilled Southeast Asian immigrants in particular, differences in competencies for global mobility and intercultural adaptation were discursively deployed in order to claim privilege over these groups. This constitutes a form of symbolic domination, which as Wee and Brooks (2010, 59) explain, "is dependent not only on the complicity of the dominated for its efficacy, but is further facilitated when the 'search for causes' of domination is shifted – as is the case with enterprise culture –

into a 'search for responsibilities'." Therefore, this finding highlights the ambivalent role that acculturating immigrants play with respect to the power imbalances in an era of global mobility – being simultaneously subject to, and complicit in, discourses of power.

Second, this finding challenges the current primacy of the intercultural dyad and encourages the reconsideration of the host culture as the implicit reference group for acculturation. Contrary to models of acculturation which privilege the dyad between home and host cultures (Askegaard et al. 2005), or between migrants and locals (Luedicke 2011), participants in this study placed less emphasis on the role of the host culture as a benchmark for acculturation. More often, acculturation was performed as a way to set oneself apart from less privileged others, which often included members of one's own subaltern communities. While this study reinforces the role of status consumption in the performance of 'successful' acculturation as highlighted by Üstüner and Holt (2007) and Luedicke (2011), this finding de-emphasises the importance of host culture as the benchmark for acculturation and instead suggests that status is performed with respect to a wider network of multiple audiences. In particular, this finding highlights the role of other actors beyond the migrant and the local, which may include other minority groups and indigenous groups. Beyond the dyadic perspective, this suggests that consumer acculturation models may require more of a 'network' and dynamic perspective. As Cohen (1996, 8) observed, "[w]ho we are is largely determined by who we are not. Identity is contingent upon a matrix of alterities, represented (and usually devalued) as exterior to a particular mode of being." In particular, this finding calls attention to the range of boundaries beyond the boundary between migrants and locals (Luedicke 2011) towards a "matrix of alterities" (Cohen 1996, 8) which forms multiple bases for imitation and distinction.

Third, it extends the work of consumer acculturation theorists who have explored multiple boundaries beyond the dimensions of ethnicity and nationality. These include

Thompson and Tambyah's (1999) article which explored complexities in the construction of the boundary between cosmopolitans and locals, and work by Regany et al. (2012) which explored multiple boundaries of ethnicity, nationality, religion, generation, and biography. In the context of skilled Southeast Asian immigrants, these boundaries are layered over and bleed into a range of other boundaries: racialised boundaries between Chinese and non-Chinese and between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples; status boundaries between skilled migrants and refugees, between temporary visa holders and permanent residents, between professional and working class; and age-based boundaries between those who are able to perform intercultural adaptation and those for whom it is 'too late' to acculturate.

Finally, beyond ethnic and national boundaries between the home and host cultures (Regany et al. 2012), dominating practices reproduced multiple boundaries of power within subaltern communities. The fragmentation and construction of boundaries *within* immigrant communities have largely remained unaddressed in consumer acculturation literature, with the exception of Jamal and Chapman (2000) who pointed to consumers' ambivalent perceptions of their ethnic communities. This study reinforces their finding, and further identifies the practices of status consumption and status surveillance within subaltern communities as key sources of tension and ambivalence.

Elevating Mythic Boundaries through Justifying Practices

Finally, in the face of counterfeit crossings, some migrants circumvented cultural boundaries altogether, eschewing the cultural dimension of their identities and instead reclaiming, intensifying, and elevating extra-cultural dimensions of identity, including religious, familial, and heroic identities (see 'Justifying Practices' in Findings). These narratives reflected identity mythoi outside of the cultural dimensions of identity, which in some instances were more central to participants' identity narratives than the dimensions of ethnicity, nationality, or

migrancy. These interior-focused narratives were patterned using mythic story arcs (Campbell 1973) and commonly incorporated themes of heroism and purification. Consumer narratives featured redemptive arcs in many cases: stories of sacrifice and reward, of loss and redemption, of giving up and letting go of what is known in order to find new treasures. Further, there was an ethos of purification or subtraction in these consumer narratives. Like a sculptor chipping away a block of marble to reveal its essence, for acculturating immigrants, the erosion of the superficial trappings of status competition and social mimicry through migration have revealed a deeply treasured personal or spiritual truth. While these narratives stood in tension with actual performances of status accumulation, in deploying these narratives, migrants were able to justify the ongoing frustrations of being 'stuck at the border', elevate the mythic dimensions of their identity narratives, and construct a psychological reward for their struggles and sacrifice.

This finding offers several contributions to consumer acculturation theory. First, this finding calls attention to a wider narrative of migration, a shared story grammar (Mick 1987) which immigrant consumers use to structure and frame their performances and narratives of migration. The mythic elements of being called to adventure, encountering a road of trials, conquering trials while becoming personally transformed, and finally returning home are both central features of the performance map for acculturating immigrants and key elements of the classic hero's journey (Campbell 1973). This further underlines how a narrative view of immigration can complement current social psychological or systemic frameworks of acculturation and reveal insights which have been previously overlooked, or de-emphasised in models of acculturation. In considering this view, this study extends theories of consumer acculturation from a current focus on sociological border crossings such as ethnicity, class, gender, and generation towards a consideration of mythic border crossings which have previously not been observed in consumer acculturation studies.

In addition, this finding challenges the ongoing centrality of the intercultural dyad and the privileging of intercultural boundaries in current models of consumer acculturation. For many participants in this study, the rediscovery of their familial, religious, or individual identities were more central in their narratives of migration than ethnic or national identities. It was particularly striking that familial, religious, and individual dimensions of identity were more readily narrated using a diverse range of symbols in comparison to the dimensions of ethnicity and nationality, suggesting that these narratives carry significant identity value for consumers. Indeed, the positioning of the host culture at the centre of models of consumer acculturation (e.g. Luedicke 2011) seems to be a legacy of assimilationist perspectives, in which the ultimate objective was assimilation into the host culture. Given that consumer acculturation research took a postassimilationist turn 20 years ago, it is time to reconsider whether the home culture-host culture dyad remains a relevant representation in today's multicultural markets. It seems, ironically, that some of the most powerful stories of consumer acculturation may not have anything to do with ethnicity or nationality.

CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis makes contributions in four areas: conceptual contributions to consumer acculturation theory, methodological contributions to qualitative marketing research, contributions to the practice of marketing communications within ethnic and multicultural markets, and contributions to public policy discourses of immigrant settlement. These are each discussed in turn.

Conceptual Contributions

This thesis offers several key conceptual contributions. By departing from the dominant social psychological framework and engaging with a range of interdisciplinary perspectives to inform the reading of immigrant consumer narratives, this thesis introduces new theory which reframes dominant assumptions in consumer acculturation research. As has been illustrated in Figure 3, boundary performances promise three types of identity value at the boundary: symbolic value, embodied value, and dwelling value. Further, the slippages between these different types of identity value produce two key tensions between settlement and dislocation, and between agency and mimicry. Ultimately, this produces an experience of counterfeit crossing, a border crossing which appears successful from the outside but is experienced as incomplete and lacking. Having already discussed the conceptual contributions of each of these key concepts in the previous sections, these key conceptual contributions are briefly summarised in Table 18.

Table 18
Summary of Key Conceptual Contributions to Consumer Acculturation Theory

Concept(s)	Contribution to Consumer Acculturation Theory

Counterfeit crossings	• Extends the current understanding of 'culture consumed' (Askegaard et al. 2005) by highlighting consumer experiences of artificiality and incompleteness in cultural consumption
	
	• Integrates divergent views of cultural consumption as fluidity (Oswald 1999) and phenomenological struggle (Askegaard et al. 2005) by elaborating three paradoxes in consumer acculturation:
	
	    ○ Paradox between outward appearance (structures of action) and inner experience (structures of feeling)
	
	    ○ Paradox between postmodern mutability and existential authenticity
	
	    ○ Paradox between the importance and incompleteness of market-mediated cultural consumption

Symbolic value, embodied value, and dwelling value	• Integrates multiple layers of identity value which have remained implicit or independently discussed in consumer acculturation theory and maps the uneven effects of consumption practices on these multiple layers • Extends the understanding of embodiment in consumer acculturation theory (Bardhi et al. 2010; Thompson and Tambyah 1999) by demonstrating the incompleteness of embodied value • Extends the understanding of consumer dwelling (Linnet 2010a; Thompson and Tambyah 1999) by underlining slippages between the achievement of embodied familiarity and the feeling of being-at-home • Extends the role of acculturation agents beyond learning and socialisation (Luedicke 2011) to the production of embodied comfort and phenomenological rootedness
Tension between settlement and dislocation	• Reframes acculturation agents from positive sites of learning and socialisation (Lindridge et al. 2004; Luedicke 2011) to contested and ambivalent sites • In addition to being a positive coping mechanism (Bardhi et al. 2010; Holak 2014; Lindridge et al. 2004; Lindridge 2012; Stamboli-Rodriguez and Visconti 2012), demonstrates that nostalgic practices can also create feelings of dislocation • In addition to ideological conflict (Jafari and Goulding 2008; Thompson and Tambyah 1999), offers an alternative explanation for the alienating effects of consuming home in mobility • In addition to barriers to capital translation (Üçok and Kjeldgaard 2006; Üçok-Hughes 2012), provides an additional explanation for why physical homecomings can be alienating experiences

Concept(s)	Contribution to Consumer Acculturation Theory
Tension between agency and mimicry	• In addition to ideological conflict (Luedicke 2011) and lack of capital (Üstüner and Holt 2007), demonstrates how postcolonial discourses are another source of conflict and domination for acculturating consumers • In addition to practices of exclusion by locals (Luedicke 2011), underlines how practices of identity surveillance within subaltern communities also reinforce power and identity boundaries
Subverting cultural and status boundaries through code-jamming practices	• In addition to their negative and constraining effects (Jafari and Goulding 2008; Luedicke 2011), demonstrates how stereotypes are also used as resources for identity construction at the intercultural boundary • Extends initial discussions of consumer agency (Luedicke 2011; Regany et al. 2012) by empirically demonstrating a specific practice by which consumers playfully shift wider socio-cultural boundaries • Introduces a novel practice of consumer agency whereby culture is not only consumed (Askegaard et al. 2005), but also critiqued
Multiplying cultural and status boundaries through dominating practices	• Demonstrates how immigrant consumers not only experience domination (Üstüner and Holt 2007) but also perform domination on others • Challenges the centrality of the host culture (Luedicke 2011) as the implicit reference group for acculturation practices • In addition to national, ethnic, and cosmopolitan boundaries (Thompson and Tambyah 1999; Regany et al. 2012), acculturating consumers symbolically construct further boundaries based on race, professional status, and residence status • Extending Jamal and Chapman's (2000) findings of migrant ambivalence towards their ethnic communities, demonstrates how status consumption and surveillance practices further fragment subaltern communities
Elevating mythic boundaries through justifying practices	• First study to demonstrate the role of Campbell's (1973) monomyth in structuring practices and narratives of migration • Challenges the assumed centrality of cultural boundaries (Luedicke 2011) in the identity projects of acculturating consumers

Further Theoretical Extensions

In addition to the key conceptual contributions as reflected in Figure 3 and in Table 18, this study further extends consumer acculturation theory by extending and qualifying current marketing knowledge of consumer-object relationships in mobility, acculturating practices and agents, and contexts of mobility.

Consumer-Object Relationships in Mobility

The findings in this thesis provide important qualifications to current marketing knowledge on the role of objects in performing identity transitions. As Mehta and Belk (1991) demonstrated with a comparative study of Indians in India and Indian immigrants to the United States, transitional objects perform vital functions to the reconstruction of immigrant identity. By materialising and symbolising upward social mobility as well as the culture and relationships left behind, these objects enable border crossing. This thesis offers three conceptual extensions. First, it was found that transitional objects were comprised of two distinct types of objects: iconic objects and indexical objects. In comparison to iconic objects, which symbolised the culture left behind, indexical objects carried a higher degree of authenticity (Grayson and Martinec 2004) by virtue of physical contact with the homeland or with significant others. As such, indexical objects carried a heightened emotional charge for participants. Second, Mehta and Belk (1991) did not distinguish between the use of objects to express multiple cultural affiliations and the use of objects to reconstitute embodied familiarity and order. In this thesis, this distinction was clarified through the proposition that transitional objects provide both symbolic value and embodied value. Third, in contrast to Mehta and Belk's (1991) conclusion that transitional objects enable border crossing, it was found that objects only enable counterfeit crossing. While they provide expressive sign value (symbolic value) and a partial sense of familiarity (embodied value), they did not alleviate participants' sense of dislocation (dwelling

value), and in many instances, exacerbated feelings of dislocation. In this way, transitional objects both reduce, and contribute to consumers' sense of dissonance.

In addition, while scholars have written extensively about the use of objects to anchor and stabilise identities in the country of residence (Askegaard et al. 2005; Joy and Dholakia 1991; Mehta and Belk 1991; Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994), it was found in this study that status objects function as two-way portals which also enable and legitimise homecoming journeys. That is, in addition to indexing one's degree of acculturation in the country of residence, status objects also add credence to the performance of 'successful' returns to the country of origin. The acquisition of a house, for example, has been conventionally conceived as a way of marking permanent or long-term settlement. It was found in this study that the house is also coded as a potent symbol of upward status mobility in Southeast Asian cultures. While the house itself cannot be physically transported into the country of origin, its images and stories are incorporated into the returning immigrant's narrative of successful migration.

Acculturating Practices and Acculturating Agents

The findings of this study also extend current marketing knowledge on acculturating practices and acculturating agents. With regard to acculturating practices, models of consumer acculturation have tended to foreground practices of adaptation which enable boundary negotiation within the country of residence as well as practices of maintenance which enable the reconstitution of identities and relationships from the country of origin (e.g. Askegaard et al. 2005; Peñaloza 1994). Similarly, adaptation and maintenance practices were reflected in this study's findings (see 'Translating Practices' and 'Remembering Practices' in Findings). Extending these previous accounts, this study calls attention to additional acculturating practices in the form of masking practices and practices of conquering the migrant map. In contrast to studies which have emphasised expressive practices in which selves are presented

and 'brought out', this study emphasises the prevalence of masking practices in which selves are protected and 'hidden away'. Despite the importance of acquiring and displaying status in the context of consumer acculturation, these same consumers also deliberately 'lowered' themselves as a way to operate and survive in the new cultural context.

Moreover, while this is the not the first study to observe the role of status boundaries in structuring consumer acculturation practices (Üstüner and Holt 2007), the findings of this study reinforce recent studies (Üçok and Kjeldgaard 2006; Üçok-Hughes 2012) which have shown that status consumption practices are intertwined with practices of homecoming. In addition to maintaining one's presence in the country of origin (Gaviria 2012), return journeys to the country of origin enabled participants to augment their previous identities along the dimensions of status. Because the migrant map was patterned to the archetypal hero's journey, homecoming provided another way to signal one's transition from a struggling migrant to a successful one. As a further extension to these studies, this study shows how status consumption practices are reinforced predominantly within subaltern communities. As we have seen, 'conquering the migrant map' is a socially constructed pattern of status consumption and identity narration. Through the repeated performance and discursive reinforcement of this map, acculturating consumers are exhorted to perform the 'migrant's dream' by displaying key consumption tokens which included permanent residence papers, houses, local qualifications, and cars.

Furthermore, while Bardhi et al. (2010) have discussed practices of acculturation within the context of tourism, this is the first study to discuss practices of tourism in the context of immigrant acculturation. For the immigrant consumers in this study, consuming novel and iconic place experiences throughout New Zealand was a form of social mimicry and status consumption, enabling participants to signal economic self-sufficiency and participate knowledgeably in local discourses of New Zealandness. Further, the desire to perform upward status mobility and cultural knowledge meant that participants often displayed and shared these

travel experiences with individuals in their country of origin. In this way, acculturating immigrants played the role of a brand ambassador for New Zealand. Paradoxically, the performance of short-term mobility may function as a settlement practice, at least within the context of New Zealand.

Finally, this study offers novel findings which extend our understanding of the role of the media (O'Guinn et al. 1986) and transnational culture (Askegaard et al. 2005) as acculturating agents. In particular, this study demonstrates how the circulation of cultural stereotypes within transnational media culture shapes consumers' boundary negotiations. For instance, stereotypes of Asian identities, which were circulated through a range of transnational media texts including social media and advertisements, were re-appropriated into migrants' performances in New Zealand. As a further extension, this study demonstrates how cultural stereotypes are circulated through not only mass media (O'Guinn et al. 1986), but also through social media and advertisements.

Contexts of Mobility

Finally, by examining the context of skilled Southeast Asian immigrants in New Zealand, this study extends consumer acculturation literature with knowledge about additional contexts of mobility. The Southeast Asian immigrants in this study constitute a different type of immigrant from those usually studied in that they possess the social, economic, and cultural capital required to perform global mobility. However, at the same time, postcolonial dynamics create conflicts within their mobile identities.

In particular, it was found that skilled Southeast Asian immigrants incorporated cosmopolitan discourses into their personal narratives, thereby providing evidence of the influence of cosmopolitan discourses outside of the established contexts of expatriates (Thompson and Tambyah 1999) or very mobile consumers (Figueiredo and Cayla 2011). For

example, many participants spoke at length about the importance of having a mobile mind-set and consuming multiculturalism as a way to signal cultural entry with multiple groups. However, in contrast to Figueiredo's (2012) findings, which presented a largely positive view of mobility, it was found that the celebration of multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, and mobility was only held at a surface level and contrasted with a deeper sense of existential conflict and immobility. This raises the question of whether consumption practices in the context of cosmopolitan mobility are limited to instrumental and expressive dimensions.

In addition, the focus on Southeast Asia contributes to an ongoing expansion of the range of sites and ethnicities represented within immigrant consumer acculturation research in marketing. While earlier immigration acculturation studies in marketing were primarily sited in North America (Peñaloza 1994; Oswald 1999) and Europe (Askegaard et al. 2005; Luedicke 2011; Sekhon and Szmigin 2011), this "mega imbalance" (Eckhardt and Dholakia 2013, 4) is slowly being redressed by pioneering studies on Asian consumers and contexts, including studies of expats in Singapore (Thompson and Tambyah 1999), South Asian women in Britain (Lindridge et al. 2004), and first and second generation Koreans in Australia (Sutton-Brady et al. 2010).

Furthermore, the focus on New Zealand as a country of residence provides a different counterpoint to the established contexts of the United States and Europe. In particular, New Zealand has a younger history and a construction of national identity which is more multicultural than the immigrant receiving nations of the United States (Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994) and Europe (Askegaard et al. 2005; Luedicke 2011). Consequently, boundaries between locals and migrants may not be as rigid or as racialised as they may be in the United States and Europe. The findings of this study have further highlighted the difficulties in acculturating to a postmodern consumer culture in which there are competing value and sign systems. Within New Zealand in particular, there is a conflict between the ethos of egalitarianism and upward

social mobility. Because of the lack of a clear alignment between professional status, education, and financial wealth in New Zealand, several participants faced difficulties in clearly distinguishing their place in relation to others in New Zealand consumer culture. In contrast to Luedicke's (2011) Turkish immigrants in Germany who saw themselves as upwardly mobile, participants in this study both subscribed to and were aware of the limits of consumption.

Methodological Contributions

Beyond its conceptual import, this thesis also makes novel methodological contributions to qualitative market research in general and consumer acculturation research in particular. These include the use of multi-modal methods to shift participant narratives towards more symbolic and abstracted reflection, the deployment of open narrative reflexivity to redress researcher-participant power imbalances, and the use of 'impure' sampling based on shared disjunctures and multiplicities rather than shared ethnic or national characteristics.

First, this study deployed multi-modal methods including drawings and an adapted ZMET technique (Coulter and Zaltman 2000; Zaltman and Coulter 1995) as part of the interview process. In particular, this study adapted the visual techniques of the self-portrait and the relational map from sociology (Bagnoli 2009) and demonstrated their effectiveness in capturing the symbolic and narrative dimensions of dynamic consumer identities. These methods not only increased participants' cooperation and trust (Weiser 1988), but enabled them to speak about themselves in a less confrontational way through the use of external objects, photographs, and drawings (Gold 2004; Venkatraman and Nelson 2008). As such, these multi-modal artefacts served as rich entry points into wider conversations about life stories and provided a ready platform for probing questions about their significance to participants. Indeed, the drawings were particularly useful for shifting the interview discourse from descriptive to reflective.

Second, this study carefully deployed open narrative reflexivity (Marcus and Fisher 1986; Thompson et al. 1998) through the use of a two-part interview process. In contrast to the majority of consumer acculturation studies, whereby participants are generally interviewed once (e.g. Oswald 1999) or a subset of participants are re-interviewed (e.g. Figueiredo 2012), all participants in this study underwent a two-part interview process. This intensive process gave participants more time to reflect on their responses, gave participants an active role in the theory-building process, and built relational rapport between the researcher and participant. Indeed, the use of a two-part interview partly overcame the potential issue of participants 'performing' overly positive accounts of migration. Figueiredo (2012, 210) for instance observed that the accounts of multi-acculturated consumers were largely positive and that "future research could go deeper into exploring the material and spiritual emptiness in their lives." As has been demonstrated through the consumer texts in this study, the use of open narrative reflexivity ultimately highlighted the phenomenon of counterfeit in the context of immigrant consumer acculturation.

Third, this study adopts a novel approach to the sampling frame that is used in consumer acculturation research. In choosing to focus an 'impure' sample of Southeast Asian immigrant consumers rather than a 'pure' sample derived from a single national or ethnic group, this methodological decision extends Figueiredo's (2012, 221) recent challenge to "methodological nationalism", which refers to the "assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer and Schiller 2002, 301). Moreoever, this sample better reflects the heterogeneity and entanglement prevalent in today's globalised and postmodern consumer cultures. For example, with consumers who have migrated from Southeast Asia to New Zealand, their point of commonality is not race, nationality, or ethnicity, but paradoxically their multiple points of disjuncture and diversity, with constant slippages occurring between race, nationality, and ethnicity occurring within the "mosaic Asian culture"

which constitutes Southeast Asian identities (Cayla and Eckhardt 2008, 220). This sampling

approach resonates strongly with interdisciplinary views of cultures as heterogeneous (Boyne

2002; Szanton 1998) and entangled (Ang 2003; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Welsch 1999), and with

interdisciplinary views of cultural identities as more broad and complex than nationality and

ethnic origin (Calhoun 2003; Dwyer 1999).

Practitioner Contributions

This thesis offers several contributions for the practice of marketing communications in the

context of increasingly multicultural markets and mobile consumers. As marketing scholars

have previously noted, we need a better understanding of the dynamics and transformations

taking place in markets where cultural boundaries are becoming increasingly porous (Craig and

Douglas 2006; Douglas and Craig 2011). Given that the top 100 cities are the quintessential

multicultural markets and account for close to 950 million inhabitants (Brinkhoff 2013), the

economic impact of such multicultural marketplaces cannot be underestimated. Within New

Zealand, the Asian consumer population is predicted to double over the next 15 years (Statistics

New Zealand 2010). Many New Zealand businesses are now targeting this growing market and

yet struggling to engage in meaningful ways. This thesis offers several insights and areas of

consideration for marketing communications practitioners grappling with these concerns.

Based on the findings of this study, practitioners are encouraged to acquire proficiency in code-

jamming as an emerging 'language' of multiculturalism, to consider other ways of signifying

consumer identities beyond race and ethnicity, and to consider the use of multi-modal and

storytelling methods to uncover the complexities of consumer identities.

First, practitioners are encouraged to consider the emergence of code-jamming as an

emerging 'language' of multiculturalism. As we have found in this study, code-jamming

practices, the playful hybridisation or inversion of cultural stereotypes, are a mode of

performance used by consumers to adaptively navigate the ambiguities of intercultural interaction. It was particularly interesting that consumers observed code-jamming practices within mainstream media (e.g. *The Office*), the Internet and social media (e.g. 'Mikey Bustos' on YouTube, 9gag.com), and even advertisements (e.g. *30 Seconds* 'Spray and Walk Away' television commercial). Indeed, a recent advertisement by the *Heart and Diabetes Foundation* in New Zealand playfully presents Kiwi-Asian comedian Raybon Kan in the role of the 'token Asian' and in doing so, parodies the advertising practice of including token minority actors in order to appeal to diverse ethnic groups. Code-jamming thus represents a growing socio-cultural practice which enables advertisers and consumers to comment on the fluidity and porosity of cultural categories.

Given the pervasiveness of code-jamming as a cultural form, advertisers may be increasingly expected to not only acknowledge cultural diversity, but also play with and contribute to the conversation on cultural diversity. For instance, in the context of a changing population in New Zealand, consumers can no longer be put in pre-defined categories labelled 'typical Kiwi' or 'typical Asian'. Rather, there is a very sophisticated discussion emerging about what those labels mean, how they are changing, and how advertisers might begin talking about these changes. In order to better reflect consumers' lived realities, advertisers may need to move beyond static cultural segments and understand emerging conversations about how cultural identities are evolving. In doing so, advertisers can then engage in more meaningful ways with these dynamic multicultural markets.

Second, it was found that there is a need to reflect increasingly complex and sophisticated identity discourses and narratives in marketing communications within multicultural markets, that is, moving beyond language translation (informational), stereotypical representations, and tokenism. To more effectively engage with growing immigrant consumer segments, marketers will be aided by a deeper understanding of the key

narratives and tensions which shape migrant identity construction. In addition, to more responsibly represent people from various ethnic and place-based backgrounds, marketers need a better understanding of the various, and at times conflicting, narratives shaping the reception of such instances of representation. In particular, marketers will need to move beyond stereotypical definitions and understandings of the 'ethnic market'. Instead, marketing practitioners need to be aware of the multiple identities at play and wider cultural myths which resonate most deeply with immigrant consumers. Nationality and ethnicity are but two of the multiple sources of cultural identity, and in some instances may not be the most important sources.

Finally, in order to further engage with and reflect the complexity of consumers' identities, this study highlights the importance of qualitative methods, and in particular the use of multi-modal methods and storytelling to provide a unique insight into the complexities of consumers' lives. For instance, participants' self-portraits revealed shared symbols of adaptability and flexibility, as seen in the recurring image of the chameleon, as well as shared symbols of freedom and transformation, as seen in the recurring images of the bird and the butterfly. Marketers will do well to become well-versed in the imagery and symbols that acculturating consumers deem important in constructing their identity narratives.

Public Policy Contributions

This thesis also offers several critical insights for public policymakers who are involved in crafting legislation and strategy concerning immigrant settlement. While this study is interpretive and makes no claim to quantitative generalisability to wider populations, the in-depth participant narratives provided a rich and unique window into the complex and multi-layered issues at play when skilled migrants acculturate to a new country. These critical issues, which include the vulnerability of immigrants as consumers, the double-edged role of ethnic

communities in immigrant settlement, and the discursive construction of the subaltern, all represent novel contributions to public policy discussions on immigrant settlement.

The first critical issue highlighted by this thesis concerns the vulnerability and exploitation of migrants within labour markets. Within New Zealand, while the issue of migrant worker exploitation has received considerable media attention and spurred changes to New Zealand's immigration legislation (Woodhouse 2013), this discourse has tended to focus on workers in non-professional occupations. In contrast, the participant narratives in this thesis underline the vulnerability of migrants who hold qualifications and occupy professional roles. By capturing participant narratives about this phenomenon, this thesis provides a complement to previous studies (e.g. Amnesty International 2012; Chan 2001) and calls attention to the serious impact that these forms of exploitation have on individuals and their families.

Moreover, it was found in this thesis that the phenomena of migrant vulnerability and exploitation extend beyond the labour market and into the realms of the housing and finance markets (see 'Road of Trials' in Findings). Because newer migrants were operating within a relative information vacuum, these vulnerabilities were particularly pronounced in the earlier stages of migration. It was particularly striking that, in several instances, migrants were exploited by others from within their own ethnic communities. These recurrent narratives highlight the ingrained power asymmetries inherent within these consumer markets which render immigrant consumers vulnerable to exploitation. Accordingly, checks and balances are necessary in mitigating an over-reliance on individual gatekeepers in these consumer markets. It is particularly concerning that immigrants were vulnerable to exploitation during the process of securing accommodation and purchasing a house, which constitute expensive and life-shaping forms of consumption in their immigration journey.

Further, the findings of this study encourage a careful reconsideration of the role of ethnic communities in immigrant settlement. Government engagement with communities

(which include ethnic organisations) appears to be a key tenet of immigrant settlement strategies in New Zealand at both the national and regional level (Department of Labour 2006; 2007a; 2007b). As Ho et al. (2003, xiii) recommended:

> *Community support programmes should also be developed to help those with less potential to participate in the host society (such as women, youth and older people) to have contacts with people from the same culture, thereby forming a supportive subculture for better social interaction and mutual support. In addition, ethnic communities are important sources of social support for newcomers. They help members maintain pride and cultural identity, which can also facilitate their integration with the dominant society.*

Indeed, the findings of this study suggest that community involvement and leadership provide new ways of being a 'model' migrant. Many participants felt a strong desire to reciprocate the help they received, and because of this, subaltern communities provided a self-perpetuating source of informational and practical support for newly arrived migrants. It is no longer enough to be successful in the commercial and professional sense; there is now a requirement for cultural leadership in order to signal status and voice within the new cultural context.

However, ethnic communities are also spaces of ambivalence, engendering experiences of both acceptance and judgment. While it is unsurprising that prestige consumption plays a large part in immigrant consumption, the intensification of status surveillance within ethnic communities seems to increase the pressures towards performing and displaying status consumption (e.g. home ownership) among subaltern communities. Furthermore, given the importance of performing status within ethnic communities, this suggests that there may be cultures of judgement which render the community ineffective in providing assistance to vulnerable individuals and families. Indeed, it is interesting to consider whether there are systemic silences and sanctions which suppress narratives of trauma or failure to settle. In asking informants what it meant to participate in this study, the researcher had a sense that the chance to tell their stories without judgment was a cathartic experience for many participants. What is surprising, then, is that the community at large may not provide an outlet for such

expressions. Are there sanctions on help-seeking behaviour in the ethnic community, parallel to taboos on discussing mental health issues (Ho et al. 2003)? Beyond a lack of awareness of or ability to contact ethnic communities and organisations (Department of Labour 2006), the findings of this study call attention to another reason for the reluctance of some migrants to access ethnic or migrant community networks.

This has implications for migrant support organisations in their design of mentorship programmes. For instance, current wisdom suggests that migrant mentors are assigned based on a shared country of origin. However, given the dynamics of status performance and judgment within co-ethnic interactions, the best person to provide migrant support and mentorship for an individual may not necessarily be someone from one's own ethnic community. As participant narratives have revealed, mentoring relationships were formed not only with migrants from one's country of origin, but also with migrants from other countries and local Kiwis.

Finally, when considering the level of uptake of migrant settlement and support services, policymakers also need to consider how the language of policy constructs individuals in specific ways, and how this construction acts as a further barrier to the uptake of these services. For instance, participants often perceived migrant settlement support to be something required by others, but not relevant to their own lives. If the word 'migrant' carries negative connotations of subordination and vulnerability, this creates a discursive barrier to the uptake of 'migrant support services'. In a foreword to Ho et al. (2003, ii), Dowland alluded to this issue in writing that "Asian people are not merely 'immigrants', sojourners or refugees, but New Zealanders making significant contributions, with the same wants, needs and desires as everyone else." In this vein, public policymakers need to be aware of the wider cultural myths which resonate most deeply with immigrant consumers. In this way, the State's discursive construction of mobile individuals' social realities can more accurately reflect the ways in which these individuals understand and perform this reality.

LIMITATIONS

The limitations of this thesis arise from several methodological tradeoffs and paradigmatic factors. First, this study involved a purposive rather than a randomly selected representative sample. While the method of purposive sampling allowed for heightened depth and richness of data, the tradeoff was an inability to make any generalisable statements about the population of Southeast Asian immigrants. In particular, the use of the snowballing method (Taylor and Bogdan 1998) employed in this research could have limited the variety of respondents. Because some informants were recruited by previous informants, it is recognised that informants could be members of affinity groups. While attempts were made to interview a variety of informants – the final sample represented a range of countries of origin, areas of work, age groups, and lengths of residence in New Zealand – the recruitment of individuals by snowballing may not be representative of the wider population of Southeast Asian immigrants in New Zealand.

However, this approach is in line with the theoretically-driven and discovery-oriented purpose of this thesis, which was to uncover and explore different dimensions and layers of consumer performances in acculturation. The stated purpose of this research was not to generalise to a population, but rather to strengthen theory through an in-depth exploration of consumers' lived experiences as narrated through text. Rather than providing an overview of a population and generalising the study's findings to all skilled Southeast Asian immigrants, the aim of this research was to provide deep, rich, and highly contextualised insights and further our current understanding about what it means to perform acculturation in the context of glocalised and multicultural consumer cultures. In order to maintain methodological rigour within this hermeneutic paradigm, Klein and Myers' (1999) framework for conducting interpretive studies in information systems and Miles and Huberman's (1994) guide to textual analysis were employed. In line with this paradigm, the researcher makes no claim that the

findings are generalisable to the wider population in New Zealand or further afield; rather, deep insights into consumers' lives have been linked to theory and used to generate theory.

Another limiting factor is that the findings of this study are derived from a sample of 26 participants. This is again a result of a tradeoff between breadth or generalisability and depth or richness of data. Indeed, this has become an acceptable tradeoff as indicated by patterns in the major studies in this area: Mehta and Belk (1991) interviewed 27 informants based in the United States and 11 Bombay-based informants, Peñaloza (1994) interviewed 23 informants, Thompson and Tambyah (1999) interviewed 14 expatriates, Askegaard et al. (2005) conducted interviews with 20 Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark, and more recently, Figueiredo (2012) conducted 41 interviews with multi-acculturated consumers. In comparison, this study involved 52 interviews with 26 participants, with each participant interviewed twice and each interview lasting between 60 to 180 minutes, thereby providing a level of depth and reflexivity in the data which is comparable to major international studies in the area of consumer acculturation theory.

Furthermore, another potential limitation stems from the contextual specificity of the research site: all but two of the participants in this study resided in Auckland. Therefore, the performances in this study largely occurred in the context of Auckland, which is unique in a number of respects: it has a larger proportion of people of ethnic descent and those not born in New Zealand, it is recognised as the most multicultural of New Zealand's major cities, and it receives the largest proportion of newly arrived immigrants to New Zealand. However, the decision to focus on Auckland is justified given that multicultural consumer cultures in cities such as Auckland, Sydney, and Vancouver tend to attract skilled migrants due to these very factors. Furthermore, the case of Auckland provides a contextual counterpoint to North American (Oswald 1999; Peñaloza 1994) and European (e.g. Luedicke 2011) sites, in which the dynamics of multiculturalism have been largely defined in binary terms (majority-minority, local-migrant) owing to longer histories of Anglo-centrism which have resulted in more

established constructions of national identity. It is acknowledged, however, that the findings of this study could also be extended and qualified in other sites with different cultural dynamics.

In addition, a methodological tradeoff arose in the decision to collect data through interviews rather than through ethnographic fieldwork. As such, the data generated from interviews were restricted in that they captured self-reported performance rather than performance as observed in situ. However well planned and conducted the interviews were, the interview interaction did not necessarily mimic real life with respect to either the recall or relevance of boundary performances or the quality of the social interaction. Intense and prolonged ethnographic approaches involving observation of typically mundane everyday life might have offered a more naturalistic setting and provided even more contextualised answers to the research questions posed (Miles and Huberman 1994). However, the definition of the 'field' at the start of the project was unclear. As revealed through the participant interviews, boundary performances took place across multiple sites and with multiple and shifting audiences. This lack of definition of the 'field' was further confounded by the fact that participants were selected for this study due to the complex hybridities that they embodied rather than their specific ethnicity or country of origin. This meant that, while participants performed their identities within similar *types* of sites such as workplaces and subaltern communities, the fields in which participants performed included a diverse and diffuse range of actual sites. As a result of the diffuse nature of the potential fields under investigation, constraints in time and resources limited the researcher's ability to adequately address the aims of this research using observational methods and fieldwork. On balance, the two-part interview approach and incorporation of multi-modal methods were judged to provide a better option for this project.

Finally, this study is limited by a migrant-centric approach, which was adopted in line with the predominant ethno-consumerist framework in consumer acculturation research (e.g.

Askegaard et al. 2005; Peñaloza 1994; Oswald 1999). As Luedicke (2011) has argued and highlighted, incorporating a dyadic perspective involving both locals and migrants may provide a more holistic view of intercultural adaptation and provide valuable insights into the effects of these performances on local's perceptions of migrants. However, as has been argued and found, it is premature to presume that the intended audience for these performances is the host culture. By adopting an ethoconsumerist approach rather than imposing a theoretically-imposed intercultural dyad, it was found that informants performed for multiple and fragmented audiences beyond the dominant culture. In future, it would be of interest to extend this study by considering the perspectives of not only members of the dominant Kiwi culture, but also members of indigenous and other cultural groups which constitute key groups of actors in contemporary multicultural consumer cultures.

FUTURE RESEARCH

This study offers several directions for further research. Given that the main contribution of this thesis lies in the conceptualisation of counterfeit crossing and the slippages between symbolic value, embodied value, and dwelling value, this then raises several intriguing questions. Why is there a deficit of dwelling value? Is there a remedy for this deficit of dwelling?

Further research using alternative conceptual lenses may shed light on these questions. A further inquiry at the level of the 'context of context' (Askegaard and Linnet 2011), for instance, would call attention to the macro socio-cultural forces which shape the phenomenon of counterfeit crossing as experienced by individual consumers. In this vein, one might argue that counterfeit crossings are but one symptom of broader alienating conditions within late modern societies (Adams 2006; Giddens 1991), in which all consumers – both local and migrant – experience consumption practices with varying degrees of counterfeit. In addition, a focus on ideological structures – for instance using postcolonial theory or feminist theory – may bring

into relief the wider discursive formations (Foucault 1977) which define what it means to perform and experience being-at-home for different types of consumers. Further, a semiotic lens (cf. Grayson and Schulman 2000) might also be applied to understand the gap between 'original' consumption experiences in the home left behind and simulacra which are consumed in the country of residence. In particular, what are the processes which exacerbate or reduce this gap? Finally, psychoanalytic theories (cf. Woodside, Megehee, and Sood 2012) may provide an additional perspective on unconscious psychological processes which divorce structures of action from structures of feeling. From this perspective, the expression and repression of multiple cultural identities in consumption performances may be interpreted as manifestations of conflicting fears about leaving and returning to the home left behind.

Additionally, in the context of increasing glocalisation, to what extent is counterfeit crossing pervasive in the consumer experience of both migrants and locals? To better understand the contextual limits of the conceptual framework presented in this study, it would be of interest to see if counterfeit crossing similarly defines the experiences of acculturating consumers in other contexts. Comparisons could also be made with migrants from earlier waves of migration, migrants who have been in their country of residence for a longer period of time, or the children of migrants including those who would be categorised as 1.5 generation, second, and third generation migrants (Bartley 2010; Regany et al. 2012; Visconti and Stamboli-Rodriguez 2013). Beyond the phenomenon of long-term migration, the paradox between the appearance and experience of consumption may also carry implications across the spectrum of consumer mobility. Considering other types of mobility, is there a similar sense of counterfeit crossing that is experienced by multi-acculturated or highly mobile consumers? It would be of interest, for instance, to see whether other types of mobile consumers such as temporary sojourners, refugees, transmigrants, or multi-acculturated consumers also experience counterfeit crossings. At the very least, when consumer research scholars use the word

'mobility', there is a need to distinguish between dimensions of symbolic value, the ability to signal economic and social mobility, embodied value, the ability to reproduce embodied familiarity in a new environment, and dwelling value, the ability to achieve a deeper sense of cultural and emotional emplacement.

It would also be of interest to see how the particularities of the receiving context exacerbate or reduce the dynamics of counterfeit crossing. New Zealand, and Auckland in particular, are unique contexts characterised by cultural heterogeneity and postcolonial hybridity (Bhabha 1990). It would be of interest to explore to what extent these performances and paradoxes also apply to cosmopolitan centres with highly multicultural and mobile populations. For instance, do similar dynamics apply in other cities in New Zealand which are less multicultural than Auckland? What happens when immigrant consumers move to non-Western contexts? Is there a shared narrative of migration at play in these other forms of mobility? If cultural flows and consumer mobility are indeed a defining feature of contemporary markets, it would be useful to understand to what extent the concerns, desires, and discourses found with the acculturating immigrants in this study are held in common with other mobile populations.

Furthermore, it would be of interest to study the performance of acculturation from the perspective of other actors. As Luedicke (2011) has conceptualised, acculturation is a recursive process of intercultural adaptation involving both migrants and locals. In this vein, it would be useful to adopt the local's perspective of acculturation performances. For instance, how are practices of code-jamming perceived and received by local New Zealanders? Is there a gap between the intention and reception of such performances? Furthermore, as has been revealed in this study, the performance of acculturation involves multiple audiences beyond the home and host cultures. We might additionally ask, for instance, how are code-jamming practices interpreted by consumers of different cultural backgrounds? Furthermore, given that marketing

practitioners play a pivotal role in the reproduction of culture, it would be of interest to better understand the strategies they undertake in performing culture through advertisements. For instance, why do some agencies choose to execute code-jamming practices in their advertisements? How do they legitimise such practices? Given the paradoxical potential of code-jamming, what markers render some performances unquestioned and some performances problematic, or even racist?

A question for further research concerns the significance (or lack thereof) of the lack of branded objects in the consumer texts in this study. While there were discussions about car brands and iconic New Zealand brands such as the *All Blacks* (the national rugby team) and *L&P* (a soft drink brand), consumption was largely discussed at the level of product category. There are several explanations for this: first, brands may not be necessary in providing symbolic value as the product category is sufficient; second, participants were reticent in talking about brands as a result of the ideology of egalitarianism in New Zealand; and third, participants were not able to afford aspirational brands which would carry greater identity value. Do advertising scripts for certain brands need to focus on performance value using product benefits, while others need to focus on performance value using brand benefits? While these questions were not able to be explored in this study, the remarkable lack of brand-based narratives in the consumer texts raises an important question for future research: when do brands matter (and when do they not matter) for acculturating immigrants?

Moreover, re-analysing the consumer narratives through other analytical methods may reveal additional insights. The method of narrative analysis, for example, may provide a more detailed answer to the question of whether there is a shared story grammar of migration and mobility. The method of discourse analysis may illuminate further power dynamics which structure how acculturating consumers linguistically perform their identities. In addition, while the ZMET items and drawings in this study were primarily used as a way to open conversations,

encourage reflection, and deepen consumer narratives, the ZMET items and drawings are a rich source of data in and of themselves. It may be useful to conduct a visual analysis of consumers' ZMET items and drawings to reveal any 'hidden' patterns which were not articulated in consumer texts. Furthermore, regional differences, country of origin, and gender were not accounted for in the analysis of data. In particular, the data lends itself to further comparative analysis on the basis of gender.

Finally, this study may be extended through a different methodology, which would enrich, extend, or qualify the conclusions drawn from the current study. For instance, now that a range of boundary sites has been identified through this study, each of these sites lends itself to ethnographic fieldwork which will provide a more contextualised understanding of how boundary performances are enacted in situ. For instance, the performance of acculturation through the consumption of the local landscape represents a novel finding which could be explored through an ethnographic study of touristic practices as enacted by migrant consumers. Additionally, the unit of analysis can be defined not only at the level of the individual, but also at multiple levels including the couple, family, and community.

CONCLUSION

This research was motivated by the following questions: What performances are enacted by acculturating consumers? How do these performances shape acculturating consumers' boundary negotiations? With respect to the first research question, it was found that participants enacted a range of boundary performances which involved an interwoven set of boundary objects, sites, and practices. These performances were informed by, and recursively shaped, multiple socio-cultural boundaries.

With respect to the second research question, it was found that boundary performances did not produce the desired experience of being-at-home in either the culture of residence or

the culture of origin. To explain the complex and paradoxical effects of boundary performances on consumers' boundary negotiations, this thesis introduced the concept of counterfeit crossing. Counterfeit crossings refer to boundary crossings which appear successful on the surface but are plagued by an element of artificiality, lack, and incompleteness. While boundary performances promise three types of identity value at the boundary – symbolic value, embodied value, and dwelling value – the slippages between these different types of identity value produce ongoing tensions between settlement and dislocation, and between agency and mimicry. To cope with counterfeit crossings, participants were found to enact three coping performances which subvert boundaries, multiply boundaries, and elevate mythic boundaries.

The consumption and performance of culture in mobility, then, is a profoundly problematic and paradoxical experience – acculturating immigrants can only ever consume cultural counterfeits or become cultural counterfeits. While the market prescribes and promises border crossing based on requisite acts of consumption, the market defaults on these promises and delivers only its counterfeit. For acculturating consumers in a glocalising world, it is not border crossing, but the *performance* of mobility, that has become the defining feature of consumption.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
BUSINESS SCHOOL
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Department of Marketing
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (CONSUMER)

Acculturation as Performance:
Southeast Asian Immigrant Consumers in New Zealand

Dear Participant

Researcher Introduction

My name is Angela Cruz. I am a student at The University of Auckland enrolled for a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree in the Department of Marketing. My supervisor is Professor Margo Buchanan-Oliver.

Project Description and Invitation

You are warmly invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. I am exploring how Southeast Asian immigrants shape and perform their identities as they settle in New Zealand. This research aims to help academics, business managers, and public policymakers better understand and communicate with our growing population of Asian immigrant consumers in an increasingly multicultural society.

You are suitable for this study if you:
- are a recent immigrant born in Southeast Asia (Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam)
- have been in New Zealand between three and ten years
- gained permanent residence or citizenship in New Zealand under the 'skilled migrant' category
- are in paid employment in at least a part-time capacity

Project Procedures and Compensation

I would like to invite you to two individual interview sessions to explore how you have shaped and performed your identity in the process of settling in New Zealand. I would ask you to bring along at least twelve items (personal photos, magazine/newspaper/other articles, links to online videos, etc.) which you feel represent your experience of being an immigrant in New Zealand. I would also like to show you up to three advertisements or videos and find out what you think about them. Please note that this is a study of personal opinions. There are no right or wrong answers.

Each interview session would take between one hour (60 minutes) and 90 minutes, which totals up to three hours of your time (180 minutes). The second interview will be conducted between 4-6 weeks after the first interview. As a token of appreciation you will receive a $25 gift voucher at the end of each interview. However participation is voluntary and you are under no obligation to participate in this study.

Right to Withdraw from Participation

You have the right to withdraw from participation at any time. You may withdraw your data from the study at any time for up to one month following each interview.

Data Storage, Retention, Destruction, and Future Use

I would prefer to audiotape the interview session but this would only be done with your consent. Audio recordings will be burned onto a writeable disc and kept in a secure location separate from the Consent Forms for up to six years, after which they will be destroyed.

Confidentiality of Responses

I will keep all responses during the interview session completely confidential. Responses will be kept in a locked file to which only the researcher and supervisor have access. Third party transcribers will be required to sign a Confidentiality Agreement prior to accessing audio tapes. Individuals' names and other identifying information will be disguised in the research report. The responses from this study may be used in other marketing and advertising studies such as PhD research and may be used for publication purposes.

Follow-Up Support Services

While care will be taken to ensure minimal psychological discomfort, should any discomfort or distress arise in the interview process, participants may contact Settlement Support New Zealand (SSNZ) on www.ssnz.govt.nz. SSNZ acts as a central point of contact for local information and support services for migrants.

How to Participate

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you wish to participate in this study or wish to know more, please email, phone, or write to me at:

Angela Cruz
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My supervisor is:
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The Head of Department is:
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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact:
The Chair
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland
Office of the Vice Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
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APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
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CONSENT FORM (CONSUMER)

Acculturation as Performance:
Southeast Asian Immigrant Consumers in New Zealand

Researcher: Angela Cruz

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR SIX YEARS

I agree to take part in this research.

I have read the Participant Information Sheet. I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered satisfactorily. I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary.

I understand that this study involves two one-hour (60 minutes) interviews. I understand that I will receive a $25 gift voucher at the end of each interview.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my interview responses at any time up to one month after each interview date without giving a reason.

I agree to my interview session being audio-taped.

I understand that an audio recording of my interview will be stored in a secure location for up to six years, after which time it will be destroyed.

I understand that an audiotape of my interview will be released to a third-party transcriber who will be required to sign a Confidentiality Agreement.

I understand that my name will not be used and every effort will be made to ensure identifying information is not included in the research report or in any other publication relating to this study.

I understand that my responses may be used for publication purposes and in future studies such as PhD research.

Signed: _____

Name (please print clearly): _____

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
on 2 November 2011 for (3) years, Reference Number 2011/7608

APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTERVIEW

ONE

Snowballing

1. Do you know anyone else from Southeast Asia who might be suitable for this study?

Grand Tour

2. Tell me about how you came to live in New Zealand:
   - Why did you move to New Zealand?
   - How long have you been in New Zealand?
   - What is your country of birth?
   - What is your age?
   - What do you do for a living?

Mirrors

3. Draw yourself in the middle of the paper and show the people and social groups that are important in your life. Indicate whether they are more or less important by placing them closer or further from you. Write down the location of these people. Write down the ethnicity of these people.

4. Is there a [Country of Origin] community in NZ? Do you consider yourself to be part of it?

5. Tell me about the different types of [Country of Origin] people in NZ.

6. Do you maintain any links with [Country of Origin]?

7. Do you consider New Zealand to be home? Why / why not?

Masks

8. What is it like to be a migrant?

9. What do migrants in NZ need to know?

10. How are migrants in NZ expected to act?

11. Tell me about the different types of migrants in NZ.

12. How do you think other people in NZ see people from [Country of Origin]?

13. Draw a picture of who you are in New Zealand at this moment in your life. How would the picture change if I ask you to draw a picture of who you are:
    - At work
    - With family
    - With other [countrymen] in New Zealand
    - With [other social group] in New Zealand
    - In [home country]
    - Is there a part of who you are that's not captured in these images?

14. When someone asks you where you are from, what do you tell them?

15. Do you feel that the term 'Asian' applies to you?

16. Tell me a story about a person who appears to be really 'Asian'.

17. Tell me a story about a person who appears to be not-so-'Asian'.

18. Do you feel that you can dial up or dial down how Asian you are?
    - When do you speak in [native language]? What is it about saying that in [native language] that is different from saying it in English?
    - Have you ever heard or told any jokes about Asians or [identity term]?
    - Do you ever speak in a different accent? What is it about saying that in a different accent that is different from how you would usually say it?
    - Do you ever use a different name?

ZMET Briefing

19. Let's talk about the items you selected.
    - Storytelling. Briefly describe each item and tell me what this says about what it's like to be a migrant in New Zealand.
      Why did you choose it?
      What thoughts come to mind when you look at it?
      How does it make you feel?
    - Missing issues and items. Were there any important ideas, issues, or images you wanted to express but could not find relevant items? What kind of image might you use to represent these?
    - Most representative image.
    - Sorting task. Group these items into meaningful groups. Why?
    - Sensory images.
      What sound would I hear that would represent what it's like to be a migrant in New Zealand?
      What colour would I see?
      What odour would I smell?
      What material would I touch?

Closing

Thank you for sharing your thoughts and insights. This has been a great discussion.

20. Is there anything else you had expected to talk about today that we haven't covered?

21. When are you available for our follow-up interview?

APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTERVIEW

TWO

While the Interview Guide for Interview Two was individually tailored based on the discussion that emerged in Interview One and the flow of the discussion in Interview Two, the following questions provide an example of the types of questions that were asked in Interview Two.

Abstracting

1. To what extent do you agree with the following quotes from other participants:
   - "It's hard… living in New Zealand… the heart is not there sometimes."
   - "I guess most of [us], most [of us] here never really, never really have forgotten home. It's just home is really close to our heart."
   - "We're probably wanting to be able to, to react or respond, it look like complying with whatever they want to be. But in reality, at home or at your single unique nuclear family then you just do whatever you want and try to maintain your identity."
   - "You probably wanting to put yourself, push yourself to be able to perform and act like the Kiwi. … it's just too difficult and I don't see the meaning of it. There is no value for me"
   - "It's artificial and people will know it for what it is, you know, they know that… you're not Kiwi-born but your accent is, they know what a genuine accent is, especially Kiwis, and they know an artificial accent. … I have realised that you know it's actually better to just be yourself, like I feel sorry a bit. I actually look at that person who's trying to speak Kiwi. I wonder what's driving him or her to speak in a… fake Kiwi accent you know. Maybe insecurity or the desire to blend in"

2. Why is language so strongly linked to identity?

3. Why is food so strongly linked to identity?

4. What do the experiences of migrants reveal about the human condition?

Rites of Separation

5. When you left your home country, how did people say goodbye to you?

6. When you left your home country, how did you say goodbye to people?
   - Were there any special occasions? Did you receive any gifts? Did you have any parting conversations with people?
   - What was the significance of these events at the time?
   - What is the significance of these events now that you have been in NZ for X years?
   - Did they help you to leave or did they make it more difficult?

7. Do you ever wonder what you would have become if you hadn't left your home country?

8. What do you miss about your home country?

Rites of Incorporation

9. Was there a moment when you felt accepted in New Zealand?

10. Was there a moment when you felt you are a New Zealander?

11. To what extent does having a Kiwi experience make you feel Kiwi?

12. To what extent does having a Kiwi product make you feel Kiwi?

13. Do you have any close friends who are Kiwis?
    a. What kind of relationship do you have with them?
    b. How does this compare with friendships your home country?

14. Do you consider NZ home?

15. Was there a moment when you felt comfortable in NZ?

16. Was there a moment when you stopped trying to blend in/fit in?

Becoming

17. Can you tell me a story of what you have become in New Zealand? Can you tell me a story of who you have become in NZ?

18. Can you tell me what roles you are able to perform in NZ? What roles were you able to perform in your home country?

APPENDIX E: TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

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TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Acculturation as Performance:
Southeast Asian Immigrant Consumers in New Zealand

This research is being undertaken by Angela Cruz in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Auckland. The purpose of this project is to explore how immigrant consumers from Southeast Asia perform their identities as they settle in multicultural New Zealand.

I, _____, the Transcriber, agree to:

1. transcribe the audiotapes for the above research project.

2. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the Researcher(s)

3. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g. disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession

4. return all research information in any form or format (e.g. disks, tapes, transcripts) to the Researcher(s) when I have completed the research tasks

5. after consulting with the Researcher(s), erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the Researcher(s) (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive)

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

If you have any questions or concerns about this study you may contact the
Researcher(s) on:

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