Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognize the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the Library Thesis Consent Form and Deposit Licence.
Becoming Cosmopolitan?
Roots, Emotions, and Everyday Diversity Encounters amongst New Chinese Migrants in New Zealand

By

BINGYU WANG

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in ASIAN STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
AUGUST 2016
Abstract

This research focuses on new Chinese migrants living in New Zealand. It takes shape within a growing body of literature on cosmopolitanism that is providing new insights into understanding migration, mobilities and diversities. The research is empirically situated in a context of increasing ethnic diversity in New Zealand, particularly in its largest metropolitan region Auckland. It contributes to the pressing need to ground cosmopolitanism through researching people’s lived experiences, thus exploring how migration processes intersect with cosmopolitan manifestations at an individual and everyday level.

Drawing on in-depth interviews with 80 new Chinese migrants to New Zealand, I first unpack the opportunities and barriers that are involved in the process of them encountering diversity and conducting everyday cosmopolitanism in various kinds of contact zones. In this regard, the research advances and enriches the knowledge of studies in ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, by locating quotidian and down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements that are grounded in everyday migrant lives. Secondly, employing the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, I examine how different degrees of sense of rootedness towards China (or New Zealand) interrelate with the strength of cosmopolitan openness to cultural others and the socialising patterns displayed in daily interactions. In doing so, the research transcends the Eurocentrism that dominates cosmopolitan theories. Lastly, I draw attention to the emotional dimension of cosmopolitanism and migrant mobilities, with a focus on the role of emotions in generating cosmopolitan sociability and building intercultural relations.

The research findings demonstrate that being able to engage in cosmopolitanism is not a given result of increasing levels of cross-border mobilities or cross-cultural interactions, but rather occurs through and in relation to social structures and power relations that individuals negotiate in society. The process of becoming cosmopolitan relies on much more than intercultural competence. It demands ongoing emotional labour in order to overcome the dissonance that characterises the lives of many migrants. This study thus contributes to existing literature by relating cosmopolitanism to migration studies and by revealing cosmopolitanism’s social situatedness, its relation to rootedness, and its entanglement with emotions under a non-Eurocentric framework.
Acknowledgements

First of all, I want to thank my study participants who showed interest in my research and spent their precious time sharing their life stories with me. The interviewing process has been my favourite part of my PhD journey. My research could not have been conducted smoothly without their generous help and support.

My greatest thanks go to my supervisors Manying Ip and Francis Collins. This thesis would not have been possible without their guidance and support. I would like to thank them for spending valuable time reading my drafts and providing me with constructive criticism. Manying has taught me how to become an independent scholar while offering me meaningful and critical comments regarding my thesis writing. She has given me strength and warmth when I have encountered difficulties with my research and personal life. Francis has provided me with great inspiration and encouragement for my research and at the same time he has been a role model to me as a hard-working, creative and successful scholar. Even when he was living overseas, he was always there to help through Skype and emails. Francis has not only worked with me for the thesis but also on journal article publications. Working with Francis has been a wonderfully pleasant and invaluable learning experience. I cannot thank my supervisors enough for their generosity, patience and academic support. I feel very lucky to have them.

I would like to thank Louise Humpage who was my co-supervisor for the first half of my first PhD year. She gave me good suggestions during the first stage of developing my research proposal. I am grateful that Ward Friesen from School of Environment kindly helped me to obtain relevant census data for the thesis. I am also very grateful for the help and encouragement from Rumi Sakamoto who is the PhD adviser for Asian Studies. She has always been quick to offer valuable suggestions when I have had problems with the progress of my PhD. I appreciate her friendliness, her kindness and her faith in me.

The PhD journey is a lonely one. I thank my friends and colleagues who have made my PhD life much more enjoyable and meaningful. We have shared countless good times together, from pleasant conversations and fun weekend gatherings to awesome road trips. I especially want to thank Patrick Flamm, Pia Schneider, Jake Cowan, Ryan Zhu and Yuting Yue who have been
supportive friends and who given me generous help and emotional support when I have gone through difficult times.

Sincere thanks also go to the China Scholarship Council and University of Auckland for offering me a joint doctoral scholarship. Without their generous support I would not have had the opportunity to pursue my PhD studies.

Most importantly I want to thank my family. I could not have even started my PhD studies without the support of my parents. They have always been there to help when I have struggled. I cannot find the words to tell my parents how much I am thankful for their unconditional and endless love. They are the most important people in my life and their love has given me the strength and courage to overcome any difficulties I encounter in my life.

Lastly, I am happy when it rains. I want to thank the YouTube video ‘3 hours of rain and thunder’. I have used these beautiful sounds of rain, thunder and storm to make every day of my PhD a rainy day.
# Table of Contents

Abstract.................................................................................................................................ii
Acknowledgement..............................................................................................................iv
Table of Contents...............................................................................................................v
List of Tables.......................................................................................................................ix
List of Figures......................................................................................................................x
List of Publications Related to this PhD Research..............................................................xi

## 1. Introduction..................................................................................................................1
   1.1 Research background and gaps.........................................................................................1
   1.2 Research cohort: new Chinese migrants in New Zealand..............................................3
   1.3 Research questions and theoretical approach...............................................................5
   1.4 Research objectives and significance.............................................................................7
   1.5 Organisation of the thesis..............................................................................................10

   2.1 Introduction......................................................................................................................12
   2.2 Migration policies of receiving and sending countries.................................................13
      2.2.1 An overview of New Zealand’s immigration policy change and its effects on new
           Chinese migrants............................................................................................................13
           *Late 1980s-mid 1990s*...............................................................................................16
           *Late 1990s to early 2000s*.......................................................................................21
           *2005 and onwards*.................................................................................................24
      2.2.2 China’s changing perspectives towards international emigration.........................26
   2.3 Profile of the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand.................................................30
      2.3.1 Mobility patterns, migration categories, and general demographics....................30
      2.3.2 Educational background and employment status....................................................36
      2.3.3 Asian (Chinese) migrants in the media and the public..........................................40
      2.3.4 Auckland as migrant destination, a cosmopolitan city?.......................................43
   2.4 Imagining a cosmopolitan West ...................................................................................51
2.5 Conclusion

3. Cosmopolitanism and Migration Studies

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Mapping the idea of Cosmopolitanism
  3.2.1 Transcending Eurocentrism
  3.2.2 Cosmopolitan attitudes and practices
  3.2.3 Cosmopolitanism in this research

3.3 A cosmopolitan gaze towards migration studies
  3.3.1 Moving beyond methodological nationalism
  3.3.2 Emerging methodological cosmopolitanism

3.4 Three research entry points: Constructing the theoretical framework
  3.4.1 Everyday cosmopolitanism—cosmopolitanism from below
  3.4.2 Rooted cosmopolitanism—simultaneous rootedness and openness
  3.4.3 Emotion, migration, and cosmopolitan sociability

3.5 Conclusion

4. Methodology

4.1 Why qualitative in-depth interviews?

4.2 Recruitment, sampling, and participants’ information

4.3 Interview schedule and question design

4.4 Conducting interviews

4.5 The insider-outsider position

4.6 Analysis of research data
  Stage 1: general coding-developing a code manual
  Stage 2: Testing the reliability of the codes-developing a complete codebook
  Stage 3: Connecting the codes and identifying themes

4.7 Methodological limitations and solutions

4.8 Conclusion
5. Cosmopolitanism and Everyday Life

5.1 Introduction
5.2 Everyday Cosmopolitanism
5.3 Contact Zones
5.4 Everyday (un)cosmopolitan moments in contact zones
5.5 Barriers for everyday cosmopolitanism
  5.5.1 Migration and family life
  5.5.2 School and early life experiences for 1.5 generation
5.6 Performing everyday cosmopolitanism
5.7 Conclusion

6. Rooted Cosmopolitanism and Everyday Encounters

6.1 Introduction
6.2 Rooted Cosmopolitanism
6.3 ‘Rootedness’ of the new Chinese migrants
  6.3.1 ‘Forced upon’ Chinese rootedness: non-white physicality
  6.3.2 Chinese language literacy
  6.3.3 Rootedness within home space: parents-children relations
  6.3.4 In-group Chinese rootedness
  6.3.5 Oscillating/Shifting rootedness between China and New Zealand
6.4 Rootedness towards China
6.5 Rootedness towards New Zealand
6.6 Becoming rooted cosmopolitan?
6.7 Conclusion

7. Emotion, Migration, and Cosmopolitan Sociability

7.1 Introduction
7.2 Emotion, migration, and cosmopolitan sociability
7.3 Emotional difficulties in early settlement period
7.4 Emotions and home-making in a transnational context
7.5 Emotional dissonance in everyday encounters..........................180
7.6 Conducting cosmopolitan sociability........................................186
7.7 Conclusion .............................................................................191

8. Conclusions..............................................................................195
8.1 The ‘desirable’ migrants and their ‘undesirable’ outcomes........195
8.2 A ‘rooted’ cosmopolitanism: transcending Eurocentrism.........196
8.3 Everyday cosmopolitanism: uneven encounters with diversity....209
  8.3.1 Socialising barriers for the first generation.......................201
  8.3.2 Not necessarily becoming cosmopolitan: The 1.5 generation....202
8.4 Feeling cosmopolitan: The emotional dimension...............204
8.5 Imagining the cosmopolitan West: Have their dreams come true?..207
8.6 Implications for further research...........................................209

List of References........................................................................213

Appendices..................................................................................232
  APPENDIX 1..............................................................................232
  APPENDIX 2..............................................................................234
  APPENDIX 3..............................................................................239
  APPENDIX 4..............................................................................241
  APPENDIX 5..............................................................................243
  APPENDIX 6..............................................................................244
  APPENDIX 7..............................................................................245
  APPENDIX 8..............................................................................246
  APPENDIX 9..............................................................................249
List of Tables

Table 2.1 Entry approvals to New Zealand, 1993 – policy categories and a British/Chinese comparison……………………………………………………………………………………………18

Table 2.2 Source countries for skilled migrant category, 2007/2008–2010/2011
(Percentages)…………………………………………………………………………………………25

Table 2.3 Business and skilled migrant residency approval between1998–2009 for the three major sources for New Zealand Chinese immigrants………………………………………33

Table 2.4 Highest qualification: Chinese and Asian ethnic groups and New Zealand population aged 15 years and over, 2006 and 2013 Censuses…………………………………………………………………………………………37

Table 2.5 Work and labour force status Chinese and Asian ethnic groups, and New Zealand population aged 15 years and over 2006 and 2013 Censuses…………………………………………………………………………………………37

Table 4.1 Summary of 1.5 generation interviewees (n=45; 26 female, 19 male; median age 23)……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Number of Permanent Residence approvals from selected North Asian countries/regions 1987-2013 ................................................................. 21

Figure 2.2 The Top 10 countries (regions) for New Zealand Permanent Residence approvals 1987-2015 ........................................................................................................... 24

Figure 2.3 Age-sex pyramid for the China-born ethnic Chinese population in the 2001 Census .................................................................................................................. 34

Figure 2.4 Age-sex pyramid for the China-born ethnic Chinese population in 2006 Census ......................................................................................... 35

Figure 2.5 Median income; By sex, Chinese (PRC) and Asian ethnic groups, and New Zealand population aged 15 years 2013 census .................................................................................. 39

Figure 2.6 Chinese ethnic group by region 2013 census ................................................................................................................................. 44

Figure 2.7 Number of overseas born by area of birth, Auckland residents 1986-2013 .................................................................................................................. 45

Figure 2.8 Migrants of Asian origin by period of arrival ................................................................................................................................. 45

Figure 2.9 Distribution of Asian population in Auckland ................................................................................................................................. 47

Figure 2.10 Distribution of PRC-born in Auckland ................................................................................................................................. 48
List of Publications Related to This PhD Research


Chapter One Introduction

1.1 Research background and gaps

Along with emerging global interdependencies, the contemporary era has been characterised by the rise of global mobility and new forms of human sociability. Transnational migration flows have greatly altered the living and thinking patterns of contemporary migrants by enriching and enlarging their socio-cultural repertoires. As Robin Cohen (1997, 175) wrote, “[w]hat 19th century nationalists wanted was a ‘space’ for each ‘race’, a territorialising of each social identity. [W]hat they have got instead is a chain of cosmopolitan cities and an increasing proliferation of subnational and transnational identities that cannot easily be contained in the nation-state system”. Cosmopolitanism is increasingly encroaching into our everyday lives and is predicted to become the new living paradigm for mobile subjects, especially those who live in a cross-cultural context (Beck 2006).

Building on these scholarly debates, this thesis moves beyond methodological nationalism and transnationalism, and utilises cosmopolitanism as a theoretical framework to research the social mobility patterns, everyday intercultural encounters, identity dynamics, and home-making processes of migrant individuals. In particular, this project explores how the complex emotional dynamics generated from interacting with cultural others both promotes and undermines migrants’ capacity to engage in cosmopolitanism and build intercultural relations at the level of everyday life.

Scholarship on cosmopolitanism has grown enormously over the last two decades as researchers have sought new analytical approaches to interrogate the growing prominence of global social forms, transnational mobilities and hybridising identities (Beck and Sznaider 2006; Olofsson and Öhman2007; Roudemetof 2005). Some scholars have used cosmopolitanism to challenge the traditional notions of belonging, identity and citizenship (Colic-Peisker 2006; Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011; Hiebert 2002; Kennedy 2009; Kothari 2008; Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2007), thereby providing new ways of conceptualising socio-cultural multiplicity, individual behaviours, values or dispositions under the context of globalisation and
transmigration. Some scholarship has also begun to utilise cosmopolitanism to study the socio-cultural living paradigms of global diasporas (Chan 2005; Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011). In each of these cases, cosmopolitanism is presented as a framework for understanding the evolving socialising and mobility patterns of migrants who are living in a mobile world extending beyond national contexts.

There is research suggesting that cross-cultural living experiences and cross-border movements may lead to a development of cosmopolitanism among the people involved (Chan 2002; Hannerz 1990; Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2007). It is important to answer the question of whether migrant mobilities have given migrants a more cosmopolitan identity and also to examine how their potential cosmopolitan attitudes interact with their intercultural encounter patterns at the level of everyday life. This is a particularly important task for studying places or peoples who cannot be conceived only within the European traditions of cosmopolitanism. Indeed, limited research has been done to connect Chinese migration studies with cosmopolitanism (conventionally seen as a Western concept) despite an extensive collection of discourse within each of these two research fields.

Transcending the elite Eurocentric notion of cosmopolitanism, this research provides grounded analysis of the ‘down-to-earth’ cosmopolitan engagements of ordinary Chinese migrants. Its focus is at the level of everyday life, investigating the daily strategies migrants practice to live alongside difference and thus opening up postcolonial understandings of diversity and cosmopolitanism among people on the move. In addition to its ongoing Eurocentrism, there remains a general dearth of scholarship empirically examining the meaning and significance of cosmopolitanism in people’s daily lives. There is a pressing need to ground cosmopolitanism through researching people’s lived experiences, thus further establishing evidence of how the migration process intersects with cosmopolitan manifestations at an individual level.

In the New Zealand context, the People’s Republic of China (PRC), Hong Kong (SAR)\(^1\) and Taiwan have been the three major sources of New Zealand’s Chinese immigrant intake since the enactment of the 1987 immigration policy. Over the last two decades, a significant body of scholarship has examined settlement issues, migration decision-making processes, transnational mobility patterns as well as migration aspirations of the migrant groups from Hong Kong and

\(^1\)Hereafter referred to as Hong Kong.
Taiwan (Beal 2001; Ho, Bedford, and Goodwin 1997; Ho, Ip, and Bedford 2001; Ho 2003; Ip 2001; Ip and Friesen 2001). In contrast, there has been much less research focusing on the Chinese migrants from PRC (hereafter referred to ‘new Chinese migrants’).

There have however been a few micro-level studies on new Chinese migrants that are worth noting. These studies, which include work within the longitudinal ‘New Settlers Programme’ based at Massey University, have looked at English language proficiency, employment experiences and integration of new Chinese migrants in New Zealand (Henderson 2003; Henderson, Trlin and Watts 2001; Henderson et al. 1997). Liu’s more recent doctoral thesis (2010) is another example of recent work on new Chinese migrants to New Zealand. It focused on highly-mobile transnational Chinese migrants and explored their conceptualisation of ‘home’, citizenship, identity, and sense of belonging. Liu’s research has provided a deeper understanding of transnational migratory experiences and mobility patterns. Similarly, utilising a transnational approach, Li, Hodgetts, and Ho (2010) and Li and Chong (2012) have examined the difficulties of attaining social well-being and constructing a sense of belonging for older new Chinese migrants, aged over 60, who have migrated to New Zealand under the family reunion program.

Diverging from these previous studies, my research will focus on cosmopolitanism as a theoretical framework to examine the emergence and/or the lack of cosmopolitanism in Chinese migrants’ everyday lives. My research explores the barriers and opportunities that are involved in the process of negotiating difference, and examines how rootedness, particular migration biographies and socio-demographics characteristics of new Chinese migrants alter the possibilities of becoming cosmopolitan.

1.2 Research cohort: new Chinese migrants in New Zealand

In 1987, New Zealand adopted an immigration policy that placed emphasis on selecting migrants based on personal merit, qualifications, and potential financial and entrepreneurial contributions to New Zealand. This contrasted significantly with much of the country’s colonial history, especially up until the 1970s, where immigration selection had been strongly defined by

---

2 Throughout the thesis, ‘new Chinese migrants’ to New Zealand refer to the migrants from the PRC (not including its special administrative region Hong Kong or Macau). When I refer to Chinese migrants from Hong Kong or Taiwan, I will specify by adding ‘from Hong Kong’ and ‘from Taiwan’.
race and ethnicity and preferred immigrants were almost exclusively from Britain and Ireland (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). This significant policy change in 1987 opened the door to increased immigration from Asia, especially from Southeast and East Asia. Together with immigration flows from the Polynesian Pacific in the 1960s, these immigration waves from Asia, starting from late 1980s, have disrupted the white-dominated migration history of New Zealand and rapidly changed the ethnic profile of the country’s immigrants and population as a whole (Spoonley and Butcher 2009; Spoonley and Bedford 2012). My research focuses on new Chinese migrants who arrived in New Zealand after the 1987 immigration policy as a case study to explore grounded forms of cosmopolitanism. Unlike immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan, who first arrived in the early 1990s, significant numbers of well-educated and skilled new Chinese migrants came to New Zealand starting from the mid-1990s. With a relatively wealthy (at least middle class) family background, these new Chinese migrants came to New Zealand for better education opportunities, a more relaxed lifestyle and a more pleasant natural environment (Ip 2011).

Existing research suggests that many of these new Chinese migrants have been undertaking ‘return-migration’, ‘step migration’ and ‘circulatory migration’ to obtain international mobility and social capital (Ip 2011). They tend to put emphasis on the opportunities created by global economic activity, higher education and transnational job positions, especially the 1.5 generation who tend to be highly mobile and have high intercultural competency. Most of them have formed transnational social and cultural networks in which their family lives span geographic, cultural and political boundaries. This has allowed a combination of lifestyle choices in two or more places (Faist 2000), which in turn has shaped their notions of home and identity (Ip and Friesen 2001). My research mainly focuses on a specific group of these new Chinese migrants who are ‘stayers’, i.e. who have been living long-term in New Zealand since migration although many of them have still maintained connections to their family members and social networks back home.

Specifically, eligible participants included those born in PRC, who at the time of research were at least 18 years old, and possessed either Permanent Residence or New Zealand Citizenship. Participants were selected according to their age when they first arrived in New Zealand as well

---

3 The term ‘1.5 generation migrants’ refers to adolescents who immigrate to a new country with their parents before or during their early teens, generally 6-14 years old.
as their original hometowns, current living locations, occupation and gender. These new Chinese migrants are neither elites nor extremely disadvantaged, but are from broadly-defined middle-class backgrounds (a comprehensive introduction of the profile and socio-economic outcomes of new Chinese migrants will be provided in the next chapter). Altogether, 80 interviewees were recruited and two groups can be identified: 45 of them are 1.5 generation migrants and 35 of them are first generation migrants. A much more detailed introduction of the research cohort will be provided in Chapter Four, the methodology chapter.

1.3 Research questions and theoretical approach

In my research, I define cosmopolitanism as a set of attitudes and practices characterised by openness to others and difference, utilised by ordinary individuals to encounter diversity, negotiate difference and build social relations in specific everyday social situations. The empirical investigation focuses on attitudes and practices as manifestations of cosmopolitanism that emerge within a range of possible domains of daily life. The primary objective of my research is to answer the question of whether and how new Chinese migrants in New Zealand engage with cosmopolitan attitudes and practices in their everyday life, the connections to overcoming difference and developing intercultural relations, and the significance of cosmopolitanism for rebuilding a sense of home and comfort. The following research questions are designed to provide further detail on this primary objective.

1. Are cosmopolitan attitudes and practices evident or emerging among new Chinese migrants in New Zealand? How are cosmopolitan engagements reflected in everyday intercultural interactions? What are the barriers and opportunities to performing ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’? Is everyday cosmopolitanism differently available to migrant individuals who are of different migratory history and socio-demographic backgrounds?

2. How does rootedness towards either China (including Chinese identity, culture and Chinese community) or New Zealand (including New Zealand identity, culture and people) interact with the formation and utilisation of cosmopolitan openness in intercultural encounters? Whether and how do Chinese migrants engage in a ‘rooted’ cosmopolitanism to negotiate difference in daily life?
3. How are emotional complexities entangled with the process of migrants conducting intercultural encounters, and overcoming barriers to building relationship networks during their migratory movements? What is the role of emotions in generating cosmopolitan sociabilities in the context of migration?

These three groups of research questions are designed respectively based on three sets of literature surrounding cosmopolitanism that constitute the theoretical framework of this study: ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ and ‘emotions and cosmopolitan sociability’. Firstly, the research field of cosmopolitanism requires much more research to empirically examine whether and how individuals practice their cosmopolitan attitudes in daily life. Along with a call for ‘cosmopolitanism from below’ (Bhabha 1996; Nava 2007; Werbner 1999), the first set of research questions aims to gain a more in-depth understanding towards how ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ is practiced in various kinds of everyday contact zones, such as workplaces, schools and neighbourhoods. They indicate that my research is a shift from seeing cosmopolitanism as a utopian, elitist, or Eurocentric concept by focusing on the practical, vernacular, and common expressions of cosmopolitanism (Nava 2007) outside the West. My research locates and grounds the emergence and development of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices among ordinary individuals in everyday social settings (Data 2009; Lamont and Aksartova 2002; Werbner 1999).

Secondly, drawing on the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, the second set of research questions are designed to explore how the interacting dynamic of rootedness and openness alter the possibilities for encountering cultural others and performing cosmopolitan openness in an intercultural context. This thesis posits that rootedness matters and it articulates with the formation of cosmopolitan openness. Woodward and Skrbiš (2012) argue that the ‘cosmopolitan impulse’ can be restrained by varying personal, local and national anchors. Therefore, exploring the counter-discourses of cosmopolitanism (e.g. nationalism, patriotism, localism and parochialism) is a good way to test the strength and robustness of cosmopolitan disposition. Within this study, the shifting rootedness that Chinese migrants have maintained and developed towards China and their Chineseness is closely related to their capacity to become cosmopolitan. Adopting a ‘rooted’ approach to understanding cosmopolitanism is essentially an attempt to transcend the latent Eurocentrism that has persisted in cosmopolitan thought.
Chapter One Introduction

Thirdly, building on recent scholarship on ‘emotions and migrations’, as well as cosmopolitan sociability, my research explores the emotional dimension of the migration journey of these new Chinese migrants. It focuses on the role of emotions in generating cosmopolitan sociability that these migrants utilise to negotiate difference and build intercultural relations. In doing so it examines firstly how migrants engage to differing degrees in cosmopolitan sociability, and secondly the way in which this is tied up with feelings about themselves, their situation and the value of relating to others. It draws attention to the manner in which emotions can both promote and encourage, but also undermine and limit the capacity to build intercultural relationship networks in their everyday lives.

The research methodologies will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four, but it is worth highlighting here that the research draws on qualitative in-depth interviews with 80 new Chinese migrants. The interviews were utilised to investigate whether and how cosmopolitanism emerges and develops in migrants’ everyday lives especially when intercultural encounters occur. My research moves beyond labelling people merely as cosmopolitan or non-cosmopolitan and instead examines how cosmopolitanism relates to the ‘social and personal imperatives’ that shape the contours of social encounters (Woodward and Skrbis 2012, 133). This study is a departure from studying institutional, top–down and ideal cosmopolitanisms and looks at ‘cosmopolitanism from below’, in other words, studying the specific, quotidian and down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements conducted by ordinary individuals living in diverse social contexts.

1.4 Research objectives and significance

This research focuses on new Chinese migrants living in the settler society of New Zealand. It takes shape within a growing body of literature on cosmopolitanism, which is providing new insights into migration, mobilities and diversities. The research is also empirically situated in a context of increasing ethnic diversity in New Zealand, particularly in its largest metropolitan region Auckland (Collins and Friesen 2011). In purely demographic terms much of this diversity has been generated by policy shifts since the 1980s and the adoption of a comparatively liberal immigration policy based on personal merit rather than discrimination on the grounds of race, national or ethnic origin (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Due to these changes, migrants from
China and Asia more broadly, have become increasingly significant in migration flows into New Zealand.

My study attempts to close a gap in contemporary research by relating cosmopolitanism to migration. Through an engagement with current debates and research findings on cosmopolitan theories and ideas, this research aims to move beyond methodological nationalism and transnationalism, thus approaching contemporary Chinese migration in a new way. It aims to achieve six key goals:

1. This research is the first comprehensive study to use cosmopolitanism as a theoretical framework to study the living situations of contemporary migrants. Thus, in theoretical and methodological terms, this research offers important implications for migration studies as a whole. This project sheds light on the underlying relationship between cosmopolitanism and migrant mobilities, providing a new approach to examining the living paradigms of international migrants.

2. This research seeks to ground cosmopolitanism in an empirical reality which will contribute toward narrowing the gap in knowledge about empirical manifestations of cosmopolitanism. As a New Zealand-based study on cosmopolitanism among Chinese migrants, my research provides empirical data to a largely philosophical debate on cosmopolitanism, concerning whether it can transcend theoretical boundaries and class limitations and be applied to everyday lives of ordinary people. It will thus advance and enrich the knowledge of studies of ordinary and everyday cosmopolitanism, by focusing on ‘cosmopolitanism from below’, locating quotidian and down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements that are grounded in everyday migrant lives. Therefore, it is of significance in transforming cosmopolitanism from a theoretical concept into an effective theoretical and analytical tool that can be utilised in examining the lived experiences of contemporary migrants.

3. Cosmopolitanism has been conventionally used as a Western concept that is related to social elites from Western countries. Breaking down this Eurocentric notion of cosmopolitanism, this study focuses on cosmopolitan attitudes and practices amongst migrants from China. The utilisation of the concept of rooted cosmopolitanism helps this research to gain an in-depth understanding of the role played by rootedness during the process of engaging in cosmopolitanism and encountering diversity.
4. My research explores how migrants’ emotions emerge from and are involved with migratory movements, both at the level of everyday life and across transnational spaces. It focuses on the emotional dimension of migrants negotiating difference and engaging in cosmopolitanism, with particular attention on the ways in which emotions undermine and promote the development of cosmopolitan engagements. Accordingly, it contributes to the literature on emotion in the experiences of migration and extends the understanding of cosmopolitanism from the perspective of emotions.

5. In its methodological focus on in-depth conversations and interviews with Chinese migrants the research has also offered opportunities for individuals to reconstruct an understanding of their migrant lives. The participants in this research have tended to struggle between their foreign living realities and the weight of their Chinese heritage, facing the dilemma of establishing themselves as locals in their resident country, while responding to the expectations of their original ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This research serves as a starting point for Chinese migrants to reflect on their diversity encounters in daily life, thus allowing them to develop a more comprehensive awareness and realisation of both their evolving identity dynamics and their position in the world.

6. The research aims to inform local and international discussions concerned with migration and cosmopolitanism. This project has the potential to shed light on the underlying relationship between cosmopolitanism and the modern migration experience, developing new and deeper perceptions regarding the dynamic living paradigms of contemporary migrants. Essentially, the proposed research findings will act as a valuable resource in ongoing debates about cosmopolitanism in terms of its interrelationship with localism, nationalism and transnationalism. At the same time, this research has certain implications for policy making when it comes to migrant settlement, social integration, world citizenship education, diaspora advantage and intercultural communication strategies.

Overall, this research delves into unexplored territory, investigating how cosmopolitanism can be utilised in everyday life by migrants to overcome socialising barriers and navigate through difference and thus obtain a sense of home in a cross-cultural context. As a newly-emerged means of understanding the consequences of social interactions across national and cultural boundaries, cosmopolitanism has become a promising field of theoretical endeavour by focusing on questions related to global diaspora, migrant mobilities and multiple identities. Nowicka and
Rovisco (2009, 1) have pointed out that, ‘investigations of actually-existing cosmopolitanisms (Robbins 1998) and of cosmopolitanism as a research method to study the social beyond the national are now at the heart of the research agenda of the social sciences’. This thesis takes up this call by utilising cosmopolitanism as a theoretical framework to explore whether and how cosmopolitan attitudes and practices are employed by migrant individuals to navigate through difference and cope with diversities at the level of everyday life.

1.5 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters organised into four parts: the first part includes the first two chapters and provides a contextual backdrop. This first introductory chapter is followed by a comprehensive discussion of the contemporary trend for Chinese migration to New Zealand from the 1990s onwards. The discussion traces the shifting approach to migration in both sending countries (i.e. China) and receiving countries (i.e. New Zealand), and provides an understanding of how structural and historical conditions influence and shape the wider living situation of these migrants. At the same time, Chapter Two provides a detailed introduction to the new Chinese migrants with a focus on their socio-economic outcomes in New Zealand.

The second part of the thesis (Chapters Three and Four) offers a theoretical and methodological framework for the whole thesis and lays the foundation for the analysis and discussions within the following research finding chapters. The key theoretical assumptions that inform and guide the research are outlined in Chapter Three. They are based on a principal literature review of cosmopolitanism as the theoretical framework for understanding the practices and experiences of new Chinese migrants. The insights obtained from this literature review are then integrated into the discussion of how the theory of cosmopolitanism in migration studies is relevant to and used in this research project. Chapter Four introduces the methodological basis for this research project, illustrating why and how in-depth interviews were used to collect the data, and exploring the relationship between researcher and participants. Information including sampling and interviewee recruitment, the interview schedule and design of questions, process for conducting interviews, as well as methods used to analyse data will also be provided.

The third part of the thesis includes the three research findings chapters (Chapters Five, Six and Seven) to present the results from the qualitative research. Chapter Five draws on the concept of
‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, exploring the struggle with and opportunities for cosmopolitan engagements that occur in intercultural encounters in everyday life. Chapter Six will be based on the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, examining how interacting dynamics between rootedness and openness amongst these Chinese migrants shape the possibilities for negotiating difference and building cross-cultural relationship networks. Chapter Seven draws attention to the emotional dimension of migratory movement, asking about the role played by emotions in generating cosmopolitan sociability and building a sense of comfort in everyday migrant life.

The final part of the thesis (Chapter Eight) draws together the contextual and theoretical discussions offered with the data presented in the third part of the thesis and delivers a discussion and a conclusion. It offers concluding remarks based on the most significant findings/themes of the research and, at the same time, discusses the implications and insights for further scholarly research within the field of cosmopolitanism and migration. It highlights that cosmopolitanism in everyday life needs to be read in relation to the uneven dynamics of social relations, the emotional complexities involved in them, and the particular biographies of migrant individuals.

The theoretical and empirical insights generated across the thesis establish that becoming cosmopolitan does not come easily and it is not a given outcome of exposure to increasing levels of transnational mobilities or intercultural interactions, but rather occurs through and in relation to social structures and power relations that individual migrants negotiate in society. Moreover, this project will demonstrate that the process of becoming cosmopolitan relies on much more than intercultural competence. It demands ongoing emotional labour in order to overcome the dissonance that characterises the lives of many migrants. Accordingly, this study extends our understanding of cosmopolitanism by researching its social situatedness, its relation to rootedness, and its emotional dimension with a focus on quotidian and down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements conducted by migrant individuals in a non-Eurocentric framework. To begin this journey the following chapter will introduce the research context of this project and in particular the ostensibly ‘desirable’ new Chinese migrants to New Zealand.
Chapter Two
New Chinese Migrants in New Zealand: The ‘Desirable’ Ones?

2.1 Introduction
The objective of this chapter is to illustrate who ‘new Chinese migrants’ are and to introduce their socio-demographic characteristics. It will also pay attention to the socio-cultural context of their migration, which provides an understanding of how structural and historical conditions influence and shape the wider living situation of these migrants. Firstly, an overview of the major migration policy changes of both the immigrant-sending country (i.e. China) and the receiving country (i.e. New Zealand) will be provided. At the same time, how the policy changes relate to the size and composition of the present Chinese community and the (potentially different) backgrounds of its constituent members will be discussed, which offers more intellectual depth for theorising and analysis later in this thesis. Secondly, drawing on relevant literature on new Chinese migration to New Zealand and the most recent statistical data, this chapter will draw a profile of the research cohort, with a focus on its migration patterns and categories, its education, and its employment situations. This profile includes information about these migrants’ settlement outcomes and socio-economic integration within the wider society of New Zealand, and how they have been perceived by the media and the public. Moreover, the chapter will provide a brief introduction about how new Chinese migrants have developed ethnoscapes\(^4\) and created new and different spaces and senses of place in Auckland, which is the major destination of Asian migration. The third part of this chapter highlights that many new

\(^4\) Friesen (2015) used the concept of ‘ethnoscape’ to consider the impact that Asian migrants have had on Auckland. Friesen (2015, 29) points out that the concept was coined by Arjun Appadurai who defines it as ‘the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, migrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups and persons’ (Appadurai 1990, 7).
Chinese migrants moved to New Zealand driven by their imagination towards a ‘cosmopolitan’ West.

This chapter presents the historical background in which new Chinese migrants were facilitated, motivated, and able to leave their homeland and embark on their migration to New Zealand, amongst other Western settler societies. It illustrates how these migrants are different from the earlier Chinese migrants and how they are perceived and selected as ‘desirable’ migrants for New Zealand due to their human or financial capital. Essentially, the chapter attempts to demonstrate how their personal biographies, their notions of race and difference, and their imagination towards the West, as well as how they have been defined and approached by the host society, have oriented and shaped their migration patterns and settlement situations.

2.2 Migration policies of receiving and sending countries

2.2.1 An overview of New Zealand’s immigration policy change and its effects on new Chinese migrants

Before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, there were only 2,000 non-Maori in New Zealand, and 90 percent of those were British (Philips 2006, 33; Spoonley and Bedford 2012, 29). The Treaty radically changed the nature of immigration and the numbers involved—it specified a special relationship with Britain, and, as a result, immigrants from the United Kingdom were privileged, a recurring theme in immigration policy framework to New Zealand (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). For most of the country’s history, especially until the 1970s, immigration acceptability had been defined in relation to these strong ties with Britain (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). There was a strong belief in the superiority of white people and a desire to make New Zealand a ‘Britain of the South Seas’ (Beaglehole 2012a). The result was a racially discriminatory immigration framework from the 1880s through to the mid-twentieth century—British and Irish immigrants dominated for most of this period of settlement (Spoonley and Bedford 2012).

‘Cosmopolitan’ here refers to a set of qualities that Chinese migrants assume the Western lifestyle has, such as modern, free, sophisticated, fashionable, and refined. It is different from what ‘cosmopolitanism’ means in my research as a theoretical framework and analytical tool.
When the arrivals were not British or Irish, they faced major barriers: the Chinese Immigrants Act 1881 was the first to restrict the entry of a specific group of people, targeting the Chinese who first arrived when they were invited to work Otago’s declining goldfields (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). By the 1920s, it became harder for anyone who was not British to get into New Zealand: people from all over the globe faced restrictions (Beaglehole 2012b). Strong imperial sentiments in the colonial period and views about race through the 19th and much of the 20th centuries largely explain the purpose of New Zealand’s immigration restrictions (Spoonley and Bedford 2012).

These discriminatory or exclusionary approaches began to change during the second half of the twentieth century (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). In the 1950s, due to economic expansion and labour shortages, the New Zealand government began actively recruiting labourers from Pacific countries to work in its industrial and agricultural sectors, and, accordingly, formal work-permit schemes were introduced from the late 1960s (Lee and Francis 2009). In 1971 Norman Kirk, who became prime minister in 1972, argued that New Zealand needed an immigration policy that was not based on prospective migrants’ ethnicity, religion or nationality, since the future of New Zealand lay with Asia and the Pacific (Beaglehole 2012c). These early shifts in policy and rhetoric signalled the following significant changes in New Zealand migration regime.

Beginning in 1974, the criteria for entry to New Zealand gradually changed from race or nationality to merit and skills. As a result, New Zealand has been seen as a ‘country of migrants’ (Bedford 2003) and has been one of the top migrant-receiving countries in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development since the late 20th century (Simon-Kumar 2015). In 1986, New Zealand reached a turning point in terms of immigration policy when it adopted the 1986 Immigration Review and the subsequent 1987 Amendment to the Immigration Act, which opened its doors to immigrants beyond the ‘traditional source countries’ (i.e. the United Kingdom and Ireland) and ushered in an era of multi-ethnic population movement into New Zealand (Simon-Kumar 2015). Further, in 1991 these changes were followed by the introduction of a points system, in which the English language thresholds required for gaining residence were low (Bedford 2002; Simon-Kumar 2015). During this period, which Bedford (2005, 135) has called ‘the years of optimism’, New Zealand attracted a substantial number of skilled and business migrants, first from the Pacific and South East Asia, and after 1988 from Northeast Asia (Bedford 2002; Simon-Kumar 2015).
Since the late 1980s, the overall emphasis of New Zealand’s immigration policy has been characterised by a focus on recruiting highly skilled and business immigrants to boost economic productivity (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard 2005; Simon-Kumar 2015). Most of the policy changes have been based on short-term immigration outcomes (Bedford and Ho 1998) in order to better fit the country’s economic needs and social dynamics (Liu 2010). With policy adjustments through the 1990s and after the turn of the 21st century, New Zealand has used immigration to contribute to economic development in relation to labour market shortages, and to develop new geo-political connections to Asia (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). However, there have remained challenges with the settlement of migrants and their acceptance by the public (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Therefore, at the same time, a set of changes have been introduced which are designed to limit the numbers of new migrants through tighter restrictions on entry criteria, with the aim of addressing negative social consequences provoked by a higher influx of migrants and the subsequent anti-migration discourses (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard 2005).

Over the last three decades, ethnic Chinese migrants to New Zealand have mainly come from the People’s Republic of China (hereafter China), Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Migrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan made their presence felt from the early 1990s onward, while those from China began to arrive in significant numbers in the mid- to late 1990s (Ip 2006). In part, this relates to source region differences. People from Hong Kong and Taiwan started moving overseas in the late 1960s, and continued to do so in significant numbers into the 1990s. China, by contrast, entered into the international migration arena rather late (Skeldon 2004), due to its geo-political characteristics (which will be introduced in more detail later in this chapter). The presence of these new Chinese migrants in New Zealand can be seen as a result of the 1986 Immigration Policy Review which introduced a proactive immigration policy to recruit high-quality talents and economic investment. The subsequent introduction of a points-based selection system in November 1991 was another major effort by the New Zealand government to attract highly skilled and business migrants from non-traditional source countries. These policy changes have not only greatly transformed the economic, social and cultural landscape of New Zealand, but have also had a major impact on both the size and characteristics of the Chinese population in New Zealand (Liu 2010).

This section will highlight and introduce these significant changes to the New Zealand immigration programme since 1986. These changes include the August 1986 Immigration Policy Review, the introduction of a points-based selection system and the
business/entrepreneurial immigration scheme in 1991, the tightening of criteria governing the operation of the points system in 1995, the launching of the New Zealand Immigration Programme in 2001, the introduction of a new selection system in 2003 and finally some major changes from around 2005 and onwards. The aim is not to provide a full policy review with exhaustive coverage, but to undertake a broad summary of migration policies that have had implications for migrants from China. A solid outline of the legal and institutional context in which the new Chinese migration occurred is important to the understanding of the influx of the migrants who make up the targeted research cohort, and their socio-economic backgrounds. These migration policy changes, as I detail below, will be divided into three time periods: late 1980s to mid-1990s, late 1990s to early 2000s, from around 2005 onwards.

**Late 1980s-mid-1990s**

In New Zealand, Asian immigration was strictly regulated until 1974, and the entry of Chinese migrants in particular was effectively banned for a long period of time. The change started with the review of immigration policy in 1986 which led to the adoption of a comparatively liberal immigration policy based on personal merit rather than discrimination by nationality or ethnicity (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). This review provided the policy basis for the 1987 Immigration Act, and removed the ‘discrimination on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin’ (Burke 1986, 11). This significant change in 1987 proclaimed a liberal philosophy of selecting immigrants based on an assessment of personal qualifications and their potential financial and entrepreneurial contributions to New Zealand society (Ip 1995). Under the Immigration Act 1987, immigrants were selected according to three categories (Beaglehole 2012 d):

- A skills and business stream. An occupational priority list identified skills needed in New Zealand. Priority was also given to entrepreneurs and business people; business immigrants were expected to transfer at least NZ$150,000 to New Zealand. Ability in English language was assessed in interviews. This category proved by far the most important, and accounted for over half the immigrants who arrived after 1987.

- A family stream. Restrictions on family migration were eased under the 1987 act. Migrants who did not have immediate relatives elsewhere in the world were allowed to join family members living in New Zealand. Up to a third of the subsequent immigrants came under this category.

- A humanitarian stream. This was for people whose circumstances were causing them emotional or physical harm. In most years about 10% entered New Zealand under this category.
The establishment of these policies is considered to be the culmination of the gradual shift which began in the 1960s, and it marked a real departure from the earlier policy framework that used nationality and ethnic origin as the basis for admitting immigrants (Beaglehole 2012 d). These immigration policy changes were closely related to the specific political and economic environment of New Zealand at the time (Liu 2010). In 1984, the Fourth Labour Government came into power and immigration was seen as an effective means to attract more foreign investment capital and stimulate domestic economic growth (Liu 2010). For more than ten years before 1984, various factors, including a closed economy, loss of Britain as a guaranteed market for export, growing public debt and the costs of maintaining a universal welfare system, had led to an economic downturn for New Zealand (Ho et al. 1997). In response, the Fourth Labour Government carried out a set of radical economic deregulations with the aim of invigorating the country’s economic development (Liu 2010). At the same time, the new immigration policy was designed to alleviate the ‘brain-drain’ situation resulting from the strong emigration of young well-educated New Zealanders, by filling labour and skill shortages (Henderson 2003; Liu 2010). Moreover, the New Zealand government aimed to utilise migration to build and strengthen linkages to the rest of the world, especially the rising powers in Pacific region (Larner 1998). Essentially, these policy changes were manifestations of New Zealand’s neoliberal agenda regarding immigration policy (Bedford 2005; Simon-Kumar 2015).

In 1990, the fourth National Government came to power and adopted an even more proactive stance towards international immigration. National’s 1991 policy changes included two major parts: the first was the introduction of a revised Business Investment Category (BIC), and the second was the encouragement of skilled immigration via a General Category (GC) that featured a points-based selection system (Trlin 1997). The points system aimed to shift the focus from obtaining immediate economic and financial benefit from new migrants to a greater determination of human capital in migrants as a means to secure ‘quality migrants’ who could potentially contribute to the nation’s social development and economic growth in the long run (Birch 1989; Ip 1995; Trlin 1997).

The points system had a significant impact on the numbers and composition of the Chinese migrants arriving in New Zealand. In terms of arrival conditions, the GC category, especially the General Investment Category (GIC), a sub-division of the GC category, quickly became the main channel through which Asian applicants gained residency (Liu 2010). By 1993, the percentage of Asians migrating to New Zealand under the GIC sub-division reached as high as
86 percent, or almost 58 percent of the total GC approvals (Trlin 1997, 9; Liu 2010). Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, and, to a lesser degree, China, were the major contributing regions for these Asian migrants. As a result, as shown in Table 2.1, the numbers of approved applicants under both the BIC and the GC categories from Britain were overtaken by Chinese from the three main origin regions of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Of these three regions, Hong Kong and Taiwan contributed the majority of Chinese immigration. The Hong Kong arrivals started the earliest and peaked in 1991, and they were followed by migrants from Taiwan whose numbers peaked in 1996 (Ip 2011). Apart from New Zealand, the exodus of Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese that took place from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s was also widely evidenced in other immigration countries such as Canada, Australia, and USA (Liu 2010). This sudden and dramatic exodus has been regarded as a response to the political fear and anxiety surrounding the impending takeover of the former British colony of Hong Kong by the Chinese government (Ho, Ip and Bedford 2001; Ip 2011; Liu 2010; Skeldon 2006). These migrants from Hong Kong were even labelled as ‘reluctant exiles’ because they were actually unwilling to leave prosperous Hong Kong, but needed to have a foreign passport in case the ‘one country, two systems’ promised by China did not work out (Ip 2011; Skeldon 1994, 2006).

**Table 2.1** Entry approvals to New Zealand, 1993 – policy categories and a British/Chinese comparison

*Source: Liu (2010) based on data from New Zealand Immigration Services*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origins</th>
<th>GC</th>
<th>BIC</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Humanitarian</th>
<th>Refugee</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>2312</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Chinese</td>
<td>5187</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>2959</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4573</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The New Zealand government embarked on these policy changes in a relatively rapid manner and considered immigration as part of a wider neoliberal reconfiguration of society (Larner 1996). Its inclusion/exclusion criteria towards immigrants was considered to be relatively colour-blind and seemed to judge potential migrants based on their personal attributes and capacity to contribute appropriate human or financial capital (Simon-Kumar 2015). By contrast, in wider society the increasingly cultural and ethnic diversity brought by new migrants from non-traditional source countries appeared to cause more friction. A number of opinion polls revealed that the public held positive and welcoming attitudes towards migrants from the United Kingdom and South Africa, while feeling negative towards the policies that encouraged Asian migration (Ip 2001). There was also significant negative press around the growing population of Asian migrants in New Zealand (how Asian immigrants are perceived by the media and the public of New Zealand will be outlined in more detail later in this chapter).

One consequence of these societal responses was an effort by the government to reduce the rapid increase of Asian migrants (Henderson et al. 1997), a set of policy changes were made in October 1995 to tighten the entry criteria. The highlight was the higher English language requirement for both principal and non-principal (aged over 16) skilled and business migrants. All principal applicants from non-English speaking countries under both BIC and GC categories had to achieve a minimum band score of 5 in the General Training Module of the IELTS (International English Language Testing System). Their spouses and dependants aged 16 years old or over were required to pay NZ$20,000 as a language bond if they failed to meet the English language requirements within the specified time. Ip argues that ‘no other settler countries from the Pacific Rim had such rigid and financially punitive English language requirements in the modern age of immigration’ (Ip 2001, 48). Liu (2010) also pointed out that this introduction of the English language filter had similarities to the English language reading test of the 19th century, since both were designed to set barriers for migrants from non-English-speaking countries. Discursively framed as ‘English is a key to successful settlement’ (New Zealand Immigration Services 1995, 10), the language filter appeared benign but was effectively a populist response to regulate immigrants whose presence was generating negative responses in society.

Following the 1995 policy changes, there was a substantial decline in Asian immigration that lasted into the late 1990s (Bedford, Lidgard, and Ho 2005). As shown in Figure 2.1, Chinese migrant numbers in particular witnessed a dramatic decline, and those from Taiwan and Hong
Kong were hit particularly hard (Henderson 2003; Ip 2001; Liu 2010). Apart from the effect of the immigration policy changes in New Zealand, this decline was also related to the wider emigration context of Hong Kong and Taiwan. As previously mentioned, the migration wave of Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese which lasted from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s was largely triggered by the fear of an uncertain future related to the impending reversion of Hong Kong to Communist Chinese rule (Ip 2011). This migration wave calmed after Hong Kong’s transfer of sovereignty in 1997. It should be noted that there were substantial declines in the number of Hong Kong and Taiwan migrants across the world in the late 1990s, as the 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis was resolved and it became apparent that the handover of Hong Kong to China would not have any immediate negative effects.

However, the 1995 policy changes did not appear to influence the momentum of migration from China as much as might have been expected (Liu 2010). Instead, these changes allowed significant numbers of well-educated and skilled migrants from China to begin to settle in New Zealand from around the mid-1990s, as shown in Figure 2.1. Their number increased rapidly in the late 1990s, making China not only the top contributing region for New Zealand’s Asian immigrant intake, but also one of the top sources of New Zealand’s overall immigrant intake (Ip 2011). The major reason behind this trend was most likely that the applicants from China mainly relied on the accrual of points for human capital, rather than financial capital, which applicants from Taiwan and Hong Kong drew on (Liu 2010). Therefore, the tightening-up of selection criteria in relation to business immigration was not able to exert huge effects over the China cohort. In addition, because China has a large population base, there were still large number applicants from China who were skilled and had high English competency (Henderson 2003). More importantly, the momentum of Chinese immigration is closely related to the international emigration context and conditions of the sending country, China. Due to the opening-up policy in 1978, there had been significant social transformation and economic development in China. Accordingly, Chinese nationals had undertaken increasing cross-border mobilities. By the late 1990s, international migration had become a growing phenomenon in China, and there had been a ‘fever’ of going abroad among financially and socially privileged Chinese people.
**Figure 2.1** Number of Permanent Residence approvals from selected North Asian countries/regions 1987-2013  
Source: Friesen (2015) based on data from Immigration New Zealand

**Late 1990s to early 2000s**

In order to decrease the impact of the 1995 policy changes and remedy the migration decline, in 1997 the New Zealand government instituted a number of policy changes to loosen the selection requirements. These changes included some relaxation of the English language requirements for applicants under the business migration scheme (Bedford and Ho 1998). The introduction of the 1998 policy package was also designed to attract more economic migrants (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard 2005). The most significant changes were the abolition of the English language bond for non-principal residence applicants. Instead, the government provided pre-paid English language training on an approved course while introducing some new migration schemes and
visa categories for potential migrants, such as entrepreneur/investor migration, long-term visas for business people, and so on.

The launch of the New Zealand Immigration Programme (NZIP) in October 2001 and the introduction of a managed entry regime are considered to be the major significant immigration policy initiative during the Labour Government’s first term (1999-2002). A set of further changes were made between 2000 and 2001 to keep the entry criteria relatively low, with the aim of attracting more skilled and business migrants. Apart from this October 2001 package, the initiative ‘work to residence’ in April 2002 was significant since it attracted highly employable people to become permanent residents. The ‘talent visa’ and the ‘POL (Priority Occupation List) work permit’, as the two major parts included in 2002 initiative, aimed to attract highly skilled migrants to New Zealand and thus produce more knowledge and ideas that would create economic value and promote technological innovation (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard 2005, 20).

What followed was the introduction of the ‘Job Search Visa’ (JSV) in November 2002. All these initiatives were carried out by the government to facilitate the transitional process for people who held temporary visas (work permits or student visas) to obtain New Zealand residence (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard 2005). They had a significant impact on the arrival conditions of new Chinese migrants, especially those who obtained their residence after 2003. A large percentage of new Chinese migrants obtained residency through on-shore application process. These on-shore Chinese were admitted under work permits or JSVs during the transitional stage before applying for Permanent Residence (Liu 2010). Many of them were Chinese international students who came to New Zealand between 2000 and 2002 and who sought residence after finishing their studies (Liu 2010).

In 2003, the New Zealand government introduced a two-stage application system for Permanent Residence for the Skilled Migrant Category (SMC), where applicants could apply for Permanent Residence by invitation only after being selected from an initial Expression of Interest (EOI) pool. The essence of this new selection system was to add more control to the passive acceptance produced by the points system, and it facilitated the active selection of ‘high quality’ skilled migrants (Liu 2010). Under this new scheme, applicants who obtained a certain level of points could be recruited into a selection pool after submitting an expression of interest (EOI), and if they qualified, would then be invited to apply for residence if they qualify. This new selection system was introduced with a view to securing more effective and successful
settlement outcomes for migrants (Liu 2010). It recognised the difficulties that many new migrants, especially those from Asia, encounter in terms of housing, employment, and integrating with mainstream society (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). When the Labour-led government came to power in 1999, diversity was signalled as a key goal, and a range of settlement support was provided for migrants to obtain better information, improvement in English language skills, better engagement with the community and stronger ties with employers (Simon-Kumar 2015). During the early 2000s, the government for the first time set a coherent framework for New Zealand’s ‘multicultural’ context (Simon-Kumar 2015). Although it was not enacted through a legal commitment, it was effectively a form of ‘de facto multiculturalism’ (Fleras 2009, 134; Simon-Kumar 2015).

From the late 1990s to early 2000s, China was the dominant source country in Asia for migration to New Zealand. In 1997, China for the first time became the second-largest source country for New Zealand’s immigrant intake, just after Great Britain. During the following years, the number of migrants from China continued to increase steadily, especially after the launching of the New Zealand Immigration Programme in 2001, and it peaked in 2003, as shown in Figure 2.2. After 2003, the United Kingdom continued to be the largest source country for New Zealand’s immigrant intake, but the number of residence approvals for those from Europe and North America increased, and there was some reduction in immigrant numbers from China and India. Although the approvals for applicants from China witnessed a huge drop for a period of time after 2003, there was a trend of catching up again in 2005. Even though the migrant numbers from China have not returned to their highest level recorded at the beginning of the 2000s, China has still remained the second-largest source for residency approvals in New Zealand, coming after Great Britain, as shown in Figure 2.2.
2005 and onwards

After 2005, a set of policy changes were carried out to tighten the rules around sponsorship, expand the powers to collect and store biometric information, and implement limitations to the appeals process (Simon-Kumar 2015). New investor and entrepreneur categories—Investor/Entrepreneur and Investor/Entrepreneur Plus—were introduced in late 2009, with the aim of attracting business migrants (Simon-Kumar 2015), lowering the entry criteria, and speeding up the fast-track applications for large investors (Coleman 2011). Most recently, the National Government introduced a series of changes relating to family reunification, in order to restrict high-income migrants’ ability to sponsor family reunification (Bedford and Liu 2013). In addition, the sponsorship of siblings and adult children as part of family reunification was
terminated as research had shown that employment and settlement prospects for family-sponsored migration were poor (Simon-Kumar 2015, 1178).

In the previous decade, ‘class’ had become the major desirability factor for potential migrants—a claim that is evidenced in the way immigration policy amendments have been made to attract high-income migrants and regulate low-income ones (Simon-Kumar 2015). Simon-Kumar (2015, 1184) provided examples to further support this argument. High-income migrants are offered more advantages and incentives, whereas low-income migrants now face penalties—children of low-income migrants are required to pay international student fees even when the parents are employed; and, in 2012, changes regarding family reunification were passed that make it difficult for low-income migrants to bring parents into the country (Bedford and Liu 2013). By contrast, the high-end migrant—the investor and the highly skilled worker—enjoys a range of fast-tracked benefits (Simon-Kumar 2015).

Given the upwards trend of migrants from Asia entering the country in the 2000s, claims that race is an explicit factor for regulating and evaluating potential migrants seems to be complicated (Simon-Kumar 2015). Within the research of Simon-Kumar (2015), data can be found to show that there remains a large percentage of skilled migrants from Asia (see Table 2.2) although the United Kingdom continues to dominate. Similarly, she pointed out that the fastest-growing group of approvals under the Entrepreneur Business Category are South Koreans. Thus Simon-Kumar’s research (2015) has argued that funds or qualifications rather than race have become the relevant factors of desirability.

**Table 2.2 Source countries for skilled migrant category, 2007/2008–2010/2011 (Percentages)**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The immigration policy of New Zealand has undergone a set of significant changes, starting from welcoming migrants from non-traditional source countries in the late 1980s, to being charged with intense Asian xenophobia in the 1990s, then moving back to a more humane migration framework in the 2000s (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Simon-Kumar (2015) has argued that these policy changes have been an instrument of neoliberal development responding to domestic and global market changes. She has further pointed out that the immigration policy of New Zealand has successfully moved from being a passive instrument to a dynamic and interventionist mechanism that is utilised to identify and attract economically beneficial migrants.

At the same time, the research of Simon-Kumar (2015, 1186) has argued that there has been a strong emphasis on race woven into the seemingly ‘race-free neoliberalism’ since ‘race is inextricably tied to class and class mobility’—‘the desirable ideal migrant to New Zealand government is entirely a classed concept’. She defined the ‘desirable’ high-income migrants for New Zealand in the twenty-first century as those individuals who are globally mobile, flexible and cosmopolitan and whose seeming racial differences can be overshadowed by the shared global culture of consumption. Moreover, Simon-Kumar’s understanding of the migration framework of New Zealand indicates that desirable migrants are not necessarily expected to have an outlook for long-term settlement or a sense of belonging to New Zealand, since the most important aspect is to be able to invest their financial or human capital during their stay in New Zealand whether in a permanent or temporary/transient way.

A comprehensive understanding of the immigration policy changes of New Zealand allows us to understand why certain Chinese migrants can be perceived and selected as desirable migrants. Yet, in order to fully understand how these desirable migrants managed to leave their homeland and embark on a migration path that brought them to the South Pacific, it is also important for us to examine the counterpart polices or regulations of the sending country, China. Thus, the next section will look at the shifting attitudes and policies of China towards emigration.

2.2.2 China’s changing perspectives towards international emigration

Migration policies in countries of origin play an important role in the migration process (Liu 2010; Xiang 2003). This is because the policy and regulations of the home country towards
emigration play a decisive role when it comes to the degree of international mobilities that their nationals are allowed to undertake. Moreover, the economic development and social changes of the sending country in which these policies occur influence the decision-making process of emigrants. On the one hand, processes of economic and social development have the potential strength to retain the country’s residents; on the other hand, these same economic and social resources may mean that people have more financial and social capital available for migratory mobility (Liu 2010). They may also expose them to the imaginative dimensions of what is possible in migration (Sun 2002). Drawing on a few sources from the existing relevant literature, this section presents a brief discussion of China’s changing social, economic, and political situations, and provides an overview of the policies pursued by the Chinese government regarding the emigration of Chinese nationals.

Historically, China was the major source of Chinese immigration, but in modern times China has entered the international migration arena much later than Hong Kong and Taiwan, due to a set of geopolitical reasons (Liu and Norcliffe 1996; Liu 2010; Xiang 2003). After the foundation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, the national border was highly politicised (Xiang 2003). According to Xiang (2003), the border was seen as a fault line between the ‘socialist’ and ‘capitalist’ worlds. Due to the Cold War—particularly prior to the late 1970s—geopolitics defined by East-West/socialist-capitalist confrontations, China maintained strict border controls and had little contact with the West. Chinese who emigrated spontaneously were seen as betraying the socialist ideology (Xiang 2003). The beginning of the Cultural Revolution (from 1966 to 1969) further damaged the foreign relations of China and resulted in an absence of official channels that could link Chinese people with immigrant-receiving countries (Liu and Norcliffe 1996). Consequently, international movements of Chinese people were blocked and China was in many respects isolated from the rest of the world (Liu and Norcliffe 1996).

Emigration restrictions were eased partly as a result of the economic open-door policy starting from the late 1970s. After the implementation of economic reforms and open-door policy in 1979, the Chinese government started to develop new perspectives towards emigration while actively making efforts to improve its diplomatic relations with the West (Liu and Norcliffe 1996). As Xiang (2003, 22) has described, this change by the Chinese government should be perceived as ‘a trend toward neutralization’. Xiang (2003) further pointed out that this neutralisation signifies a departure from a politicised stance towards emigration, and thus leaving the country is mostly treated as a matter of individual choice. A Chinese person going to
a Western country is no longer treated as a ‘betrayal’ or politically incorrect (Liu 2010). In 1984, more than 11,500 business visas were issued to Chinese citizens, and in 1985, approximately 15,000 Chinese scholars and students were in the United States alone.

While China began to experience ever-increasing geographical mobility of its nationals and more population movement across borders, migration policy changes also occurred in some major Western countries (Liu 2010). In the United States, the 1965 Immigration Act effectively removed all discriminatory quotas; the introduction in 1962 of a revised immigration regulation in Canada terminated the White Canada policy; in 1972, Australia put an end to its white immigration policy; and in 1987 New Zealand adopted its ‘human capital’-based selection criteria and removed racial bias from its immigration policy. All of these changes from these prospective immigrant-receiving countries further allowed Chinese people to enter the international migration arena.

One significant change within China was the passing of the Emigration and Immigration Law in November 1985, which was the official trigger for increasing migration flow (Liu 2010). Under this policy, the rights of Chinese people traveling outside China were officially guaranteed (Liu 2010). It allowed Chinese citizens who wished to leave the country for private purposes to travel overseas more easily, and thus triggered increasing migration flows (Liu and Norcliffe 1996; Skeldon 1996). During the early 1990s, the Chinese government relaxed its restrictive control over international migration, which produced a wave of Chinese people moving overseas. However, for the vast majority of the Chinese population, overseas travel was something far away from their everyday life and they were not familiar with the concept of international migration. From a practical point of view, there were various kinds of challenges for them to overcome in terms of leaving China. To start with, obtaining a passport at that time was a complex and long process, in which one had to apply for permission from a variety of authorities and sources, and utilise personal contacts to negotiate the complex bureaucracy (Skeldon 1996).

International migration started to become a growing phenomenon in China from late 1990s, and was closely related to significant social transformation and economic development within China. Instead of moving to those traditional destinations in Southeast Asia which had dominated

---

migration patterns centuries earlier, most Chinese people’s preferred choices became the Western countries in North America and Australasia (Skeldon 2004). Moreover, international migration has been increasingly utilised by the Chinese government as an effective method to facilitate China’s integration into the world economy. Accordingly, the Chinese government has increasingly shown an apolitical and neutral attitude when it comes to migration issues over the last twenty years, compared with earlier times (Xiang 2003).

The earlier Chinese migration in the 19th century was mainly driven by internal poverty and natural disasters in China. The early Chinese migrants were mostly uneducated male peasants from rural Southern China. They chose to migrate in order to make more money by seizing economic opportunities in the gold mines of the Western world and the tin mines and plantations of Central America (Eng 2006; Skeldon 2004). In New Zealand, a similar wave of migration occurred in the 1870s when an increasing number of Chinese worked as gold miners (Spoonley and Bedford 2010). Differing from these early Chinese migrants, the new Chinese migrants to New Zealand who are the focus of this research are highly educated professionals with at least middle-class backgrounds. They have managed to qualify and meet the entry criteria of their receiving country through specialised skills or financial capital, and they have mainly migrated for non-economic reasons (Ip 2011). Pursuing a more relaxed lifestyle and a better living environment, seeking a more advanced educational system for their offspring, as well as gaining more security for the future through obtaining a Western passport, have been the most significant driving force behind this migratory movement (Eng 2006; Ip 2011).

It is important to highlight the gap between the primary objective of New Zealand’s 1987 open-door immigration policy and the Chinese migrants’ perspectives towards migrating to New Zealand (Liu 2010). The major aim of New Zealand’s policy changes which began in the late 1980s is to stimulate economic development and alleviate labour shortages, attracting highly skilled or business migrants who can bring economic benefits (Spoonley and Bedford 2012; Simon-Kumar 2015). However, the overall priority for recent Chinese migrants to New Zealand is not purely economic. They decided to leave China for the following reasons. Firstly, New Zealand is perceived as a beautiful, peaceful and liberal country. The pleasing natural environment, advanced education system, and welfare system are the major attractions for the Chinese (Friesen and Ip 1997). Secondly, as a former colony of Britain, New Zealand has been seen as one of the representative English-speaking Western countries. Living in a Western country has recently been one of the major driving forces for Chinese migration. New Zealand
can satisfy their desire for the cosmopolitan West. Thirdly, compared to other receiving countries, such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, New Zealand has relatively low entry criteria and living costs. The next section will draw a profile of these new Chinese migrants and introduce their living situation in New Zealand.

2.3 Profile of the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand

Drawing on data from the latest New Zealand Census 2013 and from the results of other relevant research, this section aims to illustrate the unique characteristics of the new Chinese migrants, with a focus on the following aspects: mobility patterns, migration categories, educational background and employment status. Moreover, it will explore how Asian migrants in general are reflected in the media and seen by the public in New Zealand, especially during the 1990s when their numbers were growing substantially. This section on the whole aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the issues that are associated with the settlement, socioeconomic integration and sense of belonging of these new Chinese migrants into wider New Zealand society.

2.3.1 Mobility patterns, migration categories, and general demographics

The new Chinese migrants are the most recent arrivals among the ethnic Chinese groups in New Zealand. Unlike the earliest Chinese migrants to New Zealand, who were mostly peasants from rural Southern China forced to leave by natural disasters, and who then arrived in New Zealand as gold miners, these recent Chinese migrants are a very mobile social group who are young, well-educated, highly skilled professionals, technocrats, or business entrepreneurs and urban dwellers (Ip 1995, 187). The new Chinese migrants gained residence because they were considered by New Zealand’s Immigration Service to possess valuable human and financial capital, and to be capable of contributing to New Zealand’s economic and social development. After obtaining New Zealand Permanent Residence and/or Citizenship, these new Chinese migrants have displayed a more transnational migration pattern with ongoing movements and close contacts with China (Ip 2011). They have developed more circular migration patterns as well as generational shifts, as the 1.5 and 2nd generations have become increasingly prominent (Bartley and Spoonley 2008). In recent years, similarly to their Hong Kong and Taiwan counterparts, these new Chinese migrants have shown a strong tendency towards return migration and step-migration (Ip 2006). These movements are closely related to the changing
geo-economic situation in both China and New Zealand, and also inseparably connected to globalisation processes happening throughout the world.

Based on their mobility characteristics, these new Chinese migrants in New Zealand can be generally classified into four categories (Ip 2011). The first group is the ‘stayers’ or ‘settlers’, who mainly live in New Zealand after migration. The second group is the ‘returnees’, who live in China most of the time after obtaining New Zealand Permanent Residence or Citizenship. The third group is ‘transnationals or commuters’, who travel between New Zealand and other countries, including China. The fourth group consists of Chinese migrants who plan to move, or have already moved, from New Zealand to a third country (‘step-migration’ or ‘circulation migration’). Despite differences among these mobility patterns, these migrants all maintain cross-border connections, especially with China and their first immigration destination country of New Zealand. My research mainly focuses on the new Chinese migrants who are ‘stayers’, i.e. those who have been mainly living in New Zealand long-term after migration, although many of them have maintained connections to their family members and social networks back home.

My research cohort can be divided into two groups: the 1.5 generation migrant youth and the first generation migrants. The term ‘1.5 generation’ refers to those adolescents who followed their parents to migrate to a new country before or during their early teens, generally between 6-14 years old. These 1.5 generation Chinese migrant youth were not generally the decision-makers in terms of migration. Nonetheless, one of the major reasons that their parents chose to leave China was to obtain a better and more relaxed education environment for them. Growing up in a Chinese migrant family household in New Zealand, most 1.5 generation migrants are likely to be bilingual and familiar with two cultures (Bartley and Spoonley 2008). Hybridity is a salient feature of identity and cultural orientation amongst these intergenerational migrant youth (Ang 2001; Ngan and Chan 2012). On one hand, 1.5 generation migrants often become familiar with or integrated into the socio-cultural norms of the society they grow up in. Yet they are also expected by their parents and communities, and often by wider society, to have an affiliation with, and the ability to negotiate, their parents’ societies (Min and Kim 2000; Ngan and Chan 2012). They inhabit, then, a classically liminal position characterised by feelings of in-betweenness that permeates their sense of identity and everyday life. The research finding chapters in this thesis will introduce in detail how the in-between positions of 1.5 generation migrants facilitate or limit the building of relationship networks across difference.
As Bartley and Spoonley (2008) note, the 1.5 generation Chinese migrant youth tend to exhibit greater intercultural competency, differing from their parents and earlier migrants who were more socially and culturally rooted within their homeland. With a longing to be in the rapidly-developing Asian countries their parents came from, or other immigration destinations where myriad opportunities appear to exist, the 1.5 generation migrants are usually highly motivated and open-minded individuals who prefer to have a variety of migration options (Bartley and Spoonley 2008; Chiang 2001). Based on a survey conducted by Bartley and Spoonley (2008), only a quarter of the 1.5 generation respondents indicated a preference for remaining in New Zealand, while most of them suggested that they want to return to their home countries or seek international working experience in other countries. In comparison, the first generation Chinese migrants, having not grown up in New Zealand, are likely to have different mobility patterns and settlement experiences based upon certain limitations. Due to their lack of English language proficiency, relatively low intercultural familiarity, and lower socio-economic status, they are likely to face difficulties and struggles as they try to find their footing and establish a sense of belonging in New Zealand. In this research, many of the first generation interviewees expressed a strong sense of attachment towards China, Chinese culture and the Chinese community in New Zealand. Consequently, they find it challenging to socialise with the ethnically diverse population of their host country.

A few scholars have pointed out that the new Chinese migrants tend to use the on-shore application process for Permanent Residence visas (Bedford and Ho 1998; Ip 2006; Lidgard 1996). This trend has been further strengthened by the entry criteria tightening that took place in 2002, which requires a definite job offer in order to apply for residence. Accordingly, almost all applicants have to be on-shore to obtain more time, space, and opportunity to obtain a job offer (Liu 2010). In addition, a large number of Chinese international students obtain Job Search Visas after finishing their studies in New Zealand and are subsequently approved for residence (Ho 2005).

Taiwan and Hong Kong contributed significantly to New Zealand’s business immigration in the early 1990s, but business categories have never been used as the major channel for migrants from China to gain Permanent Residence in New Zealand (Ho 2003). That is to say, the new Chinese migrants tend to obtain entry based on their human capital rather than financial capital, and the majority of them have migrated under skilled categories (Ho 2003), as shown in Table 2.3. Before the new selection system in 2003, the auto-passed point system had been a great
advantage for well-educated young professionals from China, since they could accumulate high points from their educational qualifications, age, work experience, and family support (Liu 2010). Although there was a certain degree of decrease regarding residence applications from China for a while after the 2003 policy change, the application under skilled categories has maintained the growth momentum as migrants adapt to new settings and changes continue to take place in China and amongst potential migrants.

Table 2.3  Business and Skilled migrant residency approval between1998–2009 for the three major sources for New Zealand Chinese immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source: Liu (2010) based on data from New Zealand Immigration Services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong (SAR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of Asian people in New Zealand aged 65 and over is expected to reach 56,000 in 2021, which is five times the 2001 population of 11,000 (Statistics New Zealand 2006; cited in Li and Chong 2012). Immigrants comprised 91 percent of the total older Chinese population in 2006, compared to 26 percent of the total New Zealand population (Li and Chong 2012). Many of the older Chinese people in New Zealand obtained their residence under the family reunification category (Henderson 2003; Ip 2006). Drawing on New Zealand’s 2001 Census, Ip (2006) has pointed out that there was an ‘echo bulge’ in the 60 to 70-year-old age group, which was identified as the parents of the new Chinese migrants, as shown in Figure 2.3. According to Ip (2006), this ‘bulge’ is largely due to the fact that many of the skilled new Chinese migrants are
from the ‘one-child families’\(^7\) of big cities and they feel an obligation to take care of their ageing parents. This has manifested either in making frequent visits to their ageing parents in China and/or arranging for their parents to move to New Zealand (Ho and Bedford, 2008). Their desire and need to care for their parents could be satisfied by the latter method, which was easily done under New Zealand’s immigration legislation (Ip 2006). However, Liu (2010) argues that this ‘echo bulge’ for the China-born cohort started to disappear as shown in the 2006 census (see Figure 2.4). According to Liu (2010), this change is closely related to the fact that most recent migrants’ parents are of working age, and are unlikely to join their children until their retirement in China.

**Figure 2.3** Age-sex pyramid for the China-born ethnic Chinese population in the 2001 Census
Source: Ip (2006) based on data from New Zealand 2001 Census

---

\(^7\) The ‘one-child policy’ was introduced by the Chinese government in 1979 to address perceived imbalances in population growth. The policy decrees that a couple should have only one child and inflicts penalties if a couple has a second child.
In July 2012, for the first time in the history of New Zealand’s family sponsorship policies, income/wealth of parents and/or sponsors became the defining selection criterion. This radically different system introduced income thresholds for the sponsorship of family members, making it more difficult for low-income migrants to bring parents into the country (Bedford and Liu 2013; Simon-Kumar 2015). Regarding this change, the then-Immigration Minister Nathan Guy stated:

As you know, there will be a new two-tier process for the parents of New Zealand citizens and residents who want to migrate here. Applications from parents who have higher income sponsors, or who bring a guaranteed income or funds, will be processed faster than other applications. You will have got the picture now that we are very focused on attracting migrants who will bring the most economic benefits to New Zealand. (August 31, 2012; cited in Simon Kumar 2015, 1184-85)

Bedford and Liu (2013) have argued that this two-tier selection system generated two quite different sets of opportunities for family reunification amongst immigrants in New Zealand, determined primarily by wealth of parents and sponsors. They further pointed out that a potential consequence of this policy change is the emergence of two classes of New Zealand
citizens: those who will have an opportunity to have their parents living in New Zealand and those who will not have this opportunity for many years. These changes have the potential to generate anxiety and regret amongst migrants, who could potentially find themselves in a position where they cannot meet the criteria for sponsoring ageing parents who need their support in New Zealand (Bedford and Liu 2013). Indeed, some first generation interviewees in this research expressed an emotional burden caused by the fact that it has been both emotionally and financially difficult for them to maintain closeness with, and take care of, their aging parents who are not able to join them in New Zealand. This living situation does not assist Chinese migrants to feel a sense of home in their host society.

As to migrants who eventually are able to sponsor their migrants to move to New Zealand, living with their parents brings them both benefits and challenges. On one hand, having parents in New Zealand can potentially cause a set of migrant family related problems, such as intergenerational relation tensions, financial pressure, struggling between family obligations and tight working schedules and so on. At the same time, it exerts great influence over the living style of the whole migrant family, including everyday eating and cooking habits, socialising patterns, and leisure activities preferences. Moreover, the sense of rootedness towards China, maintenance of Chinese culture and language, and the sense of belonging to New Zealand in general can be closely related to the fact that these migrants are living with their aging parents. On the other hand, not having parents in New Zealand often generates great challenges for these migrants as well. A major challenge would be that many of them need to invest a lot of time and energy to maintain emotional closeness towards their family back home through various means (e.g. return visits, phone calls). These migrant family related issues will be discussed further in the following research finding chapters.

2.3.2 Educational background and employment status

The most recent New Zealand census data (2013) shows that Chinese are one of the best-educated groups in New Zealand, with 33.7% having bachelor’s degrees or higher, compared with the New Zealand national average of 20% (see Table 2.4). However, their advanced qualifications have not appeared to give Chinese migrants an advantage in the labour market, since many of them are not officially recognised by New Zealand employers. The 2013 census shows that the percentage of Chinese who are employed full-time and those who are employed
part-time are both lower than the national averages, and their unemployment rate is higher than the national average (see Table 2.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.4</th>
<th>Highest Qualification: Chinese and Asian ethnic groups, and New Zealand population aged 15 years and over, 2006 and 2013 Censuses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source: Statistics New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest qualification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No qualification</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1–4 certificate</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 5–6 diploma</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree or higher</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas secondary school qualification</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total people, formal qualification</td>
<td>87.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 2.5 | Work and Labour Force Status | Chinese and Asian ethnic groups, and New Zealand population aged 15 years and over, 2006 and 2013 Censuses  |
| --- | --- |  |
| Source: Statistics New Zealand |  |
| | Chinese | Asian | NZ population |
| Work and labour force status |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Employed full-time | 35.7 | 40.2 | 42.4 | 45.9 | 50.1 | 48.0 |
| Employed part-time | 15.2 | 11.8 | 14.5 | 12.8 | 14.9 | 14.3 |
| Total people, employed | 50.8 | 52.0 | 56.9 | 58.7 | 65.0 | 62.3 |
| Unemployed | 5.9 | 5.1 | 5.3 | 5.7 | 3.5 | 4.8 |
| Total people, labour force | 56.8 | 57.1 | 62.2 | 64.4 | 68.5 | 67.1 |
| Not in the labour force | 43.2 | 42.9 | 37.8 | 35.6 | 31.5 | 32.9 |
| Total people | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Generally, migrants with higher education levels and stronger qualifications tend to perform better in the job market. Asian people who entered New Zealand as skilled or business migrants
Chapter Two  New Chinese Migrants in New Zealand

are highly qualified and skilled professionals, but they tend to face formidable barriers to employment opportunities in New Zealand (Ho 2015). Unfortunately, for many new Chinese migrants, especially the first generation ones, their educational background has not aligned with their performance in the labour market, which means there has been a waste of valuable skills and knowledge capital (Ip 2006).

There are many factors that contribute to this mismatch, including language barriers, lower access to mainstream social networks, racial stereotyping and discrimination, and lower intercultural competency. Low English competency has always been considered to be the major disadvantage for first generation new Chinese migrants. The fact that English has been taught and used as a language of educational instruction in several Asian countries does not deliver these migrants the actual ability to speak it fluently in real daily life with English native speakers (Nunan 2003), which puts them in a disadvantaged position in the labour market. Their low familiarity with New Zealand socio-cultural norms has also created difficulties in terms of integrating into mainstream social activities, which also generates further barriers to obtaining employment opportunities. Moreover, migrants in general are more likely to experience racial discrimination in the workplace than non-migrants. Spoonley and Bedford (2012) pointed out that many employers in New Zealand tend to discount the professional working experiences that migrants have obtained in Asia and consider it a risk to employ people who are not familiar or experienced with European working contexts. They further argued that there is also another particularly pernicious form of discrimination—employers judging or discriminating against job-hunters based on their accent or surname. Consequently, Asian immigrants are likely to be treated unfairly in terms of competing for employment (Meares et al. 2010; Spoonley and Bedford 2012).

It has been argued that the difficulties migrants encounter in the labour market, and how competitive they are regarding job-hunting, are important indicators of how successfully migrants can settle in their host society (Baker 1994; Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998). For a migrant of working age, having a stable income to support their family and maintain a decent social status in their adopted country is the most preferable circumstance (Liu 2010). As shown in Figure 2.5, Chinese people in New Zealand have a much lower median income than the New Zealand national average. The overall moderate economic outcomes of new Chinese migrants within the wage economy suggest that they suffer from a high degree of mismatch to their age-education profile. As Ip (2006, 76) has pointed out, this mismatch represents a ‘serious wastage
of human capital as well as great personal frustration’. Whether or not they feel belonging or committed to New Zealand is also likely to depend on their employment status and their families’ economic well-being. Accordingly, the experience of unemployment and under-employment can lead to a degrading of their social and financial status in the host society, and it is usually associated with a loss of self-esteem and decreased self-confidence, as well as emotional frustration when it comes to intercultural encounters (the emotional dimension of socialising will be discussed in Chapter Seven).

**Figure 2.5** Median income

By sex, Chinese (PRC) and Asian ethnic groups, and New Zealand population aged 15 years
2013 census

![Median income chart](image)

Source: Statistics New Zealand

Although securing stable and highly-paid employment is a major factor for positive and successful settlement, most new Chinese migrants migrated to New Zealand primarily to seek better educational opportunities for their progeny, a more relaxed lifestyle, and a more pleasant natural environment, rather than to pursue economic or career ambitions (Ip 2011; Lewin et al. 2011; Meares et al. 2010; Ho 2015). In order to cope with the challenge of unemployment or being under-employed in New Zealand, the Chinese have adopted a number of approaches, including opting for early retirement, upgrading their qualifications, or establishing their own businesses and becoming self-employed (Ho 2015). It has been shown that one effective response of Chinese migrants who are not able to find employment which suits their educational qualifications, is to become self-employed, often by undertaking small-scale enterprise (Ho and Bedford 2006; Ip 2001; Liu 2010; Ho 2015). These choices may not be based on personal
ambitions, but on job prospects, or financial/housing pressure, especially during the early settlement period (Ho 2015; Liu 2010).

In addition to adopting self-employment, the new Chinese migrants have also employed the strategies of astronauting, return migration and onward migration to a third country (Ho 2015). Some studies have suggested that the employment problem may be one of several factors that lead to some new Chinese migrants choosing to return to China or to move to a third country (Henderson 2003; Ip 2006). Despite some successes, the overall economic outcomes for New Chinese migrants in New Zealand are relatively poor, and this may be one factor in encouraging or maintaining transnational activities (Liu 2010).

2.3.3 Asian (Chinese) migrants in the media and the public

Spoonley and Bedford (2012) have pointed out that while the mass media can at times be explicitly racist in what is said, most of the time the key influences on the development of views about racial or cultural ‘others’ come from more intimate settings, such as the family, community, and peer groups, since each individual understands the media based on their own personal experience and beliefs. Nevertheless, the mass media has been seen as an important mechanism in constructing and brokering relations between host and immigrant minorities (Spoonley and Butcher 2009), even if they do not directly create particular prejudices or negativity (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Media is considered as the most powerful means of creating public stereotypes, and how the mainstream media portrays migrants greatly transforms how the public understands migration and cultural diversity (Collins 2006). Moreover, mass media has a tendency to ‘normalise invisibility’ yet ‘problematise visibility’ (Fleras 2005, 2; Spoonley and Bedford 2012). That is to say, immigrant groups are routinely ignored by the mainstream media, and only become visible when they are said to represent a ‘problem’ (Fleras 2011): thus they become defined as a problem when their difference is visible (Spoonley and Bedford 2012).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, traditional immigration flows from the United Kingdom and Ireland were altered from the 1960s as labour was recruited from the Polynesian Pacific (Spoonley and Butcher 2009). Following changes in the late 1980s that were noted earlier, the second major wave of non-white immigrants from Asia rapidly changed the ethnic profile of
New Zealand (Spoonley and Butcher 2009; Spoonley and Bedford 2012). According to Spoonley and Hirsh (1990), the mass media of New Zealand reflected a narrow, Euro (Pākehā)-centric view of cultural and racial others. Indeed, the increasing ethnic and cultural diversity of New Zealand presented great challenges for the mainstream media, especially in the 1990s (Spoonley and Bedford 2012; Spoonley and Bedford 2009).

The year 1993 was marked by the ‘Inv-Asian’ articles in Auckland suburban newspapers (Booth and Martin, Eastern Courier, 16 April and 23 April 1993). These articles were an explicit targeting of the growing concern at the number of Asian immigrants coming to New Zealand. These articles were so influential that they set the tone for most of the print media coverage until at least the 1996 general election, when the New Zealand First political party gained prominence (Spoonley and Butcher 2009). Successive public opinion polls revealed elements of intense xenophobia in the wider population who felt that there was an ‘Asian invasion’, manifested in social problems ranging from distorting the Auckland housing market, ‘swamping’ certain schools and suburbs, driving behaviours, and posing a threat to New Zealand values and culture (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Throughout the 1990s, in popular opinion and political rhetoric at least, desirable/undesirable migrant subjects in New Zealand were clearly marked by race (Ho 2015; Spoonley and Bedford 2012).

The anti-immigration politics of Winston Peters and New Zealand First were an important part of the media and political landscapes from 1993 (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Peters cast himself and New Zealand First as the defenders of New Zealand rather than explicitly anti-immigrant, and he made that clear through speech in 2005: ‘Being a New Zealander is something precious… we would rather make our borders safe than ‘celebrate our diversity’-whatever that means. New Zealand is for New Zealanders. This is our place’. As Spoonley and Bedford (2012) have noted, the anti-Asian immigration comments from Peters and New Zealand First seldom refer to Asians directly but are displayed in the way in which ‘immigration’ is portrayed—culturally different, wealthy, do not speak English. Peters contributed to the ‘Asianisation’ of the debate over immigration and it was not all immigrants that he considered a ‘problem’, but rather Asian immigrants (Spoonley and Bedford 2012).

In the period from 1993 through to 2003, Peters’ comments substantially influenced mass media reports on Asian immigration, and more generally created a racialised framing of Asian immigrants, which greatly shaped and influenced the negative attitudes towards Asian
immigrants amongst the public (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). Ip and Friesen (2001) have argued that emotive headlines from media reports have contributed to a negative profile of Asian migration amongst the public, such as ‘Asians property buyers flock to Auckland’ (*New Zealand Herald*, 9 September 1989), ‘The Inv-Asian’ (*Suburban Newspapers*, 16 April 1993) and so on. Moreover, some stereotypical terms and catchphrases infused with emotion and prejudice like ‘Asian invasion’, ‘the Asian take over’ (Chapple 1992) spread into public and everyday life usage during this period (Ip and Friesen 2001).

This hostility and negativity towards Asian immigrants started to change by 2000 when Peters and New Zealand First encountered significant media criticism about their message and motives (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). After 2000, regarding media reports, there was a shift from focusing on the problems or issue of Asian immigrants to more positive reporting or more nuanced or sympathetic accounts of the struggles that were involved in settling down in New Zealand. Accordingly, public opinion has also been softening. Asian immigrants, most of the time, are framed as being an important part of New Zealand’s economic development and cultural diversity (Friesen 2015; Spoonley and Bedford 2012).

The reaction of New Zealanders towards immigrants has gone through distinct phrases and there remain ‘desirable’ immigrant groups and others who are negatively racialised (Ho 2015; Simon-Kumar 2015). There has been a hierarchy of racialization, with the Pacific immigrants most negatively perceived, followed by Asians, with a significant gap between Asians and those who are ‘white’ (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). It should be noted that the anti-Asian sentiment throughout the 1990s has had huge influence over the ways in which Chinese migrants position themselves and perceive their difference from the majority population. Those negative comments from politicians, together with some media reports which focus on the ‘problems’ of ethnic minorities, have not only negatively influenced and shaped the attitudes that local people take towards Chinese or Asian migrants in general, but also affects the way in which these new Chinese migrants understand their social image and status in New Zealand. Their profile portrayed by the media and the public thus plays an important role in how Chinese migrants feel connected with their host society and how they interact with cultural others in their everyday lives.

In addition, when increasing numbers of new Chinese migrants arrived in New Zealand from the mid-1990s, some of these migrants’ children (those from the 1.5 generation) started their
educational path in New Zealand and were likely to experience various forms of racism and bullying at school. That is to say, many 1.5 generation migrants went through their early school life during the 1990s and it is highly possible that many of them encountered traumatic early life experiences due to racial discrimination against Chinese, which is actually also a recurring theme that emerged from the narratives of 1.5 generation interviewees for this research (as will be discussed further in Chapters Five and Seven). Similarly, the first generation Chinese migrants themselves also went through a tough early settlement period financially, socially and emotionally, especially during the 1990s when Chinese migrants could be negatively affected by xenophobia in the wider population.

2.3.4 Auckland as migrant destination, a cosmopolitan city?

During the past two decades, migrants from China, and more broadly Asia, have become an increasingly significant cultural presence in New Zealand community life. Assuming no dramatic changes in immigration policy take place in the next decade, the Asian population is projected to grow at about three times the rate of the total population to 2026, reaching about 790,000 in that year (Friesen 2015). As the primary city of New Zealand, Auckland attracts a disproportionate number of new migrants, especially those who are visibly different from the still predominant European-descended population. In the 1986 census, 15 percent of the national population (and 22 percent in Auckland) was born overseas, a figure that has increased steadily to 25 percent nationally in 2013 and 39 percent in Auckland. By 2013 the Asia-born population comprised more than 200,000 usual residents in Auckland (Friesen 2015). The Chinese ethnic group comprised 171,411 people or 4.3 percent of people who stated an ethnic group living in New Zealand on 5 March 2013, and the most common region this group lived in was Auckland (69.0 percent or 118,230 people), as shown in Figure 2.6. Accordingly, most of the interviewees that I recruited for this research are based in Auckland, and it is of great significance to look into how the new Chinese migrants settle in Auckland, which is also the most multicultural and cosmopolitan city of New Zealand (Collins and Friesen 2011).
Friesen’s report ‘Asian Auckland: The multiple meanings of diversity’ (2015) provides valuable and comprehensive information on the growing Asian ethnoscapes in Auckland. The following two figures from his research report provide a basic context for the Asian population and Chinese migration in Auckland. Figure 2.7 is a summary of arrivals and departures (the latter including deaths), and Friesen (2015) used it to illustrate the relative importance to Auckland of Asian migrants arriving after the immigration changes of 1987. Figure 2.8 shows that Taiwan, Hong Kong and Malaysia have a high proportion of ‘early new policy migrants’ who arrived between 1987 and 1996; a significant proportion of migrants from China, India and South Korea are ‘middle migrants’ who arrived between 1997 and 2006; and more than half of the immigrants from Philippines are ‘new migrants’ who arrived between 1997 and 2013 (Friesen 2015).
Figure 2.7 Number of overseas born by area of birth, Auckland residents 1986-2013

Figure 2.8 Migrants of Asian origin by period of arrival
Source: Friesen (2015) based on data from Statistics New Zealand 2013 Census customised data
Friesen’s (2015) report has also provided the most recent data on the geographic spread of Asian settlement in Auckland, as shown in the following two Figures. Within Figure 2.9, we can see the geographic distribution of all those who identified with an Asian ethnicity in the 2013 census. As Friesen (2015) has noted, this classification of ‘Asian’ includes both migrant and New Zealand-born populations, and ‘Asian’ is not the primary identity for most people. Nevertheless, Figure 2.9 represents a general impression of the geographical distribution of Asians in Auckland. Significant concentrations can be found in the newly-developed housing areas around Botany Downs and Dannemora where between 60 and 80 percent of the population is classified as Asian (Friesen 2015). The southeast, the central business district (CBD), and central parts of the North Shore have more than 50 percent Asian populations. In some cases these concentrations are largely Chinese or Indian, but in others there is a considerable mixture of these and other groups (Friesen 2015).

Although the Chinese migrant group is the largest and most widely dispersed Asian ethnic group in Auckland, they are still relatively concentrated in a few suburbs (Friesen 2015). Friesen used Figure 2.10 to reveal the major neighbourhoods that China-born migrants settle in. The most concentrated neighbourhoods are in the areas from Pakuranga and Howick south towards relatively newer areas of settlement around Botany Downs and Dannemora. Within the Auckland isthmus, China-born migrants are also widely spread, especially in the central and western areas and the CBD. These areas have developed into distinctive ‘ethnoburbs’8 (Xue, Friesen and O’Sullivan 2012). Another cluster of China-born population runs through the centre of the North Shore area, which has witnessed a significant increase of Chinese population and other Asian groups, especially Korean and Filipino (Friesen 2015).

---

8 Xue, Friesen and O’ Sullivan (2012) have examined the settlement of Chinese migrants in Auckland and consider their spatial distribution using the concept of ‘ethnoburb’. They argue that distinctive differences in terms of age, ethnic diversity, migrant origin, education, occupation, and Chinese business concentration are noticeable between different ethnoburbs. This concept is originally used by Li (1998) in her research on Chinese communities living in the Los Angeles suburb of San Gabriel Valley—‘ethnoburb’ can be viewed as a cluster of ethnic residential areas and business districts.
Figure 2.9 Distribution of Asian populations in Auckland
Source: Friesen (2015)
Figure 2.10 Distribution of PRC-born in Auckland
Source: Friesen (2015)
These Chinese ethnoburbs allowed the emergence and development of major Chinese communities, which provide the Chinese migrants a strong sense of comfort and familiarity but also potentially undermine intercultural encounters. For example, one interviewee in my research who lives in Northcote⁹, discussed with me how their whole family’s everyday activities (except work) can be conducted within their neighbourhood. They tend to do shopping, eating and all sorts of weekend activities in the Northcote Centre, where dozens of Chinese shops and restaurants are. At the same time, the interviewee’s parents spend a great deal of time with other senior Chinese people who regularly gather in that area for leisure activities (e.g. Tai Chi, Chinese chess). Moreover, most of her friends are Chinese migrants who live nearby and who go to the same church with her family. Therefore, her socialising is mainly centred on the local Chinese community. However, having her everyday life largely centred in this Chinese environment and mainly socialising with Chinese people can also potentially diminish her desire or need to build relationship networks outside the Chinese community, which is a recurring theme that emerged from interview narratives and will be discussed in the research finding chapters. In addition, Chinese migrants are not often exposed to Maori and Pacific peoples who live in different neighbourhoods (mainly South Auckland), due to differences in socio-economic positions and its effects on housing and neighbourhood selection (Johnston, Poulsen, and Forrest 2011). As most of the interviewees in this research have indicated, they have very few interactions with Maori in their daily life, captured bluntly by the words of one respondent ‘I just can’t see that many Maori people where I live, work or socialise most of the time’.

The growing Asian population has greatly reshaped the cultural landscape of Auckland. Friesen (2015) has argued that the larger and more diverse Asian population settlement in Auckland has caused the Asian ethnoscapes to continue to evolve and create new and different spaces and senses of place. Different from enclaves and precincts, ethnoscapes can be displayed in both tangible (people, shops, restaurants, houses and places of worship) and intangible (languages heard in the street and used in the media, religious affiliations, ‘public opinion’ as represented by media coverage, art forms and transnational links to other countries) forms (Friesen 2015).

According to Friesen (2015), the presence of Asian food outlets has been one of the most noticeable and most frequently commented-on aspects of the changing Asian ethnoscapes of

---

⁹ It is a suburb on the North Shore of Auckland. It has a large Chinese population and Northcote centre is filled with Asian (mainly Chinese) supermarkets, restaurants, grocery stores and all sorts of shops run by Asian people. There is also a Church where many local Chinese migrants go. A set of Chinese festivals and cultural functions have been also held in the Northcote centre area.
Auckland. Drawing on some information provided by a website (www.menumania.co.nz), Friesen’s report has pointed out that there are 406 ‘Asian’ restaurants and cafes in Auckland in 2014: 240 Chinese (including three Taiwanese), 155 Japanese, 144 Indian, 101 Thai, 44 Korean, 37 Malaysian, 25 Vietnamese, six Singaporean, two Indonesian and two Filipino. At the same time, Asian supermarkets and smaller shops selling Asian food ingredients are spread throughout Auckland, although they are concentrated in the central city and other areas with large Asian populations (Friesen 2015).

At the same time, a great range of Asian media outlets have developed over recent decades. Friesen’s report (2015) showed that 15 Chinese and 12 Korean newspapers and magazines were identified in Auckland in 2006, as well as nine Indian, three Filipino and four Japanese print media outlets in New Zealand, mostly Auckland-based. Further, there are radio stations in both Mandarin and Cantonese, with three main stations as well as three Chinese Freeview stations and eight paid subscription channels on the Sky Asia platform (Friesen 2015). Moreover, Auckland’s largest Asian festival is the three-day-and-night Lantern Festival, held in Auckland Domain during the Chinese New Year. Each year, this festival is filled with handmade Chinese lanterns, on-stage performances of traditional and contemporary Chinese culture (e.g. martial arts, dance, folk music), and stalls selling Asian delicacies and crafts. The festival attracts large crowds representing the many (dominant and minority) ethnicities of Auckland (Friesen 2015).

These increasingly noticeable Asian (mainly Chinese) ethnoscapes have exerted significant influence over the everyday life of Chinese migrants. The Chinese restaurants, supermarkets, media and all sorts of Chinese ethnoscapes (festivals, neighbourhoods, communities, churches) in Auckland allow these migrants to live in a Chinese way and maintain their rootedness towards their original eating habits, language and leisure preferences if they want to. Accordingly, it is possible that these new Chinese migrants, especially the first generation migrants, can mainly or exclusively socialise with the Chinese community in New Zealand and have little need to approach cultural others. At the same time, these Asian ethnoscapes have not only provided Chinese migrants with a strong Chinese cultural atmosphere but have also gradually influenced how the public understands Chinese culture and views Chinese migrants.

10 It is used to be held in Albert Park but it moved to Auckland Domain this year, since it has grown so large and popular that it has had to be moved to a larger venue.
According to ‘New Zealanders’ Perceptions of Asia and Asian Peoples – 2014 Annual Survey’\textsuperscript{11}, New Zealanders appeared to feel more positive towards and connected with people from Asia in 2014, despite deepening concerns about investment from Asia and the influence of Asian buyers on the housing market. It has been reported that many local people have developed more personal connections with their Asian neighbours, colleagues and health care professionals (Friesen 2015). These intercultural encounters have become more common and everyday, so they felt that Asians were ‘one of them’ in the community. However, it should be noted that this general increased positivity does not necessarily guarantee the smoothness of specific intercultural encounters between migrants and local people at the everyday level in real life.

2.4 Imagining a cosmopolitan West

Living in the cosmopolitan West has been perceived as ‘a dream, an act of imagination, and an aspiration’ (Salazar 2011, 588). Salazar (2011) pointed out that the Western lifestyle is perceived by many as ‘refined, sophisticated, educated, and always well dressed’ and the cosmopolitan identity acquired through the Western experience significantly shapes people’s migration imaginary. People are motivated to leave their homeland since they believe that ‘Here things are bad; there things are better (at least so it seems)’ (Salazar 2011, 589).

An imagination towards the ‘cosmopolitan West’ has motivated Chinese migrants to choose the migration path to New Zealand, one of several Anglophone destination countries. As to the first generation new Chinese migrants in New Zealand, the aspiration of ‘going to the West’ and exploring the other side of the world has been the driving force of their departure from China. This mentality towards the ‘cosmopolitan West’ among these new Chinese migrants led to a rather binary logic emerging from the interview narratives for this research, with most of the interviewees focused on their emotional encounters with two socio-cultural groups: Chinese and European New Zealanders (hereafter referred as ‘Pākehā’\textsuperscript{12}). From one perspective, this bifocal view of a thoroughly multicultural country and city in Auckland might seem at odds with an

\textsuperscript{11} Asia New Zealand Foundation with text and analysis by Colmar Brunton.

\textsuperscript{12} Pākehā is a Māori language term for New Zealanders who are of European ancestry. Pākehā, i.e. European New Zealanders, are the majority population in New Zealand and represent the dominant and mainstream socio-cultural norms of New Zealand. ‘Pākehā’ and ‘European New Zealanders’ are two terms that can be used interchangeably to identify the national majority in ethnic terms (Bell 2009). The term ‘European’ denotes ‘a generalised, white, Western, largely Anglo-Celtic, heritage of culture and descent (Bell 2009, 160).
emphasis on cosmopolitanism, yet it also reflects important situated dimensions of Chinese migration to New Zealand.

The recent migration of Chinese to New Zealand is often shaped around imaginations of the ‘cosmopolitan West’ and fantasies of pursuing a global lifestyle characterised by ‘whiteness’ and life in ‘white’ society. First, these first generation Chinese migrants have always aspired to ‘go to the West’ and explore the other side of the world. For these migrants, socialising with Pākehā, whom they view as the ‘real Kiwis’13, or ‘real New Zealanders’, seems to be the prime indicator of having successfully settled in New Zealand. Second, within most everyday contact zones, including schools, neighbourhoods, and workplaces, Pākehā are the main social group Chinese migrants encounter. At the same time, they have realised that interacting with Pākehā (who represent the dominant group in New Zealand society) is of great significance in career promotion and social networking. Put another way, some Chinese migrants seek to build relationship networks with Pākehā out of clearly pragmatic or strategic concerns. However, many first generation Chinese migrants find it challenging to build intercultural relationships with Pākehā, because of the barriers caused by their inadequate language competency and low familiarity with New Zealand socio-cultural norms. Third, many Chinese migrants tend to play down their social interactions with Maori and Pacific peoples who tend to occupy lower socio-economic positions and live in different neighbourhoods, especially in Auckland (Johnston, Poulsen, and Forrest 2011). Furthermore, as the interviews in this research have demonstrated, these new Chinese migrants consider other migrant groups (e.g. Koreans, Indians, Filipinos) as being ‘just the same’ as themselves. This shared identity of being migrants and the shared sense of not belonging creates a certain degree of understanding among them, something which Sara

13 ‘Kiwi’ is a colloquial term used to refer to people who are from New Zealand (see ‘Kiwis/Kiwi - New Zealand Immigration Service—Summary of Terms’). The name derives from the kiwi, a flightless bird, which is native and unique to New Zealand, and is the national symbol of New Zealand. This term is generally considered as a symbol of pride and endearment for New Zealanders. It is generally used with first letter capitalised and in plural forms. In everyday life, ‘being Kiwi’ is articulated as a relatively exclusive identity with loaded cultural connotations. In general, the media uses ‘Kiwi’ to refer to Pākehā (and at certain times Maori) New Zealanders, and it is often used in contrast to other ethnic identity constructions (e.g. Asian, Pasifika). For example, the title of a recent article in the New Zealand Heralds was ‘Kiwis’ attitude to Asians cooling, finds survey’. The title establishes a boundary between Kiwis and Asians in New Zealand. This term is not necessarily self-evident and most of the time it is closely associated with socio-cultural norms represented by Pākehā (see note 12). In other words, ‘being Kiwi’ requires high familiarity with Pākehā culture which is ‘a generalised, white, western, largely Anglo-Celtic, heritage of culture and descent’ (Bell 2009, 160; also see the note above). The fact that most of the Chinese migrants (especially the first generation) in this research consider Pākehā to be the ‘real Kiwis’ indicates their recognition of the exclusivity of the term ‘Kiwi’ in relation to Pākehā. This term will also be discussed further in Chapter Six, particularly its relation to the term ‘Kiwi Asian’.

52
Ahmed (1999) refers to as ‘uncommon estrangement’ or the capacity of migrants to remake commonality.

At the same time, the lives of the 1.5 generation migrants have been influenced by the imaginations of the ‘cosmopolitan West’ that shaped their parents’ motivations to leave China for New Zealand. These young people have grown up in families and communities where Pākehā are often characterised as the ‘mainstream’ population and ‘real Kiwis’, leading to a valorisation of relationships with Pākehā. Moreover, encounters with Pākehā are often not only unavoidable but necessary. Many 1.5 generation migrants have grown up in neighbourhoods and attended schools where they principally encounter either Pākehā or other Chinese. In addition, growing up in Chinese migrant family households in a Western country, the 1.5 generation migrants are likely to feel a tension between the identities and expectations being generated at home and those enacted by the wider society (Min and Kim 2000). This sense of liminality and in-betweensness generates extra challenges for them when it comes to socialising with Pākehā: they grow up and receive education in New Zealand where life is dominated by Pākehā, and they may desire to socialise as ‘authentic Kiwis’; yet, the challenges of the migrant home environment and the moral contours of the Chinese household impose cultural values and ideologies that sometimes limit their ability or undermine their confidence in interacting with their Pākehā peers, which can lead them to mainly socialise with co-ethnic peers.

For the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand, their cross-cultural and cross-national living circumstances have made it necessary that they should acquire a higher level of intercultural sensibility and cosmopolitan habits of mind. In this sense, the new Chinese migrants to New Zealand have been undergoing a process of self-reconstruction and self-resocialization. Immersed in a cosmopolitan cultural sphere, the contemporary Chinese migrants are more and more involved with diasporic and de-territorialised cultural linkages (Ip 2011). Their living circumstances are filled with ambivalence, complexity, or contingency. In order to become engaged citizens with a cross-cultural background, there is a growing need for new Chinese migrants in New Zealand to skilfully navigate their increasingly complex and interconnected living settings. Accordingly, my research project aims to investigate whether and how these new Chinese migrants manage to negotiate difference, engage with cultural others and develop intercultural relationship networks in their daily lives.
2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the policy changes of New Zealand’s international migration system and recent transformation in China's perspectives on international emigration have been examined with regard to their impact on immigration flow from China. That discussion has been followed by an overview of the profile of the research cohort. Focus was given to mobility patterns, migration categories, employment status, and educational background. At the same time, how Asian migrants in general have been perceived in the media and the public has been also discussed. Moreover, the increasingly growing Asian ethnoscapes of Auckland (as the major Chinese migration destination) has also been presented. The chapter has also argued that the recent migration of Chinese to New Zealand is shaped around imaginations of the ‘cosmopolitan West’, and has illustrated why a binary logic emerged from the interview narratives.

These new Chinese migrants have migrated to New Zealand under its neoliberal immigration framework, which is ostensibly not marked and defined by race but rather by personal attributes and ability to contribute to economic development. They are well-educated and relatively wealthy, possessing a great deal of human capital and financial capital, which is the basis of their being selected as ‘desirable’ migrants by the New Zealand government. However, these migrants have been still exposed to varying degrees of discrimination in many aspects of their everyday life in New Zealand, especially during the 1990s. The negative early settlement period for first generation Chinese migrants and early life experiences filled with bullying for 1.5 generation migrants is likely to substantially influence their self-esteem and self-confidence when it comes to interacting with cultural others, especially with Pākehā. Furthermore, as this chapter has demonstrated, Chinese migrants in general have encountered a set of challenges in terms of securing satisfying employment and income due to racial discrimination, lack of English proficiency, and low intercultural competency. It should be noted that these new Chinese migrants had at least a middle-class status in China and in some instances would be viewed as wealthy and resourceful. Despite this they suffer from a degraded social and financial status in New Zealand, demonstrating how migration can be a costly and risky exercise.

In addition, I argue that pre-existing notions of race and difference held by both these Chinese migrants and local populations in New Zealand can make migration settlement and acceptance problematic. As the chapter has illustrated, the response to Asian immigration from the media and the public, especially in the 1990s, but also more subtly today, has been very essentialist and
based on notions of who is racially included and accepted in a place and who is not. Similarly, pursuing a different and Western lifestyle has been a major driving force for the Chinese migrants to take on the path of migration, and in this regard ‘difference’ and ‘Western’ have been perceived to be characterised by ‘whiteness’. This shows that these Chinese migrants have a sense of yearning for this ‘whiteness’ but at the same time have reinforced the otherness of Pākehā, and thus draw boundaries of difference through racial categories. Paradoxically, the essentialist views surrounding their difference from local populations and their understanding towards ‘whiteness’ have pushed them much further from the ‘diversity’ of the place they migrated to. This alignment between Chinese migrants and New Zealanders (mainly Pākehā) regarding the perception of race and difference can generate more difficulties for intercultural encounters and create barriers to the formation of relationship networks.

The immigration policy framework of New Zealand and the motivation and expectations of these migrants leaving their homeland have given rise to their highly mobile lifestyle in a multicultural and diverse living context. It is meaningful to examine how these migrants make sense of their changing identity dynamics in a cross-cultural setting, and how they manage their everyday interactions as migrants during the process of home-making in a Western society, which is the research focus of this project. The next chapter offers a discussion of the systematic theoretical framework employed for this project. It details the growth of the academic literature for the theme of ‘cosmopolitanism’ and the ways that this theory has contributed to migration studies. The literature review of the theories around ‘cosmopolitanism’ will point to how this project is constructed theoretically.
Chapter Three
Cosmopolitanism and Migration Studies

3.1 Introduction
Cosmopolitanism has been recently revitalised across social sciences and humanities, primarily as a means of addressing new forms of experience and sociability produced in this increasingly mobile and interconnected world (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011; Jones 2013; Wang and Collins 2016a). As Skey (2013, 235) points out, cosmopolitanism has become a subject of renewed interest to ‘theorise processes of interaction and imagination that extend beyond local or national contexts’. In most cases, the re-emergence of cosmopolitanism has been closely associated with the concepts of globalisation, multiculturalism and international migration (Beck and Sznaider 2006; Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2007; Nowicka and Rovisco 2009; Yeoh 2013).

This chapter highlights the significance of using cosmopolitanism as a theoretical framework within migration studies and explores the way cosmopolitanism provides fresh insight into the behaviours, values and dispositions among migrant individuals. Specifically, the chapter begins with a comprehensive review of the major scholarship and ideas of cosmopolitanism, particularly emphasising the importance of the writings of Vertovec and Cohen (2002) and Woodward and Skrbis (2012). Then the focus shifts to analysing the major shifts in theoretical frameworks within migration studies—a move from methodological nationalism to transnationalism, and then to an emerging focus on cosmopolitanism. At the same time, the chapter illustrates why cosmopolitanism can be used as an effective research approach to explore migration experiences.

Drawing on relevant literature of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, and ‘emotions and cosmopolitan sociability’, the next section of this chapter develops three research entry points on which I shall build the theoretical framework for this research. The first two entry points propose moving beyond labelling people merely as ‘cosmopolitans’ or ‘non-
cosmopolitans’, and instead explore how cosmopolitanism interacts or competes with rootedness and/or nationalistic views, and how socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. age, class, education) may facilitate or act as a barrier to the formation and development of everyday cosmopolitan engagements. This section also engages with scholarship that has started to take a close look at the emotional trajectories accompanying migratory movements, exploring how emotional dynamics shape migration journeys and vice versa. My research builds on this work to develop a third entry point that explores the emotional dimensions of engaging in cosmopolitanism and conducting cosmopolitan sociability, drawing attention to the way that emotions encourage but also limit the capacity to build intercultural relations.

3.2 Mapping the idea of cosmopolitanism

As many commentators have noted, cosmopolitanism has undergone a rejuvenation and resurgence in the last few decades, which owes much to the debate sparked by Nussbaum’s (1994) polemical essay on patriotism and cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism has not been only used to explore the radical projections of cosmopolitan democracy (Held and Archibugi 1995) and cosmopolitan citizenship (Hutchings and Dannreuther 1999), but also been increasingly seen as a valuable tool for rethinking international migration and transnational mobilities (Chan 2005; Hiebert 2002; Inglis 2014; Yeoh 2013). More recently, for a number of scholars, cosmopolitanism has been closely associated with globalisation (Beck and Sznaider 2006; Olofsson and Öhman2007; Roudemetof 2005) and has become an important theoretical endeavour which mainly focuses on questions related to mobilities, migrations and transnationalism. Moreover, some scholars have started to apply cosmopolitanism to examine the transformative implications and influences of social engagements across cultural, geographic and social borders (Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2007; Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011; Woodward and Skribs 2012).

This section firstly makes it clear that my research seeks to transcend the Eurocentric framework of cosmopolitanism. Secondly, drawing on the research of Vertovec and Cohen (2002), it claims that my research focuses on the empirical and analytical dimension of cosmopolitanism, and argues that becoming cosmopolitan requires not only the development of cosmopolitan orientations or attitudes but, more importantly, demands engagements with a set of cosmopolitan practices in everyday life. Lastly, building on the research of Woodward and
Skrbis (2012), this section unpacks how cosmopolitanism is perceived, defined, and utilised as a theoretical and analytical tool in my research.

3.2.1 Transcending Eurocentrism

Cosmopolitanism is first of all a political-philosophical concept with a strong ethical component, and its fundamental meaning is that all human beings, regardless of their ethnic or other affiliations, belong to a single, overarching social community (Delanty 2006). Delanty (2006, 26) further states that cosmopolitanism is of political significance once it is linked to peoplehood, although it is originally a moral concept that requires individuals to develop ‘allegiances to the wider world’. In this regard, modern intellectual discussions of cosmopolitanism have mainly centred on the philosophy of Immanuel Kant who ‘sought to extend republican political philosophy into a wider and essentially legal framework beyond the relatively limited modern republic’ (Delanty 2006, 26). According to Stevenson (2002), Kant arguably reintroduced cosmopolitanism in proposing that ‘the laws of nations should be replaced with a ‘genuinely morally binding international law’ to obtain a vision of ‘peaceful cosmopolitan order’. Kant’s cosmopolitan philosophy urges humans to become ‘citizens of the world’ and advocates a creation of a ‘worldwide community of humanity’ defined by commitment to ‘common human values’ (Vertovec and Cohen 2002, 10).

However, as Mendieta (2009) has noted, Kant’s ideas on cosmopolitanism tend to be relatively Eurocentric and deny the contributions of other cultures. He identifies numerous points throughout Kant’s corpus that strongly reflect how he considered white Europeans ‘the most developed instantiation of humanity’, and ‘how Western institutions represented the fulfilment of the plan of nature and the highest accomplishment of what human make of themselves through the enlightened use of reason’ (Mendieta 2009, 247). Hence Mendieta (2009) argues that in order to remove the effects of European racism and the dehumanising colonial mindset, scholars need to go beyond Kant’s ideas on cosmopolitanism.

To date, most scholars have approached cosmopolitanism within the confines of Western thought and identified the emergence and development of cosmopolitanism among Western people (Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2006; Pagden 2000). That is to say, the wider academic literature on cosmopolitanism has tended to associate ‘being cosmopolitan’ (as a practice) with
being in the West and ‘cosmopolitanism’ (as an idea) with being of the West (Bhambra 2010; 2011). Anthony Pagden, for example, writes:

It is hard to see how any form of ‘cosmopolitanism’ can be made to address the difficulties of the modern world if it does not in some sense begin where Kant and the Stoics … began, that is with some vision of a community of ‘the wise’ whose views must in the end triumph … In the modern world it is equally hard to see, at least in the immediate future, that those views can be anything other than the reflection of the values of Western liberal democracies’ (2000, 19; cited in Bhambra 2011, 2).

As Bhambra (2011, 2) argues, ‘this is a parochial reading of cosmopolitanism which betrays the very ideals that the concept expresses’. I agree with Bhambra’s (2011) comments, and I argue that the opinions of scholars like Pagden essentially involve a refusal to acknowledge that cosmopolitan practices and the development of cosmopolitan ideas have emerged in or been influenced by other parts of the world outside of the West.

The concept of cosmopolitanism has had a paradoxical fate (Delanty 2014). On the one hand, cosmopolitism has undoubtedly been a product of classical European thought, and it has been mainly understood and used under a framework of Eurocentrism (Beck 2006; Beck and Grande 2007). On the other hand, the idea of cosmopolitanism has increasingly been seen as relevant to the historical experiences of non-European cultures, and the practices of this idea have been identified in a non-Eurocentric context, which reflects a certain self-questioning of Eurocentrism (Bhambra 2011; Datta 2011; Werbner 1999, 2008). In that sense, as Delanty (2014, 374) has argued, cosmopolitanism has become ‘cosmopolitanised’, but it is still limited in terms of global relevance due to its privileged Western genealogy and the influence this has on its theoretical contours.

According to Delanty (2014), transcending the Eurocentric frame of cosmopolitanism requires both a de-centring of dominant understandings of cosmopolitanism and an acknowledgement of understandings of cosmopolitanism outside of the otherwise canonical frame of reference exemplified by European thought and practice. Literature that explores the practices of cosmopolitanism in non-Western societies is of great significance to the development of non-Eurocentric social science (Delanty 2014). For example, Lamont and Aksartova (2002) explored the cosmopolitan engagements amongst workers who are of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Their research was a deliberate effort to choose a group of people who are not
situated in a privileged or globally mobile setting in the West. Similarly, Werbner’s (1999) work focuses on the class dimension of transnational mobility of Pakistani Sufis and working-class Pakistani ‘cosmopolitans’. Both of these important studies demonstrated that cosmopolitanism has emerged, developed and been identified in a non-European context and it does not necessarily only exist in the exclusive domain of Western middle-class groups.

The idea of cosmopolitanism also finds roots in Confucianism in Eastern philosophy and history in ways that have specific relevance to this research. From early dynastic times, ‘tianxia’ (天下), a Confucian concept meaning literally ‘all under heaven’14, was used to denote either the entire geographical world or the metaphysical realm of mortals (Xu 2013). Associated with political sovereignty, its importance can be seen in its role in the preservation of a unified Chinese territory and in the integration of the Chinese people under central imperial rule. Similar to what cosmopolitanism means to Kant, ‘tianxia’ indicates a universalising spirit that is not contained or broken up by borders, unlike the nation-state. While differences between peoples were recognised, if they embraced the central kingdom’s civilizational complex, then they could become part of ‘tianxia’ (Rofel 2012). That is to say, ‘all under heaven’ refers to an extended notion of the world where harmony, communication and cooperation exist between everyone. But to achieve this, everyone ‘under heaven’ needs to be submissive to hierarchy and to abide by the regulations and orders formulated and advocated by the dominant central kingdom. The concept of ‘tianxia’ has also been independently applied by other countries in the East Asian cultural sphere, including Japan, Korea, and Vietnam.

In a larger sense, the concept of ‘tianxia’, is closely associated with civilisation and order in classical Chinese philosophy, and has formed the basis for the dominant world view expressed in China and nations influenced by it since at least the first millennium BC. Rofel (2012) has argued that while the ideology of ‘tianxia’ centred this world, Chinese people had successfully incorporated a set of cultural beliefs, customs and values from other parts of the world, such as

---

14 See Wang (2012): ‘All under heaven’ (tianxia): Cosmological perspectives and political ontologies in pre-modern China. Wang (2012, 337) has explained how ‘tianxia’ should be translated. The word Chinese ‘tianxia’ (天下) is composed of two characters: tian (天) and xia (下); the second character ‘xia’ is more easily translatable and it means ‘under’, ‘beneath’ or ‘below’. He argues that the first character ‘tian’ has much more complicated meanings and varied connotations, including heaven, sky, nature, or the original form and temporality (or seasonality) of the world, but, in general, it is understood as heaven. Hence Wang thinks the straightforward translation of ‘tianxia’ would be ‘under heaven’. Yet, he also points out that because what stands under heaven has often been perceived to be all the things on earth, a better translation of ‘tianxia’ would be ‘all under heaven’. According to Wang, such a denotational translation only scratches the surface of what ‘tianxia’ has meant and what political realities it has informed throughout Chinese history.
Buddhism and mathematics, as well as foods, dress, aesthetics and architectural design. Furthermore, Chun (2012) has pointed out that Chinese cosmopolitanism, with its core value of ‘tianxia’, symbolises the Chinese people in their acknowledging of the wider geographic world and developing universal values over more than two thousand years.

The detailed development of the above-mentioned ethical, political or philosophical debates over cosmopolitanism, whether from Kant in the West or from the Chinese concept of ‘tianxia’ in the East, are beyond the scope of my research. However, it does have relevance in terms of what these claims mean for lived experiences of cosmopolitanism. Indeed, much of the social scientific discourse has assumed the notion of cosmopolitanism to be a moral and political standpoint, a shared normative–philosophical commitment to the primacy of world citizenship over all national, religious, cultural, ethnic and other parochial affiliations. By contrast, and building on a potentially more variegated conception of cosmopolitanism, my research draws attention to a lived cosmopolitanism at the level of the everyday. With a focus on the empirical and analytical dimensions of cosmopolitanism as a sociological tool, this research explores whether, and how, grounded and down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements can be utilised by ordinary migrants to negotiate difference and build intercultural relations in their migrant lives. Moreover, my research aims to move beyond the latent Eurocentrism that persists in cosmopolitan thought. In order to achieve that, it not only takes the new Chinese migrants as a case study, but also draws attention to the role played by their rootedness and emotional attachment towards China, Chinese culture and Chinese community during the process of engaging in cosmopolitanism in their everyday lives. Three research entry points have been designed to address these issues, and will be introduced in the third section of this chapter.

The next section of this chapter will introduce specific theories and concepts surrounding cosmopolitanism which are needed to formulate the three research entry points that make it possible to construct the theoretical framework. Before that, however, it is necessary to first understand how the idea of cosmopolitanism is approached and defined in this research. The following two sub-sections will provide a detailed discussion of how cosmopolitanism has been understood as a sociological theory and how it can be utilised as an analytical tool.
3.2.2 Cosmopolitan attitudes and practices

Understandings of cosmopolitanism today cannot be separated from references to social, cultural, political and economic characteristics of the modern globalised era, which is defined by an unprecedented interconnectedness (Skrbis, Kendall, and Woodward 2004). Paradoxically, it is the growing popularity and differing applications of cosmopolitanism in social sciences that make the defining of this concept increasingly challenging. At the same time, there is a danger that cosmopolitanism may become an abstracted utopian ideal and discourse with no tangible or relevant meanings (Harvey 2000; Skrbis, Kendall, and Woodward 2004). Therefore, making a division between the normative-philosophical and empirical-analytical, between the conceptualisations of cosmopolitanism as an idea or attitude (openness to difference and diversity) and as lived everyday experience or practice, has been one of the most essential topics for scholarship on cosmopolitanism (Inglis 2014).

In this regard, Vertovec and Cohen’s (2002) views on cosmopolitanism are of particular importance in my research. Writing over a decade ago, Vertovec and Cohen (2002) argued that the rapidly-expanding literature on the concept of cosmopolitanism can be basically manifested within six rubrics: a social-cultural condition, a kind of philosophy or world view, a political project towards building transnational institutions, a political project for recognising multiple identities, an attitudinal or dispositional orientation, and a model of practice or competence. These six main understandings are well-grounded in the literature on cosmopolitanism, providing a good summary of the intricate meanings behind the word ‘cosmopolitanism’.

Of most relevance to my research are the last two aspects of cosmopolitanism summarised by Vertovec and Cohen (2002)—an attitudinal or dispositional orientation, and a model of practice or competence. They make a distinction between cosmopolitan attitudes and practices, which serve as the two major components of cosmopolitanism. First, cosmopolitanism, as an attitudinal or dispositional orientation, requires people to take an intellectual and aesthetic outlook on openness towards cultural and ethnic diversity (Hannerz 1990). Similarly, Beck (2002) concludes that cosmopolitanism should be conceived as a set of attitudes towards a large number of issues, stressing openness toward the world and recognition of difference. Second, after developing cosmopolitan outlooks and attitudes, real cosmopolitans would still need to apply these attitudes to their daily lives in a number of social settings in order to partake in cosmopolitan practices. Therefore, Vertovec and Cohen (2002) suggest that being cosmopolitan
involves not only having a set of attitudes or dispositions, but also a mode of acting and practising.

If this is the case, then what is the key characteristic of being cosmopolitan? Hannerz (1990, 239) clearly defines being cosmopolitan as having openness to diverse cultural experiences, willingness to engage with the other, and ‘a state of readiness, a personal ability to make one’s way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting’. Szerszynski and Urry (2002, 468) concur with this idea, adding that this disposition of cosmopolitan openness is exhibited ‘towards people, places and experiences from other cultures’. According to Chan (2005), cosmopolitanism suggests a bone-deep attitude of receptivity towards people and places that are different from one’s own. Most contemporary commentators have agreed that the core value of cosmopolitan disposition should be ‘openness to difference and tolerance to others, the world and cultural differences’ (Hannerz 1990, 1996; Tomlinson 1999; Held 2002; Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Beck and Sznaider 2006; Skey 2013).

Woodward and Skribs (2012) have argued that in the recent sociological literature, the idea that cultural openness defines the cosmopolitan outlook has been considered the dominant way of conceptualising cosmopolitanism. Accordingly, the idea of ‘openness’ has been seen as a fountainhead for general conceptions of cosmopolitanness as an attitude, outlook or disposition. Cosmopolitans are assumed to be ‘open’ to new experiences, peoples and ideas, and to enjoy the play of otherness upon oneself. Although it has been criticised as a term which carries a high degree of conceptual and definitional vagueness, this linking of cosmopolitanism with an outward openness to alternative cultural forms, practices and experiences is central to the understanding of all of the dimensions of cosmopolitanism (Roudometof 2005; Szerszynski and Urry 2002; Skrbis and Woodward 2007).

My research adopts Vertovec and Cohen (2002)’s distinction between cosmopolitan attitudes and practices. I argue that the key to engaging in cosmopolitanism is to apply cosmopolitan attitudes in everyday life and constantly utilise them within different social settings to negotiate difference and build relationship networks. That is to say, possessing cosmopolitan attitudes but not practising them is of no use and no value. Therefore, the obtainment of cosmopolitanism is processual (Hannerz 1990), and becoming cosmopolitan is an unfolding process that requires constant work and practice in everyday life. This thesis, then, not only examines whether Chinese migrants develop cosmopolitan openness, but, more importantly, whether and how they
practise these attitudes and thus utilise them to negotiate difference in their daily lives. Drawing on the research of Woodward and Skribs (2012), the following section will provide further discussion on how cosmopolitanism is framed in my research and how it can be utilised as a theoretical and analytical concept to explore Chinese migrants’ everyday living experiences.

3.2.3 Cosmopolitanism in this research

The use of cosmopolitanism in my research is closely related to the claims made by Woodward and Skribs (2012). Woodward and Skribs (2012) have suggested that cosmopolitanism needs to be defined and understood as a set of dispositions and practices, grounded in social structures, and observable in commonplace folk settings, and this serves as the basis for the use of cosmopolitanism in my research. In empirical terms, this means that cosmopolitanism is better approached in the intersection of the theoretical and the empirical, due to its conceptual complexity (Lindell 2014). I agree with this proposal. Therefore, in my research a semi-deductive methodological approach was adopted during data collection and analysis, in which research was guided, but not limited, by cosmopolitanism theories, and ultimately relied on recognising actual manifestations in empirical reality (an approach that will be introduced in more detail in the following methodology chapter).

In order to use cosmopolitanism as an analytical tool and theoretical framework, Woodward and Skribs (2012) have argued that cosmopolitanism is a body of cultural practices which rests on a particular set of cultural competencies, that are brought into play in culturally meaningful fields where the expression of cultural capital competencies makes sense to people. Combining this understanding and the ideas from Vertovec and Cohen (2002), I define cosmopolitanism as a set of attitudes and practices characterised by openness to others and difference, utilised by ordinary individuals to encounter diversity, negotiate difference and build social relations in specific everyday social situations. Moreover, my research makes a distinction between intercultural competency and becoming cosmopolitan: possessing intercultural competency is the starting point for becoming cosmopolitan, but it does not guarantee the emergence or development of cosmopolitan engagement in daily life; since ‘becoming cosmopolitan’ implies an agentive desire or will to utilise intercultural competencies to develop intercultural relationship networks and overcome distance that may be generated in intercultural encounters. That is to say, being able to engage in cosmopolitanism demands strategic efforts that enable individuals to overcome
socialising barriers, flexibly utilise their cultural powers, and identity assets in different social settings.

This particular approach to cosmopolitanism in my research focuses on the following four aspects. First, my research draws particular attention to how migrants engage with cosmopolitanism at the level of ‘everyday life’, which aligns with the approach advocated by Woodward and Skribs (2012). Like Lamont and Aksartova (2002), Woodward and Skribs (2012) believe that studies on cosmopolitanism should focus on everyday experiences: what people eat, watch, listen to, shop for and buy, and dream about. ‘Everyday cosmopolitanism’ pays attention to the more modest ways in which people from different backgrounds negotiate differences and live together in diverse contexts (Bayat 2008). The investigation of cosmopolitanism in my research is based on empirical research of individual migrants’ everyday interactions with events, people and cultures in their daily life within a cross-cultural context. ‘Everyday cosmopolitanism’ is one of the major concepts used in my research to form the theoretical framework, which will be introduced in more detail in the following sections.

Second, my research aims to explore whether or not cosmopolitanism can be counterbalanced by a series of counter-discourses, such as nationalism, localism or personal self-interest. Woodward and Skribs (2012) hold the belief that ‘cosmopolitan impulse’ can be restrained by varying personal, local and national anchors which remind social actors of the downside of cosmopolitanism and globalization. Within this research, I mainly apply the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ to investigate how the interacting dynamics between rootedness and cosmopolitan openness among Chinese migrants relate to their performance of cosmopolitanism during the process of encountering difference and cultural others. This research perspective will be introduced in further detail later in this chapter.

Third, I want to emphasise the strategic and pragmatic elements involved in cosmopolitan engagements. Woodward and Skribs (2012) also emphasised the ‘performative’ nature of cosmopolitanism. They pointed out that people need to think of cosmopolitanism as a more flexible application of a cultural outlook focused on strategically discerning and appreciating difference in relevant social settings. That is to say, cosmopolitanism is performed in particular contexts and settings as required. Therefore, cosmopolitanism can be strategically utilised by individuals to achieve particular socialising aims in a pragmatic manner. My research seeks to examine how individual migrants strategically and flexibly apply their different sets of cultural
references or identities into the process of dealing with objects, events, experiences and people, in ways which are encouraged or undermined in particular social settings.

In addition, as previously argued, my research approaches cosmopolitanism outside the Eurocentric framework and focuses on cosmopolitanism amongst contemporary Chinese migrants. At the same time, my research does not limit cosmopolitanism to privileged social élites, which is different from the way that Kanter (1995) and Sklair (2001) position cosmopolitanism as something exclusive to the business elite or the capitalist class. That is to say, I aim to examine ‘vernacular cosmopolitanism’ (Werbner 2006) and ‘cosmopolitanism from below’ (Werbner 1999; Bhabha 1996; Nava 2007), which is closely related to, and based on, the spirit of the approach of ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’.

Woodward and Skribs (2012, 133) see cosmopolitanism as an ‘increasingly prominent, available cultural discourse—flexible, discursive, practical and even sometimes contradictory—one that conflicts with an array of other social and personal imperatives, and thus does not always blossom in social encounters’. In this sense, cosmopolitanism is not an ideal type of behaviour, but a constantly negotiated framework of references and cultural competencies for individuals to utilise with the aim of better dealing with difference and cultural others. It is important to be aware of and make allowance for the frequently-occurring gaps between people’s philosophical commitment to cosmopolitan openness and their real application of that openness in daily life. In addition, Woodward and Skribs (2012) do not articulate cosmopolitanism as a necessary ‘good’ or ‘an ever-expanding frontier of the global community that people in all places and times increasingly adopt as if it were part of an evolutionary adaptation’. This allows more room for scholars to explore the good and the evil, the ambivalence, the challenges and barriers and the pleasure generated from ‘performing’ cosmopolitanism as a way to navigate through differences.

3.3 A cosmopolitan gaze towards migration studies

The research field of migration studies is multidimensional and offers multiple levels of analysis (Kurekova 2011, 3). Portes (1997) has pointed out that four different categories of questions have been investigated within migration studies: the origins of migration; the directionality and continuity of migrant flows; the utilisation of immigrant labour; and the socio-cultural
adaptation of migrants. These questions have been theorised using a host of perspectives and concepts, some developed specifically for migration studies and others more generally applicable to a range of social processes (O’Reilly 2012). Almost 20 years ago, Douglas Massey and his colleagues argued that:

At present, there is no single theory widely accepted by social scientists to account for the emergence and perpetuation of international migration throughout the world, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always segmented by disciplinary boundaries (Massey et al. 1998, 17).

This remark highlights that there is no synthesis of migration theories and, more importantly, identifies a major challenge that migration studies have faced to date—migration embraces all dimensions of social existence, and therefore demands an interdisciplinary approach (Brettell and Hollifield 2007; Castles 2007, 2010; Favell 2007). The exponential growth of social-scientific research on mobilities and migrations has continued, but the formation of a generally accepted synthetic theoretical framework for migration studies remains elusive (Castles 2010). According to Castles (2010), attempts have been made to search for a cohesive and synthetic theoretical framework for migration studies through interdisciplinary research teams as well as through theoretical work designed to ‘talk across disciplines’ (Brettell and Hollifield 2007). However, Castles (2010, 1569) pointed out that these efforts to increase interdisciplinarity have tended to be ‘more additive than integrative with each discipline contributing aspects susceptible to its mode of analysis, but without an overarching synthesis’.

Another major challenge that migration scholars have encountered is the development of theoretical frameworks and analytical tools that transcend the nation-state (Amelina and Faist 2012; Castles 2007). Contemporary social theory is still stuck in the ‘dead end’ of ‘methodological nationalism’ (Beck 2007), and this problem is particularly severe for migration studies (Castles 2010, 1570; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003). Migration research in the era of globalisation is a transnational undertaking, which requires that our research approaches should emancipate themselves from national divisions (Castles 2007). Hence, new theoretical frameworks to make sense of what has been labelled a ‘borderless world’ (Beck 2006) need to be further explored and developed by migration scholars. The following two sub-sections will introduce the major shifts in theoretical approach in migration studies and illustrate why my project adopts a cosmopolitan research framework.
3.3.1 Moving beyond methodological nationalism

The change from ‘methodological nationalism’ to ‘transnationalism’ has been one of the most significant theoretical changes within migration studies over the past two decades. Colle-Peisker (2006) has argued that the settler immigration research paradigm had been dominant for most of the last century, mainly examining the interaction of settlers within their host country. These ‘old’ migration studies usually observed migration processes within the framework of assimilation which is embedded in ‘methodological nationalism’. As Beck and Sznaider (2006) suggest, methodological nationalism emphasises that the nation-state serves as the ‘container’ for its society and culture as well as its social, economic and political processes, and also as a theoretical framework.

Since the 1990s the social sciences, including migration studies, have become highly exposed to issues related to global transformations and international mobilities. As a result, the ‘global’ has become the defining centre of a new self-critical discourse in the social sciences. However, methodological nationalism takes the following premises for granted: it equates societies with nation-state societies, and sees states and their governments as the primary focus of social-scientific analysis (Beck and Sznaider 2010). This naturalising position assumes that nation-state institutions are the main social context within which migration occurs and for which migration is relevant (Amelina Faist 2012). Taking a methodologically nationalist approach means excluding wider processes beyond the nations, a position that has limited ability to capture and understand the reality of the transnationalised and globalised world. Some scholars have pointed out that the use of nation-states as the main unit of analysis for understanding ‘detransnationalised’ phenomena is weak and limiting, especially in a period of border-transcending movements of people and information (Beck and Sznaider 2006). Hence, research questions of a global context cannot be satisfactorily answered empirically or theoretically in the framework of ‘methodological nationalism’ (Beck and Sznaider 2006).

Over the last two decades, methodological nationalism has started to be challenged by the focus on transnational migration, and there have been several calls to overturn methodological nationalism in favour of methodological transnationalism (Glick Schiller and Wimmer 2003; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). The concept of ‘transnationalism’ was first asserted as a new research agenda in migration studies by Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc (1992a, ix), who defined it as a ‘social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross
geographic, cultural and political borders’. Essentially, the transnational approach rejects the nation-state as the sole starting point of empirical analysis (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994; Faist 2000), and calls for a de-naturalisation of categories such ‘nation’ and ‘space’. Accordingly, transnational migrants have become a key subject of contemporary migration studies under the theoretical framework of transnationalism. According to Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc (1995, 48), transnational migrants maintain ‘simultaneous multi-stranded social relations’ to build a link between their host and home countries. Since the 1990s, transnationalism has become a new theoretical and methodological framework, and has begun to ‘spread like a bushfire’ (Colle-Peisker 2006, 212) among scholars of migration.

3.3.2 Emerging methodological cosmopolitanism

Skrbis, Kendall, and Woodward (2004, 116) have stated that ‘the boundaries between home and away, local and global, traditional and de-traditionalised, and here and there, have become increasingly blurred’. To further this point, Beck (2006, 75) has argued that increasingly dense transnational interdependence and interaction has the potential to ‘tear down the structure of traditional metaphysics of the nation-state, that is, open it up to the cosmopolitanisation reality’. There has been a ‘cosmopolitan turn’ in social science research and theory formation, not only thematically but also methodologically (Beck and Sznaider 2010). Beck and Sznaider (2006) suggest that the current trends in our global interconnectedness are a type of ‘cosmopolitan reality’, and label the framework through which they analyse that reality as ‘methodological cosmopolitanism’.

As Beck (2011) has pointed out, over recent decades the cultural, social and political landscapes of diversity are changing radically, but scholars often lack the language through which contemporary super-diversity in the world can be described, conceptualised, understood, explained and researched. Many of the social theories, intercultural relations, and political actions on issues of diversity are now dominated by methodological nationalism or transnationalism (Beck 2011). Methodological cosmopolitanism provides a wider angle to examine issues that are related to the increasingly fluid, diverse, and globally interconnected character of many social environments across world regions.
In general social theory, methodological cosmopolitanism strives to go beyond mere critique (Beck and Sznaider 2006; Beck and Grande 2010), since it is relevant for both the definition of units of analysis and the contextualisation of research questions (Amelina and Faist 2012). The ambivalence of multiple identities is the starting point for the research programme of methodological cosmopolitanism (Amelina and Faist 2012; Beck and Sznaider 2006; Vertovec and Cohen 2002). A cosmopolitan methodology recognises the fact that individuals are capable of developing and maintaining multiple cultural, ethnic, national or religious belongings simultaneously under global conditions (Amelina and Faist 2012). This methodological tool enables researchers to broaden empirical procedures by refusing the old fashioned ‘either/or’ logic of methodological nationalism, which mirrors only a nation-bounded perception of a social world (Amelina and Faist 2012). That is to say, methodological cosmopolitanism defines the units of analysis by acknowledging a ‘both/and’ logic of multiple memberships (Amelina and Faist 2012; Beck and Grande 2010).

Some scholars have proposed that a cosmopolitan approach may help to contextualise research questions in transnational studies (Darieva, Glick Schiller and Gruner-Domic 2011; Amelina and Faist 2012). Amelina and Faist (2012) have pointed out that one of the major analytical problems of research on globalisation and transnationalisation is a clear analytical differentiation between the global/local and national/international spatial levels. Amelina and Faist (2012) argue that the ultimate reason behind this problem is the conventional nation-state-bounded research perspective that expects researchers to think in ‘clearly differentiated oppositions’ (Beck and Sznaider 2006, 18). By contrast, the ‘both/and’ logic involved in methodological cosmopolitanism facilitates the contextualisation of research questions in a double ‘multi-perspective’ way (Amelina and Faist 2012). The main advantage of this strategy in migration studies is the focus on the multiplicity of perspectives, which allows researcher to define the unit of analysis and contextualise research questions in a ‘multiperspective’ manner, without being trapped by ‘juxtaposing the global/local or national/transnational spatial frameworks’ (Amelina and Faist 2012, 1714; Beck and Sznaider 2006, 2010).

Within a framework guided by methodological nationalism, the nation-state provides the all-embracing ‘container’ for studying socio-political processes and structures, both in the social sciences and in dominant forms of political reflection. The nation-state is viewed as a bounded ‘container’ for social phenomena. Methodological nationalism, in this regard, equates the nation-state with society, which is a misconception, because some constituting sources of
society originate beyond national territory. This approach, then, limits the ability to rescale social spaces and places (such as workplaces, neighbourhoods or public contact zones) within the context of extra-national arrangements to analyse their relative significance at varying scales. Nevertheless, Beck and Sznaider (2010) argue that methodological cosmopolitanism does not mean the end of the nation, but its transformation. They see it as a newly-conceived research agenda that tries to bring sociology back to its subject matter – reality, which has to be demonstrated in detail, and which is no longer a national or international but a cosmopolitan one. As previously argued, ‘transnationalism’ has become increasingly popular as a theoretical framework in migration studies. It is essentially about multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states. Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc (1992b, 19) pointed out that transnationalism is an effective approach to study migration as a dynamic process while examining the roles played by both sending and receiving countries. However, Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011) pointed out that there is a need to move beyond transnational migration and diasporic studies. For them and others (Collins 2009), migration studies using a transnational approach are still embedded in methodological nationalism, within which migrants have been studied through an ethnic lens that perceives their activities to be centred in ethnic and national categories of identity, even if they operate transnationally.

One way to exemplify this is to compare across generations of migrants. Collc-Peisker (2006) has made a distinction between ethnic and cosmopolitan transnationalism in his research, by utilising two different types of transnationalism practised in two cohorts of Croatians in Australia: the working-class, who are earlier arrivals (1950s–1970s), and recent middle-class newcomers (1980s–1990s). The transnationalism of the older cohort is conceptualised as ‘ethnic transnationalism’, where they are still metaphysically grounded in their home country (‘body in Australia, soul in Croatia’) while the other cohort is believed to function under ‘cosmopolitan transnationalism’, which is lived and felt beyond the homeland-host connection in a third space of cultural hybridity and global mobility. According to Collc-Peisker’s argument, cosmopolitan transnationalism does not simply integrate the emotional and geographical areas of the old and new country, but represents a new social living space of freedom and mobility. His research not only serves as an example of exploring the underlying interrelations between transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, but also indicates a move from transnationalism to cosmopolitanism within the field of migration studies.
My aim in making these distinctions is not to argue or prove that cosmopolitanism is necessarily superior to transnationalism in the context of migration studies. Rather, I argue that it is the most suitable approach for my research because of what it reveals about the topic at hand, the cosmopolitan practices of migrants themselves. There are four main reasons why methodological cosmopolitanism is more appropriate for my research.

First, transnationalism is limited, as it cannot completely separate itself from methodological nationalism. Many researchers, including Faist (2000), Pries (2001), Guarnizo, Portes and Haller (2003), and Vertovec (2004), view migrants through a national or ethnic lens which is still associated with methodological nationalism, even as they advocate a transnational perspective. According to Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011, 405), these researchers have preferred to see migrants associated with “‘transnational communities’ or ‘transnational spaces’” which is still essentially a framework ‘bounded within national, ethnic or ethno-religious categorizations’. Methodological nationalism has been continuously embedded within transmigration studies (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011). In other words, transnationalism is often taken as a referent for cross-border lives of migrants (usually between home and host society) and it has been tied to the concept of ‘nation-state’ even as it supersedes it. By contrast, methodological cosmopolitanism as promoted by Beck and Sznaider (2006) offers a more open ‘lens’ through which we can view more than local or national phenomena. They argue that methodological cosmopolitanism can be better utilised to move beyond bounded categories set by nation-states, into a hybridised, flexible research pattern at the local, national, transnational, trans-local, and ‘glocal’ levels. This wider and more open lens offered by methodological cosmopolitanism helps researchers to better examine how migrants encounter diversity and negotiate their sense of home at the level of everyday life, and how they relate to surrounding events, people and places in a wider socio-cultural context.

Second, transnationalism, as essentially a set of already-happening cross-border activities, is primarily associated with transnational flows of people, capital and activities. In comparison, cosmopolitanism involves the ability to deal with the consequences of these transnational phenomena. A focus on cosmopolitanism draws attention to transnationalism as it occurs from within, exploring the impacts it has upon the daily lives of migrants and their outlooks and dispositions (Beck and Sznaider 2006; Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2007). Therefore, utilising cosmopolitanism as the research approach enables me to look into the ‘consequences’ and ‘influences’ that a set of transnational activities (physically or metaphysically) have for
migrants in terms of their socialising patterns, family life changes and identity dynamics.

Third, transnationalism also seems to have limited capacity to reflect or recognise contemporary cosmopolitan trends, as ‘transnational migration studies [have] tended to underreport on and failed to theorise cosmopolitan practices, sociabilities and forms of identification not built on shared common ethnic or ethno-religious identities’ (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011, 406). As a result, scholarship within the field of transmigration and diaspora studies have only ‘occasionally addressed notions of cosmopolitanism’ (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011, 408). My research aims to explore whether and how cosmopolitanism emerges and develops among migrants. In this regard, methodological cosmopolitanism is the best approach to identify the emergence or the lack of cosmopolitanism, and to test the strength of cosmopolitanism among migrants in their everyday encounters.

Fourth, the broad research focus for methodological transnationalism is transnational communities and transnational migrants. Delanty (2012) noted that using transnationalism as a research method means that researchers should not examine immigrant groups only in a host society; instead, they should examine groups both in host and home societies so that the relationships and connections that unite people across borders can be revealed. As a result, multi-sited interviews or global ethnography (Lapegna 2009) has emerged as the new frontier of qualitative research under the framework of methodological transnationalism. My research cohort is not necessarily ‘transnational’ in these terms. They are, rather, people who have mainly settled in the host society New Zealand following their initial migration. That is to say, ‘transnationality’ is not the emphasis of my research, which also explains why my research method of collecting data is not based on a multi-sited approach. Moreover, my research does not focus on cross-border relations or connections, or flows of people and ideas in a transnational space, but rather the immediate and situated everyday experience of migrants who are interconnected to a set of wider relations under the context of global diversity (Massey 1994). Methodological cosmopolitanism can better grasp the ways in which these Chinese migrants make sense of their identities, utilise their social powers in different settings, and engage in cosmopolitanism to build relations with the outside world.

To summarise, methodological cosmopolitanism allows for a broader range of relationships and orientations to be examined, which transcends beyond local, national or other place-based contexts. That is to say, methodological cosmopolitanism is not mono- but multi-perspectival.
More precisely, it can and must observe and investigate the boundary-transcending and boundary-effacing multi-perspectivalism of social and political agents through very different ‘lenses’ (Amelina and Faist 2012; Faist 2010). It opens up new horizons by demonstrating how we can make the empirical investigation of border crossings and other transnational phenomena possible. Therefore, it is necessary to inject a cosmopolitan perspective into contemporary migrant narratives and to look at cross-border living experiences manifest in relation to cultural differences, studying how various kinds of cross-cultural mobilities transform outlooks and dispositions from a more open and cosmopolitan perspective. The next section will thus provide a comprehensive introduction of the major ideas and concepts surrounding cosmopolitanism to formulate three research entry points that constitute the theoretical framework of this research.

3.4 Three research entry points: constructing the theoretical framework

The objective of this section is to develop three research entry points based on three sets of literature and ideas surrounding cosmopolitanism. The first is ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’; the second is ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’; the third is ‘emotions and cosmopolitan sociability in a migration context’. These three entry points will be respectively utilised within the three research finding chapters of the thesis. The following three sub-sections will introduce and illustrate how these three sets of theories relate to my research and how they are designed to solve research questions.

3.4.1 Everyday cosmopolitanism—cosmopolitanism from below

One major debate surrounding cosmopolitanism concerns whether it is only associated with social élites, or whether it can also be identified in more ‘ordinary’ situations. The scholarly association of social elites with cosmopolitanism is demonstrated by: Kanter’s (1995) ‘world class’, Kirwan-Taylor’s (2000) ‘cosmocrats’, Calhoun’s (2002) ‘frequent travellers’, and Hannerz’s (2004) ‘foreign correspondents’. Historically, cosmopolitanism has been frequently related to elitism and cosmopolitans have been conceptualised as élites (Beck 2002; Hannerz 2007) who are allowed to pursue refined consumption and, through that, to be open to forms of otherness (Hiebert 2002). In other words, cosmopolitanism is a set of attitudes and outlooks only available to privileged social classes, those who have the resources to travel, consume, learn
foreign languages, and experience other cultures. This is not least because it is often assumed that people who have been living their lives within limited social and cultural spaces (their own hometowns or homelands) find cosmopolitanism not attainable, or not realistic.

However, some scholars have argued that global elites ironically have limited engagement with the ‘other’ and ‘difference’ and ‘a rather restricted corridor of physical movement’ between and within particular spaces of global cities (Calhoun 2002; Data 2009; Vertovec and Cohen 2002, 7). Hannerz (1990) has tried to distinguish true cosmopolitans from highly mobile elites, well-travelled businesspeople, tourists, transmigrants, and multi-national company employees. He argues that true cosmopolitans should genuinely exhibit openness to other cultures and a strong interest in engaging with other people who are from different cultural backgrounds, instead of only possessing a desire for experiencing ‘home-plus’ exoticism. My research confirms that cosmopolitan sentiments can find expression in ordinary individuals or committed localists, just as it can amongst highly mobile elites and globalists. Put simply, one does not need to be a member of the global elite to engage in cosmopolitanism.

Due to rapid globalization, more and more people, who are not necessarily privileged elites, in more common social settings, can be surrounded by world culture and foreign languages (Datta 2009; Malcomson 1998; Werbner 1999). This has led some scholars to claim that ordinary individuals now tend to define themselves beyond the boundaries of locations, languages, ethnicity, and citizenship (Lamont and Aksartova 2002; Werbner 2006). Some recent writings suggest that in the contemporary world characterised by a proliferation of global symbols, principally global media, a wide variety of citizens are afforded the opportunity to experience forms of mobility that potentially cultivate cosmopolitan (or anti-cosmopolitan) outlooks, practices and values (Szerszynski and Urry 2006).

It has been argued that cosmopolitanism is no longer a term reserved for the tastes and lifestyles of global elites (Moroşanu 2013). More research has shown that various forms of ‘everyday’ cosmopolitanism are produced in workplaces, neighbourhoods or localities among those who populate them (Favell 2008; Kothari 2008; Datta 2009; Wessendorf 2010). Some scholars have begun to shift their focus to more grounded and down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements, such as ‘working-class’ cosmopolitanism (Werbner 1999), ‘vernacular’ cosmopolitanism (Werbner 2006), ‘cosmopolitanism from below’ (Bhabha 1996; Nava 2007; Werbner 2008) and ‘cosmopolitanism in practice’ (Nowicka and Rovisco 2009). For example, ‘working-class
cosmopolitanism’ (Werbner 1999) suggests that individuals have an openness to difference which is oriented around the aim to ‘get by’ in everyday life (Data 2009). That is to say, many ‘everyday’ forms of cosmopolitanism are conducted through strategic engagements with others, or through pressures related to survival and adaptation in new environments (Data 2009). Similarly, Lamont and Aksartova’s (2002) research explores cosmopolitan attitudes and behaviours amongst working class citizens who do not fit the standard elitist image of a capital-loaded and highly intellectual cosmopolitan. Most importantly, they have called for the study of ‘ordinary cosmopolitanism’ and have defined it as ‘strategies used by ordinary people to bridge boundaries with people who are different from them’ (2002, 1).

This marked shift towards the ‘everyday’ as a focus of research, places emphasis on how cosmopolitanism emerges and is adopted in the everyday interactions of ordinary people (Noble 2009; Onyx et al. 2011). Wise (2009), for example, has utilised the concept of ‘quotidian transversality’ to explore how meaningful everyday neighbourly interactions facilitate intercultural exchanges in a super-diverse suburban area. Similarly, Noble (2009) has pointed to the key importance of practices of negotiation and exchange to cultivating cosmopolitan openness to people and practices that are conceived as other. These everyday cosmopolitanisms manifest in moments of encounters across difference, and occur among ordinary people in their daily lives within social sites like neighbourhoods, schools, and workplaces (Onyx et al. 2011). While not always being able to encapsulate the lofty philosophical postures of world citizenship, ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ draws attention to the more modest ways in which people from different backgrounds negotiate differences and engage, associate and live together in diverse contexts (Bayat 2008).

These studies show that more focused research should be directed towards ‘cosmopolitanism from below’—the down-to-earth cosmopolitan actions taken by ordinary people in everyday life. There has been a call for ‘cosmopolitanism from below’, which is not utopian, elitist or Western-centred (Nowicka and Rovisco 2009). Mendieta (2009, 243) has pointed out that, ‘[i]n our age of globalisations and exclusions, we are in need of a different form of cosmopolitanism, one that emerges from below, from the below of those who are the majority of the planet’; he goes on to suggest that ‘one can speak of cosmopolitanism from below, one that matches the socio-political effects of a globalisation from below’. In my research, ‘cosmopolitanism from below’ mainly refers to the down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements of ordinary individuals
that are grounded and located in everyday life, which is closely related to the concept of ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’.

Building on these arguments, my second research entry point focuses on ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ as a grounded approach to investigate the lived experience of social actors who negotiate differences in specific social situations (Onyx et al. 2011). It draws attention to various forms of cosmopolitan interactions amongst individual Chinese migrants in their daily lives, examining how cosmopolitanism is differently available to them and how their socio-demographic characteristics facilitate or act as a barrier to the formation of quotidian cosmopolitan attitudes and practices. At the same time, my project seeks to examine how Chinese migrants engage in everyday cosmopolitanism divergently when they are interacting with objects, ideas and people from other cultures under different social contexts. It looks at their everyday interactions in different contact zones, such as schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods, asking how specific social settings transform the unfolding process of practising cosmopolitanism. Moreover, the project analyses how migrant individuals think and behave differently when they are surrounded by different ethnic or cultural environments, since they approach the same person or issue in different ways depending on which ethnic and/or cultural identity they are more likely to relate to in the particular moment or circumstance.

3.4.2 Rooted cosmopolitanism—simultaneous rootedness and openness
The term ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ was first used by Mitchell Cohen, writing in *Dissent* in 1992. Cohen (1992, 480-483) called for ‘the fashioning of a dialectical concept of rooted cosmopolitanism, which accepts a multiplicity of roots and branches and that rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties, of standing in many circles, but with common ground’. According to Cohen (1992), the ‘rooted’ in the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ means individuals move cognitively and physically outside their spatial origins, while still continuing to be linked to place, to the social networks that inhabit that space, and to the resources, experiences and opportunities that place provides them with. That is to say, moving subjects can move to a new place without necessarily losing their original cultural identity assets or their relations with people, things and places from their place of origin.
In the mid-1990s, this idea of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ was further popularised by Kwame Anthony Appiah (1997) and has since been adopted in various forms by a range of political theorists and philosophers (Kymlicka and Walker 2012). Appiah argues that people who hold narrow nationalistic views tend to criticise cosmopolitans for their ‘rootlessness’, but what he believes is that people can be rooted cosmopolitans. To Appiah, rootedness towards a particular culture, place or identity is not contradictory to becoming cosmopolitan. As Appiah (1997, 618) has argued, rooted cosmopolitanism suggests the possibilities that people can be attached to their own home and original cultural particularities, while maintaining the ability to feel pleasant about the existence of people and cultures different from their own. In this regard, rooted cosmopolitanism does not exclude people’s attachments to their homelands or their rootedness to their original cultural backgrounds; instead, it suggests the possibility of simultaneously developing rootedness to multiple places, identities and cultures (Hannerz 2007). Echoing Martha Nussbaum’s notion of cosmopolitan patriotism, Appiah (1997) proposes that ‘rooted’ cosmopolitans do not abandon their ties to morally and emotionally significant communities, families and ethnic groups while being open to the world, since they may, and often do, feel sentimentally attached to several homes in different countries.

The detailed development of the above-mentioned moral or philosophical debates over rooted cosmopolitanism by Cohen (1992) and Appriah (1997) is of great relevance in terms of what these claims mean for lived experiences of engaging in rooted cosmopolitanism. As with cosmopolitanism, most of the scholars have used the notion of rooted cosmopolitanism as an ethnic and political viewpoint that advocates rootedness towards multiple identities, cultures and places, and pursues normative–philosophical commitment to the primacy of global citizenship over all sorts of narrow and parochial affiliations. Building on the arguments above, my first research entry point adopts a revised and potentially more variegated version of rooted cosmopolitanism, which transcends its normative or philosophical dimension and informs the everyday intercultural practices of individual migrants. It draws attention to a lived rooted cosmopolitanism that is conducted and utilised by migrants to negotiate their rootedness and openness, switch between identities, and navigate through difference in a cross-cultural context. The focus is on exploring how the interplay of rootedness and openness divergently relate to the building of intercultural relations in the everyday life of different migrants.

Specifically, my research understands rooted cosmopolitanism from the following perspectives. First, rootedness is not only built and developed in relation to someone’s homeland, hometown
or original cultural background; rather it can develop in relation to their host society or any other new places or cultures. Hannerz (2007) has pointed out that the experience of migrancy is capable of relativising and circumscribing rootedness, so that in the context of migration it is entirely possible for some people to be less rooted or to have more complex roots than others. He further argues that rootedness is not necessarily a matter of being forever rooted, but can refer to putting down roots and becoming rooted (Hannerz 2007). I agree with Hannerz’s argument, and I argue that the sense of rootedness among people who are on the move is a fluid concept which has always been constantly shifting and becoming. For the new Chinese migrants in my research, it is possible for their sense of rootedness to shift from China to New Zealand, then back again to China, and then to the local Chinese community in New Zealand. At the same time, the strength of their rootedness can vary depending on their different life stages or the social settings in which they are positioned.

Secondly, rootedness also relates to cosmopolitan openness. Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011) have argued that rootedness and openness can simultaneously exist, as they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but instead interplay with each other, providing the potential for maintaining a sense of home in a transnational context. Following Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011), we can conceive of rooted cosmopolitanism as involving a simultaneous rootedness and openness to shared human emotions, experiences and aspirations. The key premise is that rootedness towards one place or one culture does not necessarily exclude the development of openness towards ideas, people and places that are different from ones’ own, and that this is particularly the case when it comes to migrants who live in a cross-cultural and cross-border context. My research aims to examine how different degrees of sense of rootedness towards China and Chinese culture (or New Zealand and New Zealand culture) interrelate with participants’ level of openness to cultural others, and the influence they have has on the socialising patterns displayed in daily interactions.

The first research entry point of the thesis is built on these understandings of rooted cosmopolitanism. In this project, my approach to studying Chinese migration is centred on a ‘rooted’ understanding of cosmopolitanism, and attempts to test the strength of cosmopolitanism among migrants through studying the interacting dynamics between cosmopolitan openness and its counter-discourse (i.e. rootedness). It will examine the interplay between rootedness and openness, asking how rootedness is involved in the process of performing cosmopolitanism in daily life, and whether these two can coexist to enhance or undermine people’s capacity for
building intercultural relationship networks. I argue that exploring the intersections of rootedness and openness, while asking how their relations alter and shape the multiplicity of intercultural practices in the everyday lives of mobile subjects, can offer a more nuanced version of rooted cosmopolitanism.

3.4.3 Emotion, migration, and cosmopolitan sociability

Cosmopolitanism itself suggests a structure of feeling as well as a stance of openness to others and other cultural practices (Nava 2006). Nava (2006, 42), for example, has pointed out that ‘the emotions and imaginaries associated with cosmopolitanism as a structure of feeling have largely been neglected by cultural and social theorists concerned with the topic’. Research needs to explore the emotional side of cosmopolitanism and investigate how these emotional elements are involved with what has been called ‘cosmopolitan sociabilities’ (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011, 402). At the same time, it has been suggested that a focus on the emotional dynamics generated from migratory movements is of great significance to migration studies (Wise and Adam 2005; Conradson and McKay 2007; Skrbisˇ 2008; Svasˇek 2010). My research follows on from these insights and aims to unravel the emotional complexities that are entangled with migrant mobilities, their multiple senses of belongings, and the diverse range of cosmopolitan sociabilities occurring during migratory movements.

Emotions are generated in migratory experiences in a range of different ways. On one hand, it is recognised that migration itself is tied up in particular feelings about being and becoming in the world—hopes for the future, for the transformation of livelihood and subjectivities through mobility (Collins et al. 2014; Mar 2005). It is clear, too, that migrants bring with them feelings about people and places that become physically distant in migration, including both loss and longing through separation (Baldassar 2008), but they also gain enhanced interpersonal connections as the complexities of day-to-day relations subside (McKay 2007).

The decision to leave a homeland and migrate to another country involves a wide range of influences and emotions, and, alongside the physical movements, there is an emotional journey to be travelled while relocating and adapting to a new country (Burrell 2006). Indeed, as Conradson and McKay (2007, 172) have pointed out, ‘[f]ar from being a secondary or unimportant dimension of mobility […] affect and emotion are central aspects of international migration’. It is important to conceptualise emotions in order to develop a more comprehensive
understanding of migrant mobility patterns and their impact on the transformative subjectivities of people who are involved in the moving process (Conradson and McKay 2007). Over the past ten years, an increasing number of scholars have started to focus on the emotional dynamics generated from migratory movements, exploring how emotional complexities interact with migrants’ identity dynamics, notions of home and mobility strategies (Baldassar 2008; Svašek 2008, 2010).

Emotions shape, and are shaped by, encounters that migrants have in their day-to-day lives. Arrival in a new location and adaptation to a new life can be exciting, filled as it is with unfamiliar sights, sounds, smells and tastes, but such encounters can also generate anxiety or a sense of being out of place. Indeed, when migrants ‘move’, a set of sensory responses and affective feelings emerge (Sheller and Urry 2006; Svašek 2010). Migrants then keep ‘moving’ in different ways while experiencing different emotional dynamics. These diverse kinds of feelings generate a need for migrants to socialise with objects, people and places, and thus various kinds of sociabilities are produced while migrants are ‘moving’. These sociabilities take many forms; some of them may emerge as cosmopolitan, which is explicitly rendered as a form of sociability across difference (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011). Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011, 402) define cosmopolitan sociability as ‘forms of competence and communication skills that are based on the human capacity to create social relations of inclusiveness and openness to the world’. Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011) suggest that cosmopolitan sociability can arise from the human competencies that create social relations of inclusiveness. Critically, I make a distinction between cosmopolitan sociability—efforts to build relations with others—and the more literal ‘intercultural encounters’, which we take as including a wider range of interactions: passing, tolerance, basic civility, rejection, exclusion.

While recognising the emotional dimensions of migration and settlement are clearly important across this field of study, this research attempts to make a particularly important contribution to understanding what Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011, 402) call cosmopolitan sociability. This concept builds on attempts to understand the ‘everyday multiculturalism’ or ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ (Butcher and Harris 2010; Noble 2009; Wise and Velayutham 2009) that emerges in ordinary interactions among individuals occurring in commonplace contact zones such as neighbourhoods, schools, workplaces and the like. It is argued that a focus on these daily life interactions highlights and supports lived ordinary and everyday expressions of
cosmopolitanism, in which individuals of different cultural backgrounds routinely negotiate across difference in order to coexist within increasingly diverse social settings (Onyx et al. 2011).

While a focus on cosmopolitan sociability clearly offers scope for enhancing understandings of contemporary intercultural encounters, there has been a tendency in the literature to focus principally on the pragmatic skills and competencies required for interacting meaningfully with others. Following Ahmed (2008) I recognise that the feelings of sociability are not always positive; they can involve struggle and suppression of other emotions in order to build relations with others, and in other instances emotions can serve to restrict the ways in which sociability emerges. Cosmopolitan sociability is no exception. My project aims to reflect on the emotional dimensions of cosmopolitan sociabilities—to examine the feelings for others that might stimulate, support, shape or hinder an openness to difference amongst migrants. Put another way, this research is concerned principally with the emotional contours of building cosmopolitan sociability out of everyday intercultural encounters, which is the key theme of the third research finding chapter of the thesis.

To summarise, apart from drawing on theories of rooted cosmopolitanism and everyday cosmopolitanism, this third research perspective is based on the conceptual framework of emotions, migrations and cosmopolitan sociability. It draws attention, in particular, to how these migrants’ emotions emerge from and are involved with everyday cross-cultural encounters. In doing so, it aims to examine how migrants engage to differing degrees in cosmopolitan sociability, but also the way this is tied up with feelings about themselves, their situation and the value of relating to others. It explores the role of emotions in generating cosmopolitan sociabilities through a focus on the opportunities and barriers to intercultural encounters.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has, first, provided an overview of the major literature on cosmopolitanism and, more importantly, made it clear how cosmopolitanism is specifically understood, approached and utilised as a theoretical framework in this research. Instead of focusing on the normative-philosophical, ethical or political dimensions of cosmopolitanism, my research emphasises the empirical and analytical side of cosmopolitanism as it emerges in everyday situations. Drawing
on the research of Woodward and Skribs (2012) and Vertovec and Cohen (2002), I define cosmopolitanism as a set of attitudes and practices characterised by openness to others and difference, utilised by ordinary individuals to encounter diversity, negotiate difference and build social relations in specific everyday social situations. In order to use cosmopolitanism as both an analytical tool and a theoretical framework, I emphasise four aspects of cosmopolitanism: its grounding in everyday experience; the interplay between rootedness and cosmopolitan openness; the strategic, pragmatic and performative efforts involved; and its practice by ordinary, non-élites in a non-Eurocentric context. Furthermore, I argue that individuals with different socio-cultural backgrounds have different abilities to utilise opportunities and overcome barriers that are generated by conducting everyday intercultural encounters under the context of diversity.

Second, the chapter has explained why cosmopolitanism has emerged as a new promising research approach within migration studies, and why it is the most suitable method for my research project. This is in contrast to an approach guided by methodological nationalism, which uses the national-state as the unit of analysis and places the emphasis on transnationalism in recent migration scholarship. Moreover, this chapter has listed the major reasons why methodological cosmopolitanism is more appropriate for my research objectives: it offers a more open and wider research lens that acknowledges, but also transcends, the concept of ‘nation-state’; it enables the researcher to examine in a more inclusive manner the effect of transnationalism on people who are on the move; and it identifies the emergence and development of cosmopolitanism among migrants. Methodological cosmopolitanism, in this regard, makes it possible to investigate the immediate and situated everyday experience of migrants who are connected to a wider set of relations.

Third, the chapter has presented three major entry points for my research, drawing on ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ and ‘emotions and cosmopolitan sociability’. The first of these is used to examine how different degrees of sense of rootedness towards either China or New Zealand interrelate with an individual’s strength of openness to cultural others, and eventually influence their socialising patterns. Building on the theories of rooted cosmopolitanism, this research project argues for the centrality of rootedness in understanding the development of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices. The second entry point, everyday cosmopolitanism, is essentially a grounded approach, to investigate the lived experience of social actors who negotiate cultural differences in specific situations and spaces of encounter (Onyx et al. 2011). My project draws attention to various forms of cosmopolitan interactions
conducted by Chinese migrants in daily life, and seeks to examine how these individuals apply everyday cosmopolitanism divergently when they are interacting with objects, ideas and people from other cultures in different social contexts. The third research entry point focuses on the literature of emotions and cosmopolitan sociability in the context of migration. My research aims to explore how emotions are involved in the interacting relations between senses of rootedness, cosmopolitan openness, and everyday intercultural encounters, examining the emotional dimension of how migrants utilise cosmopolitan sociability in mobilities to relate to people and places in different ways.

Drawing on cosmopolitanism as the theoretical framework, this research project utilises three conceptual concepts—‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, and ‘emotions and cosmopolitan sociability’, to examine sense of home, identity dynamics and, most importantly, intercultural encounter patterns amongst the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand. It contributes to the literature on cosmopolitanism by researching its empirical utilisation in daily life (Chapter Five), its interacting dynamics with rootedness (Chapter Six), and how it interacts with emotions (Chapter Seven) in the context of migration. On the whole, this study takes a cosmopolitan gaze towards migration studies and explores how migrant mobilities (both at an everyday and transnational level) interrelate with the emergence and development of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices. Before moving to the three research finding chapters, the next chapter will introduce the methods utilised to collect and analyse data.
Chapter Four Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological basis for this research project on new Chinese migrants, providing detailed information on how the methods were developed and used in this research. In the following sections, I first explain why I chose to use a qualitative research approach and why conducting in-depth interviews is an appropriate method for exploring cosmopolitanism. Then, I provide information including sampling and recruitment of interviewees, interview scheduling and question design, interview conducting process, and methods used to analyse data. The chapter also explores the relationship between researcher and participants, while providing a set of reflections on the process of research and how these reflections have shaped data collection, analysis and findings. In addition, the methodological limitations of this research are acknowledged and discussed.

4.1 Why qualitative in-depth interviews?

During the past few decades, migration scholars have showed growing interest in a series of issues that relate to migrant experiences of mobility and its effects. This includes identity formation and change (Chan 2002; Li, Hodgetts and Ho 2010), the role of social capital and social networks (Colic-Peisker 2006; Yeoh and Willis 2005), emotional dimension of mobilities (Conradson and Mckay 2007; Mar 2005; Wang and Collins 2016a), and everyday intercultural relations (Jones 2013; Wise 2009). Moving away from the quantitative and empiricist-positivist approaches that have often characterised migration research, many scholars (Butcher 2009; Collins and Huang 2012; McKay 2005, 2007; Svašek 2008; Wang and Collins 2016b; Yeoh and Willis 2005) have utilised qualitative methods to highlight and gain better understanding of these issues from an individual perspective and in relation to everyday life.

Research that uses quantitative methods focuses on the rise of cosmopolitanism as a social phenomenon at the macro-level. Skey (2012) points out that the cosmopolitanism literature employing quantitative techniques has often relied on existing data sets, either related to specific national populations (Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2007) or to the specific issues in the
development of the European Union (Pilcher 2008). Such quantitative studies provide a general picture of people’s attitudes about cultural diversity and identity as well as listing some key attributes of individuals who show a strong cosmopolitan outlook (Skey 2012). Quantitative methods are less useful for exploring the manifestation of cosmopolitanism in the lived everyday experience of specific social groups with unique socio-demographic characteristics. Thus, it is necessary to use a qualitative approach in order to develop a more in-depth understanding of what migrant living experiences mean to them and whether their potential cosmopolitan attitudes are being practised in daily life.

My research seeks to examine how migrant experience is related to cosmopolitanism by focusing on the lived experience of individual migrants. The overall aim of this study is to conceptualise and examine how such individuals structure and give meaning to their daily lives and whether they are in a process of adopting cosmopolitanism as a living paradigm to make sense of and actively adapt themselves to their lived experience. The research thus rests principally on a qualitative approach in order to explore ‘how humans arrange themselves and their social settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles and so forth’ (Berg 2007, 8).

Specifically, my research employed in-depth interviews as the major method to collect data. In-depth interviews are useful for collecting detailed information about a person’s thoughts and behaviours to explore new issues in depth (Boyce and Neale 2006; Ritchie et al. 2013). The primary advantage of in-depth interviews is that they provide much more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods, such as surveys (Boyce and Neale 2006). They may also provide a more relaxed atmosphere in which to collect information—participants may feel more comfortable having a conversation about their personal stories as opposed to filling out a survey (Boyce and Neale 2006; Ritchie et al. 2013).

The interviews I employed in this research were semi-structured in design and practice. Semi-structured interviews can be located somewhere between the extremes of completely standardised and completely unstandardised interviewing structures (Diefenbach 2009). This approach gives both interviewers and interviewees freedom to digress, investigating beyond general answers to prepared or standardised questions. In my research, a set of predetermined questions were designed to address specific issues related to cosmopolitanism, such as rootedness towards China or New Zealand, openness towards diversity and mobilities,
employment and housing situation, and everyday socialising habits (a detailed question design will be introduced later in the chapter). At the same time, semi-structured interviews generate more space and freedom for the researcher to adjust the interview design, by adding or deleting certain questions depending on each participant’s unique migration history and personal biographies. For example, some questions were designed to examine if participants have already developed cosmopolitan orientations before migration during their overseas working or living experience.

Semi-structured interviews probe the lived experience of individuals, with an aim to tease out participants’ subjective perspectives (Creswell 1998). My research perceives the intercultural encounters, identity dynamics, and the development of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices as part of new Chinese migrants’ lived experience. Semi-structured interviews are effective in terms of penetrating into more reflective understandings about the nature of individuals’ everyday living experience from their own perspectives. This type of interview is therefore specifically suitable for gaining insights into whether and how individual Chinese migrants develop cosmopolitan openness towards cultural others and most importantly, if they do, how they engage in cosmopolitanism in everyday life to negotiate difference and rebuild a sense of home in New Zealand. In addition, semi-structured interviews give more voice to participants and provide more opportunities for them to articulate and express their emotional dynamics, subjective transformations, and identity changes during the process of performing cosmopolitanism.

4.2 Recruitment, sampling, and participants’ information

This research focuses on the experiences of Chinese migrants who arrived in New Zealand from the PRC after the immigration policy changes that took place in 1987. Participants were all born in mainland China, are at least 18 years old and currently possess either New Zealand Permanent Residence or Citizenship. Participants were selected according to the age when they first arrived in New Zealand as well as their original hometowns, current living locations, occupation and gender. These new Chinese migrants are neither elites nor extremely disadvantaged, but are of broadly-defined middle-class backgrounds. This at least middle-class profile of the new Chinese migrants is a result of the New Zealand immigration policy setting since the 1990s that has favoured applicants with solid economic and education backgrounds.
Altogether, I interviewed 80 participants, and two groups can be identified. The first group (n=45; 24 female, 21 male) is the 1.5 generation who came to New Zealand when they were between 6 and 14 years old; their ages at the time of interview ranged from 18 to 28 with a median of 25. These participants have received education socially and formally in New Zealand and accordingly they have developed a high level of familiarity towards local socio-cultural norms. Almost all of them grew up in two or more cultures, and it may hence be assumed that they are equipped with high intercultural competency (the majority of them are bilingual or trilingual). Most are university students, postgraduate students, or in the early stage of professional careers (e.g. lawyers, accountants, doctors, software programmers, engineers, reporters, sales person). The second group (n=35; 17 female; 18 male) are first generation Chinese migrants who arrived in New Zealand after the age of 14 (generally in their 20s or 30s); their ages at the time of interview ranged from 28 to 59 (most of them were aged between 40 and 55), with a median of 46. Almost all of them were educated, holding at least Bachelor’s degrees, and grew up in China. They include individuals in a wide range of occupations (e.g. lawyers, doctors, teachers, bus drivers, café owners, engineers, chefs, hairdressers). Because of their limited English language proficiency and relatively low intercultural familiarity, most of these participants experience various kinds of difficulties and emotional struggles as they try to socialise and obtain a sense of belonging in New Zealand. In comparison to the 1.5 generation Chinese migrants, they tend to be more connected to China, Chinese culture and the Chinese community in New Zealand, and they find it more challenging to socialise with the local population of their host country.

The recruiting process started in August 2013 and lasted until February 2014. Most of the participants were approached using a snowball method, which involves the researcher making initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then using this initial step to establish further contacts with others. Snowball sampling is widely considered to be an effective method in recruiting participants for qualitative research—informants can be recruited on the basis of referrals from previous participants (Bryman 2012). In addition to this,

15 All interviewees were asked to fill in a form called ‘Basic Information of Participants’ before the interview started. Within this form, most first generation interviewees chose the level of ‘conversational’ or ‘beginners’. Only four of them chose ‘fluent’ and two of them chose ‘native-like’ but they still preferred to be interviewed in Mandarin Chinese.
advertisements were circulated to potential participants through major Chinese community networks, and were posted on the bulletin boards of universities located in Auckland. Detailed information about the research project and the criteria for selecting interviewees were also posted on my personal Facebook page and a set of relevant Facebook group pages. In the end, it was the snowball recruitment that was most effective, and very few interviewees were recruited through these other methods.

The snowball sampling method worked effectively for my research. Initial contact was made with a number of friends who fit the interviewee criteria and who came from different age groups and occupation categories (e.g. café owner, lawyer, student, business man, teacher, engineer). They were asked to pass on the information about the research to their own social networks. Participants who had been interviewed were also encouraged to disseminate the information about the research among their contacts if they were willing to do so. I did not have any difficulties in recruiting participants as almost all my interview participants knew many other Chinese migrants and they were willing to introduce them to me, or to ask them for their permission on my behalf. In many instances, interview participants called a number of their friends right after our interview and gave me their contact details straight away. I had positive responses from all of the people with whom I made contact, and the number of potential interview participants grew after each interview.

There seemed to be numerous reasons for such a smooth process of recruiting and positive response rate. Firstly, during my first PhD year (2012-2013) I lived with a Chinese migrant family in Auckland. My landlord family has a large social network within the Chinese community in New Zealand. Through them I participated in many social activities which helped me to build a large social network of Chinese migrants. Hence, when potential participants first heard from me through phone calls or emails, they immediately welcomed the contact. Secondly, I have developed good relationships with many 1.5 generation Chinese migrants through university activities, such as joining clubs, attending seminars and other interactions. Many of these contacts were among the initial participants I recruited for my research and they introduced my research to their friends, parents, relatives, and neighbours. Thirdly, a number of the participants also felt that research about Chinese migrants in New Zealand was greatly needed, and therefore helped me with recruiting, and encouraged me to continue what I was doing. They were very interested in the research aspect of the interview process and wanted to hear more about my thesis, which would seem to reflect a growing interest in migration-related
social phenomena among the larger Chinese community in New Zealand. Also, the fact that I was a young female researcher made it easier for people to meet me in person.

It should be noted that this snowballing method inherently carries a potential risk of recruiting interviewees who are relatively homogenous in terms of socio-economic backgrounds, cultural norms and social attitudes (Dicicco-Bloom 2004). At the early stage of the participants’ recruitment period, I relied heavily on my personal networks: 1.5 generation friends who are aged between 20 to 30 years old; and my first year homestay family who have a huge social network within the local Chinese migrant community. Through these two major personal networks, I successfully recruited around 20 interviewees, but eventually it became apparent that they tended to have similar socio-demographic backgrounds (e.g. religious beliefs, neighbourhood, age).

In order to address these issues on participant diversity I employed a maximum variation sampling method in order to achieve the highest diversity possible. I developed a screening process for potential interviewees who were recommended by my personal contacts. I asked them for some basic information (including age, gender, education level and occupation) before confirming their participation for my research. Maximising group variety across socio-demographic factors (e.g. age, gender, occupation, income) can offer more divergent attitudes toward diversity, difference and others. The end result of these techniques was a greater level of diversity. The interviewees in my research are hence far from homogeneous and it is interesting to see how Chinese migrants with a diverse range of socio-cultural backgrounds and orientations, cope with their daily interactions with different ethnicities, while better understanding when, and why, they express and build their solidarity with others and the outside world.

As Kennedy (2009, 21) points out, ‘cosmopolitanism may be influenced far more by [migrants’] overseas experiences than whatever orientations they possessed prior to migrating’. This means that some Chinese migrants may already have developed certain cosmopolitan orientations before their initial migration. Accordingly, the interview sample included participants who have

---

16 Maximum variation sampling refers to a type of purposeful sampling in which participants are chosen based on their diverse backgrounds within one particular sample. Here, variation focused on their age, gender, occupations, their original hometowns in China, and their immigration period.
had overseas living experiences (outside of China) during their years spent growing up or prior to moving to New Zealand. Furthermore, I recruited some 1.5 generation participants who returned to China for a few years of education after migration, with the aim of looking at whether, and how, different individual migrants who have different early life (schooling) experiences, or different degrees of exposure to Chinese culture, conduct cosmopolitanism divergently. Most participants were based in Auckland, but I managed to recruit ten participants who were not located in Auckland and who had a diverse range of mobility histories, which was also a part of my effort to maximise the sample diversity. Most were interviewed face-to-face, but interviews were also conducted by Skype with participants in Wellington, Hamilton, Christchurch, Sydney and Beijing. To ensure anonymity, pseudonyms have been allocated to every interviewee. The following two tables provide a summary of the profile of the 80 participants.

Table 4.1
Summary of 1.5 generation Interviewees (n=45; 24 female, 21 male; median age 25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age upon Arrival</th>
<th>6-9 years old</th>
<th>29</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10-14 years old</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>Current students</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Master</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Language Level</td>
<td>Beginner</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Only good at speaking</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Able to speak and read well, but can’t write</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Amongst 80 interviewees, there were ten who lived, worked or were on holiday outside of Auckland at the time of the interview: four based in Hamilton (two of them were able to be interviewed in Auckland), two were based in Wellington, one based in Christchurch, two based in Beijing, and one based in Sydney. Altogether eight interviews were conducted via Skype.
Good at speaking, reading and writing | 12  
---|---  
**Occupation**  
Students | 18  
Sales, marketing, logistics | 6  
Engineers | 3  
Lawyers | 2  
Accountants | 2  
IT | 2  
Government | 1  
Media | 1  
Doctor | 1  
Pharmacist | 1  
Self-employed | 2  
Unemployed | 6 (3 of them were planning to go overseas for traveling and/or career development)  
**Hometown**  
Beijing | 5  
Shanghai | 5  
Guangzhou | 5  
Qingdao | 3  
Dalian | 3  
Xiamen | 2  
Jinan | 2  
Nanjing | 2  
Other cities | 18  
**Current Location**  
Auckland | 38  
Wellington | 1  
Hamilton | 2  
Christchurch | 1  
Beijing | 2  
Sydney | 1  
**Marital Status**  
Married | 5  
Single | 40
### Table 4.2
**Summary of first generation interviewees (n=35; 17 female; 18 male; median age 46)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age upon Arrival</th>
<th>14-20 years old</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20s</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30s</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40s</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>Vocational school diploma</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Master</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Level</td>
<td>Beginner</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conversational</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fluent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native-like</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(running Chinese take away shops, grocery stores, cafes, restaurants, bakeries)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University tutor, Chinese language teacher, librarian</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Painters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tour guides</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Real estate agents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Builders</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bus drivers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hairdressers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working part-time for restaurants and shops</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housewives</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed (looking for new jobs)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hometown</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 Interview schedule and question design

The interview questions used in this research were designed to provide in depth and rich data to understand the everyday lived experience of the participants. Interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes and focused on participants’ everyday life experiences. Interviewees were mainly asked to provide examples of interacting with others from different backgrounds and within different contact zones, such as home, neighbourhood, workplace, and school.

The interview schedule (see Appendix 2) was divided into six sections according to different thematic concerns. The first section was an independent document called ‘Basic Information of Participants’, to be filled in by each participant at the beginning part of the interview (see
Appendix 1). This covered the participant’s general information. In addition to basic information, this section also asked about participants’ history of geographical movements, educational background, working experience, level of competency in English and family composition. The second section was about decision-making and initial movements. In this section, participants were asked about their life in China, their decision-making process in migration and their initial movement to New Zealand. Questions were also designed to explore participants’ transnational mobility history. In particular, as the interviews progressed, more questions were gradually added to this section in order to explore the early settlement experience of first generation participants and the early life experiences of 1.5 generation participants. The third section was focused around sense of belonging and identity. A set of question was designed to probe participants’ sense of home and identity dynamics. The fourth section focused on ‘rootedness and openness’ and included questions regarding participants' attitudes towards China, Chinese culture, and Chinese community (both in China and New Zealand). This section also explored participants’ attitudes towards diversity, difference and cultural others. The fifth section was the core section of the interviewing process, and aimed to examine the post-migration everyday life experiences of the participants. It focused on the following aspects of their daily lives: family life, social networks, school and work, neighbourhoods and communities, language and education, media and leisure, food and consumption. The sixth and final section asked about the participants' mobility patterns and migration aspirations.

Interview question design was an ongoing process of refinement and adjustment. From September 2013 to October 2013, I conducted ten pilot interviews with personal acquaintances. Mainly for ethical reasons, the interviewees I worked with were already established friends and I conducted the research informally. None of the conversations with these ten participants were recorded. Instead, I made detailed notes after each meeting to summarise their stories and highlight ideas or points that could be developed into research questions. Among these ten ‘pilot interviewees’, some were first generation migrants and some were part of the younger generation; they were also from different socio-demographic backgrounds. They provided me with feedback in relation to the way questions were asked, and what questions should be added or deleted. These pilot interviews played a significant role in the process of refining the interview questions in a more coherent manner, strengthening my interviewing skills and helping me to familiarise myself with the study sample.
Some interesting points emerged from the pilot research. For instance, I was not aware of the importance of early life experience for 1.5 generation migrants. Some stories from 1.5 generation pilot interviewees drew attention to the way that their life history, especially during their childhood, plays a significant role in terms of how they perceive difference, themselves and their migrant status later on in life. Accordingly, I started to read more literature on early life experiences and biographical narratives in migration studies, while adding some relevant interview questions on that topic. This way, the interview schedule became more complete and effective to obtain more robust data; at the same time, as the interviewer, I was more prepared for the actual interviews.

There were several issues that needed to be addressed when designing the interview schedule and formulating interview questions. Firstly, I had framed this research within the framework of ‘cosmopolitanism’, however, in order not to pre-empt my research findings I did not talk directly about cosmopolitanism or other relevant concepts with my participants. Not using academic terminologies related to cosmopolitanism is also related to the fact that these words have little credence in common parlance, especially among participants who do not work in academia. Thus, academic terms or phrases that have largely abstract and academic meanings, such as ‘cosmopolitanism’, ‘parochialism’, ‘global citizens’ and ‘cultural hybridity’ were not used directly. Secondly, the central purpose of formulating interview questions is to elicit relevant and effective information to answer the research questions. Considering that my targets were Chinese migrants who may have developed emotional ties to both China and New Zealand, questions that could potentially impose feelings of limitation or judgments regarding their sense of belonging or attachment were avoided. Thirdly, in order to obtain clear responses from interviewees, I paid attention to the use of complex questions, while avoiding ambiguous ones. Furthermore, questions were framed openly in order to avoid simple ‘Yes or No’ responses. Fourth, in terms of sequencing, the interview started with demographic questions, as they are nonthreatening and comparatively easy to answer. After developing rapport with interviewees through eye contact and general demeanour, more questions concerning migration dynamics were designed to fit each individual’s unique situation. Then, as the interview conversation proceeded, more intricate and sensitive questions were introduced. Where necessary, some probing questions regarding sense of belonging and cultural openness were developed to elicit more in-depth information.

In sum, the interview questions aimed to fulfil four goals. First, they assessed the
appropriateness and comprehensiveness of the research questions and identified the key themes relating to whether cosmopolitan openness is a possible or ongoing outlook for new Chinese migrants in New Zealand. Second, they tested whether cosmopolitanism counterbalances the expressions of overseas Chinese nationalism, an attachment to Chinese heritage, preferential attitudes toward certain cultures, and self-interest in some social settings. Third, they examined how everyday cosmopolitanisms are practised and performed by different individuals with different socio-demographic backgrounds. Finally, knowledge gained from these interviews ensured a suitable analysis of how practising cosmopolitanism in real life interacts with socio-demographic characteristics. Based on previous literature, income, class, original hometown in China, current living region in New Zealand, social networks, and family patterns were also explored as potential variables influencing cosmopolitanism among individual Chinese migrants.

4.4 Conducting interviews

From November 2013 to March 2014, 80 interviews were conducted, and most of them lasted from 60 to 90 minutes. Participants chose to be interviewed at home, their workplaces (offices), or public places (cafes, teahouses, and parks). The choice of interview venue was decided by the interviewees, in order for them to feel comfortable and relaxed during the interview. Being in different settings each time meant that as the researcher I had to adapt to the environment quickly. In formal settings, such as office spaces, I tried to ‘ease’ the formality of the environment and have a casual conversation before the interview to enhance rapport. In casual settings such as cafes and restaurants, which tended to be noisy, I tried to choose a table that was relatively quiet, to reduce possible distractions. In personal settings, such as the participant’s house, I sought to build a rapport with the family (the participant’s children or spouse) if they showed interest in having a conversation with me, without intruding on their personal lives.

The language used in the interviews was the interviewee’s choice. Most interviews with 1.5 generation migrants were conducted in English, whereas all interviews with first generation migrants were conducted in Mandarin and translated into English prior to analysis. Participants' language preference for interview appeared to be a manifestation of their sense of familiarity, rootedness and attachment towards a certain culture and identity. The fact that all the 1.5 generation interviewees chose English was perhaps not surprising given the long periods of time
they have spent growing up in New Zealand. It may also be an articulation of localised cultural identity through language use. Indeed, some 1.5 generation interviewees subtly refused to use Chinese to talk to me before the interview, even if they had high Chinese language competency. More generally, there were sometimes efforts to downplay Chinese identity and emphasise ‘Kiwness’. Similarly, almost all first generation interviewees chose Mandarin Chinese since that is the only language in which they could fully and comfortably express their ideas, emotions, beliefs and attitudes. Moreover, only the Chinese language can display the depth and richness of certain cultural concepts. Participants’ language choice did not necessarily suggest a strong identification as being Chinese, but at least indicated a low level of familiarity with English and low self-confidence in using it.

My interviews were semi-structured. Hence, I had some pre-prepared themes and questions, but questions were altered and more questions were asked according to participants’ personal interests and circumstances. I learnt to alter the way I asked questions depending on the character of the interviewee (either talkative or quiet). Some interviews basically followed the question schedule section by section, while others called for extra questions to meet specific individual biographies; some were conducted in a story-telling method in which the interviewee led the conversation with long narratives; in other cases, I had to provide more encouragement and guidance to help interviewees engage with the conversation. Moreover, unexpected themes started to emerge and I began to ask newly-created questions. For example, two first generation interviewees emphasised how the first few years of living experience in New Zealand affected their attitudes towards the Chinese community, Pākehā, and New Zealand in general. This made me reflect on the question design for the second section, ‘Decision-making and transnational movements’. I started to add more questions about interviewees’ initial experience in New Zealand, and to consciously guide interviewees to talk about their early settlement period. In addition, this reflection inspired me to focus more on biographical narratives in terms of question design, with the aim of gaining a holistic perspective on their migrant living experience.

Another important issue that emerged from the narratives of ‘early settlement period’ was the emotions displayed by some interviewees. My original interview design did not include questions related to the emotional dimension of migrant lives. When one of the female first generation participants cried during the interview process, my first response was to feel guilty that her sadness was triggered by the research questions. But I quickly realised that it was also a sign that she trusted me and felt comfortable enough to show her emotions. On that occasion I
verbally comforted the interviewee and gave her the option to move the conversation to a different topic if she preferred. She chose to continue, and to share with me more stories about what she and her family encountered during their early settlement period in New Zealand. She continued to sob while telling me the sense of regret, loss and confusion she had about leaving China at that time.

Learning from this interview, I started to design relevant questions to explore interviewees' emotional changes and the complexities that are involved in certain life events or stories at different migratory stages. Most importantly, this interview experience made me pay more attention to observing body language and emotional changes in interviewees while writing notes to record these non-verbal cues. Emotions were foregrounded in many interviews, both in the experiences participants described and in some cases when interviews generated emotional responses themselves: crying, laughing and anger. While recording the whole interview, I took notes when I observed any emotional display and any sort of meaningful body language in the interviewees. Some interviewees verbally expressed their emotional feelings of anger, frustration, sadness and confusion; some of them had tears and laughter while narrating their stories. During data analysis, I paid particular attention to perceiving and analysing and making sense of all these emotions that emerged from the narratives. The recording and analysis of this non-verbal information and emotions built the foundation for the research finding chapter on ‘emotions and cosmopolitan sociability’.

One important interview practice I employed was preparing myself prior to the interviews and making extensive field notes afterwards. With some of the participants, I already knew their occupations and basic background information through the mutual acquaintances who had introduced us. Hence, I tried to do some research on their occupations, and designed some specific questions accordingly. For example, there was one first generation interviewee who worked in a bank in China, but now works as bus driver in Auckland. I designed some questions related to his career path, his satisfaction level with his working schedule, and the way he interacts with passengers. After each interview, I wrote one-page field notes, including my first impression of the interviewee, their gestures and facial expressions, their work place or house settings, and the conversations that were carried out when the audio-recorder was not recording (i.e. on our way to the interview place and directly after the interview finished). Sometimes, interviewees started to talk about the most interesting things and shared their personal opinions
soon after the recorder was turned off. Hence, writing notes from retrospective memory was critical and they were mostly carried out shortly after I had left the interviewee.

In general, the whole process of conducting interviews was smooth and successful. A few participants mentioned that the interview had been a good opportunity for them to reflect on their migration journey and share their stories with the outside world. The friendly and pleasant interactions between me and interviewees established rapport between us and effectively facilitated the interviewing process. Indeed, often the interviewing process was filled with the exchange of interesting ideas and joy, since many of the interviews were more like meaningful conversations rather than formal interchanges. Accordingly, the next section discusses the researcher/participant relationship.

4.5 The insider-outsider position

In my research, I considered each interview as not merely a simple one-off short conversation with interviewees but rather an immersed social interaction that I was actively and genuinely engaged in with each participant. During the interviewing process, I tried to stay neither a complete insider nor a total outsider when I interacted with participants, since ‘[w]e may be closer to the insider position or closer to the outsider position, but because our perspective is shaped by our position as a researcher…we cannot occupy one or the other of those positions’ (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009, 61). I continuously engaged in a critical reflective process during the research, which has allowed me to grasp the power of the in-betweenness to ensure the validity of this PhD study.

It has been argued that being an insider ‘enhances the depth and breadth of understanding a population that may not be accessible to a non-native scientist’ (Kanuha 2000, 444). In the context of research, if the researcher is perceived by the participants as an insider, then it is highly likely that the relationship between the participant and the researcher will be filled with mutual understanding, acceptance, and trust. That is to say, a cultural insider has the capacity to undertake research in a more sensitive and responsive manner compared to an outsider. However, in my research, I have come to realise that the so-called ‘outsider’ position can also be well utilised by the researcher while taking advantage of being an ‘insider’. That way, the interviewing process will be greatly facilitated and valuable data will emerge. I managed to
negotiate the insider-outside nexus and perform these two different roles in different research settings.

My positionality in this research is not captured by being either insider or outsider. Sometimes I emphasised my role as an insider to build rapport and facilitate the interview process; sometimes I felt the need to downplay my insider identity and emphasise my position as an interviewer to establish the professionalism and maintain the formal components of the research. On the one hand, the manner in which I interacted with the participants was inextricably tied to my own personal ethnic, cultural and education background. I presented myself through more than one identity, such as a young female academic from the University of Auckland, a Chinese international student, and a young person interested in transnational mobilities—all of these identities were beneficial, as they reflected the ways in which I highlighted shared connections with the participants as an insider and identified differences with them as an outsider. The recognition of these similarities and differences creates space for on-going negotiation and dialogue between the researcher and the researched. On the other hand, as the researcher who was interpreting data, writing research findings and producing new knowledge learned from the research, I was also necessarily positioned as an outsider. It is important to retain significant authority over the interpretation of the research data while maintaining an insider’s insight. Thus, essentially, I was neither a complete insider nor an absolute outsider during the research journey and I also aimed to fully utilise the ‘intermediate zone’ where my insider identity and outsider identity being overlapped.

With first generation interviewees, I sought to position myself in the role of an insider who has some shared experiences with interviewees. A strong point of connection with them is that we have shared education and growing up experience in China, although in historically very different eras, and now have overseas living experiences. At the same time, age factors play an important role in the interaction dynamics between these first generation interviewees and myself as the researcher. The relatively younger interviewees were in their mid or late 30s, so I called them ‘big brother’ or ‘big sister’ before and during the interviews; whereas those who are
of similar age to my parents, I called ‘uncle’ or ‘aunty’\textsuperscript{18}. I used these Chinese ways of addressing the first generation interviewees to both show my respect and reduce my emotional distance from them. It worked effectively, since many of them told me that it is nice to be addressed in a way in which they could feel the shared cultural background and a sense of warmth. Being able to speak Mandarin with each other and communicate in a Chinese way made the interviewing process with first generation interviewees pleasant and comfortable. More importantly, addressing them in a Chinese way and using shared language made it possible to build rapport and closeness with them, which established and strengthened my insider identity.

In addition, some of the first generation participants expressed their happiness about the fact that they were able to see a young person from their homeland doing PhD research on Chinese migration. One interviewee shared with me about how proud he is to see more and more Chinese young people engaging with transnational education and succeeding in different fields in New Zealand. I felt that many of them see me from a parental point of view and they were willing to provide support and help to me as much as they could. Many of them contacted their friends or colleagues to help me recruit more participants right after the interview. Some of them recommended their children who fit into the 1.5 generation category to participate in my research, which also provided opportunities to look into family life dynamics (e.g. parental pressure, intergenerational relations) in the context of migration. I accordingly performed my role as the next generation in front of them with respect, politeness and modesty while displaying my passion and curiosity towards their stories about migration. That is to say, I tried to tone down my role as a researcher but highlight my identity as a younger fellow-Chinese, i.e. a child in the eyes of these first generation Chinese migrants.

The way I interacted with and positioned myself in relation to 1.5 generation interviewees was different from the way I dealt with first generation ones. In many respects, I am both an insider and an outsider to them. On the one hand, I am in a similar age range as many of these younger

\textsuperscript{18} In China, when addressing any respected person without using proper names, it is acceptable to use a familial relationship. For example, you can call an elder man 爷爷 ye ye, which literally means ‘grandfather’. Using this term is a bit like calling an old man, ‘gramps’, except it is much more respectful. Similarly, older women can be called 阿姨, ayi, which means ‘aunt’; older man can be called 叔叔, shushu, which means uncle. People also call men who are older than them no more than 10 years 大哥, dage, which means big brother; women are called 大姐, dajie, which means older sister.
generation participants (mid to late 20s). Most of them spent some of their childhood in China and many of them have maintained a high familiarity with Chinese culture (e.g. pop music, movies, TV shows). This provided useful conversation topics before the interview. I talked to them about famous Chinese stars and representative TV shows that are currently popular in China amongst younger people. Many of these participants also had overseas (other than China and New Zealand) living, traveling or studying experiences, which enabled us to have more in common with each other. Essentially, I was able to position myself as part of their globally-oriented generation of Chinese youth with a middle class family background. These similarities made it possible to establish rapport more effectively and to aid in understanding their experiences and perceptions more effectively.

On the other hand, I am also an ‘outsider’ to these 1.5 generation interviewees who are a part of the Chinese diaspora. Although they grew up in Chinese households, and many of them have kept their knowledge and interest in Chinese culture and language, they have been educated both formally and informally in New Zealand so they have quite different value systems and frames of reference than mine. However, it is this difference between us that activated and strengthened our mutual interest in knowing about each other’s lives. They perceived me as one of the Chinese youth who received education in China and have developed an international education profile. Many of them expressed their curiosity towards the value systems, living realities and aspirations of the contemporary Chinese youth. They asked me about the experience of attending Chinese universities and some controversial social issues. They had a desire to know about what they missed out on by not growing up in China and what ‘misery’ they have saved themselves from suffering. Similarly, I perceive these younger migrants as my Chinese peers, but peers who have adopted a completely different educational path and lifestyle, due to the migration of their parents. At the same time, I have always been interested in topics on identity dilemmas, hybridity and dual living realities of intergenerational migrant youth. Therefore, it is this outsider identity that defined our mutual interest and curiosity towards each other. The interviews with these participants were conversations between Chinese youth who grew up in highly different socio-cultural environments.

Through flexibly performing the role of both an insider and outsider, I was able to establish a good relationship with these quite differently positioned interviewees. I believe that mutual trust and bonding between participants and the researcher can be established through the contact processes as well as the course of the interviews. I had phone calls, text messages, and/or face-
to-face chats with participants before the formal interviews as a way to establish initial rapport with them. Some participants used terms such as ‘as you know’ and also told me more personal stories ‘off the record’. These helped me to make connections with them and allowed them to trust me and freely express their feelings to me. Some even said that I was the first person to know any of their innermost feelings. Of the 80 interviewees, apart from those who were my established friends, I met three participants for a second meeting to discuss research-related topics and six participants in subsequent personal and formal gatherings. In some cases, I became friends with the interviewees and some of them arranged dinner or lunch with me after the research procedures were completed.

Interacting with participants in real life aided my understanding of their experiences, which was meaningful and beneficial for providing insights for data interpretation. Some of the life stories and feelings that interviewees shared prompted me to reflect on myself as being a temporary migrant living in Auckland. Those introspections and thoughts influenced the way I perceive Chinese migration to New Zealand and deepened my understanding of migrants’ living realities and problems. For example, one of the first generation interviewees invited me to her house for dinner. She is from my hometown city in China and we have built a close relationship since the interview. During dinner, we realised that she graduated from the same university in China as my father. This extra social connection made our relations closer and she opened up to me and shared with me lots of her feelings about her migration journey. I was deeply impressed by how she described her migration experience:

You know, your uncle and I don't really have the courage to leave the neighbourhood, since we can’t read or speak English well, and we feel we are like disabled people walking in the dark. The fear of living in other people’s country is so real and we feel like second class citizens here. Sometimes we don't understand why so many people want to migrate. If we could choose again, we would not leave.

This kind of conversation helped me develop a new level of realisation about the lives of migrants in New Zealand. I had come to realise that as a migrant family, the success they pursued through taking on a migration to the West has been heavily disrupted by their class status downgrading—from at least middle class in China to a self-perception as ‘second class citizens’ in New Zealand. Moreover, the frustration and fear caused by their low English

---

19 This refers to her husband. She suggested I should call her ‘aunty’ and her husband ‘uncle’, since I am the same age as her daughter. Also see the previous note.
competency and intercultural familiarity has generated a sense of regret and confusion towards their decision to leave China. As Salazar (2012) has argued, migration can be perceived as a glorious and celebrated life path since migrants tend to present themselves as successful by concealing financial and social struggles. All this observational information obtained from socialising with interviewees was not explicitly integrated into the official data for the research, but it was of significant value in terms of interpreting, proving and contesting the data collected through the interviews. I obtained new understanding of the unique challenges faced by migrant families and the emotional discomfort involved in their everyday intercultural encounters, which shaped my wider orientation to the research.

The insider position equipped me with the capacity to more effectively understand the life stories shared by participants during data collection, and also provided me with the ability to develop in-depth data analysis, especially regarding narratives and topics related to Chinese cultural references. At the same time, the interviewees who considered me as an insider felt well understood and sympathised with, especially when they were expressing their emotions and feelings as a Chinese person living overseas. Consequently, they felt more comfortable and willing to share their experience and perceptions in more detail. This side of my being an insider was greatly helpful for collecting more robust data from participants’ narratives.

However, critical reflection throughout the research process was essential to ensure the validity and reliability of this qualitative research. While a good relationship with interviewees was meaningful in terms of collecting data, it inevitably shaped the findings and analysis of the research. To respond to this issue, I have taken a self-reflective approach towards my insider-outsider position (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009). While I took advantage of being able to perform the role of insider, I was simultaneously aware of and continuously reflecting on my role as a researcher. The fact that I am not a Chinese migrant established my outsider identity to interviewees of both generations. At the same time, I was constantly aware of my position as a researcher, which also made me closer to an outsider. My identity as a researcher and outsider was heightened when I utilised theories to analyse quotes and make sense of the empirical data. In this endeavour, the extensive literature review on cosmopolitanism, Chinese migration, and migrant identity dynamics equipped me with knowledge and shaped my perspectives on the research topic that differentiated me as a researcher from my interviewees. As I detail in the next
section, I sought to utilise relevant literature, theories and data analysing methods to review and interpret the narratives provided by the interviewees.

4.6 Analysis of research data

After finishing 80 interviews at the end of March 2014, I completed the transcribing process in July 2014. Firstly, I transcribed the interviews with the 1.5 generation participants and all of them were conducted in English. Most of the 1.5 generation participants speak native English and so the transcribing was relatively easy and smooth. Secondly, I transcribed the interviews of the first generation participants, who all used Mandarin Chinese for the research, and then I translated the transcripts from Chinese to English. As previously argued, the fact that I share the same ethnic and cultural background as the participants (especially the first generation participants) provided me with great advantages in terms of translating Chinese transcripts to English for data analysis.

In addition, I previously majored in translation and interpretation between Chinese and English for my B.A. degree, which greatly helped me with the translation process. Larson (1991) has pointed out that translation in research should focus on reproducing as accurately as possible the source text by using the natural form of the target language, but at the same time the meaning should be expressed in a manner that is understandable. My translation process for the narratives in Chinese had to deal with the issue that there are certain Chinese words or phrases that cannot be translated fully into English, due to their specific cultural connotations and discourses. I chose to write them in the most natural way to generate the most similar (cultural) meanings. Due to my own cultural roots and my understanding of Chinese culture, I was able to understand participants’ narratives and include the unsaid or subtle meanings that were expressed in a non-verbal way.

What follows transcribing is data analysis. Thematic analysis is the major method that I utilised for this research. Thematic analysis, as the most common form of analysis in qualitative research, emphasises pinpointing, examining, and recording patterns within data (Braun and Clarke 2006), and looks for themes that are important to the description of a phenomenon and are associated to specific research questions (Daly, Kellehear, and Gliksman 1997). Accordingly, the process of thematic analysis requires ‘careful reading and re-reading of the data’ (Rice and
Ezzy 1999, 258) to identify important themes which serve as the categories for analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006). My study took a hybrid approach of qualitative methods of thematic analysis—combining both the data-driven inductive approach of Boyatzis (1998) and the deductive a priori template of codes approach of Crabtree and Miller (1999). This approach allows for themes to emerge directly from the raw data using inductive coding while being able to test and contest the data by utilising the codes derived from research questions and theories (i.e. ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, and ‘emotions and cosmopolitan sociability’) applied in the research. There were three stages regarding data analysis in my research.

**Stage 1: general coding-developing a code manual**

The first stage was to conduct a general coding and develop a code manual, which combined the initial codes that were generated from the data and the a priori codes based on the research questions and theories. Coding is used to recognise important moments in the data and encode it prior to interpretation; it is the primary process for identifying and developing themes from the raw data (Boyatzis 1998). In this first stage of dealing with the data, I read the transcripts of each interview as a whole text while identifying codes emerging from the data through the data-driven inductive method. The initial codes that were identified are as follows: decision-making, early settlement period, early life experiences, English proficiency, education and employment, social network building, media and leisure, neighbourhood, emotional dimension, dating/marriage preferences for 1.5 generation, food and consumption, and mobility aspirations. At the same time, I also used the pre-defined codes (e.g. rootedness towards China, rootedness towards New Zealand, cosmopolitan openness, everyday encounters) to find matching data. I created folders for all of these codes and put all the relevant quotes into them. Each of these folders was named with the appropriate code.

**Stage 2: Testing the reliability of the codes-developing a complete codebook**

Secondly, I made marginal notes and highlighted key words by carefully reading the transcripts again. I started searching for more data segments that were related to each code with the aim of testing its reliability. During this second stage of the coding of transcripts, inductive codes were assigned to segments of data that potentially contributed to new themes observed in the text (Boyatzis 1998). While evaluating the validity of the codes from the code manual developed in the first stage, I deleted certain codes and added new emerging ones. For example, I found that
the code of ‘dating preference’ was not really related to other codes, and I could not find interesting or strong data to support it; in addition, it was not a recurring theme. Thus I removed it from the code manual.

In terms of emerging codes, many first generation interviewees talked about having experienced financial difficulties and employment challenges, as well as a set of family lifestyle changes, especially during the early settlement period. I decided to break down the code of ‘early settlement period’ into a set of sub-codes, such as financial and social status degrading, migrant-family-specific problems and so on. Looking at the narratives of 1.5 generation interviewees, I found that many stories were about how they interacted with Pākehā peers, and how they formed their own groups with Asian students at school. At the same time, some of them shared with me about how the gap between how their family was positioned in China and in New Zealand caused them to feel a sense of inferiority, and how the parental pressure and family discipline affected their socialising habits during school and even later on in their lives. Accordingly, I added some new codes, such as school life, parental pressure (intergenerational relations), family discipline and family structure/ties and so on. These newly found codes and those from the first stage constituted a complete codebook for my research data. The final step within this stage was to apply the codes from the codebook to the text, with the intent of identifying more meaningful units of text for another round of coding. That is to say, analysis of the text at this stage was guided, but not confined, by the codes from the codebook.

**Stage 3: Connecting the codes and identifying themes**

After developing a complete codebook, I connected all the codes that were relevant and related to each other, which was essentially a process of classifying and discovering themes and patterns in the data (Crabtree & Miller 1999). I identified three major themes across all the codes and classified them into three sets of data that directly related to the three research questions. The first theme is the interplay between rootedness and openness and how it articulates with the opportunities of engaging in rooted cosmopolitanism amongst different individual Chinese migrants. The second is the barriers (early settlement period difficulties, migrant family life challenges, school and early life experiences) that migrants encounter in the process of performing everyday cosmopolitanism. The third theme is how the emotional complexities involved within the migration journey both limit and promote the development of cosmopolitan sociability, and thus relate to the building of intercultural relations amongst the
participants. These three themes were summarised from connecting all the codes, and they formed the basic structure of the three research finding chapters following this chapter.

One surprising, seemingly contradictory, but highly valuable emerging research finding is that the 1.5 generation of migrants who possess intercultural competency and who are often presented by scholars as the vanguard of new cosmopolitan possibilities (Chiang 2001) were not necessarily as capable of engaging in cosmopolitanism as is often assumed, and many of them faced a set of barriers during the process of building cross-cultural relations. This finding was further developed into a core constitutive part of the research finding chapter on everyday cosmopolitanism (Chapter Five) and a related publication (Wang and Collins 2016b). At the same time, themes within each data group were also beginning to cluster, with differences identified between the responses of groups with varying demographics. For example, differences were expressed by first generation and 1.5 generation migrants in terms of rootedness towards China, sense of home towards New Zealand, and socialising patterns due to their different education backgrounds, growing up experience and different levels of intercultural competencies. These findings were integrated into the research finding chapter on rooted cosmopolitanism (Chapter Six). More importantly, differences not only existed between two generations, but were also apparent among different individuals within the same generational category. Although my research is not a comparative study, these differences provided me with more information on how cosmopolitanism must be understood in relation to ‘social and personal imperatives’ that shape the contours of social encounters (Woodward and Skrbis 2012, 133). In addition, I connected all the codes relevant to ‘emotions’ and I summarised and theorised the result into three perspectives: emotions in early settlement period, emotions in everyday encounters, and emotions in a transnational setting, which was further developed into the outline for the writing of the research finding chapter on ‘emotions and cosmopolitan sociability’ (Chapter Seven).

In order to ensure that developing themes are grounded in the original data, researchers need to reread the previous stages of the process before undertaking further analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006). In this study, the data collection and data analysis stages were conducted in a simultaneous manner and the whole research analysis was an ‘iterative and reflexive process’, although it has been presented as a ‘linear, step-by-step procedure’ here (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006, 83). In general, the approach to the data analysis for this project was to work inductively from the research materials to develop broader ideas. Even though there were
presuppositions of theory and hypothesis, and a deductive reasoning process was involved in the analysis towards the tentative hypotheses based on the results from interviews, this research was not constrained by the existing theories on cosmopolitanism. Rather, it goes beyond these existing theories and hypotheses to use empirical materials and evidence generated from the two research methods to develop broader ideas and concepts and contribute to the comprehensive understanding of migration and cosmopolitanism in this research context. One main purpose of the research was to enlarge the scope of the existing theories on cosmopolitanism in migration study, based on analytical interpretation of the empirical data generated from the interviews.

4.7 Methodological limitations and solutions

The qualitative research method used in this research – semi-structured in-depth interviews - provided great advantages for obtaining robust data, and contributing to the examination and conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism among Chinese migrants. Yet, as in any research project, there were also methodological limitations that should be noted. One is that a few interviews were conducted not face-to-face but via Skype calling, which potentially limited the material generated. Another limitation is that my research principally focused on Chinese migrants who have been living in New Zealand since their initial migration. It would be valuable to look at differences in the development of cosmopolitanism among migrants who have different migration strategies and mobility patterns.

For my research project, eight interviews altogether were conducted via Skype, with participants who were based in places outside of Auckland, including Beijing, Sydney, Wellington, Hamilton and Christchurch. Although interviewing via the internet and interviewing in person both have their strengths, the latter is generally more effective, since material-corporeal encounters with interviewees have an irreplaceable advantage in terms of obtaining in-depth data. Face-to-face interviews provide observational and non-verbal cues and give messages that help in understanding the verbal response. In contrast, the possibilities of time lags in Skype interviews could potentially undermine the process of researchers building rapport with interviewees, and seeing oneself on screen (Skype video calling) can often be a source of unease and anxiety (Deakin and Wakefield 2014). In addition, the requirement for participants to obtain the correct software and internet connection can be challenging in some contexts (Hay-Gibson 2009). One
of the Skype interviews I conducted was interrupted several times due to slow internet speed, and consequently the conversation flows were a bit disrupted.

Nevertheless, face-to-face interviews can be problematic due to time and financial constraints as well as other logistical considerations, especially when the research cohort is geographically dispersed (Deakin and Wakefield 2014). Skype interviews are both cost and time-effective, saving transportation costs and allowing interviewees and interviewer flexibility in terms of organising the interview time. Moreover, the method of Skype interviewing could be helpful for asking sensitive or embarrassing questions (Deakin and Wakefield 2014), and it allows more privacy for both interviewers and interviewees. For example, one of my interviewees chose to use audio calling only via Skype. It turned out that, as he told me, he felt relaxed and at ease while answering the questions, and he felt more free and secure physically since we could not see each other.

The use of Skype in my research was not an attempt to replicate the face-to-face interview; it was more to provide an opportunity to talk to otherwise inaccessible participants. For example, one of the 1.5 generation interviewees had had three years of schooling in China between her primary and tertiary education in New Zealand, and she was doing an internship in Beijing at the time of the interview. Her case seemed to be very valuable to my research. Despite the geographical distance and her busy working schedule, the availability of Skype interviewing helped me to successfully arrange an interview time with her, and I eventually obtained a great number of interesting stories from her (my research finding chapters utilised several quotes from this interviewee). This was my first Skype interview in this research, and it provided a good basis for subsequent interviews. Prior to the interview, I asked for her preference between audio and video calling, which gave her the choice to choose the level of contact that she wished to engage in and she chose the latter. Both of us enjoyed the conversation, and I would not say that the data collected through Skype is any less valid than that collected via face-to-face interviews.

My original research design considered conducting interviews on a multi-sited basis. China, New Zealand and Australia were the three research sites at which I planned to target various groups of new Chinese migrants who have different mobility patterns. I aimed to recruit migrants who had been mainly settling in New Zealand (settlers), who had returned to China (returnees), who had taken a step-migration path (step-migrants) and those who had been considered transnationals and commuters. The rationale behind that design was that if I wanted
to comprehensively understand the relationship between migration experiences and the formation of cosmopolitanism, participants should be understood in relation to their mobility trajectories. Interviewing participants who are currently living in different national and transnational settings helps to elicit more diverse and dynamic narratives, and to better demonstrate how cosmopolitanism can be manifested and even transformed divergently due to different socio-cultural, political and economic surroundings.

However, after evaluating a set of realistic factors (mainly financial and time limitations), I decided to focus on those Chinese migrants who mainly live in New Zealand after migration. With the aim of minimising the potential limitations caused by this change, I recruited some participants who had diverse mobility histories both before and after their migration to New Zealand. As detailed earlier in this chapter, I selected participants who had overseas (other than China and New Zealand) living, working or studying experiences before moving to New Zealand. At the same time, some of the 1.5 generation participants returned to China for education, and similarly some first generation participants had several years of living experiences in China after migration out of career needs or family obligations. In addition, as mentioned above, I managed to interview some participants who were based outside of Auckland via Skype. Due to their different lifestyles and transnational mobility paths, these interviewees provided highly valuable narratives for me to interpret their diverse range of attitudes towards mobility and cultural diversity. On the whole, I maximised sample variety across socio-demographic factors (age, gender, occupation, income, neighbourhood, current living cities), which allowed me to better examine how cosmopolitanism relates to the uneven dynamics of social relations and the particular biographies of migrant individuals.

More importantly, most of the participants, especially those of the first generation, have maintained ongoing contacts within China in order to maintain family linkages and social networks. That is to say, although the participants are classified as ‘settlers’, many of them embody a wide range of migration paths and mobility aspirations. Data obtained from the research cohort has proved to be highly robust and valuable to investigate whether, and how, different versions of cosmopolitanism emerge and develop at the level of everyday life amongst individual migrants who themselves have unique life histories and migration paths. Looking to future research, it may be useful to conduct comparative research on cosmopolitanism amongst different groups of migrants who have adopted different mobility patterns and migration strategies.
4.8 Conclusion

It is a challenge to operationalise cosmopolitanism empirically, as cosmopolitan attitudes are defined and differentiated by situational contexts, personal qualities, and socio-demographic factors (Woodward, Skrbis, and Bean 2008; Woodward and Skrbis 2012). In this regard, this research advances and enriches the knowledge about empirical manifestations of cosmopolitanism, by locating quotidian and down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements that are grounded in everyday migrant lives. I have adopted qualitative methods to probe the lived experience of migrant individuals, with the aim of examining whether and how they utilise cosmopolitan attitudes and practices to cope with diversities. With this focus semi-structured interviews have been a valuable tool in terms of capturing cosmopolitan orientations and exploring (un)cosmopolitan engagements that are involved in everyday intercultural encounters.

Using a semi-deductive methodological approach, the research was guided but not limited by theories of cosmopolitanism, and the ultimate focus was on recognising actual manifestations of cosmopolitanism in everyday life. Regarding the data collection process, the interview questions were designed and shaped by cosmopolitan theories (everyday and rooted cosmopolitanism), but eventually the research re-contested these theories through the empirical data that emerged from the interviews. Equally, a hybrid approach of qualitative methods of thematic analysis was adopted during the process of data analysis. The approach integrated both the data-driven inductive approach of Boyatzis (1998) and the deductive a priori template of codes approach of Crabtree and Miller (1999). Accordingly, this semi-deductive and semi-inductive approach allowed for the emergence of robust raw data, while being able to test and interpret the data by utilising the cosmopolitan theories applied in the research. Moreover, the empirical data has prompted the development of a new theoretical theme, i.e. the emotional dimension of cosmopolitanism, which was not originally included in the theoretical framework. That is to say, in my research, the theoretical and empirical dimensions are mutually strengthening and promoting each other. Utilising this approach, this study has been able to grasp the down-to-earth and grounded cosmopolitan engagements conducted by migrant individuals in their daily lives.

Moreover, as Skey (2012, 476) has pointed out, empirical cosmopolitan practices are not only developed and expressed in a reflexive way in particular contexts, but also designed ‘to suit particular purposes and needs’ (Ong 2009, 454). Thus, I argue it is important for empirical
research on cosmopolitanism to identify and acknowledge these ‘performative’ (Woodward and Skribs 2012) elements that are involved within cosmopolitan practices among individuals. Accordingly, during the data analysis process, I paid particular attention to the pragmatic (Weenink 2008), instrumental (Giulianotti and Robertson 2007) and strategic (Kothari 2008) aspects of cosmopolitanism that emerged from the narratives. At the same time, I focused on different forms and types of cosmopolitan sensibilities that occurred within different social contexts. In doing so, I was able to identify the conditions under which cosmopolitanism might emerge, and the kind of barriers and opportunities that exist in specific social settings to allow cosmopolitanism to prosper and wane for different individual migrants. Furthermore, my research has demonstrated that it is meaningful to test the strength of cosmopolitanism amongst migrant individuals through examining the interplay between their rootedness and cosmopolitan openness in daily life. Accordingly, I explored the extent to which local and national attachments challenge or replace cosmopolitan values and practices, or whether they co-exist, and on what terms and in what kind of social contexts.

To summarise, this chapter has outlined the methodology employed in this project to research cosmopolitanism in the context of migration. It has illustrated why the method of in-depth interviews was utilised, and demonstrated the detailed procedures and reflection involved in data collection and analysis for the research. Specially, I discussed participants’ recruitment, interview design, the process of conducting interviews, the relationship between researcher and interviewees, as well as data analysis. I also interrogated the methodological limitations which existed in the research and the strategies used to cope with them.

The next part of my thesis includes three research finding chapters. Chapter Five draws on the concept of ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, exploring the struggles and opportunities to cosmopolitan engagements among intercultural encounters at the level of everyday. Chapter Six focuses on the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, examining how interacting dynamics between rootedness and openness amongst these Chinese migrants alter the possibilities for encountering cultural others and performing cosmopolitan openness in an intercultural context. Chapter Seven draws attention to the emotional dimensions of performing cosmopolitan sociability and building intercultural relations.
Chapter Five
Cosmopolitanism and Everyday Life

5.1 Introduction
This chapter explores the struggles and opportunities involved in performing cosmopolitanism among the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand through an analysis of their everyday intercultural interactions. The key premise is that the capacity and ability to engage in everyday cosmopolitanism varies across age, generation and social settings. At the same time, possessing high intercultural competency and a strong cosmopolitan repertoire doesn’t automatically lead to cosmopolitan orientations and practices in daily life, since cosmopolitanism must be understood in relation to ‘social and personal imperatives’ that shape the contours of social encounters (Woodward and Skrbis 2012, 133). Therefore, being able to engage in cosmopolitanism is not a given result of increasing levels of cross-border mobilities or cross-cultural interactions but rather occurs through and in relation to social structures and power relations that individuals negotiate in society.

Accordingly, this chapter will draw particular attention to the barriers to cosmopolitanism and ask how different individual migrants negotiate these barriers and conduct cosmopolitanism in different contact zones. The chapter begins with an overview of key literature on everyday cosmopolitanism and contact zones. The focus then shifts to investigating the everyday (un)cosmopolitan encounters that take place in different kinds of contact zones, such as neighbourhoods, workplaces and other diverse environments. The three factors that articulate with the possibilities for practicing cosmopolitanism are examined to gain an in-depth understanding of the barriers and opportunities that different migrant individuals encounter. These three factors are migrants’ family-related situation; school and early life experiences of the 1.5 generation; and the prospects for becoming cosmopolitan within this social situation. Building on the recent scholarly emphasis on ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, this chapter proposes moving beyond labeling people merely as cosmopolitan or non-cosmopolitan and instead explores the struggles and opportunities associated with cosmopolitan engagement in
intercultural encounters (how cosmopolitan practices can be promoted and undermined/limited as manifested in daily interactions). Furthermore, this chapter examines how certain Chinese migrants manage to engage in different shapes/modes of ‘everyday’ cosmopolitan sensibilities within different social contexts to negotiate difference and build intercultural relations. This chapter aims to demonstrate that cosmopolitanism needs to be read in relation to the uneven dynamics of social relations and the multiple pressures on individuals trying to negotiate and adapt to new places.

5.2 Everyday Cosmopolitanism

One major debate surrounding cosmopolitanism concerns whether it is only associated with social elites, or if it can also be identified in more ‘ordinary’ situations. Some scholars have begun to shift their focus to more down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements, such as ‘vernacular’ cosmopolitanism (Werbner 2006), cosmopolitanism from below (Werbner 2008) and cosmopolitanism in practice (Nowicka and Rovisco 2009). Lamont and Aksartova (2002, 1) have called for the study of ‘ordinary cosmopolitanism’, defining it as ‘strategies used by ordinary people to bridge boundaries with people who are different from them’. My research builds on these insights and argues that cosmopolitanism should be explored on a daily basis amongst ordinary individuals who are not necessarily elites from Western countries. In this regard, my research focuses on the ‘everyday dimension’ of cosmopolitan engagements situated in various kinds of everyday contact zones.

In empirical terms, this marked shift towards the ‘everyday’ emphasises how cosmopolitanism emerges and is adopted in the everyday interactions of ordinary people (Noble 2009; Onyx et al. 2011). Wise (2009), for example, has explored how meaningful everyday neighbourly interactions facilitate intercultural exchanges in a super diverse suburban area. Similarly, Noble (2009) has pointed to the importance of practices of negotiation and exchange as key to cultivating cosmopolitan openness to people and practices that are conceived as other. These everyday cosmopolitanisms manifest in moments of encounter across difference that occur between ordinary people in their daily lives within social sites like neighbourhoods, schools, and workplaces (Onyx et al. 2011). ‘Everyday cosmopolitanism’, in this regard, draws attention to the more modest ways in which people from different backgrounds negotiate difference and live together in diverse contexts (Bayat 2008).
This chapter draws on ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ as a grounded approach to investigate the lived experience of social actors who negotiate cultural differences in specific situations and spaces of encounter (Onyx et al. 2011). Attention is drawn to various forms of cosmopolitan interactions conducted by Chinese migrants in their daily lives. The focus is on how these individuals apply everyday cosmopolitanism divergently when they are interacting with objects, ideas and people from other cultures in different social contexts. When and under what circumstances empirical manifestations of cosmopolitanism emerge in individual lives is explored, and how these vary depending on who is involved, where the interactions take place, and what they focus on.

### 5.3 Contact Zones

This chapter focuses on the everyday experiences of migrants encountering difference within what have been called ‘contact zones’. Pratt (1992) developed the concept of ‘contact zones’ in her work on colonial encounters and defined it as social spaces ‘where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of dominance and subordination’ (1992, 4). She stressed two major characteristics of a contact zone: first, it is a social site filled with difference and interactions among people from different socio-cultural backgrounds; second, the encounters among different subjects are necessarily characterised by uneven power relations. Accordingly, the differences, interactions and contradictions will be more intensified when it comes to migrants encountering cultural others in contact zones of their host society, not least because of the uneven power relationships between migrants and locals.

One of the key defining characteristics of contact-zones is the uneven power relations that shape and orient the intercultural encounters that are generated within them. Social actors do not simply or randomly conduct encounters with people in open spaces. Rather they make choices regarding whom they socialise with and how they conduct their social activities (Valentine 2008). Admittedly, opportunities for encountering others are uneven, both in terms of access to certain kinds of contact zones, and also the different abilities individuals possess to interact with others, or even negotiate differences when it comes to an intercultural social setting (Collins 2009; Wang and Collins 2016a). Such uneven power relations often oscillate around embodied characteristics of perceived ethnicity, age and social status and also include language competency and intercultural skills that are generally obtained through encountering others.
Chapter Five Cosmopolitanism and Everyday Life

(Wang and Collins 2016a). The lack of such abilities, or the awareness of these embodied differences, alter the possibilities of encountering others in contact zones and articulate with the opportunities for subsequent relationship network formation (Wang 2016).

In the context of migration, contact zones, particularly those social spaces where ordinary encounters take place, are dominated by the social and cultural norms of host societies (Valentine 2008). As such, these places are particularly in need of active engagement with and reflection on intercultural interactions. However, migrants, particularly when they form part of cultural minorities, tend to have lower capacity to access these kinds of contact zones, which require a high level of familiarity with local socialising habits. Moreover, even if individuals manage to obtain entry to these social spaces, they generally encounter extra challenges to actively participating in intercultural encounters due to their migrant status or language barriers.

It is important to realise that when migrants interact with others in contact zones this occurs through a set of encounters between different cultures, traditions, languages, customs, norms, and socialising patterns (Yeoh and Willis 2005). These encounters across difference can be very challenging due to a set of barriers that migrants face while trying to fit into the new cultural context of a host society. Individuals negotiate these challenges differently depending on their situation. Some of them possess higher intercultural competency and are more capable of utilising this to engage in cosmopolitanism, while others lack such capacities and are inclined to be more ‘cliquey’ and ‘clannish’ (Jones 2013).

As Yeoh and Willis (2005) have argued, contact zones should not only be perceived in terms of a sense of embodied presence within geographical space, but also as a social and cultural metaphor. They argue that understanding the concept of contact zones lies in the analysis of everyday encounters and everyday experiences of sameness and difference generated in various kinds of specific social encounters (Yeoh and Willis 2005). The following section will look into a set of (un)cosmopolitan moments where participants in this research encountered cultural others in different contact zones in their everyday lives.
5.4 Everyday (un)cosmopolitan moments in contact zones

It has been stated that passing intercultural encounters have the potential to cultivate cosmopolitan orientations and sociabilities (Wise 2005; Wessendorf 2013). Such encounters provide opportunities for individuals to feel comfortable in unfamiliar settings and potentially to establish relationships with people they might otherwise view as quite different from themselves. While questions can be raised about the transformative capacity of passing encounters (Valentine 2008), many participants in this research noted that experiences of friendliness and kindness were an important part of building their own confidence and competency to engage in a wider range of sociabilities. Rachel (20; 35; F; Auckland) explains:

My neighbour saying ‘Hi’ to me in the mornings, joggers smiling at me in the evenings, my Pākehā colleagues offering me travelling tips before my holiday, all these things give me more confidence to socialise with non-Chinese, and over time, they make me feel more and more accepted. (Translated)

Although interactions with neighbours, strangers and colleagues of this kind are momentary, ordinary and may appear trivial, these quotidian intercultural encounters have gradually increased Rachel’s confidence about her position in local society. These and other examples articulated by participants demonstrate, as Wise (2005, 182) has noted, that ‘gestures of care and recognition, however fleeting, can create a feeling of connection’ to place. Critically, fleeting warmth and momentary bonding matter since they are a starting point for the emergence of long-term relationships and bonding among people who are of different cultural backgrounds but live in a shared multicultural space. As Rachel notes, she has developed gratitude towards people who have been nice to her even just for a few seconds since it is these seemingly fleeting but pleasant and meaningful interactions that have redefined her sense of belonging in New Zealand. These hopeful and positive moments have occurred in Rachel’s everyday interactions with others, including a neighbour saying hi, runners giving her a smile, colleagues offering travelling advice, all of which are significant to her in terms of promoting opportunities for building everyday cosmopolitanism. Rachel’s specific experiences, while not shared by all interviewees, are similar in essence to some other participants in this research who commented on the long-term implications of what might otherwise seem like ordinary everyday practices. Patrick (32; 49; M; Auckland), for example, commented on the way in which neighbourly care and practices of inclusion encouraged his own orientation towards everyday cosmopolitanism:

---

20 ‘20’ is the age at migration; ‘35’ is her age at the time of interview; ‘F’ represents ‘female’; Auckland is the current residence. This schema will apply to all the interviewees cited in the thesis.
I remember when we just moved to this area, one of our neighbours’ car got damaged and then one of our neighbours wrote a letter to every house, suggesting a contact book should be created to make our neighbourhood safer. Some neighbours even came to our house to make sure we understood the letter and gave us some suggestions concerning safety issues. I felt what they did was very nice and we responded to their kindness very actively. We sometimes send homemade dumplings to some neighbours to show our gratitude. It has been an effective way of bonding with them. As migrants, we feel we are included in this big family. (Translated)

Patrick’s example points to the way that people from different cultural backgrounds can build relations with each other through the provision of ‘intercultural neighbourly care’ (Wise 2005, 179). In this case, the practices that neighbours engaged in—creating a contact book, offering safety tips, and the response of sending food—generated feelings of inclusiveness because they demonstrated ‘caring about’ others where ‘affection and concern’ become part of relationship building (McKay 2007). Although neither creating a contact book nor getting together to have discussions about improving the neighbourhood are grand gestures, they can clearly produce a cosmopolitan sentiment among neighbours, and for a newcomer like Patrick, generate a sense of home in an otherwise unfamiliar place. According to Wise (2005), these encounters across difference provide ‘moments of micro-hope’ and nourish the development of open and intercultural belonging at the neighbourhood level. Indeed, Patrick’s narrative about his neighbourhood shows that meaningful contact at the neighbourhood level exerts influence over perceptions towards difference (Valentine and Sadgrove 2014). Positive attitudes towards difference are more likely to promote the emergence of cosmopolitan practices in daily life.

As Wise (2005, 183) has pointed out, ‘moments of intercultural exchange’ have the potential to translate the ‘abstract other’ into a ‘concrete other’. Similarly, extant scholarship on commonplace diversity has suggested that, although fleeting encounters cannot guarantee enhancement of deeper intercultural understandings, if they occur regularly they play an important role in developing familiarisation with people from different cultural backgrounds and normalising exchanges in cross-cultural contexts (Wessendorf 2013). Therefore, these momentary and everyday hopeful intercultural encounters can transform how people perceive difference and foster smooth interactions across difference, which eventually encourage migrants to engage in cosmopolitanism. The excerpts above demonstrate that meaningful and hopeful momentary encounters can facilitate otherwise difficult interactions across difference and encourage a wider range of cosmopolitanism engagements in migrants’ daily lives.
If the positive momentary and quotidian encounters discussed above are significant for promoting the development of everyday cosmopolitanism, it then follows that more negative encounters are likely to have the opposite effect. Indeed, meaningful encounters cannot necessarily guarantee the development of everyday cosmopolitanism, not least because a range of racist actions, stereotypes and tensions often co-exist with more cosmopolitan interactions (Wise 2005; Noble 2011; Valentine 2008). Noble (2011, 158) has pointed out that ‘people are capable of acting in both cosmopolitan and racist ways at different moments, in different contexts’. While positive interactions were apparent in this research, many participants also recalled experiences that negatively affected their orientation/perception towards difference, and weakened their initiative to engage in everyday cosmopolitanism. One of the 1.5 generation interviewees, Louise (7; 23; F; Beijing), recalls one such encounter and its longer term affects:

When you walk on the streets, some random guy just shout at you, saying Ching-chong China man, or things like that. Usually what they say doesn’t contain any meaning, so there is nothing about if what they say is true or not. What they say is simply just showing their attitudes toward migrants I guess. But I would feel hurt and this has definitely affected me—I would feel a bit insecure and uncomfortable when I am interacting with Pākehā. Although Louise clearly recognises the thoughtless character of such interactions, it is clear that these experiences have generated negative identification by Chinese migrants as being visible minorities in New Zealand. That is to say, in addition to immediate affects, everyday racism presents longer term impediments to building relationships across difference, which eventually diminish/hamper the development of practices of everyday cosmopolitanism. Louise notes in particular a sense of insecurity and discomfort in interacting with Pākehā. Despite her cognitive recognition that ‘what they say doesn’t contain any meaning’ there are deeper embodied responses that shape what is possible in future relationships. Consequently, participants’ perceptions of Pākehā and their own migrant status can be amplified and intensified by negative encounters. Many interviewees suggested that they find themselves in situations where the desire for performing everyday cosmopolitanism is dampened by earlier encounters of this kind and that as a result more perseverance is needed to overcome difference.

Louise’s narrative demonstrates the uneven contours of encounters in contact zones. It is obvious she has been a victim of verbal abuse that reflects the aggressive and racist elements of majority culture in New Zealand. The above discussion has used contact zones to focus on a range of social spaces where migrants have uneven access and abilities to interact with others.
and where differences are constantly challenged, encountered and renegotiated. The focus of this chapter is to examine the challenges that these migrants face during the process of negotiating difference, encountering with cultural others and engaging in everyday cosmopolitanism within various kinds of contact zones. The barriers and struggles will be discussed further in the following section.

5.5 Barriers to everyday cosmopolitanism

This section explores the potential barriers that disrupt or present obstacles to the process of Chinese migrants engaging in everyday cosmopolitanism, and the way these barriers affect the possibilities for developing everyday cosmopolitanism. In particular, the chapter focuses on how and why the 1.5 generation (the intergenerational migrant youth) who have grown up in at least two cultural worlds and who are seemingly of high-level intercultural competency still find such barriers and struggles formidable during the process of engaging in cosmopolitanism in their daily lives.

5.5.1 Migration and family life

Most of the new Chinese migrants in this research had at least a middle-class status in China and in some instances would be viewed as wealthy and resourceful. Nevertheless, migration can be a costly and risky exercise particularly where class maintenance is challenged in the host society. In line with the research of Zhou (2009), many first generation interviewees in this research suggested that it was difficult to engage with social life while struggling to maintain social and class status as new migrants. The barriers to performing cosmopolitanism in everyday life include limited family wealth, lower access to mainstream social networks, racial stereotyping and discrimination, as well as their lower intercultural competency.

Amongst these factors, financial difficulties (especially during the early settlement period) limit both social activities and lifestyle, demanding a focus on the pragmatics of working and everyday life. As outlined in Chapter Two, the percentage of Chinese who are employed full-time and those who are employed part-time are both lower than the national average and their unemployment rate is higher than the national average (2013 New Zealand Census). Statistics have shown that Chinese people in New Zealand have a much lower median income than the New Zealand national average (2013 New Zealand Census). The following narrative by Mrs.
Lin (35; 46; F; Auckland) recounts the living difficulties of her family after migrating to New Zealand and her resulting inability to engage in a wider social life:

As a migrant family, we have a big financial pressure. When you open your eyes in the morning, you see the mortgage. As Chinese, we don't do overdraft. We have extra obligation of taking care of my parents who have moved to New Zealand. Compared to the local people, it is much more difficult for my husband and I to find decent jobs and both of us need to make much more extra effort to do well. It is so hard for us to even think about socialising or having a family holiday. We just want to focus on our family to improve financial situation. People of my generation here see families as absolute priority. We don't want to be looked down upon as second class citizens so we need to work really hard. (Translated)

Motivated by an imagination of the cosmopolitan West, Mrs. Lin’s family migrated to New Zealand to realise their mobility aspirations and obtain the ideal lifestyle they had always desired. However, similarly to many other Chinese migrant families, Mrs. Lin’s family suffered downward social mobility and had difficulty juggling the demands of work and filial piety, as well as household responsibilities. Due to the disadvantages associated with their migrant status, many first generation Chinese migrants (including Mrs. Lin and her husband) have faced significant challenges in the labour market including unemployment, underemployment and deskilling due to less recognised qualifications and language inadequacy (Ip 2006). At the same time, as a migrant family, the success they sought by migrating to the West has been heavily disrupted by downgrading of their class status—from at least middle class in China to a self-perception of being ‘second class citizens’ in New Zealand.

Consequently, family life changes (taking care of parents, overwhelming financial pressure, employment issues) since migration made it seem unrealistic for Mrs. Lin and her husband to have a social life or integrate a local lifestyle into their everyday lives. Mrs. Lin’s narrative clearly shows that a set of migrant family specific problems, have generated difficulties in terms of reaching beyond their family life or comfort zones to socialise with locals—which leads to a low level of interest in and energy for performing cosmopolitanism. Another first generation interviewee Mona (37; 47; F; Auckland) also describes finding it very challenging to enjoy being sociable while feeling overwhelmed with everyday migrant life:

Almost all my friends are Chinese. It is just easy for me to talk to Chinese people. Even if I want to make friends with the locals, I can’t. I can’t speak English well, so what can I do? I don't have time to learn English, I need to go to my grocery store every single day and I have to cook and
Mona’s narrative points to some of the challenges involved in building relationships with others. Particularly notable here are immediate and practical concerns like overcoming language barriers, since her life is fully occupied by work at her grocery store and she invests all her spare time in her family. Her reduced social life is also influenced by her perception of New Zealand as a ‘quiet’ and ‘non-social’ society and her uncertainty about how social relations unfold in this context. Many first generation interviewees, including Mona, suggested that they wouldn’t bother to invest much energy or time in trying to socialise with non-Chinese when they are already overwhelmed by migrant-family obligations, financial pressure, language barriers and low intercultural competency. The desire to maintain a decent class and financial status has pushed them to work more strenuously while exhausting their potential for a life beyond meeting financial obligations. Thus, their main aim for themselves in New Zealand is just to ‘get by’, since they have pinned all their hopes on their children succeeding in New Zealand. Most of the interviewees have been through considerable financial difficulties and social struggles, especially during the early settlement period. Ivy (30; 45; F; Auckland) shares her migration experience:

The most difficult thing for us was to find a job. My husband couldn't find a proper job, even if he has a master’s degree. But the employers here don’t want to hire Chinese people and they don’t trust our qualifications… We were receiving some financial help from New Zealand government. We felt really bad about that. We didn’t want to be looked down upon. It was a huge step down from the life we had in China. We already expected that we will have a very tough life at least for the first 5 to 10 years. But it was just so tough. For the past many years, we have been slowly recovering from those hard lives in New Zealand. Socialising has been a luxury for us. How is it possible for us to care about socialising with Pākehā while having much more serious family obligations, such as buying our own house and finding jobs and providing our children with good life? (Translated)

As Ivy states, ‘socialising has been a luxury’ since she and her husband were, for a long period, overwhelmed by a series of family obligations such as employment, housing, and so on. Similarly to Ivy’s husband, many interviewees described their struggles in terms of securing a
good job when they first migrated to New Zealand. In general, Asian migrants are more likely than other groups to be discriminated against in institutional settings, especially in the labour market (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). The new Chinese migrants tend to face formidable barriers to employment opportunities in New Zealand (Ho 2015) and suffer from a high degree of mismatch to their age-education profile. As Ivy describes, her husband experienced racial discrimination and stereotyping from local employers and as a consequence had a reduced ability to secure equal access to the New Zealand labour market compared to some non-Chinese. Many first generation interviewees (including Ivy’s husband) described the challenges they faced in terms of maintaining a satisfactory level of economic well-being for the whole family in New Zealand. Subsequently, these financial struggles served only to amplify the uneven encounters and intensify the distinction felt in contact zones between themselves and non-Chinese.

A common response to the potentially challenging and confronting cross-cultural interactions necessary in public spaces is a retreat into the private space of family life. The primacy of family life in Chinese culture makes this a natural choice for weekend or holiday activities. As Elle (32; 55; F; Auckland) indicates:

> Family is the only thing that I can hold on to and alleviate my sense of instability in New Zealand. If you stay at home, you wouldn't feel uncomfortable at all. But when you are going out, walking on the streets, when you are interacting with other people, you are always feeling you are not an insider, you are always feeling that you are not local. I only leave my house once a week. Generally, I stay at home most of the time, reading, doing gardening, taking care of my dog, cleaning house, cooking. I don't really have any social interactions with people now, which is sad, but I don’t think I have a choice…I only leave my house once a week. I go out with my husband to do grocery shopping on Saturdays. (Translated)

For many of these first generation interviewees, including Elle, family remains the sole focus of their life in New Zealand. While important for the processes of adaptation, the focus on family also leads many participants to 'shrink to the four walls of their home' (Wise 2005, 177) in their everyday lives. While offering emotional stability, an inward focus on the home as the primary contact zone is characterised, paradoxically, by a desire to moderate feelings of isolation, estrangement and insecurity, but commonly results in their amplification.

As Elle describes, most of her daily activities have been confined within her home space and the
person she mainly socialises with is her husband. This troubling situation was reported by many interviewees who, lacking the courage or intercultural competency, act to avoid the risk of socialising beyond their comfort zones. A sense of belonging and comfort is, then, manufactured by consciously choosing to reduce exposure to contact zones, which they find only serve to unsettle and upset such feelings. Through this process the migrants develop habits which limit their socialising activities to only those social fields where they feel comfortable and safe from social anxiety. Over time, they tend not to approach cultural others or build social networks with cultural others and eventually their ability and desire for conducting everyday cosmopolitanism becomes greatly undermined. Only migrants who can actively handle ‘emotional dissonance’ (Middleton 1989, 189) generated by intercultural encounters with cultural others have a high likelihood of fully engaging in potential cosmopolitan interactions.

The financial and general challenges experienced by migrant families also significantly impact the socialising habits of the younger generation, and ultimately affect their initiative for engaging in everyday cosmopolitanism. Some 1.5 generation interviewees, for example, said that they had a sense of inferiority to their white peers during their school years, which influenced the way they interacted with cultural others later on in their life. As Louise (7; 23; F; Beijing) says:

Our family condition when we first came to New Zealand was not like desperate; it was not like we were poor but it was significantly less well-off than when we were in China. And I always felt that compared to my European classmates, I could not have the things that they have. And I could not live in a house that they lived in, because we didn't have our own house, we always rented a flat. We had pretty basic furniture. When I walked past the houses of some of my classmates who were born in New Zealand, I felt that all of them, especially the Caucasians, have very beautiful houses and I could not live in places like that. Even now, I still have this sense of inferiority towards Pākehā, which is also why I just can’t reach the point that I can feel close to them.

Many Chinese migrant families have settled in relatively affluent areas, not least because those areas are considered to have the best schooling. While this may serve family aspirations it also undermines their extant sense of class-status in relation to peers. Louise’s excerpt clearly points to a perception of differences between her family and Pākehā families regarding socio-financial position in ways that undermined not only her status but also her ability to socialise with her peers. Other 1.5 generation interviewees also expressed this kind of diminished sense of self-esteem and self-confidence resulting from the decreased social status and financial stability of
their families. Louise’ narrative shows that migrant parents’ struggles to secure good earnings and maintain a decent class status influence the way migrant children perceive themselves and relate to cultural others in critical ways. Financial status was a recurring theme of the interviews and one of the major reasons interviewees felt distance from non-Chinese friends. This is perhaps exacerbated by the fact that they are not in control of their own mobility in that it is their parents’ decision to migrate and yet it is they who have much greater interaction with the host society. Through this process the challenges for the adaptation of families in terms of maintaining financial status also generate difficulties for the younger generations in engaging actively with social encounters in their daily lives.

Other factors influencing the cosmopolitanism practices of 1.5 generation interviewees are familial ties and structures. Some of them noted a strong sense of familial attachment that influenced their routine practices (going home early after school or work, spending time with family during holidays) and mobility patterns (going back to China to take care of ageing parents). In more explicit ways too, most interviewees said their social networking activities were actively limited by strong family discipline. Some indicated that they were told not to socialise with their Pākehā peers at school since their parents believed white youth misbehave. This pressure combined with the challenge of being in a new setting to influence their socialising habits and patterns. It contributed to reduced contact with Pākehā peers in particular and increasing friendship networks amongst Chinese and, to a certain degree, with other Asian youth, who were seen as less problematic by parents. Lulu (8; 28; F; Auckland) shares her story on this:

When I was young, I was always with my parents in New Zealand. We are a migrant family together and I had a stronger sense of being tied to my parents. When they feel discriminated against, I also feel somehow constrained as a member of the family. If my parents take me to the lantern festival or a Buddhist temple, I would follow them. My parents don’t have European friends and so it can also be an obstacle to my association with European people later on. My mum has never wanted me to go out with white kids. As long as I was with a family member here, I would always feel more tied to the Chinese community. I don’t have any close Pākehā friends and I don’t know how to be close with them.

Living as a migrant in a white-dominated Western country has gradually strengthened Lulu’s sense of togetherness as a family unit and her strong ties and attachments to parents or other family members. At the same time, there is a sense of containment occurring in the family,
drawing boundaries of difference through racial categories. Lulu has felt constrained and discriminated against when her parents went through unpleasant encounters. This can reinforce the otherness of non-Chinese in their daily family life and disrupt the social integration of children who are supposed to conduct a wider set of social encounters outside home. Most of Lulu’s socialising has been exclusively with Chinese communities since that is the way her parents socialised and she simply reproduced their behaviour as her only reference. As a result, Lulu’s strong familial ties to her parents and the whole migrant family or Chinese community have influenced her identity formation, and capacity to conduct cosmopolitanism in the long run.

In the context of growing up in New Zealand, where youth are often expected to be more independent actors, the 1.5 generation can feel a tension between the identities and expectations being generated at home and those enacted by their non-Chinese peers at school. Interviewees articulated struggle and a sense of liminality in their social lives: they grow up and receive education, both formally and socially, within a Western society dominated by Pākehā, and they often desire to participate actively as ‘authentic Kiwis’; yet, the challenges of the migrant home environment and the moral contours of the Chinese household impose cultural values and ideologies that mediate and at times limit the way the 1.5 generation utilise everyday cosmopolitanism to interact with the social worlds they inhabit.

To summarise, the potential of enacting everyday cosmopolitanism in intercultural encounters can be undermined by a set of migrant-family-specific limitations and predicaments. For the first generation interviewees, their demanding work schedules, financial pressures and family obligations in a transnational setting, have all greatly limited their social activities and ability to approach cultural others. For 1.5 generation migrants, the typical Chinese migrant household upbringing, the usually limited socialising with Pākehā, lower social-financial status and parenting control are significant. These barriers have meant that the young Chinese migrants find it challenging to build relationship networks with the majority population of the host society, despite the fact that they possess excellent language competency and high intercultural familiarity. To unpack these challenges further, the next section delves into the early life experiences of the 1.5 generation participants.
5.5.2 School and early life experiences for 1.5 generation

Most 1.5 generation participants in this research were aged between 20 and 30 years at the time of their interviews and a significant part of their social network had been formed during their school years. Many indicated that their friends just ‘turned Asian’ as they entered and progressed through intermediate and high school and even later on in their work lives. This preference for participating in Asian youth cultures relates to a set of reasons, such as their different migrant family upbringings from the Pākehā youth, the racial discrimination they suffered at school, as well as a wider sense of affinity to other Asian migrant youth.

During school life, one of the salient reasons behind the socialising patterns of 1.5 generation participants was the influence of school ‘streaming’ policies. Streaming involves placing students in different classes based on their academic performance, which often results in an ethnic gradient and school-based segregation. In many instances, the interviewees in this research had been placed in relatively high academic classes where there was often increased exposure to Chinese and other Asian students. These differences within classes were often supported or enhanced by wider socialising patterns across school populations. Scott (6; 24; M; Auckland) explains:

Like sometimes, you just haven’t met them [Pākehā]. I know, it sounds silly. When I was in [School A], what happened was the Caucasian kids often already had their own friends, because they grow up in this area and they were probably friends since primary school[…] I came to this school with no friends. Often, the kids who were in this kind of same situation and who moved into this [enrolment] zone mostly are from Chinese and Indian families. That is why you ended up having so many Asian friends. *It is just we have similar backgrounds*. I didn't choose them because they are Chinese or another ethnicity. It is just what I got handed like.

Scott’s narrative demonstrates a residential mobility pattern amongst recent Asian migrants in New Zealand, including Chinese (Morrison and Nissen 2010). Often these migrants move to more affluent neighbourhoods for the sake of the prestigious schools they are zoned for (Thrupp 2007). This trend was articulated by other participants in this research. At the same time, some interviewees had to live with relatives before they could afford a house of their own, and others needed to move with their parents who changed from one job to another. Participants indicated that these frequent moves reduced their confidence in building friendships and created instability in their social lives. Regular moves disrupt friendship building and, as Scott indicates, tend to direct participants towards other Asian students who have experienced similar mobility and share the experience of growing up in a migrant family household. By contrast, lack of
familiarity, both on the part of participants and also their Pākehā peers, means that interactions across these differences were experienced as less ‘natural’ and more self-conscious. This further strengthens the boundaries of difference they draw with Pākehā youth based on racial categories.

Another factor that emerged as significant for many interviewees was the ethnic cliques that were important in the formation of social networks (Jones 2013). Phoebe (9; 27; F; Auckland) has this to say about high school life:

> I think what happened was, in [School B], we definitely got our own groups. It is very noticeable that the Asian kids stuck together; there was Indian group, Korean group and white group. It is hard for you to make new friends out of your group, because we all had lunch together sitting at the corridor. It would be weird that you go and sit with a person who is not at your group. Besides, most white kids wouldn't be interested in hanging out with Asians, since being Asian was not considered being cool.

For all young people, secondary school life can be a socially challenging time as relationships are formed and groups or cliques become difficult to access or leave. As Phoebe and other participants have narrated, these dynamics are accentuated for the children of migrants who find themselves with the extra challenge of negotiating family pressures, unfamiliar intercultural contexts and group dynamics that oscillate around co-ethnicity. Her narrative points to the formation of multiple ethnic networks that also exercise pressure on co-ethnics to maintain group solidarity and loyalty. Moreover, the self-conscious recognition that ‘being Asian is not cool’ makes the already difficult practice of initiating interactions with Pākehā classmates even more daunting. For most interviewees, it was this clique mentality that more than anything else shaped their socialising pattern, not just at school but also through university and following graduation.

Lastly, many interviewees suggested that the ways in which they were treated at school (being bullied, being called names, having their English accent mocked) after they moved to New Zealand has also had a long-lasting impact on their self-image and attitudes toward non-Chinese. Again, although we should recognise that these experiences cut across the lives of all young people to one degree or another, it is the particular way in which these experiences articulate through ethnic differences that has been salient for the participants in this research, as members of an ethnic minority population in New Zealand. It should be noted that most of these 1.5 generation interviewees were in their early school life during the 1990s, a period filled with
strong anti-Asian immigration sentiment in New Zealand (see Chapter Two). Many of them recalled traumatic and unpleasant early life experiences in New Zealand. Their negative memories were often infused with feelings of being different and out of place that have influenced the way they deal with difference later on in their lives. Sarah (7; 27; F; Hamilton) shares how her memories about early life experiences in New Zealand have influenced the way she interacts with others in the present:

When I was in intermediate and high school, I was ashamed of being Asian. The reason I say this is because they actually said it in my face, they said the words to make fun of Asians, and they pretended to talk in Chinese but in very nasty way. Or they just swear and call you Asian […] all these memories have made me feel there is always a barrier between me and Pākehā.

Sarah’s account clearly shows us that traumatic events from early life can have a fundamental impact on later life self-esteem and the ability of individuals to overcome difference. Almost all interviewees spoke about experiences of racially infused bullying in childhood and similarly to Sarah, most of them suggested that these unpleasant memories can have long-lasting effects on socialising patterns. These experiences and their effects are demonstrative of the disempowering potential of memory for migrants (Wray 2012), where negative experiences can shape future life patterns and outlooks. For Sarah, her memories about early life experiences have lowered her self-confidence and undermined her own willingness or sense of being able to approach and build relationships with Pākehā. Hence, we can see that migrant experiences unfold over time, since ‘it is the biographical past—memories, associations, histories, experiences—that contributes to orientating bodies in the present’ (Valentine and Sadgrove 2014, 1982). As in Sarah’s case, the desire for encountering cultural others and the ability to conduct cosmopolitanism in everyday interactions needs to be understood in relation to the full range of early life experiences and their role in present orientations.

5.6 Performing everyday cosmopolitanism

The section above has emphasised the challenges that interviewees have encountered in terms of conducting cosmopolitanism in their everyday lives. These challenges clearly have a significant role in altering the possibilities for and the conditions of intercultural encounters. For the most part, these barriers have led migrants, especially the first generation to take the path of least resistance—mainly or exclusively socialising with co-ethnic members. There were only a few first generation interviewees, such as Rachel and Patrick, in section 5.4, who described some
examples of more cosmopolitan moments in their daily lives. Indeed, due to limited English
glanguage proficiency, relatively low intercultural familiarity and degraded social-financial status,
most first generation participants have experienced various kinds of difficulties and emotional
struggles as they tried to conduct everyday cosmopolitanism and socialise with cultural others.

However, this does not necessarily mean that first generation interviewees had no desire to
approach cultural others or conduct intercultural encounters. Some first generation interviewees
expressed their yearning for conducting cosmopolitan engagements with cultural others and a
desire for a social life outside the Chinese community. However, most of the time this ‘yearning’
has been mediated by their relatively limited ‘cosmopolitan repertoire’ and low familiarity with
local socio-cultural norms. Their lack of intercultural familiarity, struggles with degraded
financial and social status and low English competency have limited opportunities for
‘becoming cosmopolitan’. Over time, the sense of frustration generated from not being able to
realise their aspirations for cosmopolitan social mobility has affected their perception of
difference and their understanding of cultural others, which have often manifested in racial
prejudices and stereotyping especially towards Pākehā.

In contrast, it was mainly the 1.5 generation interviewees in this research who displayed the
ability to actively engage with cosmopolitanism. This is not surprising given that these younger
generation participants grew up in Chinese households in New Zealand, which often means that
they have considerable intercultural competencies in the form of language skills and familiarity
with different social norms (Bartley and Spoonley 2008; Lee and Park 2008). Although many of
them have often participated in ethnic cliques rather than experiencing rejection from non-
Chinese, their intercultural competencies make it possible for them to overcome socialising
barriers to negotiate difference and build relationship networks in the host society. For many,
cosmopolitan practices have emerged through conscious efforts to reduce feelings of difference
and to manage the negative affects that can sometimes emerge in intercultural encounters (Wang
and Collins 2016a). Grace (6; 24; F; Auckland) illustrates this point:

I like to talk to people. Even sign language made my way through, I made friends and I made
enemies, but it was good fun. It was very enjoyable. I have never had problems with adapting to
new places. Even though there was this cultural thing happening, there was some racism at times,
but part of my brain just blocked it out. I just don't care too much about it. Someone goes
‘Chingchang China man’, I just ignore them.
Grace’s approach to creating more opportunities for intercultural encounters points to two key issues. Firstly, she perceives sociability as something that is joyful, whether or not specific social interactions led to friendship or animosity ‘it was good fun’. The joy generated in social interaction of all kinds clearly plays an important role in adaptation to new places and the prospects for building relationships across difference. Secondly, however, Grace also demonstrates strategic efforts to manage or downplay her emotional responses when confronted with verbal racism and other kinds of negative sociality. ‘Blocking it out’ is an effective method used by Grace to minimise the kinds of negative emotions that can often hinder interactions across ethnic or cultural difference (Wang and Collins 2016a). Other interviewees also reflected on their strategies to avoid automatically connecting negativity with racism, xenophobia or rejection based on ethnic differences. Emily (6; 23; F; Auckland) provides an example on this:

Sometimes they [Pākehā] might be a bit unfriendly, it is not because they think you are inferior, it is just because they had a bad day. But some Asians would go think they were treated differently must be because the Chinese thing and they interpret situations as resulting from their ethnicity[…]]If you just believe you are just as good as them, you belong here just as much as they do and the white people don't actually see you as inferior, things would be different. Sometimes the barrier is in you.

Emily’s narrative points to her reflection on the complexity of social interactions and an assertive attitude about one’s position in New Zealand. By doing these things, Emily is capable of transforming negative encounters and removing the socialising barriers that she believes exist in people’s imaginations. She perceives the barriers to approaching cultural others for some Asians as something that can be generated through real experiences of discrimination, but can also be over-read as the reason for every social encounter that is not experienced positively. Perhaps more importantly, however, is Emily’s linked statement about the need to assert belonging and to reject connotations of inferiority that can be reproduced in the way individuals respond to discrimination.

Being able to overcome difference and becoming cosmopolitan does not come inherently through the experiences of being in-between cultures but rather involves agentive will and a desire to alter the dynamics of social interaction. This can take the shape of assertions of belonging but it can also involve learning to present a different sense of self that is flexible in terms of cultural identity, depending on what kind of socio-cultural groups are encountered and in what social settings such encounters take place. However, this ability does not come naturally
to the 1.5 generation, even though they almost always possess considerable intercultural competencies. Sarah (7; 27; F; Hamilton) offers an indicative account of this flexibility:

I respond to different people in different ways. For example, my flat mate is a Kiwi girl, *she is white*. When she talks about something, there is always sarcasm in it. When I talk to her, I joke her way, exactly her humor, and I wouldn’t talk like that to my Asian friends. I just have been used to adjusting the way I talk in order to fit better with the person I am talking to. When I was younger, my school friends talked English, so I copied their language and gradually picked up English. But I didn’t speak Chinese anymore. So when I talked to my parents, I also needed to copy what they are doing.

Sarah’s experience of growing up in at least two cultures didn’t necessarily make it possible to become cosmopolitan straight away. However, her account here demonstrates that she has developed a sophisticated and conscious understanding of social relations and her own behavior in relation to different individuals—her ‘Kiwi flat mate’, her ‘Asian friends’, and her parents. How much one person understands what is said and how it is being said demands considerable flexibility and adaptability in communication styles. It is Sarah’s flexibility and adaptability that enables her to engage with cosmopolitan practices. We should bear in mind that what supports this flexibility and adaptability is a consciously enacted set of embodied and linguistic dispositions rather than a set of inherent traits. It is these competencies as well as the flexibility to move between different types of social interactions that serve as the foundation for becoming cosmopolitan for many 1.5 generation migrants. They have developed strong capacities for observing difference and adapting themselves to meet specific socialising needs, which increase the opportunities for cosmopolitanism in different social settings.

This flexibility and openness towards socialising was also reflected in interviewees’ willingness to nominate different places as home depending on who asks the question and what kind of social context they are situated in. Jack (7; 25; M; Auckland) explains:

How would I describe myself depends on who I am with, and whom I am talking to. For example, with my friends who are also Chinese migrants in New Zealand, I would say things like, ‘we are all Chinese’. But when I am travelling at a third country or when I am participating in some events, or when I am presenting myself in a professional way, I would say I am from New Zealand. If people get curious, I would say I was born in China and I grew up between China and New Zealand. However, deep down, when I am by myself, I will still say I am Chinese.
Jack’s flexibility can be interpreted as a part of a broader process of re-evaluating his identity. His ‘flexible’ identity description reflects his efforts to adapt himself to different social settings by seeking common characteristics with the people he encounters and the place he inhabits. As with Grace’s description of managing emotions, Jack’s willingness to alter the way he articulates belonging publically reflects both an awareness of the way this will be perceived in different settings and a recognition of the advantages of managing his identity in this way. Jack’s motivation for this flexibility is often instrumental—identity in a third country, participating in events, for professional reasons—and it also involves a suppression of ‘deep down’ feelings. In this respect, becoming cosmopolitan cannot necessarily be read as a positive and empowering process, since sometimes it requires a suppression of ‘deep down’ feelings.

There are strong elements of pragmatism apparent in these utilisations of dual cultural identities and attempts to more effectively enact everyday cosmopolitanism. Participants strategically transform their identities and tap into their intercultural competency to smooth intercultural relations across different social settings. Emma (6; 25; F; Auckland) captures this varied deployment of identity and its ‘strategic’ and ‘pragmatic’ dimensions:

> When I am in a Chinese environment, I emphasise I am familiar with Chinese culture and I know all the pop music or whatever. When I am in a totally Kiwi environment, I emphasise the fact that I can fit in. In order to fit in, you have to play out which side of you at different contexts. Sometimes I downplay my Asian qualities, sometimes I overplay them for humor effect, or like get a sense of belonging with other Asian friends. But when I am with my colleagues, most of them are white, I don’t necessarily emphasise this Chinese part of me, unless there is something relevant or beneficial to me. I mean, if people are interested in my Chineseness then I just respond in that kind of way.

Emma’s narrative shows that not only are cosmopolitan practices developed and expressed in a reflexive way, they are also designed ‘to suit particular purposes and needs’ (Ong 2009, 454). The effort she makes in terms of downplaying and overplaying her Chinese side shows that she has the ability to negotiate among different relationship networks through strategically using different sets of cultural knowledge. Notably, her strategic attempts to negotiate difference are articulated through a re-essentialisation of ‘Asian qualities’. Sometimes, her emphasis on her Asian identity is to form a group identity with ‘other Asian friends’; sometimes her ‘overplaying’ of the Asianness is done to achieve a ‘humor effect’. Similarly, she chooses to hide or downplay
her Asian qualities to better fit in when she is positioned in a ‘totally Kiwi environment’, or are re-inscribed as group identity when with ‘other Asian friends’.

Similarly to Emma, some other 1.5 generation interviewees also reflected on their pragmatic efforts to create more opportunities for social interaction with a wider diversity of people in different social settings. It is this flexibility that has helped these individuals to ‘fit in’ and overcome difference. Over time, these instrumental encounters have strengthened their ability to adjust to a new environment and in the process seemingly become more capable of engaging in cosmopolitanism. But it should be noted that switching identities in this manner, as Ngan and Chan (2012) note, is not a straightforward task of oscillating between one ‘full’ identity and another, not least because cultural boundaries are often ambiguous and dynamic. Moreover, it is notable that Emma relies in part on the re-inscription or rejection of difference as a mechanism for addressing her position in the social dynamics of different situations. Like other participants, her recognition of these dynamics is sophisticated and demonstrates an active will to change her own position in relation to others. However, it is worthwhile noting that it is these migrant youth who have to adapt, rather than their Pākehā peers or wider society. Their capacity to be flexible and perform cosmopolitanism can sometimes be perceived as something that they have achieved through a suppression of feelings as a response to the pressure of ‘fitting in’. At the same time, as the minority population in New Zealand, these migrant children’s process of becoming cosmopolitan can sometimes equate to simply abiding by the norms of Pākehā as the socially and culturally dominant population.

These examples from 1.5 generation interviewees provide an indication of what the prospects and opportunities for becoming cosmopolitan are, and what kinds of conditions, orientations and practices might generate more meaningful intercultural encounters and the building of relationship networks across difference. Moreover, the examples described above demonstrate some of the ways in which 1.5 generation interviewees have sought to establish more cosmopolitan postures in their social relationships. These can be banal, pragmatic, strategic, or selective, but they all aim toward the development of a wider range of intercultural encounters that can enhance the place of young people in society—they reflect attempts, intentional or otherwise, to generate cosmopolitan possibilities. Although it remains unclear in this research, some of these initiatives may lead to the emergence of long-term relationships or even wider social changes, even when they revolve around just fitting in. However, it is important to emphasise that cosmopolitanism is achieved not only through the possession of intercultural
knowledge, but rather it also hinges on active engagement in what is always an uneven social playing field.

The fact that very few first generation interviewees provided examples of cosmopolitan capacity or a will to engage in everyday cosmopolitanism demonstrates that the strength of ‘becoming cosmopolitan’ varies across time and age. Indeed, most first generation interviewees indicated their inability or low willingness to overcome the barriers they encountered during the process of dealing with difference and diversity. Most of them withdrew into their comfort zones and avoided a social life outside the family or Chinese community. Subsequently, the majority of them have a reduced ability to actively engage in everyday cosmopolitanism and build intercultural relationship networks. In large part, this is closely related to the uneven social power relations that characterise contact zones: most of these first generation interviewees possess lower social power than the 1.5 generation who are more capable of overcoming their social status in relation to the majority population through flexibility and utilising their intercultural competencies.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to analyse how Chinese migrants encounter cultural difference as they negotiate the complex and power-laden social landscape of contemporary New Zealand, by exploring how cosmopolitanism is involved with everyday intercultural interactions. It has focused on a set of (un)cosmopolitan encounters positioned in different contact zones of their daily lives. These daily interactions can be banal, pragmatic, strategic, or selective, but they all influence the quality and extent of the relationships that are developed with different people. It is clear that meaningful intercultural encounters have the potential to encourage the emergence of long-term relationships that promote opportunities for the building and extension of everyday cosmopolitanism. It has been argued that for migrants the underlying essence of engaging in everyday cosmopolitanism in contact zones is to negotiate difference and rebuild and develop familiarity when they encounter people and places that are different from their own. However, along with these pleasant and productive moments of intercultural encounters, there are also frustrating and disheartening interactions across difference, which negatively influence the formation of cross-cultural relations and eventually undermine the development of everyday cosmopolitan practices.
This chapter has also investigated the barriers that undermine the emergence and development of everyday cosmopolitan engagements. It has mainly illustrated the struggles caused by migrant family life challenges and early life experiences for 1.5 generation interviewees. The participants, particularly the first generation discussed their financial difficulties after migration especially during their early settlement period, as well as the challenges they went through in adapting to the socio-cultural norms of New Zealand. Almost all first generation interviewees had difficulties in actively engaging in cosmopolitanism in their daily lives as a result of demanding work schedules, taking care of ageing parents and stressful financial situations; factors all worsened by language barriers and low intercultural competency. As a result, their willingness and/or ability to access and build intercultural relations in contact zones have been undermined, including in the workplace, neighbourhood and public gatherings. Eventually, as most of the first generation interviewees suggested, socialising with cultural others has seemed to beyond their abilities.

For the younger generation who possess high intercultural competency and a substantial cosmopolitan repertoire, performing everyday cosmopolitanism can still be challenging. Most 1.5 generation interviewees have found it difficult to form relationships with Pākehā peers and they mainly socialise with their co-ethnic peers (mostly but not exclusively Chinese). The narratives of the 1.5 generation interviewees demonstrate the ways in which young people who have grown up between two cultures negotiate encounters with others and the opportunities but also substantial barriers to becoming cosmopolitan. The lives, identities and orientations of these young people clearly need to be situated within the particularities of their migrant biographies—the pressures of migration and family life, as well as their early life experiences. On one hand, they grew up in Chinese migrant households where their parents faced difficulties financially and socially, generating extra responsibility and expectations. On the other hand, they experienced various forms of racism and bullying at school and in their early lives while they were themselves also dealing with personal identity dilemmas. Moreover, because of their exposure to Asian peers at school, their networks have become oriented towards other 1.5 generation migrants. These ethnic cliques have created distance from cultural others, including the Pākehā majority. All these barriers can serve to diminish their ability and desire for engaging in cosmopolitanism.

Nevertheless, some of these younger generation Chinese migrants have shown their ability to move between different relationship networks in ways that demonstrate the potential for
engaging in everyday cosmopolitanism. These included consciously ‘blocking out’ negative and unpleasant experiences that emerged from daily interactions, making compromises and adjustments depending on specific contexts, and strategic attempts to utilise cross-cultural identity capital and different cultural frameworks of knowledge. All these efforts at negotiating difference and overcoming barriers are lived examples of conducting ‘vernacular’ (Werbner 2006) and ‘everyday’ cosmopolitanism. Moreover, they have generated opportunities to widen relationship networks, to further cultivate intercultural competencies, and to further a flexible sense of belonging in the world. Admittedly, interacting with different people who are of diverse ethnicities, nationalities, and cultural backgrounds—performing cosmopolitanism in daily life—is a process that demands constant work to overcome various kinds of barriers and struggles to negotiate difference and form effective intercultural relationship networks.

This chapter has demonstrated that Chinese migrants face difficulties during the process of engaging in everyday cosmopolitanism. Even the 1.5 generation migrants who possess high mobility, cultural and identity capital as well as strong intercultural repertoires, still need to cope with a series of barriers if they want to develop the capability for utilising everyday cosmopolitanism in an intercultural context of their migrant lived realities. The next chapter extends this focus on the everyday dimensions of cosmopolitanism by exploring the role played by roots or connections to people and place during migrant individuals’ processes of developing and practising cosmopolitan openness to negotiate difference.
Chapter Six

Rooted Cosmopolitanism and Everyday Encounters

6.1 Introduction

As Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011) have argued, cosmopolitanism involves a simultaneous rootedness and openness to shared human emotions, experiences and aspirations. They point out that rootedness and openness are not mutually exclusive but instead ‘constitute aspects of the creativity through which migrants build homes and sacred spaces in a new environment and within transnational networks’ (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011, 400). This argument indicates the possibility that individuals can be simultaneously ‘rooted’ in certain cultures or identities at the same time as ‘being cosmopolitan’. Accordingly, in this chapter I seek to develop a ‘rooted’ understanding of the everyday cosmopolitan engagements conducted by migrant individuals and thus extend the focus on ‘everyday’ by unpacking how these migrants negotiate the relationship between their rootedness and cosmopolitan openness on a daily basis.

In this regard, this chapter explores how Chinese migrants’ rootedness towards their homeland, China (including Chinese community and Chinese culture), interacts with the formation of cosmopolitan openness in intercultural encounters. In particular ‘rootedness’ is proposed as not necessarily bound to China as ‘homeland’. It can also be nurtured through lived experiences in New Zealand, since migration often involves efforts to maintain a sense of home and rootedness in a transnational setting. The key premise is that rootedness towards one place or one culture does not necessarily exclude the development of openness towards ideas, people and places that are different from one’s own and this is particularly the case when it comes to migrants who live in a cross-cultural and cross-border context. A focus on the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ is used to examine how different degrees of sense of rootedness towards China (or New Zealand) interrelate with participants’ strength of openness to cultural others and the influence
on their socialising patterns, as displayed in daily interactions. The relationship between rootedness and cosmopolitan openness is argued as being complicated and discursive—it can be contradictory, in equilibrium, or mutually strengthening. The aim of the chapter is to demonstrate that engaging in rooted cosmopolitanism through daily intercultural encounters is an ongoing process of negotiating the dynamics between rootedness and openness.

The chapter starts with a brief overview of key literature on rooted cosmopolitanism, followed by a comprehensive discussion of the rootedness that these Chinese migrants have developed over time. It then focuses on how rootedness towards China and New Zealand respectively, interacts with the performance of cosmopolitan openness in the daily lives of participants. The next section explores whether and how rooted cosmopolitanism is embodied through everyday encounters across difference. Through these discussions, this chapter argues for the centrality of rootedness in understanding the development of cosmopolitan attitudes and practices. Interacting with cultural others and practicing cosmopolitan openness on a daily basis closely interrelates with how migrants cope with and perceive sense of rootedness at the level of both the everyday and the transnational.

6.2 Rooted Cosmopolitanism

The concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ was first used by Mitchell Cohen (1992, 480-83) who described it as ‘a multiplicity of roots and branches…that rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties’. The ‘rooted’ in the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ suggests people can still maintain cultural identity assets and social capital from their origin places even after they move on, either cognitively or physically. In this regard, cosmopolitanism does not exclude people’s sense of attachment to notions of homeland or rootedness to cultural backgrounds. Appiah (1997, 618) argued that ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ suggests that people can be attached to their own home and original cultural particularities without necessarily losing the ability to feel warmly toward the existence of people and cultures different from their own. Further to this point, Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011) have argued that rootedness and openness can exist simultaneously as they are not necessarily mutually exclusive but instead interplay with each other, providing the potential for maintaining a sense of home in a transnational context (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011).
In this chapter, I focus on a ‘rooted’ understanding of cosmopolitanism within Chinese migration to New Zealand in exploring expressions or enactments of cosmopolitanism among Chinese migrants. In other words, the chapter examines the interacting dynamics of cosmopolitan openness and its seemingly counter-discourse—rootedness. Rooted cosmopolitanism in my research transcends its normative or philosophical dimension to inform everyday interactions of individual migrants in cross-cultural contexts. In this way, attention is drawn to a lived rooted cosmopolitanism that is utilised and performed by migrants to negotiate their rootedness and openness in the process of navigating the complex differences they encounter daily. The focus is on exploring how the interplay of rootedness and openness divergently relate to the building of intercultural relations in the everyday lives of different migrants.

Is it possible that the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand have developed themselves into rooted transnationals who are both settled in their sense of ethnic identity and yet open to cultural diversity and a multiple lifestyles? Ip (2011) has argued that migrants have never been totally uprooted since they can obtain support from their bilingual fluency, intercultural familiarity and social networks formed in a transnational context. The first generation migrants in my research have tended to maintain a sense of rootedness towards Chinese identity and Chinese socio-cultural norms due to the fact that they grew up and received education in China. Their rootedness seems to have been further strengthened by the growing Chinese community in New Zealand, especially Auckland (Friesen 2015). As for 1.5 generation migrants who have grown up in-between two cultures, their hybridity (Wang and Collins 2016b) contributes to both a sense of ambivalence/liminality and intercultural competency when it comes to encountering diversity. These Chinese migrants across generations have faced a series of challenges in terms of negotiating their rootedness and openness in the context of the radical social and cultural changes happening in New Zealand from the late 1980s. Thus, this chapter sets out to investigate whether and how these new Chinese migrants simultaneously maintain their sense of rootedness with both China and New Zealand, both at the level of everyday life and in transnational settings. More importantly, it aims to demonstrate how the interplay between rootedness and openness alters the possibilities for encountering others in intercultural contexts and hence creates greater cosmopolitan engagement in daily interactions.
6.3 ‘Rootedness’ of the new Chinese migrants

The Chinese character ‘根’ (gen) means roots, and carries several layers of meaning. First, apart from its basic biological meaning, it symbolises maintenance of life; second, it suggests one’s birth place, ancestral village, or nativity, in which one’s personal identity is based—the sense of attachment to one’s original roots can be unique and everlasting; third, ‘gen’ (roots) means the emotional bond between overseas Chinese and the mythic diasporic motherland of China (Wang 1991). In my research, the concept of ‘rootedness’, based on the word ‘gen’, simultaneously carries two different meanings. The first is a sense of attachment to China as homeland (an imaginative-geographical location) and emotional attachments to Chinese cultural heritage; the other signifies the planting of one’s roots in the foreign soil of the host country (Wang 1991).

Immersed in a Confucian and patrilineal family ethos, Chinese diasporas have often articulated a strong physical and metaphysical rootedness or groundedness towards their homeland or hometown. Paradoxically, although they are away from their homeland, over time Chinese migrants have often developed themselves into ‘enthusiastic proponents of traditional values’ to a greater degree than when they left (Watson 1975). According to Woodward and Skribis (2012), ‘cosmopolitan impulse’ can be restrained by varying personal, local and national anchors which remind social actors of the downside of cosmopolitanism and globalisation. Their basic argument is that cosmopolitanism can be counterbalanced by a series of opposing discourses, such as protection of self-interest, feelings of nationalism and localism, and maintenance of cultural heritage. Thus, this chapter focuses on whether and how cosmopolitan attitudes and practices articulate with ‘rootedness’ in daily lives.

6.3.1 ‘Forced upon’ Chinese rootedness: non-white physicality

Almost all the interviewees in my research suggested that their non-white physical characteristics have delivered and strengthened a sense of Chinese rootedness. As Ang (2001) has argued, for non-white migrants, no matter how ‘westernised’ they feel, their physical characteristics (including facial features, skin colour, and height) disrupt their incorporation as members of mainstream society in settler colonies like Australia, Canada or indeed New Zealand; they are marked as different regardless of the particularities of personal history. Accordingly, their visibly minority physical appearance has been an inevitable barrier to identifying with the majority population (Pākehā) of their host society.
For 1.5 generation interviewees, growing up in New Zealand and speaking New Zealand English hasn’t necessarily prevented them from suffering prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping in the host society. Many of them indicated that they still face different degrees of difficulty in terms of being acknowledged as a local, since their non-white physicality often sets them apart from mainstream society. Their Asian physical appearance amplifies awareness of their Asianness or Chineseness, which also contributes to their sense of rootedness. At the same time, their physical characteristics have also contributed to their sense of in-betweenness—neither truly Western nor Asian. Consequently, some 1.5 generation interviewees expressed their ambiguous resentment towards ‘looking Asian’ especially when they were teenagers, as their Asian looks made them stick out and led to being bullied or laughed at, which undermined their willingness to speak Chinese in public places or identify with their Chineseness later on in their lives.

Their physicality will always remind Chinese migrants of their Chineseness and difference from the locals, which to a certain degree strengthens their sense of rootedness towards their original cultural background. Many interviewees suggested that it is their ‘forced upon’ non-white physicality that generates a feeling of inseparability from a sense of rootedness as Chinese. Milton (30; 45; M; Auckland) explains his understanding of his Chinese physicality and Chinese rootedness:

A Chinese face has delivered a fate that we are not able to reject or escape. We are and we will always be considered Chinese no matter what we do. It is often that we get criticised or prejudiced just because of our Chinese face. It is not fair. But there is not much we can do about it. So I always want my children to learn Chinese and qualify as a real Chinese since they will always be labelled as a minority here anyway. I’d rather they embrace their Chineseness and make the best out of their Chinese rootedness than they deny it. (Translated)

Living in the white-dominated society of New Zealand, Milton expresses his sense of helplessness towards the reality that he is often stigmatised on the basis of his Chinese face. To him, the Chinese identity imposed on him by society based on his Chinese physicality is unavoidable, and strengthens his belief in the importance of maintaining and nurturing Chinese rootedness as part of identity and solidarity. Moreover, his perception of his Chinese physicality and Chinese identity has influenced him in terms of the way he has educated his children to maintain Chineseness and fully utilise their Chinese cultural background. All these presumed understandings of his Chinese physicality are closely related to his lived experience of being a
member of visible ethnic minority in New Zealand, which has ultimately shaped his attitude towards Chinese rootedness—embrace it instead of denying it. Like Milton, many other first generation interviewees suggested that they hope their subsequent generations maintain and utilise their Chinese rootedness to gain the acceptance and respect of the locals in New Zealand, since they believe that it is the most effective way of coping with inescapable prejudice and stereotyping by others.

6.3.2 Chinese language literacy

Unlike the 1.5 generation, first generation Chinese migrants in New Zealand were fully educated in China and are very familiar with Chinese historical and cultural heritage, which has helped them to maintain rootedness towards China, family and friends at home as well as the Chinese community in New Zealand. As Tan (2004, 122) has argued, ‘Chinese-educated people of Chinese descent’ share similar connections with China due to shared educational background and language ability. According to Tan (2004, 122), possessing ‘cultural identification’ and intimacy with Chinese cultural heritage is at least partly dependent upon language literacy since such language ability plays an important role in forming a stronger affiliation and bond with China than those who are less literate.

In contrast, the 1.5 generation Chinese migrants who have less Chinese language ability find it challenging to identify with Chinese culture, which poses extra difficulties in terms of nurturing a sense of rootedness and cultural belonging to China as homeland. Some interviewees even expressed feelings of inadequacy, awkwardness and guilt resulting from their inability to fluently use Chinese in certain social settings. Most first generation interviewees required their children to attend Chinese language school on weekends during their childhood as they believed bilingual skills are an asset for their future. These interviewees also expressed the hope that their children would maintain a certain degree of Chinese cultural heritage especially when they are exposed to Western education and cultural values.

Attending Chinese lessons has had two kinds of effect for these younger generation migrants. On the one hand, their sense of inbetweenness was exacerbated by the fact that they felt emotionally upset when all their Pākehā peers did sports or camping during weekends while they had to study. One 1.5 generation interviewee, Lucy (6; 28; F; Auckland) bluntly expresses...
her unpleasant memories about having to go and learn Chinese every weekend:

Every weekend I had to go to the Chinese school and I felt so not fair. I couldn’t speak as well as other students in my Chinese class since they moved to New Zealand later than I did and they learnt Chinese in China already, which was very frustrating. Since I had to suffer another kind of discrimination other than I had from the white kids at school. I even wished I was White and then I wouldn’t need to do this hard work and I resented the fact that I am Chinese. I felt torn in between.

Lucy’s narrative clearly demonstrates that having to attend Chinese classes may have generated resentfulness toward being Chinese, since she had to deal with double layers of frustration and discrimination from both her Chinese and Pākehā peers. Young adolescents often strive for conformity and belonging (Ngan and Chan 2012, 32), but attending Chinese school on weekends imposed a sense of ‘being different’ and not belonging among their peers.

On the other hand, persistent study of Chinese language during their youth has also provided these young people with Chinese literacy and higher levels of Chinese cultural familiarity. These capabilities have provided access to the Chinese community and helped them to maintain Chinese rootedness if they so desire. Roberta (10; 26; F; Auckland) shares her understanding towards her Chinese language competency:

I am grateful towards my parents that they decided to let me have at least four years of primary school education in China before moving me here. Compared to my other Kiwi Chinese friends, I had a better language basis to continue Chinese study and I have been able to read lots of Chinese literature. My good ability in Chinese language, including reading and writing, have benefited me so much not only in terms of giving me more career options, but also helped me bond with my family in China and the wider Chinese community in New Zealand, Australia and everywhere else. It has also given me a better understanding on being Chinese, which has served as sort of an anchor for me to experience and explore other cultures and people with more comfort and confidence.

Roberta’s narrative indicates that possessing high Chinese language literacy has provided her with stronger socialising abilities with family in China and the Chinese community in general. As Hiller and Chow (2005) have argued, being able to speak Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese) can strengthen emotional ties with China and provides a sense of familiarity with others from the Chinese community in their host country. Oral use of and high competency (e.g. reading, writing) with the language of Chinese enables a stronger sense of identification with being
Chinese and is of significant importance to building a link to one’s cultural heritage (Hiller and Chow 2005; Ngan and Chan 2012). Moreover, as Roberta suggests, her Chinese cultural and language abilities are also indispensable to the nourishment of intercultural competency and cosmopolitan repertoires that can be utilised to negotiate difference and build relationship networks in different social settings.

6.3.3 Rootedness within home space: parent-children relations

Most 1.5 generation interviewees suggested that their interactions with parents and other family members at home are rooted in Chinese cultural traditions (e.g. language, food, cultural norms). As Hiller and Chow (2005) have argued, private socialisation at home supports the native tongue and creates a split between the way 1.5 generation or 2nd generation migrants perceive themselves at home and in public. Interactions at home with their family have been a key element in terms of maintaining Chinese cultural identity and heritage since their parents, first generation Chinese migrants, are constantly introducing knowledge of Chinese culture, ways of Chinese socialising and Chinese life outlooks to them.

Parent-child relations then play an important role when it comes to the retention of Chinese rootedness. Firstly, as parents first generation Chinese migrants monitor and facilitate the Chinese language development of their children (Ngan and Chan 2012). Second, the parents instil Chinese culture in their children and nourish their Chinese rootedness through everyday cultural practices in family life (Ngan and Chan 2012). Many first generation interviewees provided examples of how they live their lives in a completely Chinese way: they cook rice everyday, use chopsticks, watch Chinese shows, have Chinese friends over for dinner, talk about things related to China, organise return visits to China and celebrate Chinese festivals. All of these activities generate a strong sense of Chinese rootedness among family members across generations. Indeed, these daily Chinese cultural practices have enabled many 1.5 generation interviewees to develop a strong identification with being Chinese.

However, following migration, individuals often have to negotiate between the maintenance of ethnic culture and adopting features of the host culture. Parents and children cope with these acculturative issues in different ways (Costigan et al 2006). In my research, the 1.5 generation who grew up and were educated both formally and informally in New Zealand tended to have
different perspectives towards Chinese rootedness. Hence, many of them have felt a tension between the identities and expectations being generated and expected at home and those enacted by the wider society (Wang and Collins 2016b). One of the 1.5 generation interviewees Vickie (8; 23; F; Auckland) describes this tension:

My parents are so big on Chinese ways of living; everything at home has to be done in a Chinese way, what we eat, how we speak…They want me to speak more Chinese and read more Chinese literature. They can’t understand my Kiwi living style and they are worried that I will lose my Chineseness. If they knew I am dating a white guy, they probably would kill me…They said if I went out with white boys or my grades dropped, everything would fall into the drain…Honestly, the more Chinese they want me to be, the more Kiwi I desire to become.

Like other 1.5 generation interviewees, Vickie has received her education in New Zealand and developed a high level of familiarity with the ‘Kiwi lifestyle’ while her parents are still deeply rooted within a Chinese lifestyle. When migrant parents are more oriented towards Chinese rootedness and more attached to Chinese ways of living than their children, they may pressure children to engage more fully in a Chinese lifestyle, including schooling, socialising and even dating. Although Vickie and her parents lead a life within the same household, as members of different generations they function in quite different ways regarding the attitudes they take towards adopting local social and cultural norms, as well as developing a lifestyle in New Zealand. These different ways of living and the acculturation gap evident between Vickie and her parents can create tension in parent-child relations, which in this case has undermined Vickie’s willingness to maintain her Chinese rootedness.

Parent-child relations and interactions at home are one of the key factors interrelating with the sense of rootedness that exists amongst migrant family members. According to Ngan and Chan (2012), during the process of migration, especially during the early settlement period (the childhood period of 1.5 generation migrants), different generations of the migrant family actively participate together to negotiate their Chineseness and learn how to perceive and live with their Chinese rootedness in the host country. Ngan and Chan (2012) point out that in the process of instilling Chinese cultural values in their children, parents and grandparents are at the same time engaged in a process of re-evaluating their identity and re-discovering their rootedness. In my research, most 1.5 generation interviewees expressed complicated or even sometimes conflicting feelings towards their Chinese rootedness since they have also been in an inevitable process of establishing roots in New Zealand, where they have received school
education and grown up. The family, the home-space, has been a major contact zone where different generations of Chinese migrants negotiate their Chineseness, rootedness towards both homeland and host society, as well as their living pattern as a migrant family in New Zealand. Outside family, various kinds of social settings have been another category of contact zone where these migrants can learn how to negotiate their difference from locals and their sense of home in New Zealand.

### 6.3.4 In-group Chinese rootedness

According to Ngan and Chan (2012), different stereotypical identities are not only imposed by the dominant group of a host society, but also by in-group members within minority communities who establish their own categorisation of identities. Accordingly, in-group discrimination and segregation exists amongst migrant communities. Similarly, in this research, some interviewees, articulated a strong desire to disassociate themselves from a certain type of Chinese perceived as different from themselves, rather than from ‘Chinese’ per se (Ngan and Chan 2012). Across both generations, many interviewees expressed negative attitudes towards certain categories of Chinese migrants in New Zealand. One first generation interviewee Andy (25; 48; M; Auckland) expresses his opinion about this:

> Honestly, I have to say that some Chinese here really match certain negative stereotypes that Pākehā have towards Chinese migrants, such as speaking loudly in public spaces, cutting in the queues and so on. All these rude behaviours have ruined the reputation of the whole Chinese migrants’ community here. So yes, sometimes, I don’t want to be associated with Chinese as I feel a bit ashamed of that, since I don’t want to be related to any of these negative labels. I want to be different from them and show that I am the better kind of Chinese migrants. But I look Chinese, so most of the time people just impose lots of labels on you. Over time, I think I feel less loyal to my Chinese identity. It is sad because I love China but I just feel disappointed at some Chinese migrants here. (Translated)

Andy’s deliberate disconnection from his Chinese identity clearly results from his desire to be disassociated with the ‘bad’ type of Chinese migrants whose practices are perceived to have ruined the reputation of the whole community. Accordingly, he views himself differently from those Chinese migrants who behave in a rude way in New Zealand. This in-group categorisation was a popular theme in the interviews. It is clear that although there is a shared Chinese identity, there are also tensions, differences, and segregation within the so-called Chinese community in
New Zealand. It seems possible that the reason for Andy’s reluctance about being associated with a certain type of Chinese is that it gives him a stronger sense of sameness with the locals of New Zealand. The love-hate relationship with his Chinese background is a key characteristic of many interviewees who yearn for a sense of belonging to New Zealand and hold a strong desire to be accepted by the majority. This may lead to negative attitudes towards being Chinese and deliberate disassociation from Chinese identities and rootedness more generally.

The 1.5 generation interviewees tended to hold even stronger in-group discrimination and categorisation towards members of the Chinese community in New Zealand. In many cases this was closely related to their hybrid identity and conflicting feelings towards their Chinese cultural backgrounds. Sally (10; 28; F; Auckland) explains:

So most of my friends are like myself, ‘Kiwi Asians’. We grew up here and speak Kiwi English. I don’t really have Chinese Chinese friends. I guess it is just harder for me to communicate with them, not only because my Chinese is not that good, but also there is a cultural barrier I think. I don’t want to be associated with those rich Chinese second generation kids who just came to New Zealand to spend their money like crazily and behave rude here. But this doesn’t mean I don’t want to accept I am Chinese since I am. I already look Chinese, so I don’t want to do my Chineseness that much. Ahhhh. It is complicated…

The term ‘Kiwi Asians’ that Sally uses here refers to people who are of Asian ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds but who were ‘born and raised’, or who grew up and received education in New Zealand (like Sally). The term has emerged relatively recently. People who identify with this group generally speak native New Zealand English and have high familiarity with New Zealand socio-cultural norms but are aware of their Asian physical characteristics. It should be noted that dominant New Zealand socio-cultural norms are the ones adopted and claimed by its majority population, Pākehā. Almost all the 1.5 generation interviewees in this research identified themselves as Kiwi Asians or more specifically Kiwi Chinese. This self-identification seems to convey a desire for belonging amongst these intergenerational migrant youth, including Sally, by claiming a culturally Kiwi identity and emphasising familiarity with mainstream New Zealand Pākehā culture. At the same time, it suggests an awareness and acknowledgement of Asian ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds.

Moreover, identifying with being Kiwi Asian enables individuals like Sally to differentiate themselves from certain groups of Asians and Chinese. Sally classifies herself as one of the
‘Kiwi Asians’ and most of her friends are also from that group. She clearly expresses her preference for socialising with Kiwi Asians rather than ‘Chinese Chinese’ (even described in derogatory terms as ‘FOB Chinese’\textsuperscript{21}) as she doesn’t want to be associated with a set of characteristics that make her feel less ‘Kiwi’. Accordingly, identifying with the particular group Kiwi Asians gives Sally have a sense of security and acceptance, especially among her Pākehā friends, which leads to a conscious disassociation with being Chinese. Although Sally accepts her Chinese cultural background, she struggles with it as she yearns to align her identity with the norms of the majority of New Zealand. The claim that she ‘doesn’t want to do Chineseness that much’ suggests that she is trying to minimise her rootedness towards being Chinese with the aim of emphasising that she is different from ‘Chinese Chinese’ and she is more culturally Kiwi.

The conflicted attitudes of Vickie towards her Chinese rootedness seem to align with the in-betweenness that many scholars suggests characterises 1.5 generation migrants (Bartley and Spoonley 2008; Huang, Yeoh, and Lam 2008; Min and Kim 2000; Ngan and Chan 2012). In empirical terms, their hybridity and ‘in-betweenness’ not only injects a certain ambivalence and sense of struggle into their lived realities but, according to Bartley and Spoonley (2008), also provides the 1.5 generation with flexible identity assets and intercultural competency. Hence, this chapter looks into how their hybridity contributes to a complex negotiation between rootedness and openness and examines the ways in which their identity dynamics are involved in the enactment of intercultural encounters. Essentially, the findings presented in this chapter are another step toward gaining in-depth understandings of the everyday dimensions of cosmopolitanism explored in the previous chapter.

6.3.5 Oscillating/Shifting rootedness between China and New Zealand

It is apparent in the interviews for my research that sense of rootedness has shifted in the time since migration; from China to New Zealand and then again back to China and then to the local Chinese community, and more importantly has been always in an on-going developing process. Moreover, the strength of the interviewees’ rootedness has varied depending on different life

\textsuperscript{21} ‘Fresh off the Boat’, contracted to ‘freshie’ or ‘FOB’, is a somewhat derogatory term used to describe immigrants that have arrived from a foreign nation and have not yet been able to adopt the host nation’s culture, language, and behaviour. It has been used in a wide range of migration contexts and its interpretations have centred on ‘internalized racism, displacing of stigma and attempts to negotiate local hierarchies of belonging’ (Charsley and Bolognani 2016).
stages or the specific social settings in which they are positioned. This is particularly true when it comes to the 1.5 generation who grew up in New Zealand but within Chinese migrant family households. Most 1.5 generation interviewees suggested that the fundamental construction of Chinese rootedness was formed during their childhood.

For their parents, maintaining Chinese rootedness was one of their priorities during their early settlement period, since they didn’t want the next generation to lose their Chinese identity despite the fact that receiving Western education is one of the reasons they migrated to New Zealand in the first place. Educating their children in a Chinese way and monitoring their Chinese language development is essentially a manifestation of themselves striving to maintain rootedness towards Chineseness for the whole migrant family. Many first generation interviewees expressed a stronger sense of patriotism and longing for their homeland and their Chinese cultural background after migration.

With fluency in English and high cultural familiarity with New Zealand, most 1.5 generation interviewees reported feeling a stronger sense of belonging to their host society where they grew up, but their sense of rootedness toward being ‘Kiwi’ was constantly disrupted by their racial difference and Chineseness. During adolescence, many 1.5 generation interviewees developed negative attitudes towards their Chinese identity that at least partially ensured a sense of sameness and belonging to New Zealand. Some of them expressed ‘resentfulness’ towards ‘being Chinese’, as Aly (9; 28; F; Auckland) does in her interview:

I felt ashamed of being Chinese and I really wished I was white, and then things could be much easier. I didn’t want to speak Chinese or talk about Chinese stuff at school. When my parents called me, I always left the room to talk to them, because I didn’t want my friends to hear me speaking Chinese. I know it was stupid. But I just wanted to be the same as other kids. At that time, I really hoped that my Caucasian classmates could forget that I am Asian.

Aly’s resistance to her Chinese identity has clearly affected her sense of rootedness towards China, as well as her enactment of Chinese culture and relations with the Chinese community. She was reluctant to speak Chinese or talk about Chinese topics in public in order to downplay her Chineseness and feel more belonging to New Zealand. According to Clausen (1986, 85), in Western countries, adolescence has been seen as a life period of self-exploration and expression yet it is also a period when young people form their outlooks and identities under social and cultural influences. Accordingly, Aly sought acceptance from her Pākehā peers at school and
wanted to be considered one of the Kiwis rather than a Chinese migrant by the host society. This yearning for sameness definitely weakened her rootedness towards being Chinese.

Some other 1.5 generation interviewees indicated that the pressure and desire of ‘to be cool’ and ‘not just being Asian’ required them to adopt certain kinds of mannerisms (e.g. accent, dressing style, and eating habit) that could lead to ‘successful group belonging’ (Ngan and Chan 2012, 149). At the same time, being popular with the opposite sex has also been a key motivation for these Chinese migrant youth in forming a strong individual identity (Clausen 1986, 132). All these factors can contribute to a lower level of rootedness to China and even a discarding of Chinese roots during adolescence.

A trend of re-building Chinese rootedness starting from early adulthood also emerged in many of the narratives. Many 1.5 generation interviewees said they started to feel more attached to their Chinese cultural heritage and to have a longing for their homeland as they became more mature and confident. Mickey (6; 26; M; Wellington) explains the shift of rootedness through his life course:

My relationship with China changes depending on the period of my life. During my childhood, I kind of knew that I am different but I was too young to really care about the difference that much. Then up until probably college, I felt like that I didn’t want to associate myself with China, I just wanted to be pure Kiwi. I don't know why. I guess I was young, I didn't know what China was, and I didn't think I need to know. Also I wanted to fit in and I didn’t think emphasising my Chineseness is the right way to do. My association with China probably changed when I was finishing college and entering university at Auckland. I visited China several times and I visited my grandparents. I started to understand more about China, and perhaps, realised some good aspects, like good food, better technologies, and great civilizations. So gradually I made a shift and I kind of embraced my Chinese side during university and I made friends with some Chinese international students. I felt this rootedness towards China and I started to feel proud of being Chinese. But now, I am kind of coming back to the middle more. I am more comfortable with who I am now.

Mickey’s narrative shows that he has made several shifts in terms of his rootedness towards his Chineseness and the possibility of articulating a ‘pure Kiwi’ identity. From not being aware of his Chineseness to not wanting to be associated with being Chinese, from having a desire to strengthen his Chinese rootedness to going back to the ‘middle’ of the continuum (between Chinese and Kiwi), Mickey’s rootedness towards both China and New Zealand has been
adjusted and affected by the surrounding environment and expectations from himself and society. Similarly to many other 1.5 generation interviewees, Mickey’s sense of affinity and attachment to his Chinese roots has been nourished by his growing knowledge of China, Chinese culture and Chinese people through return visits and socialising with Chinese international students. At the same time, being exposed to increasingly large numbers of Chinese migrants and international students in New Zealand (mainly Auckland), has helped many participants to feel more secure about being non-white migrants, which may also contribute to strengthening their rootedness towards China and Chinese culture.

As previously argued in Chapter Two, my research builds on the contention that rootedness is not only developed towards someone’s homeland, hometown or cultural background; rather it can be towards their host society or any other new places or cultures. At the same time, migration experience relativises and circumscribes the sense of rootedness, making it a constantly shifting and becoming process (Hannerz 2007). Admittedly, as many interviewees have indicated, especially the younger generation ones who have been long-settled in New Zealand, the process of accommodating their ethnic differences and negotiating their rootedness towards both homeland and host country through different life periods has invariably been filled with a series of struggles and challenges. That is to say, the negotiation between rootedness and openness is an on-going process, constantly shaping and constraining migrant individuals’ ability to perform cosmopolitanism. Their rootedness towards both China and New Zealand will be discussed in the following section.

6.4 Rootedness towards China

People with transnational living experience and intercultural social relations are more likely to be able to negotiate cultural difference and socialise with cultural others (Mau, Mewes, and Zimmermann 2007). However, migrant mobilities do not necessarily guarantee the emergence or development of intercultural engagement, since it can also result in ethnic-parochial sensibilities (Beck 2002; Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011). Due to language barriers, low intercultural familiarity and lower social-economic status, most first generation interviewees have struggled with socialising with local New Zealanders in social spaces, such as neighbourhoods, workplaces, public spaces and so on. As a result, these first generation migrants have had less access to cross-cultural social networks, instead considering the Chinese
community in New Zealand their ‘default’ group (Butcher 2010), where they feel belonging and comfort. Over time, they have developed a strong sense of rootedness towards China, Chinese culture and people. As Ester (25; 46; F; Auckland) says:

> Interacting with Chinese people makes me feel warm and safe, and there is a sense of mutual understanding when I am surrounded by people who share the same cultural roots with me. Honestly, socialising with Chinese community has helped us to find jobs, feel connected with the society, and satisfy our social needs in this country…And most importantly, we feel we are equal we all know what it feels like to be migrants who are seen as outsiders. No matter how strongly I feel I belong to New Zealand, it cannot be stronger than my sense of belonging to China. (Translated)

Due to shared cultural meanings and rituals, most first generation interviewees, including Ester, expressed their preference for socialising with the Chinese community in New Zealand. The Chinese network satisfies Ester’s social needs while helping her to settle down and secure a position in New Zealand. At the same time, many interviewees said socialising with Chinese people has made their daily life easier (e.g. shopping, going to bank and hospital, eating at restaurants), reducing their motivation to build non-Chinese relationship networks. Many participants have developed a very tight Chinese network in New Zealand, even feeling they are living within a ‘miniature China’. In addition, similarly to Ester, due to their emotional attachments toward China, many of them expressed ease and familiarity when interacting with Chinese people and Chinese culture. On the other hand this could generate a sense of distance and anxiety when approaching Pākehā. As another interviewee Matthew (36; 50; M; Auckland) says:

> Every time, when I talk to Chinese people, I have more confidence and I feel more natural since I know how to start the conversation, and I can clearly tell if I can become friends with that person or not. It is just I have gravitated towards Chinese people I guess it is because deep down I want to hold onto the Chineseness within me and it feels great to be able to share that with someone who wants the same thing. That is why many Chinese migrants of my generation don’t really have any Caucasian friends here. I mean it is not like we don’t want to, it is the Chinese rootedness that has been gathering us together. It is like magnet. Plus, people are lazy, which means we don’t want to make extra effort to socialise with Caucasians who might not even be interested in being friends with us. (Translated)

Matthew’s narrative is indicative of the wider sentiments of first generation interviewees who expressed their Chinese rootedness as something that generates much stronger bonding with the
Chinese community. As Matthew notes here, the shared Chinese rootedness produces mutual understanding and common knowledge in terms of how to start a conversation and how to deepen friendships. The similar cultural heritage and similar experiences in China before migration function as a ‘magnet’, in Matthew’s terms, to draw these Chinese migrants together. By contrast, a lack of understanding of local cultural norms and familiarity with socialising habits of New Zealand has generated difficulties and barriers for many first generation participants, including Matthew, in terms of taking initiative to even approach Pākehā, let alone build close relationships with them. Most first generation interviewees have chosen a socialising path which is characterised by least resistance; ‘people are lazy’ as Matthew put it. In this situation, it is more likely that they will prefer to interact with their co-ethnic members who provide them with more comfort and ease rather than making extra effort to build relations across difference.

In essence, the Chinese community is a contact zone where these first generation migrants feel they have equal access to social capital and identity capital compared with other social actors. It is a social field where they do not need to confront or overcome uneven power relations with Pākehā. Accordingly, having developed high initiative toward building a strong Chinese network, these Chinese migrants have experienced a set of transformations in their daily life—their rootedness and attachment towards Chinese culture, people and languages having been strengthened and their sense of distance towards cultural others having become stronger. This eventually shapes their socialising patterns and undermines their ability to perform cosmopolitan openness and socialising with cultural others. Their perceptions towards themselves as migrants and the uneven power relations existing in other contact zones has caused a sense of distance and anxiety while interacting with Pākehā.

Alternatively most 1.5 generation interviewees suggested that their friends, seemingly inadvertently, ‘turned Asian’ at a certain point of their life. This was not articulated as a desire to avoid friendships with non-Chinese. Rather it became a pattern that seemed to just happen, occurring across the narratives of different participants. Like many other participants, Louise (7; 23; F; Beijing) maintains a rootedness towards Chinese culture and has developed a tight Chinese relationship network in New Zealand:

> We do a lot of Chinese stuff together. We go to KTV, we watch Chinese shows, and we listen to Chinese pop songs. I have a great affinity with Chinese culture. I feel more delighted and happier
when I read Chinese novels, as compared to English ones. Because I grow up reading it, I grow up in that sort of Chinese environment, I have never been detached from the language, the culture, or anything. I feel more comfortable and relaxed with Chinese-speaking people.

The affinity she feels towards Chinese culture is strengthened by the sense of rootedness she has developed from her childhood living experiences in China and upbringing within a Chinese household in New Zealand. The fact that she feels ‘more delighted and happier’ towards Chinese language, literature, or rather her ‘Chineseness’, influences the way she interacts with the Chinese community—which in turn reinforces her rootedness towards her Chinese side. She feels at ease in communicating with people who share similar cultural roots to herself. The daily activities (e.g. going to KTV, watching Chinese shows) she undertakes with her Chinese friends generate positive feelings—and through these she is able to develop stronger attachments to the Chinese community in New Zealand. It is clear that rootedness within a ‘Chinese’ world has a direct impact on whom she prefers to interact with in her daily life. Accordingly, it is this rootedness that defines her socialising pattern and shapes her opportunities for conducting cosmopolitan openness in her daily life.

However, an important finding of this research is that a strong sense of rootedness toward China and/or Chinese culture does not preclude the possibility of developing openness towards cultural diversity and cultural others. This finding aligns with Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic’s (2011) argument—cosmopolitanism involves a simultaneous rootedness and openness and they are not mutually exclusive. In other words, a tighter network with Chinese community and/or not having many friends who are from other ethnic backgrounds does not necessarily mean these Chinese migrants have a limited ability to engage in cosmopolitan openness.

Most 1.5 generation interviewees said they have a large number of Kiwi Asian (mainly Kiwi Chinese) friends who share similar cultural roots in terms of growing up within at least two cultures and/or two languages. Thus, most 1.5 generation interviewees have actually developed a social network that is a significant intercultural asset and provides social capital, which in a way diversifies the daily social activities they engage in. The following narrative of one 1.5 generation participant, Justin (6; 24; M; Auckland), provides an indicative illustration:

My friends are actually very cosmopolitan in a sense. I would argue that a lot of my European friends are not as cosmopolitan as my Chinese friends, because they have not moved that much. When I look at my best friends now, they are all Chinese, but I got friends living in London, I got
friends living in America... Most of them have been receiving education in several countries, traveling to lots of places, and speaking more than two languages. Like, among these five Chinese friends I have, you got a Chinese Chinese, a Chinese Kiwi, a Chinese British, and a Chinese who grew up in the States, and a Chinese who studied in Germany or wherever. So when you are hanging out with those five friends, you get a touch of American side, you get a touch of the British side and you also get a touch of Chinese side...

Based on this narrative, we can see that Justin’s Chinese network is itself already very diverse in terms of growing up experience and educational background. Generally speaking, Kiwi Chinese/Asians are a very multicultural and cosmopolitan group. Being Kiwi Asian means almost all of them have developed familiarity towards at least two cultures and two languages—growing up in Asian households while receiving school education in New Zealand. That is to say, with their hybrid cultural identity, many Kiwi Asian youth have been relatively more culturally sensitive than their peers and have developed high intercultural competency and a strong cosmopolitan repertoire, not least because of experiences of negotiating difference on a daily basis. Many 1.5 generation interviewees including Justin tend to be more transnational with their intercultural competency, which is different from both their parents and earlier migrants who were more socially and culturally rooted within their homeland. Accordingly, 1.5 generation interviewees themselves and their Kiwi Asian networks already include a wide range of cultural diversity—so the cosmopolitanness of their group of friends can be deceiving if read only in terms of ‘ethnicity’.

To summarise, the sense of rootedness these migrants have towards China, Chinese culture and Chinese community interplays with the way they socialise in everyday life—who they interact with, where they go, what kind of social activities they prefer, and what kinds of social networks they are building. Accordingly, different degrees of cosmopolitan openness are being generated among these Chinese migrants, such as only socialising with Chinese, a low motivation for interacting beyond the Chinese community, and mainly networking with Kiwi Asians/Chinese. Thus, generally speaking, especially with first generation interviewees, higher levels of rootedness that shape and are shaped by mainly or exclusively socialising with the Chinese community are more likely to have weakened their initiative toward approaching non-Chinese individuals and building social networks with them. This gradually lessens their confidence to engage in interactions beyond the Chinese community and ultimately leads to lower levels of cosmopolitan openness. Nevertheless, rootedness and openness are not necessarily contradictory. This is particularly the case for the 1.5 generation interviewees who have strong
Kiwi Asian/Chinese networks, and can still be heavily engaged in cosmopolitan openness and practice cosmopolitan engagements within an ‘Asian’ group that is already very culturally diverse.

6.5 Rootedness towards New Zealand

Rootedness of migrants is not necessarily limited to homeland but rather can be gradually nourished towards their host country. Almost all interviewees, regardless of age and time in New Zealand, were involved in an ongoing process of seeking a sense of rootedness, belonging and home in a transnational setting. Re-making home is a process that necessarily involves encounters with cultural difference and difficulties in social interactions as migrants seek to re-create a space filled with ‘comfort and cultural fit’ (Butcher 2010). During this home-making process, migrants, especially the first generation ones, are required to cope with their already existing rootedness toward their homeland and their original cultural heritage, as well as new socialising patterns. Almost all the first generation interviewees claimed that they don’t have a sense of rootedness with New Zealand, something that appeared to result from language-related frustration and lower levels of intercultural competency. Unsuccessful interactions with non-Chinese, especially Pākehā, have acted as an impediment to expanding their social networks and developing a sense of rootedness towards their host country.

In comparison, many of the 1.5 generation interviewees considered New Zealand home and a place of belonging, but one tinged with uncertainty. Despite their fluent English and high cultural familiarity with New Zealand, most 1.5 generation interviewees still expressed a lack of rootedness with New Zealand. There appear to be at least three reasons for this low level of sense of rootedness among these 1.5 generation migrants. Firstly, these 1.5 generation have grown up in Chinese immigrant households and accordingly they tend to have different living patterns and cultural values from their Pākehā counterparts. Secondly, as children of migrants, most 1.5 generation interviewees said their networking activities have been limited and controlled by their parents to a certain extent. Limited socialising with local youth has contributed to a low level of rootedness and sense of belonging to New Zealand. Thirdly, some 1.5 generation interviewees suggested that unpleasant and traumatic memories of early life experiences (e.g. being bullied, being called names, their English accent being laughed at) in New Zealand have influenced the way they socialise and the way they identify themselves in
New Zealand. This was a recurring theme in the narratives of 1.5 generation interviewees and was thoroughly examined in the previous chapter.

Some participants expressed a limited sense of rootedness towards New Zealand seeing it as a place of current life or work for pragmatic reasons. They struggle to maintain a sense of belonging in New Zealand since they feel culturally and socially displaced. Alec (6; 21; M; Auckland) provides a useful example:

I have never had a sense of rootedness in New Zealand. That is also why I don't really intentionally try to bond with Kiwis at school or at work. People are very relaxed and laid back here and I don't want to identify with that. When I was little, my Mum always told me, ‘you should live in the US in the future, there are more opportunities overseas’. To us, New Zealand was just the easiest place to migrate to and we can move to other countries from New Zealand. That was the intention. It is just I know I will leave New Zealand someday for sure and I don’t have a sense of permanence here. New Zealand is a bit boring to me and it has limited career opportunities. What I really want is to travel and live all around the world.

Although Alec moved to New Zealand when he was six years old, he articulates a lack of rootedness and permanence towards New Zealand. His relationship with New Zealand is interrelated with how he evaluates the opportunities and lifestyle it offers. Alec’s narrative offers an example of how Chinese migrants orient themselves to encounters with difference (‘I don't really intentionally try to bond with Kiwis’), as well as how they move on a transnational level (‘live around all the world’). New Zealand, then, represents only a present location in his life and his migration trajectories are instead oriented around a step-migration to destinations that appear to have more opportunities.

Moreover, his family’s migration strategy of using New Zealand as a springboard to move to other countries also articulates with his limited sense of permanence in New Zealand and his aspiration for ongoing mobility. Thus, the lack of sense of rootedness toward New Zealand plays a critical role in defining not only Alec’s attitudes towards daily socialising activities but also migration patterns in general. His rootedness has exerted effects on the development of cosmopolitan openness at both an everyday level (whom he interacts with) and transnational level (his mobility pattern in a cross-border context). On the one hand, not having a sense of belonging to New Zealand has influenced his socialising patterns. He is not heavily engaged in interacting with Pākehā or other non-Chinese, which in a sense deactivates the development of
his cosmopolitan openness. On the other hand, it is also this lack of rootedness with the host country and host culture that has prompted him to nurture his cosmopolitan imagination of traveling and working around the world, which will necessarily demand different practices of cosmopolitan sociability in his future mobilities.

As I have discussed previously, there are some interviewees who have made shifts in terms of feeling rooted towards China and New Zealand. Some of them (mainly 1.5 generation ones) have tended to shift their rootedness towards being a Kiwi with the aim of feeling more belonging and fitting in better, but that doesn’t necessarily mean they are discarding their Chineseness. Tae (7; 24; M; Auckland) explains why he sees himself as a Kiwi:

How I describe myself also changes over the years. So I am in constant changes (laughing) I guess I have tried to find my identity. I used to call myself, a few years ago, Chinese New Zealander, or New Zealand Chinese, but more recently, I more embrace the term Kiwi, because I think, you know, New Zealand, now, as a culturally diverse country, there shouldn’t be ethnic labels on New Zealanders, anyone in New Zealand or think themselves New Zealanders, should be called Kiwi, no matter where they come from.

Similarly to many other 1.5 generation interviewees, Tae has made several shifts in terms of negotiating his sense of belonging, which is a reflection of his unique migrant status and hybrid identity—neither necessarily Western nor Asian. It is the sense of being suspended and stuck in-between that has made him feel conflicted in terms of these different cultural backgrounds. But as Tae explains, he started to embrace a sense of being Kiwi more and more a few years ago and he believes that anybody deserves to be considered as a Kiwi without ethnic labels imposed on them. This belief of Tae conveys two messages: first, it is a reflection of the increasing culturally diverse social context of New Zealand as a migrant nation—anybody who feels rooted with Kiwi culture and Kiwi land has every right to be accepted as a Kiwi regardless their racial or ethnic backgrounds; second, in this way Tae empowering himself as a non-white New Zealander to feel belonging and rooted with his Kiwi identity—he asserts his Kiwiness by claiming that the authenticity of a Kiwi should not be tainted by a person’s ethnic origin.

The term ‘Kiwi’ and its cultural connotations have been discussed in Chapter Two. It is meaningful to highlight them here again. ‘Being Kiwi’ involves familiarity with Pākehā culture which is ‘a generalised, white, western, largely Anglo-Celtic, heritage of culture and descent’ (Bell 2009, 160). That is to say, a dominant and significant constitutive part of ‘Kiwi culture’ is Pākehā culture. Many interviewees in this research expressed their lack of rootedness in New Zealand and their identity separation from ‘being Kiwis’ due to their limited cultural familiarity with Kiwi culture (mainly Pākehā culture) and a sense of distance with Pākehā in everyday social life.
To summarise, the strength of sense of rootedness towards New Zealand and what might be described as ‘Kiwi’ identity varies according to different life stages and life experiences (age, English level, age upon arrival in New Zealand, years spent in New Zealand) and the social settings in which migrants are positioned. For first generation interviewees, their sense of rootedness towards New Zealand as home tends to be lower and weaker since their experience of interacting beyond the Chinese community are more negative and frustrating compared to the 1.5 generation. This weakens their initiative towards building relationship networks outside the Chinese community and, over time, their desire or ability to engage in cosmopolitan openness can be gradually diminished. Alternatively for the 1.5 generation interviewees, a lack of rootedness with New Zealand and dominant local cultural forms that have limited interactions with non-Chinese as well are not necessarily a reflection of their low ability to engage in cosmopolitan openness. Generally speaking, low levels of sense of rootedness towards New Zealand limit the development of cosmopolitan openness and practice of cosmopolitan sociabilities in their daily lives and will have an overall influence on their socialising patterns. However, as I have argued in relation to Alex’s narrative, a lack of rootedness towards New Zealand may also motivate the growth of cosmopolitan imaginations and nourish the development of cosmopolitan outlooks.

6.6 Becoming rooted cosmopolitan?

Migrants are in an on-going process of negotiating their relationship with both homeland and host country, as they seek a sense of rootedness and home in a transnational and intercultural context. Some interviewees showed their ability and willingness to be rooted with one place and one culture, while simultaneously engaging in developing cosmopolitan openness in order to effectively move across differences in their everyday lives. Some interviewees talked about the process of reclaiming their sense of rootedness with their original cultural heritage. As Ahmed et al. (2003, 9) have argued, there is a process of ‘regrounding’ in the migration journey, wherein migrants regain a sense of familiarity and home through ‘reclaiming and reprocessing of habits, objects, names and histories that have been uprooted’. Jess (9; 30; F; Auckland) offers a useful example:

When I was very young, I always wished I was white. I always hated my Chinese side and I didn’t have much confidence to make friends with white people. It was very frustrating… when I got older, I read a lot of books, and I even did some papers on identities, I finally started to learn
how to embrace my Chinese roots. You know what, only when you have the ability to accept and even love your own roots and original identity, you can start to be more open and tolerant. And naturally you can just be more confident about approaching people.

For Jess, there has been a shift from feeling ashamed and disadvantaged by being Chinese to embracing and even celebrating her Chinese cultural roots, which has great significance in terms of empowering herself as a minority person living in New Zealand. This process of reclaiming her Chinese cultural roots has increased her confidence in approaching cultural others and thus enhanced the possibilities for performing cosmopolitan openness in her daily life. Most importantly, it is Jess’s rootedness with Chinese culture and Chinese identity that nurtures a sense of tolerance and openness; in other words, reclaiming her rootedness has helped her obtain more confidence and ability to socialise with people from other cultural backgrounds, through which she has also come to feel more secure with her Chinese rootedness. Following Hiller and Chow (2005) then, ethnic preservation and maintenance of original cultural heritage provides an identity anchor that encourages greater participation in the public realm.

Jess’s narrative clearly illustrates that rootedness and openness are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but rather can also be complementary and strengthening. Some interviewees actually suggested that their Chinese rootedness plays an important role in cultivating their cosmopolitan openness. Mindy (6; 27; F; Auckland) shares how she perceives and utilises her rootedness:

When I got older, I realised that even if I don’t want to be Chinese I can’t change my face. My parents used to tell me that we are always forever Chinese so might as well just accept it and make the best out of it. Plus I am not like the only one; there are heaps of Asians in Auckland, heaps of migrants here. Like now, I seriously feel so lucky that I have both cultures in me and I get to pick the best of both worlds. I honestly think my Chinese roots have actually helped me to make more friends, with more topics to talk about, since more and more people are interested in China and Chinese culture now.

Mindy initially felt helpless and frustrated because of her Chinese background, considering it as an inescapable fate. But gradually she has started to develop more positive attitudes towards her hybrid identity. With increasing arrivals of Asian migrants in New Zealand, Chinese migrants now feel more secure and confident about their non-white migrant status as Chinese faces have become a more regular presence in the white-dominated society of New Zealand since the late 1990s, especially in Auckland. As Mindy articulates, the fact that ‘there are heaps of Asians in Auckland’ makes her no longer feel part of a minority, which empowers her position as a
Chinese person living in New Zealand. The growing Chinese community and Asian ethnoscapes have had a tremendous impact on not only the cultural and physical landscape of Auckland and other major cities (Collins and Friesen 2011), but also on the experience of identifying with their original cultural identity for the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand.

To most 1.5 generation interviewees, although conflicting attitudes towards Chinese rootedness and struggling in-betweenness exist in their daily lives, the malleable quality of their hybrid identity helps them to more effectively negotiate cross-cultural differences and utilise their intercultural skills to form multiple relationship networks. It is their hybrid living zone that accommodates both their Chinese rootedness and cosmopolitan openness. Therefore, in a way, as Mindy suggests, her Chinese rootedness provides more opportunities for ethno-cultural exchanges which can serve as important and interesting ingredients of socialisation in building cosmopolitan relations.

Secondly, it is also necessary to know how to utilise rootedness and openness respectively, with the aim of perceiving and negotiating difference in a flexible way. The 1.5 generation interviewees, with dual cultural identity and high intercultural familiarity, possess strong capacity to engage in negotiation between rootedness and openness and therefore seek out more opportunities for building different relationship networks. Chris (7; 28; M; Auckland) captures this capacity well:

You can be loyal to your Chinese side, but that doesn’t stop you from being a Kiwi at all. For example, with some friends, I talk about Asian pop music, we go to KTV, and we have Chinese dumplings for dinner. I enjoy doing all the Chinese stuff in Chinese way since I got the Chinese roots myself. But when I am in some gatherings with non-Chinese people, I would want to weaken or hide my Chineseness and then I would be able to do things in a more Kiwi way, like talking about rugby and some local news. By doing that, I can easily make more friends from different cultural backgrounds. The thing is you just need to clearly know what kind of people you are dealing with. You need to be smart about it, and then you can have both.

Chris interacts with his friends who are from different relationship networks in different ways. He does different things and presents himself through different mannerisms, with the aim of keeping rooted with his Chinese way of socialising while being open to the possibility of building relationship networks with people from other cultural backgrounds. To Chris, maintaining his Chinese rootedness (e.g. going to KTV, eating Chinese food, functioning in a
Chapter Six Rooted Cosmopolitanism and Everyday Encounters

Chinese way) and his engagement with non-Chinese friends can coexist in equilibrium. Moreover, Chris has engaged with strategic attempts to fully utilise his dual cultural identities. The strategic ‘hiding’ and ‘weakening’ of his Chinese rootedness creates more space and opportunities for successfully interacting with ideas, places and people from different cultural backgrounds. These efforts to strategically utilise his rootedness can be understood as attempts to practice cosmopolitan openness through encounters with people who are from different relationship networks. Besides, his ability for ‘having both’ is related to the ‘cosmopolitan repertoire’ (Butcher 2009, 1357) he has developed, which is a result of growing up knowing at least two cultures and languages—he has been navigating between two cultural worlds on a daily basis for as long as he can remember. Chris’s narrative is an everyday manifestation of engaging in ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’ to negotiate difference and function more effectively in different social settings.

These three narratives are all from 1.5 generation interviewees, and demonstrate the role played by generational difference in engaging in ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’. Indeed, most first generation interviewees spoke about the high level of difficulty in transcending their sense of rootedness toward China and the sense of frustration from interacting with people outside the Chinese community. As a result, they have developed low initiative for actively engaging in cosmopolitanism and conducting cosmopolitan openness to form social networks with cultural others. This is a result of their lack of intercultural competency as well as a fear of losing their Chinese rootedness. By contrast, as the examples above have demonstrated, some 1.5 generation interviewees are capable of embracing their Chinese rootedness and at the same time flexibly utilising it to enlarge their cosmopolitan repertoire with the aim of building intercultural relationships. At times it is the sense of rootedness they have developed towards either China/Chinese culture or New Zealand/Kiwi culture that has provided the confidence to explore other possibilities for socialising outside their familiar comfort zones.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to unpack the interacting dynamics between rootedness and openness manifested through everyday intercultural encounters. Drawing on the interview data, it has closely analysed the formation, maintenance as well as the shifting nature of the rootedness that exists amongst the Chinese migrant interviewees in this research. Their forced upon Chinese
physicality, interactions within the Chinese migrant households, and Chinese language literacy are the key factors that have helped the Chinese migrants maintain their Chinese rootedness. At the same time, this rootedness has been shifting between China and New Zealand through different life stages, especially when it comes to the 1.5 generation interviewees. Moreover, the deliberate disassociation with certain types of Chinese migrants has the potential to weaken the sense of rootedness towards being Chinese. Accordingly, this chapter has pointed to the rootedness developed towards both China (including Chinese community and Chinese culture) and New Zealand (including its ideas, places and peoples), and analysed how rootedness closely interrelates with the development and enactment of cosmopolitan openness in daily life. As has been argued, rootedness does not exclude possibilities for engaging in cosmopolitan openness. That is to say, one’s rootedness and openness are not mutually exclusive but can simultaneously coexist; this is particularly true when it comes to these migrants who live in a transnational space and who have developed multiple identities and senses of belonging toward more than one place and culture.

Generally speaking, those participants closely connected with China as homeland, and who felt rooted within Chinese culture tended to have very tight Chinese social networks and less motivation to enlarge their socialising radius unless out of pragmatic or career concerns, which hinders the development of cosmopolitan practices. For most of the first generation interviewees, their strong sense of rootedness towards China has made their interactions with Pākehā more challenging—limiting their confidence to build relationship networks beyond the Chinese community. Consequently, their potential and ability to develop cosmopolitan openness has been largely undermined. For most 1.5 generation interviewees, their sense of rootedness towards China and Chinese cultural heritage has been primarily maintained through growing up within a Chinese household. Most of these younger generation interviewees have ended up mainly interacting with Kiwi Asians/Chinese, yet we can’t presume cosmopolitan openness as simply a matter of different looking people mixing together. The notion of Kiwi Asians is itself already potentially cosmopolitan as an identity grouping. Hence, to them, their sense of rootedness does not necessarily serve as a barrier to negotiating difference and conducting cosmopolitan openness.

Different degrees of individual sense of rootedness have not only developed towards their homeland China but also their adopted country New Zealand. Most first generation interviewees have a relatively low level of rootedness towards New Zealand resulting from language
frustration and low intercultural competency. Accordingly, their lack of rootedness towards their host society has limited their socialising activities with cultural others, especially Pākehā, and heightened the importance of interactions within their familiar spaces such as the home and the wider Chinese community. This involvement with the Chinese community has on the one hand strengthened their sense of rootedness with China, Chinese culture and Chinese community, and on the other diminished their initiative to engage in cosmopolitan openness and building relationship networks with cultural others.

In contrast, those who feel a sense of drifting away from China and Chinese culture, especially the 1.5 generation, have tended to gravitate towards developing more flexible identities and are more open to socialising with non-Chinese (especially Pākehā). However, due to their upbringing within Chinese households and Chinese rootedness expected by their parents, most 1.5 generation interviewees still don’t have a sense of rootedness towards being a Kiwi despite speaking fluent English and possessing high intercultural familiarity. This has led to feelings of distance when they interact with Pākehā and in a sense has disrupted the development and practice of their cosmopolitan openness. Nevertheless, for some of them, it is this lack of rootedness towards New Zealand that has prompted their cosmopolitan imagining toward further mobilities.

This chapter has shown that for some migrant individuals rootedness and openness are not necessarily exclusive but sometimes exist in a state of equilibrium, or are even mutually complementary. Indeed, rooted cosmopolitanism can be utilised to conduct meaningful everyday intercultural encounters in a way that is dependent on how individuals negotiate the balance between being connected to particular people and places and being open to other possibilities. This is especially the case for 1.5 generation interviewees in this research who have somewhat hybrid identities and grew up in-between at least two cultures. Identifying with a category like ‘Kiwi Asian’ has enabled some of these younger generation interviewees to secure a sense of rootedness within their space of ‘liminality’, i.e. a socio-cultural world that is between but also connected to both New Zealand and Asia. In this regard, their rootedness has been built and nurtured in relation to at least two cultures and identities. Put another way, their rootedness is already potentially multiple and filled with elements of ‘openness’. This unique identity dynamic has enabled some of these 1.5 generation interviewees to negotiate and switch between their rootedness and openness with a sense of creativity and flexibility.
Accordingly, some 1.5 generation interviewees have provided examples of how they manage the balance between rootedness and openness and minimise the occasions where these two contradict each other. They are capable of striking a balance and moving between their rootedness and openness in ways that demonstrate the potential for practicing cosmopolitan openness. This has included reclamation of their sense of rootedness—claiming both being Asian and Kiwi—by working through their different sets of cultural identities to negotiate difference. These instances have demonstrated the way participants can strategically utilise their rootedness and thus enlarge their relationship networks by performing cosmopolitan openness. These are everyday examples of young migrants engaging in ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’. They operate through the particular sense of rootedness and home that has emerged in a transnational setting and also opened them up to wider sets of social relations.

Rootedness matters and its interplay with cosmopolitan openness is strongly displayed within the daily lives of migrants who live in a cross-cultural and cross-border context. In my research, these migrants’ rootedness towards a particular place, culture and/or identity has shaped the various kinds of cosmopolitan openness that emerge through their everyday intercultural encounters. Thus, along with the previous chapter, this chapter has examined the emergence and absence, and the opportunities and barriers of performing cosmopolitanism at the everyday level and at the same time analysed how these cosmopolitan engagements are interrelated to people’s rootedness. The next chapter will extend the understanding of cosmopolitanism by focusing on the emotional dimension of individuals encountering diversity in the context of migration.
Chapter Seven

Emotion, Migration, and Cosmopolitan Sociability

7.1 Introduction

Only in recent years have sociologists, geographers, anthropologists and other migration scholars focused on emotions as an important facet of their research. Turner and Stets (2005, 1) argue that ‘sociologists had studied just about every aspect of human behaviour and somehow given comparatively little attention to the dynamics of emotions’. According to Davidson and Bondi (2004, 373), emotions are ‘embodied and mindful phenomena that partially shape, and are shaped by our interactions with the people, places and politics that make up our unique, personal geographies’.

Over the past decade, an increasing number of scholars have started to take a close look at the emotional trajectories accompanying migratory movements, exploring how emotional dynamics shape migration journeys and vice versa (Baldassar 2008; McKay 2005; Svasˇek 2010). It has been suggested that a focus on the emotional dynamics generated from migratory movements is of great significance to migration studies (Conradson and McKay 2007; Skrbisˇ 2008; Svasˇek 2010; Wise and Adam 2005). At the same time, Nava (2006) has argued that cosmopolitanism itself suggests a structure of feeling as well as a stance of openness to others and other cultural practices. She has pointed out that, ‘the emotions and imaginaries associated with cosmopolitanism as a structure of feeling have largely been neglected by cultural and social theorists concerned with the topic’ (2006, 42). Research needs to explore the emotional side of cosmopolitanism and investigate how these emotional elements are involved in the process of people engaging in cosmopolitanism.

Building on these insights, this chapter explores the emotional dimension of the migration journey of these new Chinese migrants, with a focus on the role of emotions in generating
cosmopolitan sociability that these migrants utilise to negotiate difference and build intercultural relations. The key premise for this chapter is that engaging with others demands investment of significant ‘emotional labour’ (Hochschild 1983) in order to overcome feelings of distance, discomfort, awkwardness, anxiety, and fear, generated from intercultural interactions. Migrants have uneven opportunities to encounter cultural others and ‘emotional dissonance’ (Middleton 1989, 189) can emerge through unsuccessful intercultural exchanges. In order to generate comfort in conflicted spaces, migrants need to ‘make familiar the unfamiliar’ (Collins 2010) by reaching out to others, acquiring new attitudes and behaviors, or altering what is possible for conducting cosmopolitan sociability. Through this chapter, I aim to explore the emotional dimensions of performing cosmopolitan sociability in a way that draws attention to the manner that emotions can both promote and encourage, but also undermine and limit the capacity to build intercultural relations.

In order to explore these issues, this chapter draws attention in particular to how emotions emerge from and are involved with everyday cross-cultural encounters. In doing so it examines how migrants engage to differing degrees in cosmopolitan sociability but also the way in which this is tied up with feelings about themselves, their situation and the value of relating to others. It begins by providing a brief overview of key literature including scholarship on emotions and migration as well as cosmopolitan sociability. Then, it will focus on the following three perspectives to explore the emotional dimensions of cosmopolitan sociability: first, emotional difficulties emerging from early settlement; second, emotions and home-making in a transnational context; and third, emotional dissonance generated in everyday intercultural encounters. Together, these three foci demonstrate that the relationship between emotions and cosmopolitan sociability are complicated, as they are interwoven with each other while being influenced by each other. Moreover, this chapter provides a comprehensive analysis on how some individuals manage to overcome emotional difficulties and dissonance, negotiate difference and thus rebuild a sense of comfort in various kinds of contact zones through engaging in cosmopolitan sociability. Through this chapter I argue for the centrality of emotions in understanding cosmopolitan sociability, that interacting with others relies on much more than just pragmatic skills and knowledge of cultural difference but rather also how we feel about ourselves and the others we encounter.
Chapter Seven Emotion, Migration, and Cosmopolitan Sociability

7.2 Emotion, migration, and cosmopolitan sociability

It moves. It feels. In fact, it does both at the same time. It moves as it feels, and it feels itself moving. Can we think a body without this: an intrinsic connection between movement and sensation whereby each immediately summons the other? (Massumi 2002, 1)

As Massumi argues, there is an ‘intrinsic connection’ between movement and sensation. People’s emotions are closely interrelated to people’s mobilities—how people feel and how people move resonate with each other (Massumi 2002). Emotions play a significant role in the process of ‘moving’; they affect the speed, rhythm and pattern in which people move. In my research, ‘move’ mainly refers to migrant mobilities that occur in a cross-border and cross-cultural context. These mobilities include those conducted by migrants on a day-to-day basis, such as what they do, where they go, whom they socialise with, and those conducted in a transnational or cross-border context, such as visiting the homeland, return migration, step migration to a third country and the like.

Emotions interact with migrant mobilities in two ways. First, emotions are inseparable from the fundamental nature of the migration experience itself. According to Skrbiš (2008), migration is inevitably a process that disassociates individuals from their family, friends and established social networks, and this, of course, can have significant emotional connotations. Skrbiš (2008) further notes that migrant stories are linked with various potent sources of emotions—the experience of adjustment, settlement, nostalgia, in-betweenness, loss, discrimination, abrupt endings, new beginnings and new opportunities. Second, the migration journey is a process where migrants constantly encounter new and different people, ideas, languages and cultural norms. These encounters then lead to a set of transformations in terms of the ways migrants identify with places and with themselves, as well as the ways they socialise with people from different cultural backgrounds. These ongoing transformations are invariably filled with a variety of emotions, such as excitement, disappointment, anxiety, discomfort and so on. Hence, it is important to conceptualise these emotions in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of migrant mobility patterns and their impact on the transformation of the subjectivities of people on the move (Conradson and McKay 2007).
In order to rebuild comfort zones and a sense of belonging (Butcher 2010), migrants desire to build relationships with people they encounter in their host society (especially those from the dominant socio-cultural group). These efforts require ‘cosmopolitan sociability’, which is defined by Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011, 402) as ‘forms of competence and communication skills that are based on the human capacity to create social relations of inclusiveness and openness to the world’. The concept builds on forms of ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ (Lamont and Aksartova 2002) that emerge in ordinary interactions among individuals in contact zones such as neighbourhoods, schools, and workplaces. A focus on these interactions highlights ordinary expressions of cosmopolitanism in which individuals of different cultural backgrounds negotiate across difference to coexist within diverse social settings (Onyx et al. 2011).

In my research, cosmopolitan sociabilities are grounded in migrants’ everyday lives where they conduct various kinds of intercultural encounters in specific cross-cultural social settings. In this regard, I view cosmopolitan sociability as interactions across cultural difference that actively seek to build social relations, and to overcome the distance generated in such interactions. Building social relations with others also forms a critical component of the experiences that emerge as migrants come to inhabit new places. Such interaction, as Ahmed (2008, 10) reminds us, is inherently emotional:

> We are moved after all by the proximity of others. We feel with and for others. Sociability can even be a feeling: when you feel sociable you want to be with others. Sociability implies not only the existence of proximate others, but also the enjoyment of proximity.

While sociability often implies positive emotions, Ahmed (2008, 10) goes on to note that ‘sociability might need to be theorised in terms of the restriction as well as enjoyment of company’. The encounters of migrants both in migration and in their everyday lives can give us a strong sense of the varied emotional inflections of sociability. In migration, a whole range of sociabilities are produced from fulfilling encounters with others, to interactions centred on ethno-national parochialism, to negative experiences of prejudice and rejection. These sociabilities are all characterised by feelings about others but it would seem that emotions are particularly amplified when people encounter difference in migration (Ahmed et al. 2003). That is to say, the process of migrants conducting cosmopolitan sociability is highly emotional and can be filled with various kinds of emotional dissonance generated from unsuccessful intercultural encounters.
There is, then, often extra ‘emotional labour’ needed for individual migrants to overcome socialising barriers and generate comfort and emotional stability in friendships, social networks and professional relationships, with the aim of engaging in cosmopolitan sociability in various kinds of contact zones. ‘Emotional labour’ here includes not only those feelings associated with work (Hochschild 1983) but also the labour or effort involved in dealing with feelings (James 1989). Such labour is necessarily relational, constituted through the emotions of both the person performing that labour and also those they interact with (Sharma and Black 2001). It may include efforts to manage or suppress certain kinds of feelings, or the inducement of emotional states that smooth relations with others. It is particularly important to understanding ‘cosmopolitan sociability’, a term that draws attention to the ways in which migrants and others actively overcome emotional barriers to build intercultural relations despite social differences.

By focusing on cosmopolitan sociability, and more broadly on everyday and ordinary interactions, this chapter aims to enhance understandings of the emotional dimension of contemporary intercultural encounters. It draws attention to the emotional complexities involved in cosmopolitan sociabilities to examine the feelings about others that stimulate, support, shape or hinder an openness to difference. My research with Chinese migrants in New Zealand has shown that building relationship networks with people and places that are different from their own does occur, but that these networks, and the practices that generate them, cannot be understood outside of the emotional dynamics from which they emerge. Put another way, the process of engaging in cosmopolitan sociability is emotional and emotions produced from quotidian intercultural encounters influence the potential for future interactions. Therefore, this chapter is concerned principally with the emotional contours of the new Chinese migrants performing cosmopolitan sociability to negotiate difference, conduct intercultural encounters and re-build a sense of home.

7.3 Emotional difficulties in early settlement period

When migrants leave their homeland and move to a new country, they encounter new smells, tastes, languages and social customs that inevitably affect how they feel about themselves, others and the outside world (Conradson and Latham 2007). Feelings of excitement, anxiety, loss and disorientation, anger, trauma and despair may emerge as they struggle to fit in (Svašek 2008, 2010). The decision to leave the home country may ‘trigger different feelings in those
who leave and those who stay behind—conflicting emotions, including excitement, anger, fear, guilt, hope and joy, may arise before departure’ (Svašek 2010, 866). Migrants may also go through a complicated emotional journey during the first few years after moving to a new country.

The early settlement periods of most of the first generation interviewees were filled with a series of strong emotional feelings. When they decided to leave China, they felt sad, excited, nervous or scared, and uncertain about their new life in a new country. Upon arriving in New Zealand, shyness, awkwardness and fear were their predominant emotions, because of unfamiliarity with their new environment. Jake’s (28; 50; M; Auckland) initial experiences in New Zealand were shared by other interviewees:

It was tough…During the first Chinese New Year here, we missed home and friends back home. You didn't know what you are getting yourself into. It was financially difficult, socially quite difficult as well. When we looked out from the top of Mt. Eden at all the lights from all the houses, none of them were on for us. We didn’t really have a home. We felt homeless. (Translated)

Jake and his family experienced feelings of loneliness, uncertainty and homesickness in their first few years in New Zealand. To Jake, feeling a sense of home in a different place was not only about financial stability, but also about building social networks that made him feel accepted in the new cultural context. Collins (2010, 54) has pointed out that ‘making the unfamiliar familiar is rarely a straightforward individual endeavour…it is an exercise that requires both social as well as personal resources’. The emotional challenges and barriers during the early settlement period made it almost impossible for Jake to engage in cosmopolitan sociability and interact with cultural others, which, as he acknowledges above, jeopardised his home-making process. Besides, ‘getting by’ rather than socialising with locals was his family’s priority, when they were just starting out in New Zealand.

According to the narratives of the interviewees, unpleasant memories of their early settlement period and traumatic feelings from early life experiences have significantly influenced how they interact with places and people in their everyday lives. This is perhaps unsurprising as the early settlement process generally requires migrants to make emotional adjustments to new jobs, new social norms, and even anti-immigrant behaviours (Svašek 2010). Most first generation
Interviewees experienced significant difficulty during their early settlement period, as Jade (31; 45; F; Auckland) describes:

I worked for very little money for long hours for a long time. I did dish washing, I did waitressing, and I did everything I could do. To be honest, my husband and I cried together a lot late at nights after work. It was so tough. It was like a huge step down… (Started sobbing)… We didn’t feel the sense of superiority; we didn’t feel a sense of achievement. Instead, we felt suppressed and limited, because we even felt we couldn't communicate with people here… At the same time, there was this sense of instability—we felt like we were in this floating mode with constant changes. But we had to build a better life for our kids. This extremely frustrating past has been haunting us… (Translated)

These feelings of loss, loneliness and frustration are often understood as part and parcel of the migrant experience (Collins 2010). Jade’s negative feelings were triggered by her contrasting experience in China and what she had to go through as a new migrant in New Zealand. Similarly to Jake, Jade also felt frustrated in negotiating cultural differences and overcoming barriers to socialise with locals. She felt suppressed and limited because her socialising skills could not be utilised in a new and different cultural context. The feeling of being an interloper in the host country is a recurring theme among the interviewees, due to frequent changes in employment and residence, exacerbated by the unfamiliar socio-cultural setting. A strong sense of ‘emotional dissonance’ (Middleton 1989, 189) was experienced by Jade in her early migration period, and emotional instability (e.g. sense of inferiority, disappointment, displacement) made the process of adjusting to local society even more challenging.

Moreover, it is clear from Jade and other participants’ accounts that these experiences continue to echo on in migrant lives even as they become more settled. These feelings are also, as Jade indicates, amplified by frustrations in terms of negotiating cultural difference and overcoming socialising barriers with locals. They play a role in shaping how migrants view themselves and perceive their difference from the majority population, how they socialise with locals in their neighbourhood and workplace, and how they discipline their children in terms of encountering others.

Similarly, some 1.5 generation interviewees also suggested that how they were treated at school (e.g. being bullied, being called names, their English accent being laughed at) has had long-lasting impacts on their self-image and attitudes toward locals, as well as how they have...
presented themselves later on in their lives. Sarah (7; 27; F; Hamilton) shares how her memories about early life experiences in New Zealand have influenced the way she interacts with others:

The fact that I am Asian made me suffer…. they just swear and call you Asian. I had never ever left my house and walked to the mall without a car either honking at me or calling out to me…I still didn't get rid of the fear of talking to Pākehā when I entered university at Hamilton. To be honest, even now, I still feel I am under a kind of shadow. I just don't feel that comfortable or confident of making friends with them. Of course, I can get along with some of them very well but I don't think I can reach the point that I can call them close friends.

As I argued in the last chapter, unpleasant memories, feelings and emotions regarding early life experiences have had an adverse influence on these younger generation migrants’ future cosmopolitan sociability engagements. Such experiences of racism and bullying in childhood were mentioned by almost all 1.5 generation interviewees. As Sarah expresses, they can have long-lasting effects on socialising patterns. These traumatic experiences have influenced her self-confidence and undermined potential intimacy in her relationships with Pākehā. Her account indicates the way the desire for encounters with others can be compromised by the emotional dissonance that is generated in negative experiences.

It is important to note that the emotional difficulties related by interviewees in this research relate closely to the wider socio-cultural context of New Zealand, especially during the 1990s. Most of these first generation interviewees moved to New Zealand during a period charged with strong anti-Asian immigration sentiments (see Chapter Two). The negative response to Asian migrants from the media and the public exerted a negative influence over the ways in which these Chinese migrants positioned themselves and perceived their difference with the majority population. Likewise, many 1.5 generation interviewees started their school lives in 1990s. Their early life experiences were often filled with bullying and racism. In addition, Chinese migrants in general have encountered a series of barriers to securing stable employment that matches their age-education profile and many of them have been subjected to racial discrimination in the labour market (see Chapter Two). The compromised economic outcomes for these new Chinese migrants made their migrant lives during early settlement period particularly difficult, financially, socially and emotionally. Migration results in great challenges for the adaptation of families in terms of maintaining class and financial status that in turn generate difficulties for both generations in engaging actively with social encounters in their
daily life. It is clear that migration as a family project does not always work out as smoothly as imagined or planned. The next section looks into the emotional challenges for migrants in maintaining a sense of home in a transnational setting.

7.4 Emotions and home-making in a transnational context

In addition to the long-lasting effects of negative early experiences and everyday encounters, interviewees also experienced stress, difficulties and challenges living in cross-border and cross-cultural settings. Almost all interviewees, regardless of age and time in New Zealand, have been involved in an ongoing process of home-making. Significant ‘emotional labour’ (Hochschild 1983) is required to establish and maintain a sense of home in a transnational context.

Home should be perceived not only as the physical location of a dwelling, but also as ‘a space of belonging, intimacy, security, relationship and selfhood’ (Gorman-Murray and Dowling, 2007). This is particularly true in a migration context, where home is an integral part of the continuous process of ‘uprooting/regrounding’ (Ahmed et al. 2003). For migrants, home is experienced less as a fixed or static object and more as a dynamic process in which personal security, emotional commitment and self-discovery are sought (Valentine 2001). Blunt and Dowling (2006, 199) call this process ‘home-making practice’ and point out that homes should not be considered simplistically in either ‘physical’ or ‘emotional’ terms. I will draw on these valuable conceptualisations of home, including Blunt and Dowling’s argument that homes can be seen through a ‘spatial imaginary’ that recognises ‘home is neither the dwelling nor the feeling, but the relation between the two’ (Blunt and Dowling 2006, 22). For most of interviewees in this study, the physical, symbolic, social and emotional aspects of home are inextricably interwoven in their migrant lives. That is to say, home does not simply relate to a house, household or a particular geographical location (e.g. New Zealand, China, Auckland) but more broadly to a space where they feel safe, familiar, comfortable and where they feel they belong. In this regard, rebuilding a sense of comfort and familiarity is essential to home-making in the host society.

Home-making is emotional and this is particularly true in the context of migration. Migrants experience a variety of emotional ups and downs during their cross-border and cross-cultural
migratory movements (Skribiš 2008; Wise and Chapman 2005). On the one hand, migrants invest a great deal of time and effort in ‘emotional labour’ (Hochschild 1983) to maintain closeness and familiarity with the family in their homelands (Baldassar 2008; Velayutam and Wise 2005). On the other hand, the process of home-making in the host country is inevitably filled with emotional dynamics, potentially engendering different levels of discomfort and uncertainty related to relocation to a new cultural context (Butcher 2010). Indeed, as Butcher (2010) argues, home-making strategies are essentially the affective response to the evaluation of a place in terms of how it feels like home. During the process of home-making, individual migrants have differing levels of ability to cope with emotional barriers and to perform ‘cosmopolitan sociability’ (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011, 402), in order to negotiate differences they encounter from interacting with cultural others.

Participants closely connected with China as a homeland and feeling rooted in Chinese culture tended to have strong Chinese social networks across national borders, and generally less motivation or willingness to enlarge their socialising radius beyond pragmatic or career concerns. This has potentially hindered the development of cosmopolitan sociabilities and sense of home in their host country, New Zealand. Many interviewees, especially the first generation ones, for a number of reasons (e.g. family obligation, cultural heritage, language barriers), continue to feel culturally and socially displaced in New Zealand, and therefore have remained emotionally attached to China. In contrast, those who feel a lesser sense of attachment to China and Chinese culture have tended to gravitate toward developing more flexible identities and are more open to socialising with non-Chinese (especially Pākehā). They are more likely to have developed stronger attachments to New Zealand as home. Mrs. Ruan (32; 55; F; Auckland) explains her complicated feelings toward China and her shifting sense of home:

The first time we went back to China was in 1996. Before that trip, I was feeling excited, because I missed my hometown and my friends. Also I finally got the chance to visit my parents after many years…But after a month, I realised, China is not my home any more. New Zealand is the place where my family and career are based…I went back to China a few years ago, I still felt familiar with China, but the feelings were complicated—it is a combination of familiarity and strangeness. I have to say my sense of home has been drifting towards New Zealand…it is something I can’t really control. (Translated)
Initially, Mrs. Ruan’s return visits to China were integral to her migration process, in order to emotionally reconnect with her parents and fulfil her familial obligations and expectations. At first Mrs. Ruan felt excited about going back to China, but her emotions toward China have gradually been disturbed by a growing disconnect. Her attachment to China has been weakened by the reality that, over more than 20 years, her family and career have increasingly transferred to New Zealand. Over time, there has been a shift in her socio-cultural expectations and norms, reinforced by a growing number of friends, family and social networks being based in her host country. This shifting sense of home toward New Zealand was shared by many interviewees. Their notions of belonging and identity have changed greatly along the migratory process. This shift has resulted from years of lived experience in the host society. Furthermore, a sense of rootedness toward one’s homeland does not necessitate a termination of desire to identify with the host country, although the home-making process can be heavily disrupted by the previously discussed emotional difficulties.

Indeed, positioned in a transnational setting, migrants’ emotional dynamics of home-making tend to be filled with contradiction, ‘as migrants are morally pulled in different directions in social networks that stretch over large distances’ (Svašek 2008, 216). Dee (32; 56; F; Auckland) articulates this tension in the following narrative:

Since I moved to New Zealand, I have always been thinking about China, because my parents are living there and they are really old now. I have to stay here because my husband and my daughter are here, but I feel really bad about not being able to take care of my ageing parents. I feel like I have made a huge sacrifice by leaving China. I was not able to be there for my daughter when she was growing up because I had to come back to China for several years due to financial concerns. Those two things make me feel doubtful and even resentful of my migration decision back then. I just can’t feel that I belong to New Zealand, but I can’t go back to China either. I can’t afford being away from my family anymore. (Translated)

Dee’s narrative is indicative of the wider sentiments of first generation interviewees who expressed their strong sense of rootedness towards China where their parents or other family members still live. It is clear that Dee still feels torn after years of building a sense of belonging in a transnational context. During the process of flying back and forth between China and New Zealand, she has struggled to achieve a semblance of intimate family life and maintain emotional closeness with her family members across borders. In addition, it has been emotionally challenging for Dee to foster cosmopolitan sociability in her daily life and to be
open to cultural others, while at the same time feeling emotionally torn and frustrated about her migration journey. As Skrbiš (2008, 238) has pointed out, ‘much emotional investment goes into the maintenance of transnational contact with the left-behind family and significant others’. Dee is suffering a sense of regret and loss. She feels negatively about not being able to be a filial daughter to her ageing parents in China, or a good mother who can raise her own daughter in New Zealand. The sacrifices she has made have raised doubts about her decision to migrate, which has worsened her feelings of loss, confusion and displacement in New Zealand.

Home-making for migrants is an emotionally difficult process in and of itself, as they struggle to maintain a sense of home in a transnational setting, with family members scattered in different geographical locations. Most interviewees have experienced various emotional hardships while trying to meet multiple family obligations and maintain close ties to family members across national boundaries. Many of them discussed the challenges for home-making in terms of their financial and housing situation, adapting to new social norms and employment, and taking care of ageing parents. These problems can be intensified in a migration context and have limited both their social activities and experiences, inclining them to focus on working and dealing with many day to day worries. The next section focuses on the emotional dissonance that these migrants encounter in everyday interactions.

### 7.5 Emotional dissonance in everyday encounters

The process of adjusting to a new society can engender a wide range of emotions. In ethnographic research in the suburb of Ashfield in Sydney, Wise (2010) explored the cross-cultural interactions in various contact zones (e.g. workplaces, neighbourhoods, street shops) between long-term elderly Anglo-Celtic residents in the area and newly-arrived Chinese immigrants. She found that a variety of emotions, such as (dis)comfort, anger, excitement, disappointment and frustration can be generated from everyday intercultural interactions, and these affective responses shape and are shaped by quotidian encounters in culturally diverse social settings.

Similarly, in my research, different emotional experiences were described by interviewees in the course of their daily intercultural interactions. Many interviewees expressed feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and a sense of distance in encountering non-Chinese, particularly Pākehā.
This was especially the case for first generation interviewees who generally reported very few interactions with Pākehā, unless at work or for pragmatic reasons. As Josh (28; 42; M; Auckland) indicates, this results from a self-conscious reflection on presumed differences but also potential emotions that might emerge:

The other day, I wanted to talk to my Pākehā neighbours, but I felt awkward and I didn’t know how to start a conversation. I tried several times in the past as well, but it was not successful at all. They are just different from us. You don't know what they are thinking and you don't know whether and when you should ask them what is going on when there is a problem. I don't want to handle the anxiety and unnatural feelings. So over a long time, I just don't really talk to Pākehā unless I have to. Like my Chinese friends said, there is no way you can be real friends with white people. (Translated)

For Josh, it is the ‘anxiety, awkwardness and unnatural feelings’ that have disrupted his willingness for interactions with Pākehā. According to Lawler (2001), positive emotions generated in social interaction create stronger ties, while negative ones lead to weaker ties. Josh’s avoidance of Pākehā relates to the fact that he feels uncertain about the way Pākehā function and socialise and awkward when he interacts with them. These negative feelings have resulted from and are further aggravated by language barriers and his lack of intercultural familiarity. Josh’s sentiments relate to earlier experiences that have subsequently shaped his emotional orientation to others and limited his willingness to negotiate the differences that are part of migrant life. Accordingly, he substantiates his difficulty in building relationship networks with Pākehā through firmly denying the existence of any possibility of genuine bonding, a reification of immutable difference that is seemingly enclosed by impenetrable emotional dissonance.

Most of the first generation interviewees expressed a preference for socialising with Chinese in New Zealand. Shared frames of reference and understandings make them feel more relaxed with Chinese friends, while cultural uncertainty with Pākehā engenders some negative feelings and some degree of emotional dissonance. Will’s narrative (25; 36; M; Auckland) underscores the importance of comfort in terms of building relationships:

I can say I am a pretty adaptable person in all aspects… I make myself less comfortable to make other people comfortable. When I am at work, I can talk to my Kiwi colleagues, talk about things they like, but that doesn't necessarily mean I enjoy that conversation. So most of the time, things gradually become ‘well, I’d rather hang out with Chinese people’ since making friends
According to Butcher (2009), inclusion or exclusion from particular relationship networks seems linked with feeling comfortable. This sense of comfort affects socialising patterns. Will’s narrative shows that he has developed a preference for socialising with Chinese people because he feels less comfortable when interacting with Kiwi colleagues. His reference to ‘my Kiwi colleagues’ suggests that he does not identify himself as a Kiwi. In contrast, he feels more comfortable with Chinese culture and people, having spent his childhood and received his education in China.

Prompted by feelings of ‘comfort’, many first generation interviewees have narrowed their socialisation to fellow Chinese. Their attempts at fostering cosmopolitan sociability with the local non-Chinese population, particularly Pākehā, seem also to have decreased their sense of belonging in New Zealand. Over time, their home-making process has been stalled due to their weaker identification beyond Chinese social circles and lesser interaction with Pākehā, who represent the dominant social and cultural group in New Zealand. Moreover, uneasy intercultural contacts can result in prejudices, stereotyping of local cultures and people, and a heightened sense of foreignness (Butcher 2009). These emotional responses generally lead to a weaker sense of home and belonging to the host society. Paul (28; 39: M; Auckland) elaborates on this:

Some Kiwis at my work can be a bit narrow-minded and arrogant. They have prejudice towards Chinese people and China. ‘Tall poppy syndrome’ is very common in New Zealand. They cut you down when you are working hard and do better than them. I don't like the overly laid back Kiwi lifestyle here. That is also why I don't really want to be friends with Pākehā and I don't feel [I] belong to this country. (Translated)

Paul is not happy with the way his ‘Kiwi’ colleagues perceive China and Chinese people. In this respect, he seems to identify himself as a foreigner with a contrasting view from the locals. Viewing himself as a foreigner has implications for how he sees and evaluates New Zealand and the ‘Kiwi lifestyle’. His intercultural encounters with Pākehā in the past have not been encouraging or positive, which has contributed to his lack of interest in socialising with them. Consequently, his feelings of foreignness have been gradually amplified, leading to a diminished willingness to engage in cosmopolitan sociability and a weakened sense of belonging to New Zealand.
In addition, there was a subtle sense of inferiority among some of the interviewees when questioned about their interactions with Pākehā. As Jessie (28; 40; F; Auckland) observes:

   The thing about interacting with Pākehā you can’t just always shamelessly take the initiative to talk to them. You need some friendly feedback. You need to know they are also keen to be friends with you. After making efforts to socialise with Pākehā several times, what I got instead is just very superficial response. I don’t like their fake friendliness. Worse still, when I am trying to interact with them, there is always a voice back in my head, telling me ‘don’t bother since these white people are not interested in making friends with Asian migrants or outsiders’. (Translated)

The way Jessie feels about interacting with Pākehā is representative of experiences shared by many of the interviewees. She worries about whether Pākehā genuinely want to socialise with her and in relation to the socialising efforts she has made, she describes experiencing a ‘fake friendliness’ in response. Feelings of inferiority and anxiety are potentially explained by the fundamental social power imbalance that exists when migrants interact with Pākehā in New Zealand. Her perception of herself as a non-white migrant/outsider has strengthened her belief that she has less social power in New Zealand compared to the ‘white’ New Zealanders/Pākehā. Many interviewees, including Jesse, connected their emotional dissonance with racism, xenophobia and rejection based on ethnic differences.

For the first generation Chinese migrant participants in this research, the sense of inferiority, anxiety, uncertainty and unpleasantness they have regularly experienced while socialising with Pākehā has resulted in negative feelings, stereotyping of local cultures/people, and an amplified sense of foreignness (Butcher 2009). This emotional dissonance can intensify the power inequalities between these Chinese migrants and local Pākehā during the socialising process in the many contact zones experienced daily (e.g. workplaces and neighbourhoods). At the same time, their pursuit of a sense of comfort and familiarity has been achieved through socialising with their co-ethnic peers, which further distances them from engaging in cosmopolitan sociability and approaching cultural others beyond the Chinese community. Subsequently, most first generation interviewees have chosen to build a Chinese social network, a path filled with least emotional dissonance.

The accounts of 1.5 generation interviewees, while markedly different from their parents’ generation, nonetheless demonstrate feelings of distance in encounters with Pākehā. This is
despite their fluent English and experience of growing up in New Zealand. They reveal deeper seated perceptions of difference that are likely cultivated in the distinct upbringings of Chinese and non-Chinese households. Louise (7; 23; F; Auckland) provides an indicative example:

I had a very close white friend in high school but I can still feel very distant from her, because she has different expectations from me. For example, I think she has much higher standards for hygiene than I have, and she has much more higher standards, maybe, just etiquette, than me. I feel unnatural and a bit anxious when I eat at her house, because her parents are also there. So when I use knife and fork, I would be worried if I can use them properly, I would feel a little bit intense and awkward.

Despite receiving all of her education in New Zealand, and hence becoming relatively familiar with cultural norms, Louise expresses here her difficulties in developing close relationships with white friends. Notably, her anxiety emerges from a sense that her body is not fully adapted to the behaviors or even comportments that might be expected in a ‘white’ household, at the dinner table and with parents. These emotional instabilities can be caused by a wide range of mismatching expectations in everyday social rituals, including perceptions of different hygiene standards, different eating manners, different body language and different expectations of friendship. Her narrative represents a common pattern among the interviewees of feeling distant from Pākehā friends and that intimacy is limited by underlying differences in daily practice. These feelings appear to reflect ‘emotional dissonance’ (Middleton 1989, 189) that acts as a barrier in encounters with others and in domestic contact zones such as friends’ houses and more open gatherings.

As in Louise’s case, it is often the particularities of her Chinese upbringing and its differences from non-Chinese peers that has given rise to emotional dissonance and thus limited interactions. The tension between incorporation into the host-society and socio-cultural norms that have been cultivated in Chinese households plays a significant role in influencing the performance of everyday cosmopolitanism. Some participants described how these differences have dampened their desire for intercultural encounters and building relationship networks. Pia’s (8; 28; F; Christchurch) narrative provides an example of this:

I am working for this hospital and we have to bake things once a week. But in Chinese culture, we don't really bake. When they talk about baking recipe, all the things they make, I don't know what to talk about, because I don't know anything about it. When I have to bake, I just have to go to countdown and buy something. Also, sometimes they invite me for some after-work drinks,
but I don't like going to bars and drinking. So I don't go. So my Kiwi colleagues may feel I am a bit difficult to talk to and somehow I would feel a bit uncomfortable around them as well.

Taken for granted practices like baking and socialising with work colleagues rely on levels of shared familiarity. Despite their seeming triviality, unfamiliarity with these activities can undermine willingness to approach and socialise with Kiwi colleagues. It has been a challenge for Pia to fit into the after-work drinking culture, which is a very popular way of building relationship networks with people in New Zealand. As a 1.5 generation participant growing up in a Chinese household, Pia has developed a different living style and socialising habits from her workmates—she has been thrown into the role of misfit despite the attempts of her workmates to include her in the socialising cultures of the workplace. Pia’s own sense of discomfort and expectations about the impact of her behavior has on colleagues have further exacerbated a feeling of emotional dissonance in her daily encounters with colleagues.

Pia’s narrative suggests that mismatched socialising patterns and familiarity can lead to different degrees of emotional dissonance that limit what is possible in contact zones. Such issues can lead to a sense of dissonance even when practices of active inclusion are apparent. Similarly to Pia, many other 1.5 generation interviewees expressed their sense of distance with their Pākehā peers and many of them have chosen to socialise with other young people who have also grown up in Chinese households as a path of least resistance, rather than take on the challenges of interacting with Pākehā or other non-Chinese.

As I argued in Chapter Six, different individuals have varying abilities to access contact zones and as a result have uneven opportunities for encountering others and building relationship networks. This is particularly true between majority and minority populations. The new Chinese migrants in New Zealand, as a minority population, encounter a set of extra barriers to employment, social incorporation and entering mainstream social networks. They generally have less capacity to orient and shape intercultural encounters situated in their everyday life contact zones, due to differences in language, cultural familiarity, socialising capacities and household upbringing. It should be noted that these differences were not evenly distributed amongst migrants in this research. Interviewees arriving in New Zealand at different life stages, with different migration histories and education backgrounds demonstrated different capacities and comfort levels in negotiating everyday encounters and enacting cosmopolitan sociabilities. These differences influence the emotional dynamics involved in encountering others and
manifest in particular barriers to and opportunities for social interaction and building intercultural relations. In order to secure a position in the host society, some interviewees, especially the 1.5 generation, have actively sought to engage in cosmopolitan sociabilities as part of an attempt to overcome emotional barriers and obtain more opportunities for building a sense of comfort in their daily lives. The following section will look into the emotional dimensions of this process of engaging in cosmopolitan sociability and transforming contact zones to comfort zones.

7.6 Conducting cosmopolitan sociability

The lives of participants in this research have often been characterised by emotional dissonance and encounters that create negative affects. Given this finding, the question is how and in what circumstances more cosmopolitan sociabilities can be generated. Some interviewees (mainly the 1.5 generation), displayed the capacity to conduct cosmopolitan sociabilities to decrease emotional dissonance and increase emotional instability. In order to negotiate and overcome difference and build various kinds of relationship networks in intercultural social contexts, these migrants need to develop tactics for acquiring ‘new bodies, new sensory responses, and emotional, affective grammars’ (Wise 2010, 935). This section demonstrates that the process of performing such tactics is not straightforward, but rather filled with emotion and demands for ongoing investments of emotional labour. The aim is to identify those ‘cosmopolitan moments’ in which unfamiliar and often anxiety-generating contact zones can be domesticated into comfort zones through the utilisation of cosmopolitan sociabilities.

The narratives discussed here have indicated three different ways in which 1.5 generation participants are ‘making the unfamiliar familiar’ (Collins 2010, 54) and rebuilding a sense of comfort: reclamation of difference as migrants, strategic enactments of different identities and the negotiation of differences through cosmopolitan repertoire. In regard to the first, some interviewees spoke about a process of overcoming emotional dissonance about their own subject position as a migrant and reclaiming and even celebrating this difference. Cindy (10; 28; F; Auckland) offers a useful example:

I used to have an identity crisis when I was in intermediate [school] and the first few years in high school. I even felt ashamed of being Asian and I wish[ed] I was white. But now when I look back, I think I was kind of stupid to treat my Chinese side like that. I have gradually realised I am proud
of being Chinese and I want to fully embrace it.

Cindy’s narrative draws attention to what Ahmed et al. (2003, 9) describe as a process of ‘regrounding’ in migration. As this example has demonstrated, migrants need to reclaim and reprocess ‘habits, objects, names and histories that have been uprooted’, with an aim to generate familiarity and sense of home. A shift from feeling ashamed about being Asian to being proud of their difference is significant because it points to a process by which these kinds of emotional dissonance might be overcome. For Cindy, the process of reclaiming the value of her ethnic identity and obtaining emotional empowerment as a Chinese person living in New Zealand has clearly not been a quick one, but rather has taken place over a number of years. The process has involved overcoming an identity crisis and reconfiguring her relationship to place. Reclaiming ethnic and cultural rootedness and embracing difference is a powerful and effective tool for the marginalised, particularly for migrants ‘who need to re-find points of comfort in a new cultural environment that engenders uncertainty’ (Butcher 2009, 1356). Accordingly, ‘difference’ can be flexibly employed to increase socialising power and expand relationship networks. Alice (11; 23; F; Auckland), for example, notes that:

By being different, you get noticed; by being noticed, you can demonstrate. You can use your difference in a good way, or you can use it in a bad way. If you use it in a good way, your difference will make yourself more valuable, you can use your difference to get more networks, you can use your difference to build bonding with a diverse range of people; of course, you can feel bad or uncomfortable about your difference. It is a conscious choice.

The reclamation and utilisation of original cultural identity that Cindy and Alice speak of here can also be understood as part of a broader process of negotiating differences in social relationships that occur in contact zones. Similarly to Alice, other 1.5 generation interviewees perceived their difference in an assertive and strategic way. Many of them reported quite pragmatic attempts to use flexible switching between their identities to their advantage, in order to smooth relations in specific social settings. Whilst seemingly pragmatic such strategies demand investment of significant emotional labour, to overcome the ‘emotional dissonance’ involved in feeling out of place and also to enable effective utilisation of cultural capital and thus the recreation of a sense of familiarity through the expanding of comfort zones. Mark (11; 30; M; Auckland) provides an excellent example of these contradictory feelings in his discussion of his workplace persona:

I generally put myself in a ‘Kiwi mode’ when I am at work, although I don’t feel comfortable with
that. My work place is very white and being less Kiwi will just make me less successful and more difficult to fit in. Sometimes, I hate the Kiwi me at work, the tone I use when I speak English, the joke I use with colleagues...But these uncomfortable feelings are fading off gradually, because I have been gradually used to the Kiwi me at work and I keep telling myself being Kiwi is also a part of me... Now, I think somehow I can even feel at ease with this Kiwiness.

Mark feels uncomfortable and suppressed to a certain degree about his ‘Kiwi self’, but he has nevertheless tried to overcome this negative dissonance in order to generate smoother relations in his ‘very white’ workplace. The process of becoming accustomed to and feeling at ease with his ‘Kiwiness’ in the work place does not come easily. It is instead filled with constant emotional adjustment and the practice required for functioning in ‘Kiwi mode’. The suppression of deep down feelings and modification of behaviour are his considerable investment in the ‘emotional labour’ (James 1989) required to create more opportunities for cosmopolitan sociability. His ultimate aim is to decrease emotional dissonance and ‘fit in’ at his workplace, and thus create greater levels of comfort. Mark’s pragmatic efforts cannot easily be described in the valorised terms of cosmopolitanism, but they are lived examples of performing cosmopolitan sociability to work towards building social relations with others in a specific contact zone (in this case the workplace). His narrative suggests that instrumental encounters can generate feelings of comfort and familiarity with people and place that otherwise result only in emotional dissonance.

As the above narratives demonstrate, shifting self-perceptions towards identity and negotiation of difference with strategic intent are critical to generating emotional stability, but they only speak in a relatively individualised way to the potential for cosmopolitan sociability and the emotional labour involved. Such potential demands a cosmopolitan capacity to feel and acknowledge differences in encountering cultural others and to develop skills to navigate and orient such differences. These 1.5 generation interviewees, who have grown up in two cultures and have hybrid identities, are in a particularly strong position to engage in such flexible negotiation of social situations and to seek out more opportunities for cosmopolitan sociability. Emily (6; 23; F; Auckland) captures this capacity to feel with and for others in social settings:

With some friends, when we meet up, we go to Dominion road, we have Yang Rou Chuan (shashlik) and Zhen Zhu Nai Cha (pearl milk tea). With some other friends, we will be sitting at their house, eating cheese and bread, and drinking wine. Different people have different levels of sensibilities. When you grow up, when you talk to people, you learn to just figure out where
they are at the spectrum, and you learn to interact with them the way that makes them feel comfortable. Then you will make yourself feel comfortable as well.

Emily’s interactions with her friends demonstrate the way in which some individuals can negotiate different relationships in different ways, not just to avoid personal discomfort but also to create a common feeling of familiarity amongst groups of people. Her ‘cosmopolitan repertoire’ (Butcher 2009, 1357) is a result of her life experience as an intergenerational migrant, as well as her cultural identity/position in the world over her life course. Some 1.5 generation interviewees claimed that they have grown up knowing at least two cultures and languages and that as a result have been navigating between two cultural worlds on a daily basis for as long as they can remember. Moreover, for Emily, the utilisation of her ‘cosmopolitan repertoire’ is an articulation of cosmopolitan sociability that has come from a long-term investment of emotional labour. It has required emotional connection with others, good understanding of ‘different levels of sensibilities’, knowing what ‘makes [people] feel comfortable’ and having a desire to build intercultural relationship networks. These efforts are part of a process of transforming social settings that might otherwise potentially cause discomfort, not just for interviewees but also amongst their wider social relationships.

Similarly to Emily, some 1.5 generation interviewees spoke about how they try to adjust themselves and make compromises to guarantee better cross-cultural interaction. They have become used to presenting different selves when they are with different socio-cultural groups. They manage to switch on or off their Chinese/Kiwi side depending on specific occasions/social settings. The 1.5 generation interviewees came to New Zealand with their parents at a very young age and have become accustomed to being culturally sensitive and aware. They have a high familiarity with the way Chinese socialise through growing up in a Chinese household and at the same time have been exposed to others’ social norms during their growing up period. They are good at observing difference and adapting themselves to meet specific socialising needs.

In the process of strategically playing with their dual identity and conducting cosmopolitan sociabilities, some interviewees (mainly 1.5 generation ones) reported feeling pleasure and excitement in their interactions with cultural others. Gary (13; 24; M; Auckland) explains:

I enjoy travelling; I enjoy being mobile. I feel very privileged to see the different parts of the world and make friends with people who are from different cultural backgrounds. Mobilities
make me wiser and less biased. The thing is, I enjoy moving around and I feel so happy just talking to different people and seeing different things.

Gary, a university student, and has received education from both China and New Zealand. He has also travelled to Africa and Europe. Apparently, his mobilities have changed his outlook and armed him with strong cosmopolitan sensibilities, which have allowed him to obtain excitement and pleasure in the presence of cultural mixture. Similarly, some other interviewees also indicated that they felt happy and experienced a sense of achievement when engaging with a wide range of cultural subjectivities.

Performing cosmopolitan sociability to negotiate difference, build cross-cultural relations and expand comfort zones is a process of moving between different relationship networks and recreating a sense of familiarity and comfort in various social settings. To many of the 1.5 generation interviewees, their sense of in-betweeness and liminality has resulted to a certain degree in feelings of loss, confusion, and discomfort. However, most of them said they have become accustomed to their dual-identity and can function effectively within different relationship networks. During this socialising process, their comfort zones have been expanded and their cosmopolitan repertoires gradually enlarged. Many of the 1.5 generation interviewees demonstrated the ability to practice cosmopolitan sociabilities in order to ‘move in and out’ (Butcher 2009, 1362) of different relationship networks and obtain a sense of comfort within various kinds of contact zones. Through this wider set of socialising processes, they have been able to navigate more effectively in a wider range of settings, a clear example of utilising more cosmopolitan sociabilities. As the examples in this section suggest being able to successfully negotiate difference and engage in cosmopolitan sociability not only requires a cosmopolitan repertoire, but also demands the investment of emotional labour, whether manifested in growing levels of self-esteem, a willingness to suppress immediate feelings of discomfort to generate greater comfort in the long-term, or through feeling for and with others to build relationships.

These examples are all from 1.5 generation interviewees, demonstrating the significance of time and age in terms of developing and utilising intercultural competency to engage in cosmopolitan sociability and negotiate difference. Indeed, most first generation interviewees spoke about the insurmountability of the emotional challenges and the immutability of difference. As a result they have sought emotional stability within their established comfort
zones such as the home and Chinese community rather than actively approaching cultural others and expanding their social networks. In large part, this heavily reduced ability and willingness to engage in cosmopolitan sociability amongst first generation interviewees is a reflection of a lack of confidence and cosmopolitan repertoire and fear of frustrated encounters that might invite higher levels of emotional instability. More importantly, these two different ways of encountering difference show that conducting cosmopolitan sociability does not hinge only on ‘forms of competence and communication skills’ (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011, 402) but also emotions and how we cope with emotional dissonance generated from social interactions across difference.

7.7 Conclusion

The major objective of this chapter has been to unpack the emotional dynamics involved in intercultural interactions and to investigate how emotions are involved in the possibilities for cosmopolitan sociability. It has shown that emotions and cosmopolitan sociability interact with each other in an amplified and more dramatic way in the migration context. Performing cosmopolitan sociability to build intercultural relationship networks cannot be understood outside of the emotions from which they emerge. Put another way, the process of engaging in cosmopolitan sociability is emotional and emotions generated from these practices influence migrants’ ability and willingness to engage in future intercultural encounters.

This chapter has addressed the emergence and absence of cosmopolitan sociabilities in migrants’ lives and the ways in which a reduced ability to conduct cosmopolitan sociabilities is closely related to the emotional dissonance generated from unsuccessful intercultural encounters. Indeed, performing cosmopolitan sociability is a struggle, and is impeded by how migrants feel about themselves and the cultural others they encounter. Like many migrants, particularly visible minorities, the Chinese migrants in this research are in a socially disadvantaged position that shapes their experiences of and responses to difference. Most notably the discussion has shown how ‘emotional dissonance’ disrupts opportunities for conducting cosmopolitan sociabilities and feeling at home in contact zones. Interviewees spoke about feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and a sense of distance that have limited their confidence to build relationship networks beyond the Chinese community. Others described unpleasant memories from the early settlement period (first generation) and traumatic early life experiences (1.5
generation) that have affected perceptions of themselves, others and difference. These experiences have generated emotional barriers that for some participants are clearly difficult if not impossible to overcome.

This appears to be particularly the case for first-generation interviewees. Due to limited family resources, language barriers, reduced access to mainstream social networks, and lower intercultural competency, almost all of them expressed unpleasant memories from their early settlement period. Their emotional struggles have greatly affected their perceptions of themselves and their difference from the majority population, which have amplified the emotional dissonance they feel in interacting with cultural others in everyday life. In addition, for many of them, maintaining closeness with family members scattered across national boundaries requires a significant investment of emotional labour. They have gone through a great deal of emotional hardship in the process of home-making in a transnational setting.

These challenges have not only limited their capacity to build intercultural relations, but also heightened the importance of seeking emotional stability and familiarity from socialising with Chinese. While familiar and secure, these interactions in turn diminish willingness and motivation to reach out to interact with others through more cosmopolitan sociabilities. Indeed, arguably, this socialising preference reinforces emotional and social barriers to intercultural interactions, making more cosmopolitan forms of sociability seem all too difficult and destabilising. In moments of emotional dissonance, most of these first generation interviewees have found it very challenging to extend themselves through forms of cosmopolitan sociability that require both high intercultural competency and substantial emotional labour. It is evident that these interviewees have, to varying degrees, failed to obtain opportunities for cosmopolitan sociabilities that may have enabled them to achieve a greater sense of comfort and familiarity through becoming immersed in the new languages, cultural norms and socialising patterns of their host country.

Alternatively, for 1.5 generation interviewees, it is not surprising that they were more likely to display a wider range of intercultural encounters, since they speak fluent English, are familiar with cultural norms and they have high intercultural competency. Yet, most have also felt a sense of distance with Pākehā. As migrant children, many experienced different degrees of emotional struggle caused by different forms of racism and bullying at school. For many, these early life experiences have undermined their ability or willingness to socialise with Pākehā. At
the same time, as intergenerational migrant youth, they are culturally ‘suspended in-between’—‘neither truly Western nor authentically Asian’ (Ang 2001, 194). This hybridity has not only given them intercultural competency but also added a strong sense of ambivalence into their everyday lives. Accordingly, for 1.5 generation participants, an emphasis was often placed on the challenge of growing up Chinese, both in terms of being perceived as different, despite their cultural familiarity with New Zealand, and the expectations placed on them by parents and their community to be successful. From school life to social life, the 1.5 generation have often participated in Asian youth cultures that were neither traditionally Chinese nor subject to Pākehā norms. Therefore, their mismatched everyday socialising and cultural norms in relation to Pākehā have limited interactions across difference and diminished their capacity for performing cosmopolitan sociability.

Nevertheless, some younger generation Chinese migrants were shown to be capable of moving between different relationship networks in ways that demonstrate the potential for cosmopolitan sociability. This included strategic attempts to play with cultural identities as well as evidence of abilities to engage emotionally with others and to seek out more collective feelings of comfort. These are examples of what Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011) call ‘cosmopolitan sociability’. However it is very clear in this chapter that such practices articulate through different emotional states and often rely on the investment of significant emotional labour. In turn, the capacity to conduct cosmopolitan sociability has enabled them to seek a sense of comfort and domesticate certain social settings in ways that are simply not possible for most first generation interviewees.

Cosmopolitan sociability in this regard relies not only on intercultural competence and communication skills, but also how we feel about ourselves, about others and how others make us feel. Interviewees in this research have experienced a variety of emotional dynamics during migration and through their everyday lives in new settings. These emotions matter because they orient and colour the way the 1.5 generation interviewees navigate between different cultural spheres and the way they function in intercultural encounters. Cosmopolitan sociability, then, while reliant on skills and competencies, cannot be understood without attention to the emotional dynamics of encountering others. Rather, such encounters and the contact zones they take place in are cut through with emotional content and generate feelings that affect participants and the manner in which they operate in relation to each other. Being able to engage in cosmopolitan sociability and to negotiate difference in different cultural contexts is
not a given result of increasing migration or cross-cultural interactions. It is rather a process that demands ongoing emotional labour in order to overcome the dissonance that characterises the lives of many migrants.
Chapter Eight Conclusions

8.1 ‘Desirable’ migrants and their ‘undesirable’ outcomes

The research cohort in my project is composed of new Chinese migrants who have moved to New Zealand under its neoliberal immigration regime which began in 1987. This regime ostensibly selects and positions migrants in ways that are not marked by ethnicity or nationality, but rather by either financial capital or skills (Simon-Kumar 2015). In contrast to earlier Chinese migrants, post-1987 new Chinese migrants are well-educated and relatively wealthy, and as a result they are often perceived in governmental terms as ‘desirable’ migrants who invest human capital or financial capital in a way that contributes to the social-economic development of New Zealand. My research has shown that these desirable migrants do not necessarily achieve ‘desirable’ settlement outcomes in their host society, financially, socially, or emotionally.

As this thesis has demonstrated, the first generation migrants encounter a set of barriers to obtaining stable and decent employment that matches their age-education profile, and also struggle with financial pressure and degraded social status, especially during their early settlement period. Due to limited English competency, low intercultural familiarity and migrant family related pressure, most first generation interviewees in my research have found it emotionally challenging to socialise with cultural others, especially with Pākehā, which undermines their capacity to engage in cosmopolitanism in daily life, and at the same time further strengthens their sense of Chinese rootedness.

By contrast, the material presented here suggests that the 1.5 generation migrants seem to be able to adapt to the socio-cultural norms of New Zealand much better than either their parents’ generation or the recent first generation migrants who migrated after their teenage years. The fact that the 1.5 generation migrants are educated formally and informally in a Western society has enabled them to have high intercultural competency and the ability to deal with diversity. Nevertheless, my research has shown that they face a set of barriers to ‘becoming cosmopolitan’, due to their unique migrant status and in-between growing up experiences. It is their in-betweenness and hybridity that has not only given them a strong cosmopolitan repertoire but
also injected a sense of ambivalence and liminality that can at times undermine their engagement with cosmopolitanism in their everyday life.

My research has explored how these relatively ‘undesirable’ settlement outcomes of new Chinese migrants are interrelated to their intercultural encounter patterns, identity dynamics, interplay between rootedness and openness, and, most importantly, their ability to conduct cosmopolitanism in order to negotiate difference. The three research finding chapters (Chapters Five, Six, and Seven) have utilised cosmopolitanism as the theoretical framework to examine the emergence and absence of cosmopolitanism amongst the research cohort’s everyday migrant life. This study has moved from merely labelling people as cosmopolitans or non-cosmopolitans, to exploring how people’s rootedness and socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. age, age upon arrival, class, job) alter the opportunities for performing cosmopolitanism in different social settings. Overall, this project has taken cosmopolitanism beyond its normative, moral and philosophical dimensions and focused on ‘cosmopolitanism from below’ to explore the specific, quotidian and down-to-earth intercultural engagements conducted by ordinary individuals outside a Eurocentric framework. The following sections will present the contributions this research has made, while discussing the major research findings.

8.2 A rooted cosmopolitanism: Transcending Eurocentrism

The first contribution that my research has made is to extend the literature on cosmopolitanism beyond a Euro-centric framework. As a product of classical European thought, the idea of cosmopolitanism has been traditionally defined, approached and utilised within the confines of Eurocentrism (Beck 2006; Beck and Grande 2007). This Eurocentric tradition is largely due to the strong influence of Kantian cosmopolitanism, which considers white Europeans ‘the most developed instantiation of humanity’ and thus fails to acknowledge the contributions of non-European cultures. Accordingly, the wider academic scholarship on cosmopolitanism has tended to associate ‘being cosmopolitan’ (as a practice) with being in the West and ‘cosmopolitanism’ (as an idea) with being of the West (Bhambra 2010; 2011).

In order to move beyond the latent Eurocentrism that persists in cosmopolitan thought, my research has undertaken a de-centring of these dominant understandings of cosmopolitanism that are characterised by frames of reference exemplified by Western thoughts and practices. In
Chapter Eight Conclusions

order to do that, I have not only acknowledged the roots of cosmopolitanism in Chinese culture (the ‘tianxia’ concept), but by taking the new Chinese migrants to New Zealand as a case study, I have also identified the emergence and development of cosmopolitanism outside the domain of Western middle-class groups. More importantly, drawing on insights of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, the study has examined the role played by Chinese rootedness during the process of becoming cosmopolitan.

The ideology of ‘tianxia’ symbolises an epistemology that has emerged in China which acknowledges the wider geographic world and places an emphasis on developing universal values. Under its influence, Chinese cultural practices emerged in a way that could incorporate a set of cultural beliefs, customs and values from other parts of the world, such as Buddhism and mathematics, as well as foods, dress, aesthetics and architectural design. By discussing the roots of the idea of cosmopolitanism within Chinese culture, my research has established that the idea of cosmopolitanism as a set of philosophical values can also find its roots in Chinese culture, and it should not be only considered as a Western concept.

This more variegated notion of cosmopolitanism was explored through the second research entry point of my project, based on the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, which suggests that rootedness towards a particular culture and place or identity is not contradictory to becoming cosmopolitan, and acknowledges the possibility of maintaining a multiplicity of roots and identities (see Chapter Six). My research takes a refined version of this concept that transcends its normative or philosophical dimension and focuses on everyday intercultural practices of individual migrants who negotiate the interplay between their rootedness and cosmopolitan openness. Chapter Six has explored the role played by Chinese migrants’ rootedness and emotional attachment towards China, Chinese culture and Chinese community during the process of engaging in cosmopolitanism in their everyday lives. By acknowledging and identifying the existence of Chinese rootedness and its influence on the development of cosmopolitanism, my research again situates cosmopolitanism in a way that is not limited to a Western context.

Chapter Six has shown that Chinese migrants’ everyday interactions with cultural others, and performance of cosmopolitan openness on a daily basis, closely interrelates with how they cope with and perceive their Chinese rootedness. Although their strong sense of rootedness towards China has made their interactions with Pākehā more challenging, and limited their confidence in
building relationship networks beyond the Chinese community, this does not mean that Chinese rootedness necessarily excludes possibilities of developing cosmopolitan openness. Instead, following Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic (2011), one of my research findings is that one’s rootedness and openness are not mutually exclusive, but can simultaneously coexist and even mutually strengthen each other. This is particularly true when it comes to 1.5 generation migrants, who live in a transnational space and who have probably developed multiple senses of belongings and identities towards more than one place and culture. My research has demonstrated that some 1.5 generation interviewees are capable of utilising their Chinese rootedness to create more opportunities for their ethno-cultural exchanges. In other words, their Chinese rootedness is not only ‘harmless’ to their practices of cosmopolitan openness, but also serves as an anchor or catalyst to facilitate the process of their becoming cosmopolitan. Some interviewees reclaim and embrace their Chinese rootedness, so as to be assertive about their difference and to flexibly play with their different sets of cultural identities, in order to more effectively negotiate difference and enlarge their relationship networks. Their Chinese rootedness can sometimes be used as an important and interesting ingredient of cosmopolitan sociability to build intercultural relations.

Moreover, Chapter Six has shown that an individual’s sense of rootedness is not necessarily only developed towards their homeland, but also their adopted country. Most first generation interviewees in this research have a very low level of sense of rootedness towards New Zealand, resulting from frustration with language barriers and low intercultural competency. Accordingly, their lack of rootedness towards their host society has limited their socialising activities with cultural others, especially with the majority Pākehā population. This has thus heightened the importance of social interactions within familiar spaces. Nevertheless, for some 1.5 generation interviewees, it is this lack of rootedness towards New Zealand that has prompted their cosmopolitan imaginations to long for higher level cosmopolitan mobilities. Accordingly, my research has argued that rootedness and openness are not necessarily exclusive but are sometimes in a state of equilibrium, or even mutually complementary.

This rooted approach towards understanding cosmopolitanism is itself essentially a way of transcending the Eurocentric framework of cosmopolitanism. Neither Kant nor most cosmopolitan scholars have identified or acknowledged the role played by people’s original rootedness in developing and performing cosmopolitanism. Rather, their focus has claimed to be universal, despite its indebtedness to European philosophical traditions, historical experiences
and political problems. This has been exacerbated by the emphasis in research on people who are from the West and the association of these people’s ‘being cosmopolitan’ with the fact that they are ‘being Western’. In this regard, this Eurocentrism is more likely to lead us away from rootedness, or prevent us from being aware of or acknowledging the existence of the relations between cosmopolitanism and rootedness. Kantian-informed cosmopolitanism tends to instinctively assume and take for granted that cosmopolitan practices and the development of cosmopolitan ideas only emerge amongst those who are from the West. Even the scholars who discuss the concept of ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, perceive people’s roots within a wider Western cultural framework, which means that the ‘roots’ are also essentially of Western origins. By contrast, my research has explored cosmopolitanism amongst migrants who are originally from China and who still maintain different degrees of rootedness towards their Chinese identity and original cultural heritage, which has contributed to the understanding of cosmopolitanism as an orientation that can manifest not only within but also beyond a Eurocentric context.

8.3 Everyday cosmopolitanism: Uneven encounters with diversity

My research has argued that cosmopolitanism should not be associated with social elites and that it can also be identified in more ‘ordinary’ everyday situations (Lamont and Aksartova 2002; Werbner 2006). With a focus on ‘everyday’ life, my project has utilised ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ as a grounded research approach to explore various shapes of cosmopolitan interactions amongst individual Chinese migrants in their daily lives, and has demonstrated that cosmopolitanism is differently available to them due to their uneven socio-demographic characteristics and uneven social power relations.

In this regard, my research has made important contributions to understanding ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’ and the uneven encounters with diversity that take place in migrant life. First, examining the emergence of everyday cosmopolitanism amongst Chinese migrant individuals in their everyday lives has been a departure from classical notions of cosmopolitanism as a universalistic vision for a transnational republican order, or a moral universalism (Delanty 2006, 27-28). With a focus on the empirical and analytical dimensions of cosmopolitanism as a sociological tool, my research has built on everyday cosmopolitanism as a research entry point to explore whether, and how, grounded and down-to-earth cosmopolitan engagements can be
utilised by ordinary migrants to negotiate difference and build intercultural relations in their migrant lives.

Second, my research has examined how everyday cosmopolitanism has emerged and has been conducted in the context of migration. Some research has shown how various forms of ‘everyday’ cosmopolitanism are produced in workplaces, neighbourhoods or localities among those who populate them (Datta 2009; Favell 2008; Kothari 2008; Wessendorf 2010), which has pushed the research on cosmopolitanism to a more grounded, everyday and vernacular level (Werbner 2006). Building on these research, my project has specifically focused on everyday cosmopolitanism amongst the migrant communities, and utilised cosmopolitanism as a theoretical framework to approach migration studies. In my research, everyday cosmopolitanism has been utilised as a grounded approach to investigate the lived experience of migrant individuals who are exposed to increasing levels of cross-cultural differences and cross-border mobilities. In doing so, it has shed light on the underlying relationship between cosmopolitanism and migrant mobilities, providing a new approach to examine the living paradigms of international migrants.

Third, my research has demonstrated that migrant encounters with diversity, and their ability to conduct cosmopolitanism in everyday life, need to be read in relation to the uneven dynamics of social relations and the particular biographies of migrant individuals who seek to negotiate, identify and adapt to new places. It has been shown in this thesis that opportunities and abilities for encountering cultural diversity and building intercultural relationship networks within ‘contact zones’ (Pratt 1992) are uneven between majority and minority populations. As a non-white minority population in New Zealand, Chinese migrants generally have less ability to manage diversity and shape the encounters that take place in contact zones, as a result of differences in language, cultural familiarity and socialising habits. The research findings have suggested, however, that the migrants’ differences from the majority population, Pākehā, are not evenly distributed, and that migrants with different migration experiences conduct intercultural encounters differently, demonstrating different capacities and comforts in socialising and building intercultural relations. This has manifested most apparently in differences in migration histories (e.g. age upon arrival, education background) between first and 1.5 generation migrants.
8.3.1 Socialising barriers for the first generation

As visible minorities, first generation Chinese migrants in this research are positioned in a socially disadvantaged place within the culturally dominant Pākehā society. This disrupts opportunities for performing everyday cosmopolitanism and feeling at home in a transnational setting. Most of these migrants tend to encounter a set of socialising barriers, and have low ability to negotiate difference and conduct everyday cosmopolitanism in contact zones, due to language barriers, low intercultural familiarity, and relatively poor socio-economic status, as well as a set of migrant family related challenges. The Chinese community in New Zealand has been transformed into a social space where they feel at home, and belong, due to shared and familiar languages, cultural norms and socialising habits. The Chinese community is considered as a ‘domesticated contact zone’ for these interviewees, who find it challenging and stressful to engage in cross-cultural interactions in order to seek social relations beyond established comfort zones. Their strong sense of rootedness and attachment towards their homeland, China, and/or Chinese culture, has pushed most interviewees to choose to withdraw into comfortable contact zones. A reduced self-confidence and fear of frustrating encounters with cultural others, especially with Pākehā, has caused this withdrawal, and consequently reinforces its persistence.

Socialising for first generation Chinese migrants has also been undermined by a set of migrant family related stressors, limitations and predicaments. To construct a new life in a different place involves not only having good financial resources but also building social networks that can enable one to feel accepted in a new cultural context. Collins (2010, 54) has pointed out that ‘making the unfamiliar familiar is rarely a straightforward individual endeavour … it is an exercise that requires both social as well as personal resources.’ However, many of the first generation interviewees said that they felt so pressured from juggling work and household responsibilities that they did not have sufficient time for socialising. The desire to maintain a decent social and financial status has pushed them to work more strenuously, while exhausting their potential for a life outside of financial obligations. We can easily imagine the feelings of frustration and discomfort they have when they encounter cultural unfamiliarity and language barriers while also lacking a social life. Consequently, most of the interviewees have ‘[shrunk] to the four walls of their home’ (Wise 2005, 177), since home is their primary contact zone where they can obtain a sense of security and be far away from feelings of estrangement. Over time, most of them found it very unrealistic to reach beyond their family life or other comfort
zones to socialise with locals, a situation which leads to a low level of motivation and little opportunity for integrating local lifestyle into their everyday lives.

8.3.2 Not necessarily becoming cosmopolitan: The 1.5 generation

Scholars tend to see the 1.5 generation of migrants as individuals who are bilingual and of high intercultural competency, representing new cosmopolitan possibilities (Bartley and Spoonley 2008; Chiang 2001). Their hybrid identities are viewed as evidence for new ways of approaching difference in diverse societies (Bartley and Spoonley 2008). My research has examined these claims in relation to 1.5 generation Chinese migrants in New Zealand, focusing on their experiences of negotiating family and early life, and possibilities for becoming cosmopolitan. By drawing insights from ‘everyday cosmopolitanism’, my research has explored how their in-between growing up experience and hybridity both facilitate and undermine capacities to overcome difference and alter the power dynamics within social worlds. It has demonstrated that cosmopolitanism is not easily achieved, but rather oscillates around strategies for fitting in that sometimes reinforce uneven social positions. Put another way, cosmopolitanism is socially situated, subject to multiple pressures, and enacted within the uneven power relations of society.

Growing up between two cultures—the Chinese household and wider Western society—these 1.5 generation interviewees encounter substantial barriers to becoming cosmopolitan. Their socialising patterns and negotiation with diversity are closely related to the particularities of their migrant biographies—the pressures of migrant family life, and their early life experiences. The financial and social struggles that their parents have suffered from migration, especially during the early settlement period, generate extra responsibility, expectations and limitations which significantly impact on their socialising habits, and make it difficult for them to engage actively with intercultural encounters in their daily lives, especially with their Pākehā peers. At the same time, most of them have unpleasant memories from their early life experiences, growing up mainly during the 1990s when negative attitudes towards Asian immigrants were prominent in the media and in public discourses. Moreover, their affinity towards Asian peers at school has also diminished their desire to approach cultural others, including the Pākehā majority. All these barriers serve to undermine their ability to engage in cosmopolitanism.
However, some of these 1.5 generation interviewees have demonstrated the ability to utilise their hybridity and engage in everyday cosmopolitanism despite all those barriers. Some of them have learnt how to consciously ‘block out’ unpleasant experiences from daily interactions; some have tried to make compromises and adjustments to fit into specific social settings; and others have exhibited strategic attempts to switch between different identities with an aim to suit specific purposes and needs. All these efforts, regardless of whether they are reflexive or pragmatic, have created more opportunities for them to conduct social interactions with a wider diversity of people.

In this regard my research makes two important contributions to understanding the lives of in-between subjects like the 1.5 generation and their capacity to become cosmopolitan. First, although 1.5 generation migrants are considered as ‘hybrid’ subjects with dual identity capital and flexible orientations, switching identities and negotiating cultural difference is still far away from being a straightforward task, or an innate ability. It has been argued that oscillating between one ‘full’ identity and another does not come easily, not least because cultural boundaries are often ambiguous and dynamic (Ngan and Chan 2012). Rather, their ability to be flexible towards diversity is a result of growing up with people from different cultural backgrounds and knowing how to interact with them. This flexibility has been gradually obtained as they progress and learn through their lives, through a process in which they have been exposed to numerous difficult social situations in their everyday lives. Yet, their ability to negotiate cultural difference can always be disrupted by their own desire for familiarity and comfort, which can lead them to avoid approaching cultural others. Moreover, the experience of rejection can create barriers in the present that resonate emotionally through their lives. Put simply, exposure to cultural diversity and mobilities does not automatically lead to the embrace of difference. Indeed, for those participants who demonstrated a greater capacity for negotiating difference, their potential ability to become cosmopolitan often hinged on managing and suppressing feelings and blocking out negative experiences (Wang and Collins 2016a). This is related to research findings on the emotional dimension of cosmopolitanism that will be further introduced in the next section.

Second, my research has demonstrated that becoming cosmopolitan cannot be separated from the social situations in which difference is encountered. It is particularly notable that cosmopolitan attitudes expressed in the narratives of 1.5 generation interviewees are oriented towards Pākehā as the dominant socio-cultural group in New Zealand, and that the cosmopolitan
practices are often conducted to ‘fit into’ the norms of that group through strategic and flexible efforts depending on the situation. Recognising these pragmatic and performative aspects of their cosmopolitan engagements does not undermine their efforts to become cosmopolitan, but actually serves as a baseline for establishing wider intercultural relations in society. At the same time, these reflections highlight the importance of paying attention to the social situatedness of becoming cosmopolitan, the power relations that always characterise social encounters, and the different motivations involved in efforts to overcome this. This is perhaps particularly important where scholars consider the lives of groups like the 1.5-generation, who appear to be *a priori* cosmopolitan, but who, more than others, have to negotiate the power dynamics and cultural differences of multiple social worlds.

In order to understand the unfolding of everyday cosmopolitanism, it is necessary to account for the social settings within which this takes place. Individuals, including the participants in this study, do not operate in an idealised world of cosmopolitan values and aspirations, but rather have to negotiate difference as they encounter it, shaped by the socio-cultural imaginings of ethnic differences, and the power relations that shape societal interactions more broadly. This does not preclude the achievement of a wider engagement with cosmopolitanism, but it does mean that we need to start by exploring the everyday encounters with difference that these young people have. Critically, my research makes a distinction between intercultural competency and becoming cosmopolitan. Possessing intercultural competency is a starting point for becoming cosmopolitan: however, it does not guarantee the emergence or development of cosmopolitan engagement in daily life, since ‘becoming cosmopolitan’ implies an agentive desire or will to utilise intercultural competencies to build social relations and overcome distance that can be generated in intercultural encounters.

### 8.4 Feeling cosmopolitan: The emotional dimension

Engaging specifically with a growing body of literature on emotions in the experiences of migration, my research has demonstrated that performing cosmopolitan sociability fundamentally relies on the way that migrants feel about themselves and others, and their sense of familiarity and comfort in different situations. It has shown that intercultural encounters are moments of amplified emotions, and that overcoming emotional dissonance in order to overcome difference and engage in cosmopolitan sociability demands the investment of
considerable emotional labour. In this regard, cosmopolitan sociability relies on much more than intercultural competence and communication skills; it is about how we feel about ourselves, how we feel about others, and how others make us feel.

Chapter Seven has demonstrated that the ‘emotional dissonance’ (e.g. anxiety, uncertainty, awkwardness, sense of distance) that is generated in unsuccessful or unpleasant intercultural encounters disrupts opportunities for Chinese migrants to negotiate difference, conduct cosmopolitan sociability and feel at home in contact zones, especially for first generation migrants. Most first generation interviewees spoke about the insurmountability of emotional challenges and the immutability of difference. The socialising barriers for first generation interviewees discussed earlier in this chapter contribute to their emotional dissonance, and most of them find it very difficult to overcome these barriers, with the result that they have been thrown into increased isolation from the wider society. As a result, they often seek emotional stability within established comfort zones such as the home and Chinese community, rather than actively approaching cultural others and expanding their social networks. In large part, this difference reflects a lack of confidence and intercultural competency, and the fear of frustrated encounters that might invite higher levels of emotional instability.

At the same time, many of the 1.5 generation interviewees, who are expected to have higher capacity to engage in cosmopolitan sociability, are also affected by unpleasant emotional feelings that have been produced from socialising with cultural others, especially with Pākehā. My research has analysed why these highly mobile and seemingly cosmopolitan migrant youth need to invest in significant emotional labour in order to utilise cosmopolitan sociability for interactions across difference. On one hand, they grew up in households where their parents faced difficulties financially and socially, which generated emotional instability. On other hand, almost all of them experienced forms of racism and bullying at school at the same time that they underwent adolescent and cross-cultural identity dilemmas. For many, these traumatic early life experiences have caused a sense of discomfort and anxiety and, for some, even fear of approaching cultural others, especially Pākehā, which has undermined their ability or willingness to engage in cosmopolitanism and build cross-cultural relations.

Another factor that contributes to the challenge of socialising with Pākehā is these migrants’ hybrid identity. Paradoxically, this hybridity has not only provided them with high intercultural familiarity but has at the same time generated a sense of ‘liminality’ (Huang et.al 2008), where
these migrants are stuck ‘in-between’ more than one culture (Bartley and Spoonley 2008). As this study has shown, many 1.5 generation interviewees suffer from a strong sense of frustration and confusion in their social lives. They grow up and receive education within a Western society dominated by Pākehā, but they are rarely, if ever, seen as ‘authentic Kiwis’ by the wider society, due to their non-white physicality; at the same time, their desire to function as ‘authentic Kiwis’ and socialise with Pākehā peers can be disrupted by the moral or cultural values and ideologies their parents seek to cultivate in them, which limits the way they utilise everyday cosmopolitanism to interact with the social worlds they inhabit. These tensions generate emotional dissonance and exacerbate the sense of distance they already feel from encountering Pākehā. Therefore, this study has revealed that emotions matter, and that they shape what kinds of cosmopolitan sociability emerge, regardless of the competence and communication skills of those involved.

My research has also analysed how some of these younger generation Chinese migrants nevertheless manage to overcome emotional barriers and build a sense of familiarity and comfort in different social settings. In order to move between different relationship networks, these interviewees make pragmatic attempts to play with cultural identities and create more collective feelings of comfort with cultural others. At the same time, some of them choose to embrace their difference as migrants, with the aim of obtaining emotional empowerment as a Chinese person living in New Zealand, and reconfiguring their relationship to places. It should be noted that the process in which they make these efforts to engage in more cosmopolitan sociabilities and negotiate difference is emotional, and demands significant emotional labour. That is to say, cosmopolitan sociability, while reliant on skills and competencies, cannot be understood without attention to the emotional dynamics of encountering others. Rather, being able to engage in cosmopolitan sociability in different cultural contexts, especially for minority populations in contact zones, is not a straightforward process, but one that requires ongoing emotional work in order to overcome the emotional dissonance running through the lives of many migrants.

In addition, another finding of this study is that being able to conduct cosmopolitan sociability sometimes involves a suppression of ‘deep down’ feelings. In this respect, becoming cosmopolitan cannot necessarily be read as a positive or empowering process in a straightforward sense. Admittedly, at least based on the findings presented in this thesis, it would seem that it is the children of migrants who have to adapt and overcome emotional
dissonance and conduct emotional labour, rather than their Pākehā peers or wider society, and that being flexible and performing cosmopolitan sociability can sometimes equate to simply fitting in with other people’s norms. The question of what kinds of emotions and emotional labour are involved in the cosmopolitan sociability of dominant or majority populations is a question for future research. That is to say, in a contact zone filled with uneven power relations or forced encounters, my research has shown that learnt capacities to function and interact across difference by suppressing ‘deep down’ feelings should not necessarily be romanticised as a cosmopolitan sensibility.

8.5 Imagining the cosmopolitan West: Have their dreams come true?

The interview narratives in my research have shown a rather binary logic of principally focusing on encounters with two socio-cultural groups: Chinese and Pākehā. I have detailed the reasons behind this seemingly paradoxical orientation in a multicultural society within Chapter Two. One of the major reasons is that what shapes the migration to New Zealand of participants in this research is their imagination towards the cosmopolitan West, and fantasies of pursuing a global lifestyle characterised by ‘whiteness’ and life in a ‘white’ society. These perceptions of Chinese migrants are informed by representations of New Zealand as an immigrant destination that frames Pākehā as the ‘real hosts’, and this also leads to a valorisation of relationships with Pākehā. However, many interviewees, especially those from the first generation, have suggested that they encounter a strong sense of emotional dissonance while trying to socialise with Pākehā, which greatly undermines their capacity to conduct cosmopolitanism and build intercultural relations, thus disrupting their sense of home in relation to New Zealand.

I argue that the emotional dissonance generated from unsuccessful encounters with Pākehā should be read in relation to pre-existing notions of race and difference which are involved with migrants’ imagination of a cosmopolitan West. Many of these Chinese migrants have developed highly essentialised views in relation to their difference from ‘white’ people, which has further amplified their sense of distance from Pākehā during their post-migration lives. More

---

23 As I have explained in Chapter Two, ‘cosmopolitan’ here refers to a set of qualities that Chinese migrants assume the Western lifestyle has, such as modern, free, sophisticated, fashionable, and refined. It is different from the meaning of ‘cosmopolitanism’ in my research as a theoretical framework and analytical tool. 207
importantly, they are not alone in holding these views on immutable difference regarding race. As Chapter Two has shown, there were strong waves of anti-Asian immigration sentiment amongst the public and the media throughout the 1990s (these still are seen today, albeit more subtly), forming a contrast with much more positive - or at least ambivalent - attitudes towards ‘white’ immigrants from the United Kingdom and South Africa. These pre-existing notions of race and difference held by both these Chinese migrants and the local population in New Zealand have meant that intercultural encounters and the formation of intercultural relationship networks are challenging and problematic. Discourses around immigration and ethnicity during the early years in particular focused principally on ‘skin colour’ in very essentialist ways that generated notions of who is racially included and accepted in a place, and who is not. This is likely to have had significant influence on how these Chinese migrants perceive themselves and their migrant status and their difference from and relation to Pākehā. Similarly, the Chinese migrants’ imaginations and aspirations towards a Western lifestyle have ironically reinforced the otherness of Pākehā, and thus drawn boundaries of difference through racial categories.

At the same time, this study has shown that many interviewees, especially the first generation migrants, have still maintained a strong sense of rootedness towards their Chinese identity and cultural heritage, and many of them choose to withdraw into their Chinese comfort zones, which is one of the barriers to their engaging in cosmopolitanism. It is their notion of difference and race that has strengthened their sense of rootedness towards being Chinese, and their exclusive socialising with the local Chinese community. Consequently, the alignment between Chinese migrants and New Zealanders (mainly Pākehā) regarding the perception of race and difference, has contributed to Chinese migrants’ strong sense of Chinese rootedness, and generated more difficulties for everyday interactions across difference.

Migration carries a high level of expectation in relation to obtaining upward social mobility for both the individual and the whole family. Many first generation interviewees suggested that their migration was mainly for the next generation, and many of them expressed a sense of regret and questioned their migration decisions. Often, migration can be perceived as a celebrated life path, since migrants tend to present themselves in a successful way by concealing the reality of financial and social struggles (Salazar 2012). However, migration itself is a process of both imagining and materialising mobility aspirations, and this process is often filled with unexpected events and frustrations. My research has demonstrated that migratory venture is inherently risky, and beyond outward discourses of success there can be concealed pain and
It is difficult to say whether these Chinese migrants have achieved their dreams of having a Western lifestyle in the cosmopolitan West when in many instances social networks and cultural norms draw them towards socio-cultural connections to China in New Zealand. What is clear from this thesis, however, is that becoming cosmopolitan is far from being a straightforward process, not least because it demands a constant practice of encountering diversity, and the investment of emotional labour. In this regard, this thesis has demonstrated that cosmopolitanism should be read in relation to people’s social-demographic characteristics, migration biographies, individual self-perception, and personal relations with others.

8.6 Implications for further research

Building on the groundwork of this study, some possible directions for future research which can make further contributions to the field of cosmopolitanism and migration studies have emerged. I would like to highlight these possibilities here.

First, as this research has shown, some interviewees go through emotional difficulties during the process of home-making in a transnational setting, since it is a challenge to maintain closeness with family scattered across national boundaries. Some migrants bear an ongoing sense of guilt and regret after their initial migration, due to the fact that they cannot take care of their aging parents in China, and it is a financial and emotional burden to commute frequently between China and New Zealand. This problem may have worsened as a result of the implementation of much stricter new family sponsorship policies in 2012. Income or wealth of parents and/or sponsors has become the key defining selection criterion, which makes it more difficult for low- and middle- income migrants to bring parents into the country (Bedford and Liu 2013; Simon-Kumar 2015). Further research could be done to examine the potential family life changes, financial pressure, and emotional dissonance generated amongst migrants, who could potentially find themselves in a position where they cannot meet the criteria for sponsoring ageing parents who need their support in New Zealand. Research questions could be designed to ask how these policy changes relate to migrants’ mobility patterns and aspirations, identity dynamics, sense of belonging and socialising capacities.

Second, the 1.5 generation interviewees in this research are mainly in their 20s and most of them are either still in their tertiary education period or have just started their working lives. These 1.5
generation (or the second generation) Chinese migrants grew up in New Zealand and will start their families and become more involved with society in the next five to ten years’ time, and it would be valuable to research their socio-economic outcomes in New Zealand as they age. It would be interesting to look into how the beginning of their own family life differs from their parents’ early settlement period, and whether their competency of becoming cosmopolitan varies as their family obligations and life stages shift, perhaps particularly in relation to taking care of their aging parents who are socially isolated from the mainstream society.

Third, my study has identified some of the key socialising barriers to engaging in cosmopolitanism and building intercultural relationship networks which are faced by first generation Chinese migrants. As my study has revealed, apart from language barriers, low cultural familiarity, migrant family life pressure and emotional dissonance generated from encountering cultural others, another reason for the failure to integrate and engage in a cross-cultural social life is the attraction of the familiar and the comfortable (taking the path of least resistance and socialising with other co-ethnic members) for these migrants. What attracted these migrants to move to New Zealand (better living, educational and natural environments) was something distinctly different from a search for cross-cultural interactions. How true is it that such interactions are to be endured, rather than embraced, as a necessary condition of living in a desired physical environment? As these first generation migrants age, will isolation from wider society prove to be a far greater detriment to their well-being? Will there be an accessible, well-resourced community within reach of an older generation of migrants? Such questions must be addressed by future research, and policy responses prepared, as this cohort reaches the later stages of life in New Zealand. Clearly, the ageing of first generation Asian migrants has become a social phenomenon that raises a number of pressing issues that migration researchers, policymakers and community groups must presently work to address (Ho 2004; Li 2011; Li Hodgetts, and Ho 2010; Li and Chong 2012).

Fourth, a temporal dimension of migrants’ engagement with cosmopolitan sociability should be acknowledged and further researched. Everyday cosmopolitanism has been used as an approach in my study to investigate daily intercultural encounters and ground some of the theoretical debates over cosmopolitanism. However, as Skey (2012) has pointed out, problems in terms of operationalising the concept still remain when it comes to identifying and emphasising the contradictory, discursive and rhetorical aspects of cosmopolitan engagements. At the same time, becoming cosmopolitan is a ‘becoming’ process and it does not remain in perpetuity. In this
regard, a temporal dimension should be introduced into future research to further explore the situational, conditional and often fragile elements involved within cosmopolitanism. More attention should be paid to analysing at which moment(s) people have more willingness or capacity to exhibit more cosmopolitan sociability in order to engage with cultural others, when and where these occur, and what are the circumstances that provide for or constrain such activities.

Fifth, cosmopolitanism is necessarily tied up with imaginative understandings of and orientations to the worlds that individuals inhabit (Delanty 2006), and the process of becoming cosmopolitan is one that ‘entails a commitment to imagining an alternative community’ (Papastergiadis 2011, 11), and involves forms of translation between people who conceive of themselves as different. Moreover, Papastergiadis (2012) has demonstrated how creative art can grasp the increasingly cosmopolitan global culture, and has highlighted the role played by critical imagination in intercultural encounters. Critically, he believes that creativity and imagination can cross-examine the complexity of human common conditions, enable new forms of hospitality, and create alternative ways of relating to cultural others (Papastergiadis 2012). Accordingly, more research can be done to focus on the cultural dimension of cosmopolitanism and explore its relation to cross-cultural social interactions. A related publication to this study (Wang and Collins 2016b) has briefly discussed the role played by imagination, creativity and self-reflection during the process of individuals negotiating difference and building intercultural relations. But more future effort needs to be made to examine the more creative acts of critical adaption and switching amongst people when they perform cosmopolitanism. Research questions can be designed to explore how ‘cosmopolitan imagination’ relates to self-awareness, reflection and active translation of practices that generate different kinds of interactions with others, and how the creative dimension to cosmopolitanism (Meskimon 2010) hinges on individuals doing more than just maintaining extant practices and relations, or simply tolerating others.

These five areas of potential development point to future possibilities for unpacking cosmopolitanism in a contextualised sense, and its temporal, discursive, and dis/empowering aspects. For the time being, however, my PhD project has explored the barriers and opportunities that different migrant individuals encounter during the process of conducting everyday intercultural engagements in different contact zones that are filled with uneven dynamics of social power relations. It has contributed to the literature on cosmopolitanism by
revealing its social situatedness, its relation to rootedness, and its entanglement with emotions within a non-Eurocentric framework.
List of References


List of References


Wray, Sharon. 2012. “This is your life you have to live with the memories: Older migrant women’s reflections on living with the past.” *The International Journal of Aging in Society* 1 (3): 35-48.


APPENDIX 1

Basic Information of Participants
(First section of the interview design)

Interviewee:
Code:
Interviewer:
Interview date:
Interview Place:
Remarks:

1. Gender__________; Age________; Marital Status__________________________
2. Place of birth: City________________; Country______________________________
3. Which citizenship(s) do you hold? __________________________________________
4. If you have not taken New Zealand citizenship, do you intend to take it in the future and why?
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________
5. Year of first arrival in New Zealand_________________
6. Year of obtaining PR or Citizenship of New Zealand_________________________
7. Migration category: Skilled; Business; Family Spouse; Family Parent; Others ( please specify)
8. Current living place: City________________; Country______________________________
9. Personal geographical movements prior and subsequent to landing New Zealand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Aims (Study/Work)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before moving to New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After moving to New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. Education background (Starting from the most recent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Professional/work history (Starting from the most recent; before and after migration)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Occupation and Position</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. English proficiency: Native; Fluent; Medium; Conversational; Beginner

15. Family Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship with Interviewee</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Current Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 2

Interview Questions

Interviewee:
Code:
Interviewer:
Interview date:
Interview Place:
Remarks:

SECTION ONE: BASIC INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS (APPENDIX ONE)

SECTION TWO: DECISION MAKING AND EARLY SETTLEMENT PERIOD

A. How was your life in China?
B. When did you first think about living outside China? When and how was the decision of moving to New Zealand made? What/who was involved in the decision making process? What made you leave China and choose New Zealand?
C. Have you studied/worked/lived in other countries prior to and after being in New Zealand? How do you feel about these movements?
D. Have you ever deliberately/purposely chosen to live in a particular location or city within New Zealand? If so, please explain that further.
E. Please tell me about your experience when you first came to New Zealand. What were your first impressions of the country? Its people?
F. How were the first few years of living in New Zealand? How different was it from your life in China, financially and socially?
G. Could you please share with me about your early life experiences when you moved to New Zealand with your parents?
H. Please tell me about travelling back to China and other travelling experiences. Do you regularly travel to China? What are the reasons?

SECTION THREE: SENSE OF BELONGING AND IDENTITY

Home and Belonging

A. In everyday conversation, when you say “home”, which place(s) are you referring to? What does the term “home” mean to you? Has the concept of “home” changed for you over time? If so, how?
Identity

B. How would you describe yourself (e.g. Chinese, a Chinese who is living in New Zealand, a Chinese New Zealander, a New Zealander)? Has this identity changed at all since you first moved to New Zealand or since you left China?
C. If you were to travel, work, study, or live in a country other than China and New Zealand, how would you introduce or describe yourself to another person?
D. If we asked someone you knew to describe your identity, what would they say? In your opinion, how would someone on the street describe you? How do these views make you feel?
E. Have you had any frustrating experiences in terms of identity-seeking and, if so, could you please tell me about a significant one?
F. What makes you feel patriotic or proud of either China or New Zealand?
G. Have you heard people in New Zealand make racist remarks about migrants? If you have encountered any racist behaviour, how did you react? Do these experiences influence how you feel about your identity or where you belong?

SECTION FOUR: ROOTEDNESS AND OPENNESS

Rootedness in Homeland

A. When you think about being Chinese, what is most important to you? What does China mean to you? How do your parents or other family members talk about being a Chinese or a Chinese migrant? How do you feel about Chinese culture and traditions?
B. How do you react when other people find faults with China? What about with New Zealand?
C. What do you think of the local Chinese community? What is it like? Please tell me about your experience of interacting with your local Chinese community.

Openness to Difference and Mobility

A. Now that you are in New Zealand surrounded by people of different skin colours, different ethnicities, and different languages, what do you think about this new living experience and social environment? How do you feel about interacting with people and cultures that are non-Chinese?
B. Where do you generally travel to when you are on holiday and with whom? Have you ever experienced any cultural shock during your stay at other places and if yes, how did you react? Do you generally talk to strangers or people of other ethnicities during your travels? If yes, why and how do you feel about it?
C. Do you know any cultural norms/values/symbols/images of New Zealand or other countries? What do you think of them?
D. Do you have any experience taking initiative to make friends and talk with people of different ethnic backgrounds in various social settings (e.g. school, work, parties)
E. What do you think of being a migrant? Do you find it comfortable being abroad? If so, why? If you had a second chance, would you choose to move to New Zealand, another country, or stay in China? Please elaborate.
SECTION FIVE: POST-MIGRATION EVERYDAY LIFE

Family Network

A. How would you feel if a family member that you are close to move to another city or country? How would you/your family feel if a family member dates or marries someone of another ethnicity (e.g. Pākehā, Maori, Japanese, Korean)?
B. Does your family often throw dinner parties? Who are the guests? Does your family often have guests of other nationalities or ethnicities?
C. What are some family practices that have changed significantly after moving to New Zealand?
D. How has your personality been shaped by your growing environment and family education? Please elaborate on that.
E. How is your relationship with your parents/children? Has the relationships been changed after migration?

Social Network

A. Please tell me about your friends: Who are they? Ethnicity mix? Where/how did you meet them?
B. Is it easy to make friends with people who are not Chinese? What are the main challenges? How do you overcome these? Are there benefits to having friends of other ethnicities?
C. Tell me about your regular social activities. Do they vary depending on who the friends are or where they come from? Do you often go to bars, cafes, parties, gatherings and with whom? What do you generally feel about these occasions?
D. Have you ever been a member of any clubs, groups, or associations? If yes, why and how did you join them? Who are the other members?
E. Whom do you generally turn to when you need help or want to share a happy/frustrating moment?

Neighbourhoods and Community

A. Where do you live? How would you describe your neighbourhood? What sort of people live there? (e.g. age, ethnicity, socio-economic background, demographics).
B. Why did you choose to live in this neighbourhood? How do you feel about it? Why or why not? What is important to you when you choose where to live?
C. Would you describe your neighbourhood as diverse? How do you feel about living in that kind of neighbourhood?
D. How many neighbours do you know on a first-name basis? How did you meet them? Tell me about regular interactions between you and your neighbours, if applicable.
E. Have you been involved with any community activities? If so, please describe your experience of that.

Professional Network

A. Do you have any overseas working experience? How do you feel about it?
### Appendices

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>B.</strong></td>
<td>How has your job-hunting experience been in New Zealand? Do you enjoy working in New Zealand?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C.</strong></td>
<td>How is your experience of working with colleagues who are of other ethnicities? What about with Chinese colleagues?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Language and Education

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A.</strong></td>
<td>What language(s) do you and your family tend to use at home? Which language do you generally use in your daily life (e.g. school, work)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B.</strong></td>
<td>Please tell me about your education experience. What are you interested in learning about at home and school?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C.</strong></td>
<td>If you have children, what sort of education would you like them to have? What do you think of your children’s current education? Would you describe the school that you or your children (if applicable) have attended as diverse? In what way? Does diversity have a role in education? Is it good for you or your children (if applicable)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Media, Arts, and Leisure

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A.</strong></td>
<td>What are your most commonly used websites, TV channels, and newspapers/journals/magazines? What interests you the most about each of these and Why? Do you pay more attention to local, home country or international news, information, and entertainment? Please explain why.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B.</strong></td>
<td>What is your favourite social network (e.g. Face book, RenRen, QQ) and why? What are the reasons of using them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C.</strong></td>
<td>What kind of books, music, and movies do you like and why? Could you tell me about either the most recent book you've read, movie you've watched, music album you've purchased, or gig you've attended? Have you ever tried to learn a sport or game that is not popular in China? If yes, whom did you learn it from? Whom did you play with? Tell me about these experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D.</strong></td>
<td>Have you ever been to any cultural activities, events or festivals? If you have, what are they, whom do you go with and what do you generally do during your time spent there? Have you ever met any new friends or learned something new from being at such events? How do you like these activities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E.</strong></td>
<td>Have you ever been associated with a volunteer program? If so, please tell me more about it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Food and Consumption

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A.</strong></td>
<td>What is your favourite food and cooking style? Has this changed since you first moved to New Zealand or left China?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B.</strong></td>
<td>Describe an experience of cooking/or eating food that is from other countries or ethnicities, if applicable? Do you have any experiences of cooking with friends who are of other ethnicities? If yes, what do you primarily cook? How do you feel about it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C.</strong></td>
<td>When you and your friends or family eat outside, what do you generally have? Does this vary depending on who the friends are or where they come from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D.</strong></td>
<td>When you are hosting a party, what kinds of food do you usually provide? When you are invited to dinner parties, what kind of food do you generally bring?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E.</strong></td>
<td>Where do you generally shop (clothes and grocery) and why? Whom do you generally shop with? Have your shopping habits changed since you left China and why? What kinds of cafés,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bars, and malls do you generally go to? Do you prefer any products of any countries and why?
F. Have you ever bought products related to specific cultures or locations (e.g. tourist merchandise) and why? How do you generally feel about spending money when it comes to culture-related commodities (e.g. galleries, exhibitions, concerts, cultural tours, intercultural festivals)?

### SECTION SIX: MOBILITY PATTERNS & MIGRATION ASPIRATIONS

**Mobility Patterns**

| A. Nowadays, many Chinese migrants choose to come back to China, what do you think of this phenomenon? If you plan on going back to China, what are your reasons? If not, why? |

**Plans and Aspirations for Future Migration**

| A. Tell me about your plans for the future. Where do you see yourself and your family in 5 years? 10 years? Do your plans reflect the way you feel about New Zealand or the way you identify yourself? |
PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (FOR INTERVIEWEES)

Project Title: Researching Cosmopolitan Attitudes and Practices among the New Chinese Migrants in New Zealand

Researcher: Bingyu Wang

● Researcher Introduction
Hello! My name is Bingyu Wang and I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland. I am interested in studying the migration experience of contemporary Chinese migrants.

● Project Description and Invitation
My research seeks to study the everyday living attitudes and practices of the new (P.R.C) Chinese migrants who came to New Zealand after 1987, investigating whether and how migrant mobilities have changed their outlooks, dispositions, and values in real life on a day-to-day basis. My invitees should be first, born in China mainland; second, at least 18 years old; and third have obtained New Zealand Permanent Residence or Citizenship. However, you don’t need to be necessarily living in New Zealand currently. If you have already returned to China, you are also welcome to take part in my research. You will have a chance to talk about and think about your everyday interactions with other people and the outside world. Participation should be an interesting and thought-provoking process.

● Project Procedures
The interview takes approximately 90 minutes. You can choose to use either Chinese (Mandarin) or English. Interview questions will be around your everyday migrant life experiences. With your consent, your interview will be audio-recorded, but you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions without giving a reason. The interview will be later transcribed and/or translated by the researcher. You will not receive a tape or digital copy of the audio-recordings, but by request you can receive an electronic copy of the transcripts. By request, you will be able to modify the transcripts of your recordings for up to three weeks after your interview. You will receive the summary of the research findings and gain the access to the final PhD thesis by contacting the researcher via email. All participants will sign a Consent Form before the interview.
● Data Use/Storage/Retention/Destruction/Future use
All the collected data will be used for my PhD thesis and future academic publications arising from this project (e.g. presentations at conferences/seminars, scholarly articles, chapters, teaching materials). All the collected data in digital format (e.g. digital voice recordings, electronic versions of transcripts) will be stored in password-protected computer files. All non-digital data (e.g. audio-tapes, printed transcripts) will be securely stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Auckland when not in use. After being retained for 6 years, the computer files will be deleted and all the hard copies of the collected data will be destroyed using a secure disposal service.

● Rights to Withdraw from Participation
Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can withdraw from the research at any time, and withdraw your data or information for up to a month after the interview.

● Anonymity and Confidentiality
I will ensure that all identifying information about the participants is kept confidential. Participants’ names will be replaced with pseudonyms or codenames in the printed transcripts. No identifying information about the participants will be contained in any forms of my publications or presentations. All the collected data will be securely stored and only accessible to me and my supervisors. The Consent Forms will be stored separately from the data, securely with my main supervisor.

If you are interested in participating in this research or have any further questions, please feel free to contact me through the following ways.

Thank you very much!

Researcher: Bingyu Wang
Address: PhD Study Room, School of Asian Studies, Arts 2, 18 Symonds Street, Auckland, New Zealand
Phone: (+64) 021 028 64529
Email: bwan973@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Main Supervisor: Prof. Manying Ip
Address: Room 434, Arts 2, 18 Symonds Street, Auckland, New Zealand
Phone: (+64) 9 373 7599 (Ext.: 87531)
Email: my.ip@auckland.ac.nz

Co-supervisor: Dr. Francis Collins
Address: Room 676, Human Sciences Building, 10 Symonds Street, Auckland, New Zealand
Email: f.collins@auckland.ac.nz
Phone: (+64) 9 3737599 (Ext: 83129)

Head of School: Dr. Hilary Chung
Address: Room 437, Arts 2, 18 Symonds Street, Auckland, New Zealand
Phone: (+64) 9-373-7599 (Extension: 84603)
Email: h.chung@auckland.ac.nz

Chair contact details:
For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 (extension: 87830/83761)
Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON .......... for (3) years, Reference Number ....../......
CONSENT FORM
THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

**Project title:** Researching Cosmopolitan Attitudes and Practices among the New Chinese Migrants in New Zealand

**Researcher:** Bingyu Wang

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

**I understand that:**

- I am eligible to take part in this research—I was born in P.R.China, at least 18 years old now, and have obtained either New Zealand Permanent Residence or Citizenship.

- My participation in this research is completely voluntary and I have agreed to take part in this research; I am free to withdraw my participation and data at any time during, or retrospectively within one month after my interview; I can refuse to answer any questions without having to give a reason.

- During the interview, I can choose to use either Chinese (Mandarin) or English; I will be audio-recorded, but I have the right to stop the recording process at any time without having to give a reason.
Appendices

- The researcher will transcribe and translate the data; by request, I will be able to modify the transcripts of my interview recordings for up to weeks after my interview; I will not receive a tape or digital copy of my audio-recordings, but by request I can receive an electronic copy of the transcripts, the summary of the research findings and gain the access to the final PhD thesis by contacting the researcher via email.

- No identifying information about me will be contained in any forms of publications/presentations of the researcher; my name will be replaced with pseudonyms or codenames in the hard copies of the transcripts.

- Data and transcripts/translations will be entered into password-protected computer files; audio recordings and hard copies are stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Auckland when not in use; except the researcher and the researcher’s supervisor(s), no third party has access to the data; after being retained for 6 years, the computer files will be deleted and all the hard copies of the collected data will be destroyed using a secure disposal service.

By signing below, I agree to take part in this research under the terms indicated above.

Name ___________________________ Email ___________________________
Signature ___________________________ Date ___________________________

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON
25 September 2013 for (3) years, Reference Number 010315.
APPENDIX 5

TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Project title: Researching cosmopolitan Attitudes and Practices among the new Chinese migrants in New Zealand

Researcher: Bingyu Wang
Transcriber: Bingyu Wang
Supervisors: Prof. Manying Ip; Dr. Francis Collins

I agree to transcribe the audio recordings for the above research project. I understand that the information contained within them is confidential and must not be disclosed to, or discussed with, anyone other than the researcher and his/her supervisor(s).

Name: _____________________________
Signature: __________________________
Date: ______________________________
APPENDIX 6

ASIAN STUDIES
FACULTY OF ARTS

Advertisement

Are you 18 or older?

Are you a Chinese migrant in New Zealand who was born in P.R. China?

Have you obtained New Zealand Permanent Residence or Citizenship?

If all the answers are YES, I would like to invite you to participate in my PhD project! My study seeks to examine the everyday living attitudes and practices of the new (P.R.C) Chinese migrants who came to New Zealand after 1987. Your participation will contribute to a better understanding of the migration patterns and living paradigms of the modern Chinese migrants. The study will conduct an interview (approximately 90 minutes) with each participant to discuss their everyday migrant life (e.g. food, shopping, leisure).

If you are interested in participating in this research or have any questions, please feel free to contact me through the following ways.

Thank you very much for your interest in my research!
APPENDIX 7

参与咨询单（受访者用）

研究题目：世界主义和流动性：在新西兰的中国新移民

研究者：王炳钰 Bingyu Wang

●研究者简介
你好！我的姓名是王炳钰。我是新西兰奥克兰大学亚洲研究学院博士生。我的研究领域主要是当代中国移民的移民经历和生活模式的变迁。

●项目介绍和邀请
我的课题主要探究1987年以后来到新西兰的中国移民的日常生活模式，探索他们的流动性和他们在日常生活中的价值取向和行为模式之间的联系。我的受访者主要是出生在中国大陆，并已经获得新西兰永久居住者（PR）和公民身份的中国移民（受访者不需要现居新西兰）。受访者会有机会来分享作为移民的心路历程，探讨在日常生活中自身如何与他人和外部世界相处。

●项目过程
采访时间大约为90分钟。你可以选择使用英语或中文（普通话）。采访问题主要是围绕移民的日常生活。经过你的同意后，采访将会被录音；无需提供任何原因，你可以在采访过程中提出要求中断录音，你也可以拒绝回答任何问题。采访将会被研究者翻译和转录。你不会收到电子版的录音备份，但是你可以提出要求收到一份电子版的采访录音拷本。同时，你还可以在采访后的3周内提出对采访录音拷本进行修改的要求。你会收到最终研究数据并可以获得权限阅读研究者的博士论文。所有的受访者在接受访问前，都需要在同意书上签名。

●数据使用/存储/保存/销毁/未来使用
收集的所有数据将会用于我的博士论文以及由这个项目衍生出的相关学术发表和报告。所有电子形式的数据（电子版的录音文件，电子版的采访录音拷本）将会被保存在密码保护的电脑资料夹中。所有非电子形式的数据（录音磁带，纸板的采访录音拷本）将会安全地被锁在奥克兰大学的档案柜中。所有的数据在保留6年之后，电脑文件将会被永久删除，所有纸板形式的数据也会经过特殊软件被销毁。
● 退出参与的权利
你的参与是完全自愿的。你可以在受访过程中随时退出，你也可以在受访结束后的一个月内提出退出。

● 匿名和保密
研究者会确保关于受访者所有辨识性信息的机密性。在采访录音抄本中，受访者的名字将会用假名或是代码名字代替。任何关于受访者的辨识性信息都不会在任何出版物和报告中出现。所有收集的数据都会被妥善保管，除了研究者和研究者的两位导师，没有第三方可以接触到收集的数据。签名的同意书会由我的主导师来单独保管。

如果您对参与本项研究项目有兴趣，请与我联系！

非常感谢！

研究者: 王炳钰
电话: (+64) 021 028 64529   邮箱: bwan973@aucklanduni.ac.nz

主导师: Manying Ip 教授
奥克兰大学亚洲研究学院
电话: (+ 64) 9 373 7599 (转 87531)
邮箱: my.ip@auckland.ac.nz

副导师: Francis Collins 博士
奥克兰大学环境学院
电话: (+ 64) 9 3737599 (转 83129)
邮箱: f.collins@auckland.ac.nz

学院负责人: Hilary Chung 博士
奥克兰大学亚洲研究学院
电话: (+64) 9 373-7599 (转 84603)
邮箱: h.chung@auckland.ac.nz

如有任何关于这个项目伦理问题方面的疑问，请联系奥克兰大学人类参与者伦理委员会主席:

The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee,
The University of Auckland, Research Office,
Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142.
电话: 09 373-7599 (extension: 87830/83761)
邮箱: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz.

本研究项目由奥克兰大学人类参与者伦理委员会于2013年9月25日批准通过。
项目审批号码: 010315。
同意书（保存6年）

研究课题：世界主义与流动性：新西兰的中国新移民
研究者：王炳钰 Bingyu Wang

我（受访者）已经阅读了受访者参与咨询单（Participant Information Sheet for Participants）。我已经了解这个研究课题的性质及目的，确认了自己符合受访者标准。我对这个研究项目的所有疑问也已经得到了满意的答复。

我理解：

● 我符合受访者的标准：我出生在中国大陆；我年满18岁；我已经获得新西兰永久居住者或是公民身份。

● 我的参与是完全自愿的；我已经同意参加本研究；我可以在受访过程中随时退出或是在受访1个月后提出退出；无需提供任何原因，我可以拒绝回答任何问题。

● 在受访过程中，我可以自由选择使用英语或是中文（普通话）；访问将会被录音；我有权利随时中断录音，无需提供任何原因。

● 研究者将会转录和翻译访问数据；在受访结束后3周之内，我可以提出对录音抄本修改的要求；我不会收到录音的电子版文件，但是我可以提出要求收到一份电子版的采访录音抄本；我会收到最终研究数据并可以有权限阅读研究者的博士论文。

● 关于我的任何辨识性信息都不会出现在研究者任何形式的出版物和报告中；在纸板的录音转录抄本中，我的名字将会被假名或是代码名字所代替；任何关于我的辨识性信息都不会在任何出版物和报告中出现。

● 所有电子形式的数据（电子版的录音文件，电子版的采访录音抄本）将会被保存在密码保护的电脑资料夹中；所有非电子形式的数据（录音磁带，纸板的采访录音抄本）将会安全地被锁在奥克兰大学的档案柜中；所有收集的数据都会被妥善保管，除了研究者和研究者的两位导师，没有第三方可以接触到收集的数据；所有的数据在保留6年之后，电脑文件将会被永久删除。
所有纸板形式的数据也会经过特殊软件被销毁。

我同意以上条款并同意参与此研究课题。

姓名_________________________ 邮箱_________________________
签名_________________________ 日期_________________________

本研究项目由奥克兰大学人类参与者伦理委员会于2013年9月25日批准通过。项目审批号码: 010315。
新西兰中国移民研究项目

你年满18岁了吗？

你是出生在中国大陆的新西兰中国移民吗？

你已经获得新西兰永久居住者或是公民身份了吗？

如果你符合上面三个条件，我诚挚邀请你参加我的博士科研项目。我的研究主要探讨在1987年之后来到新西兰的中国移民的日常生活经历和移民历程。你的参与，会对当代中国移民流动模式和生存模式的研究很有意义。此研究会对参与者进行大60至90分钟的访问。采访问题主要围绕移民的日常生活与身份寻求。

如果你有兴趣参与我的研究，请与我联系！非常感谢！

联系方式：

研究者：王炳钰
电话： (+64) 021 028 64529 邮箱： bwan973@aucklanduni.ac.nz

主导师： Manying Ip 教授
奥克兰大学亚洲研究学院
电话： (+64) 9 373 7599 (转 87531)
邮箱： my.ip@auckland.ac.nz

副导师： Francis Collins 博士
奥克兰大学环境学院
电话：(+ 64) 9 3737599 (转 83129) 
邮箱：f.collins@auckland.ac.nz

学院负责人：Hilary Chung 博士
奥克兰大学亚洲研究学院
电话：(+64) 9-373-7599 (转 84603)
邮箱：h.chung@auckland.ac.nz

本研究项目由奥克兰大学人类参与者伦理委员会于2013年9月25日批准通过。项目审批号码：0103