Flying Kites

How Chinese International Students in New Zealand Reflect on Chinese Citizenship in a Third Space

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Abstract

This exploratory study investigates how Chinese international students reconfigure their sense of themselves as citizens when they reflect on what Chinese citizenship means in the context of New Zealand. A case study approach is adopted to apply everyday citizenship theory to interview and focus group data from Chinese international doctoral students. Twenty individual interviews, two focus groups and my observations from my own experience inform how overseas study experience shapes Chinese international students' views on citizenship.

These views varied, and four metaphors emerged to describe the various themes. The participants could not always articulate thoughts on the abstract concept 'citizenship' coherently, yet their descriptions of everyday lives fitted into citizenship theory. To understand Chinese citizens holistically, I explored the metaphors they used in this research. The idea of using metaphors to capture the implicit theories in Chinese international students' personal experience appealed to me, since the students themselves used metaphors in their personal narratives. My study found that participants' experience of everyday citizenship is inflected differently by the political difference between China, their home country, and New Zealand, the democracy of their doctoral study period. To reconcile the political differences that affect participant's everyday citizenship, I add to everyday citizenship the theoretical construct of the third space: the interview and focus group discussion between Chinese students and Chinese researcher, where we were safe to make sense of these political differences.

The study found that the struggles of Chinese students in New Zealand lie between being individuals and submitting to the general will of the family, state, CCP, and *guanxi* (Chinese concept of interpersonal relationship). Everyday citizenship theory showed that my participants were enacting citizenship even if they did not really understand what the concept means until had a comparison in their Western country of study. This demonstrates that citizenship varies across political, social and cultural contexts, and shows the importance of not assuming that citizenship is not enacted just because it is not articulated as such. The advantages of democracy and citizenship so well understood in the West may not be self-evident to students raised in a system with different values. Traditional values continue to exert an influence on Chinese students despite the influences of New Zealand. The discomforting process of reassessing identity when citizenship values vary is not always appreciated by Western academics who study Chinese citizenship using Western criteria.

Key words: Chinese international students, citizenship, case study, third space

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CCP Chinese Communist Party (CCP), also called the Communist Party of China, Chinese (Pinyin) Zhongguo Gongchan Dang

CSC Chinese Scholarship Council

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 My own experience

The initial propositions made in this study are based on my own experiences as a Chinese international student in New Zealand. My experiences lead me to believe that, for individuals who participate in New Zealand education, experiencing the New Zealand way of life will naturally affect their original view of their past life in China.

On 23rd February in 2013, I was on an airplane from Shanghai to Auckland. That day signified a new beginning in my life. I wondered what life was going to be like in New Zealand. What would be the differences between China and New Zealand? The plane landed at Auckland airport. Outside, a glorious morning climbed over the mountains like a curtain hanging over a low range of houses scattered on the green hills: no skyscrapers; there were no crowds when compared with the bustle of Chinese cities. I had an impression of New Zealand as a big village.

I found a member of the University staff waiting outside the airport to pick up the students who were arriving in New Zealand for the first time. He kindly reminded us not to change money at the airport. Next, I told him where I wanted to go, but he didn't understand what I said. Maybe he thought my pronunciation of the word 'Epsom' was strange, so I wrote down the address for him. In a short time, we arrived at Mt Eden Road, where he helped me to off load my baggage from the van: one large pink case, a black bag and one grey handbag. Then the van continued on its journey.

'Which door is 72A?' I wondered when I saw three numbers on a board: 72A, 72B and 72C. I saw a young man with yellow hair who looked like a student waiting for a bus not far

away. I plucked the courage to ask him in hesitant English, “Hi, do you know which house is 72A?” He just shook his head.

I knocked on the door of the house which was nearest to me. An old Chinese man opened the door: the landlord. Shortly after, I met my flat mate, a Chinese man Qi, who was doing his PhD at the Epsom campus as well. My room, which included a single bathroom, was large with all the necessary furniture provided. My landlord and his wife had arrived from Shanghai seventeen years ago. Staying there, I felt at home as we spoke in Chinese. It was the first time I had ever cooked Chinese food. In China, I had eaten in the school canteen. The Chinese university that I attended has 26 canteens scattered amongst the dormitories but here, in New Zealand, I had to cook for myself. The first meal I cooked in New Zealand was fried cauliflower with rice.

On the 1st of March, I enrolled as a doctoral student at the University of Auckland, and my PhD life started. From March to June in 2013, I had no supervisor, no office and no computer. I did read a book on educational policy and make notes.

Three months after I enrolled, when I was still finalizing my doctoral thesis topic, I had a conversation with my office colleague, Ali; this prompted me to change my research direction from education policy to citizenship education. The conversation went like this:

Ali: Today is a day worth remembering.

She said to herself in front of a computer.

Me: Sorry? What is the day?

Ali: You don’t know it? It is the 24th anniversary of the Tiananmen Square incident.

Me: I heard of it in China. But I don’t know exactly what happened.

Then I Googled it…

The first question that came into my mind was “Is this real? Did the CCP really kill students?” I didn’t believe it. I told myself, it must be a concoction of the Western media. Then, a sequence of suspicion, anger, complicated thoughts and curiosity flooded into my mind. Wondering if many young Chinese knew this history, I posted a question on my Chinese University’s website, ‘How many of you remember what happened 24 years ago?’

Surprisingly, my post was deleted in one minute and my login ID cancelled by the manager of the website. A day later, a friend told me that the head of the school intended to invite me to ‘have a cup of tea’. Later on, I emailed the administrator of the website: ‘Why was my post deleted?’ The answer was brief: ‘We must delete it to protect our website.’ I could not believe this had happened. It seemed like something that could happen in a novel or a movie. I didn’t want to admit that this had happened in my motherland, China, where I was born and raised. Neither my history school teacher nor my parents had mentioned the Tiananmen Square Incident and friends of my age did not know of it. It may be that the events have been erased from official histories and popular memory because of the nervousness of the CCP leaders (Jean Philippe Béja, 2009).

Gradually, I came to terms with the fact that the ‘Tiananmen Square Incident’ was true. I started to ask myself what kinds of citizens we have in China. Is there a generation of Chinese citizens whose knowledge of history has been erased? In what ways do Chinese students’ experiences in New Zealand affect how they deal with their experiences as a citizen of China? My feelings towards China changed from trust to suspicion, from love to dispassion and from the compliant to the critical.

I have realized that the journey of transition from one country to another is not just a geographical relocation but also a psychological, cultural and political transition. I started to reassess my relationship with my country, and this became the basis of my research. I talked to other Chinese students. I realized I was developing a 'third space', not China, not New Zealand, but a reflective space.

In this reflective space, I started to seek answers to the question: 'What does citizenship mean to international Chinese students?' The notions of citizenship and citizen are complex in the West. It appears there are 'categories' of citizens: critical citizens (Norris, 1999; Suoranta, McLaren, & Jaramillo, 2011), good citizens (Bucher, 2008; Develin, 1973), world citizens (Milner, Nguyen, & Boylston, 2009), political citizens (Cartwright, 2013), imperial citizens (Kim, 2008), and democratic citizens (Cruikshank, 1999). There is consumer citizenship (Christopherson, 1994), multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka, 1995) and organizational citizenship (Graham, 1991). The different categories of citizenship reflect the range of contexts in which they are used, and the values attached to them. But these fascinating theoretical definitions of citizenship still could not hold meaning for my situation. Was I a good citizen in the Chinese government's eyes? I asked myself. If I was a good citizen, the school officer would not have wanted to look for me to have a chat. Was I a critical citizen? If I had been a model of critical citizenship, my internet account would not be deleted. Was I a political, multicultural and democratic citizen in China? I don't think so. A question I needed to understand was; How can I define myself as a citizen of China, my homeland?

1.2 Context of the study

Cello: I don't know what citizenship is to me. What is it?

Amy: Does it mean…a person who lives in a city?

Lee: What is the difference between a citizen and a person?

Qi: I don't know. Citizen is a Western word, right?

(Focus Group, March 23, 2015)

Citizenship is a complex, culturally-inflected idea, as illustrated by this quotation and explored in this thesis where I address how the experience of studying abroad provides challenges and opportunities for Chinese students, especially in relation to their identities as citizens. Chinese students abroad make up a significant part of education's internationalisation. Students from China are often enticed to study abroad by the promise that they will 'open their eyes to the world' in this way they will be able to prepare themselves for their future employment because they will have the opportunity to acquire advanced knowledge (Dwyer & Peters, 2004). From 1978 to the end of 2012, over 2.6 million Chinese studied outside their home country, making China the world's top source of overseas students, according to the Chinese Service Centre for Scholarly Exchange under the Ministry of Education (Xinhua, 2013).

Studying abroad does not merely involve a simple process that presents the opportunity of honing English language skills and experiencing different life styles. As Brown University's Office of International Program suggests, studying abroad raises "awareness of the values and the way of life of your own country, your own place in that country, and its place in the world" (Dolby, 2004, p.150). To some extent, studying abroad

provides students with an opportunity to reflect upon themselves and their national identity in a new society as an individual in a new context (Dolby, 2004; Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007). This process may stimulate new questions and formulations as the students experience life from a broader or different perspective.

Mainland Chinese have consistently been the largest group in New Zealand tertiary education's internationalisation (Wang, 2014), which is a significant New Zealand industry (Carter & Laurs, 2017). Understanding how students experience their study in New Zealand is therefore important for students, academics, institutions and New Zealand Government officials. It would be a problem if New Zealand educationalists did not know much more than the fact that Chinese students immerse themselves in their studies whilst living in a new environment and speaking in another language.

1.3 Research questions and the significance of the study

The subject of my study mainly covers two areas of relevant literature: study abroad and citizenship in China. First, the current academic literature on Asian students studying overseas tends to focus on the practical problems that they face during the course of study and the opportunities that they have gained from overseas countries, but does not however, emphasise the changes in relationship to the community, family and government. Asian students may find it challenging when they experience globalized rights and responsibilities as a citizen during their study abroad (Szelényi & Rhoads, 2007).

Crossing from a communist society to a democratic one has caused a huge shake-up of identity for the Chinese international students in this study. It is essentially an axiological shift: foundational values are destabilised and questioned. Working in an intercultural space

between value systems exacerbates the alienation students often feel (Ali, Kohun, & Levy, 2007), and can add to the challenges of their identity. This often-disconcerting process of reassessment is not well understood by Western academics who teach and supervise Chinese students (Guan & Jones, 2011), even though more and more Chinese students are choosing to study in Western countries.

In this study, Chinese overseas students have the extraordinary experience of being exposed to, and engaging with, other cultures and philosophies in a way that causes the disruption of their native lifeworld (Habermas, 1985). This constructivist approach to the understanding of human activities may be applied to the study of how Chinese overseas students engage with local New Zealanders who have different lifeworlds. At the same time, obtaining an understanding of the ways in which young Chinese citizens in New Zealand perceive, define and experience citizenship is a key component contributing to the theory of citizenship in China.

Secondly, the literature to date has investigated different constructs of the abstract noun 'citizenship'. The assumption that citizenship should be an identity tied to the nation-state (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008) has been challenged by a multinational approach to citizenship as a way of reclaiming a sense of community and nationality (Cogan, 2004), with the increase in globalising processes. My thesis is significant in developing a portrayal of young Chinese citizens in which participants are considered as individuals linked to their home country through family, education and values but experiencing life in a new culture in a different country.

As Polanyi (2012) has suggested, any knowledge of their social state is likely to be held intuitively rather than explicitly. The process is complicated by the nature of knowledge, as well as by emotional interactions (Lee-Treweek & Linkogle, 2000). Somers (1993) argues that varying patterns of citizenship are a result of regional differences in public spheres. There is no universal definition of citizenship: it depends on local social context. Further, Somers' idea of citizenship is similar to that of some theorists (Mills 1959; Adeker et al.1987; de Certeau 1984; Douglas 2015) by being focused on an individual's 'ordinary' 'everyday' and 'daily life', i.e., micro-level experience, while most sociologists were looking at macro-level patterns and theories (in the case of this thesis, the political and economic context in which my participants grew up). The transition from macro-level to micro-level in sociological research may help researchers to capture the complexity of daily existence. Macro-level sociology focuses on large-scale social processes, while micro-level sociology looks at small interactions in individuals. Douglas (2015) criticized Durkheim's statement that 'only the universal is rational…the particular and the concrete baffle understanding' (p. 30). Douglas refused to accept Durkheim's view of focusing only on the macro-level because the particular and the concrete give a more vivid understanding of how abstract concepts such as citizenship are interpreted at the individual level. In this research, reference to the macro-level and micro level largely focuses on state political education versus individual experiences of citizenship. Focusing on 'everyday' 'micro-level' and 'lived' citizenship may be fruitful for understanding how individuals are shaped (or not) by China's specific political and economic context (Mills, 1959) than focusing on rights and obligations, which are central to traditional concepts of citizenship. Kennedy, Li & Zhao (2015) provide a good example of

such micro level research when exploring the discursive citizenship practices of young Chinese citizens. My thesis extends this analysis by focusing on lived practices of citizenship described by my participants both before and after migration.

My thesis contributes new understandings of how Chinese overseas students grapple with the meaning of citizenship. More importantly, this thesis develops a theory of citizenship based on family/school/state relationships and the Chinese students' individual politico-cultural experiences. On one hand, studying overseas experience requires Chinese students in New Zealand to make a sometimes-painful shift of identity as Chinese citizens. On the other, this study creates a third space where students can reflect on the difference between a deeper understanding of themselves and their actual citizenship identity in daily life. This thesis argues that it is important to understand 'how everyday life can also operate as an arena for the contestation and transformation of dominant, often oppressive modalities of citizenship' (Dickinson, Andrucki, Rawlins, Hale, & Cook, 2008, p. 105). In this inquiry into students' consciousness of citizenship, this research will explain the actual being Chinese citizens of their everyday life.

Questions of *what* become less significant than questions of *how* – how citizenship gets done, how it works (Smith, 1987, p. 127). The research questions include: How do Chinese students see their past life in China, and reflect on their current life in New Zealand? What does citizenship mean to them, given that they are studying in the social context of New Zealand, a democracy, in comparison with communist China? How does the transition from life in a communist country to life in a democratic country affect their sense of citizenship?

What follows is an account of an interview with one of the Chinese students from the research sample. I offer this story here in order to personalise the complex experience of reflecting on life back in China. This thesis draws data from stories that speak from lived experience of citizenship. This is a detailed account, but it reveals the background experience that feeds into my reflections on citizenship. The story was told in what I am calling a 'third space' – a reflective moment. Amy's account contains themes to be picked up later in the thesis – not least how a sense of systemic unfairness and injustice intermingles with tradition and beliefs, family and organizations, to build a sense of how the individual reflects on citizenship. I conclude the introduction by giving a brief summary of each chapter in the thesis.

1.4 Amy's story – a pair of 'warm' gloves

Amy refused to permit me to record the interview before we started. So, we spoke casually about the city where she had stayed in China, and her university classmates. She recalled a leader at her Chinese university telling her during a class reunion that she should carry her classmate's bag for her; the classmate had become the secretary of a provincial governor, as she spoke, she sighed:

> Compared to my classmates, my career prospects are poor; my classmates make me feel inferior. They [her classmates] can do big things while I, an ordinary person, only work in the small area, right?
>
> …
>
> Interviewer (I): How often were you able to go back home?

[She did not answer my question for a while. I was aware that she was experiencing discomfort. This was followed by tears and then silence.]

I: Why do you cry? I asked her but she did not reply. Do you miss your parents? I suggested.

Amy: No.

[She spoke hesitantly and her voice was full of emotion.]

Amy: Look at my hands.

She showed her hands to me. The right hand was a little redder than the left hand.

Amy: My right hand has permanent frostbite!

I: Does your right hand itch in winter?

[She didn't answer my question. She was weeping. She continued to say her right hand is different from her left hand.]

I: What is the reason for the difference in your hands?

Amy: Blame me!

I: Why?

Amy: I didn't have a pair of gloves.

[She was silent again.]

I: Could you not afford a pair of gloves? [I asked her this question carefully after a long pause.]

Amy: Yes. Sorry, I made such a scene.

[She felt sorry for crying in front of me.]

Amy: At that time, my family was very poor. I was the only girl from the countryside in the middle school class. Other students looked down on me. They could drink milk and eat fruit. I didn't have any. I felt they were a group. I was alone.

[Weeping…]

…

I: So were you a hardworking student in the class?

Amy: Yes, the only way in which I could be compared to them was when I was studying.

I: Were you a very hardworking student?

Amy: Yes, maybe nobody liked to play with me. So I spent much time and attention on my study. I think that terrible feeling I had in my childhood was good for me.

I: Why is it good?

[Her hoarse voice made her words difficult to understand.]

After few seconds I asked,

I: Do you think it is good in that you have been able to endure further hardships since you have grown up?

[She nodded her head. After she calmed down, she continued, saying…]

Amy: So, if anyone treats me a little kindly, I am very grateful. I am not interested in material conditions. As long as I am not hungry and keep warm in winter, I feel blessed. I don't expect some others to treat me very well only if the people don't despise me as the high school students did. Usually, I would defer to those who did not look down on me because they are nice people.

…

(Amy, Education)

This thesis is built on stories from Chinese students' experience. Amy's story (see Chapter 8) is an example of a student feeling betrayed by both family and state (and university). She relates to the state through the institutions, such as the family, school and university. The state negatively influenced her relationships with others in her family, school and university. Amy's experience of being a citizen in China was not directly related to the country and the government, but to her relationship with family, workplace; her personal life elucidates what citizenship meant for her as a Chinese. But the word 'citizenship' is still complicated, broad and abstract. Conver (1995) describes citizenship as constituting a fundamental identity that helps situate the individual in society, which is not simply a matter of academic interest but has pertinence and contemporary relevance in everyday lives of people. As Amy's detailed story revealed above, a theory of lived citizenship can serve to fill a research gap by helping us to understand Chinese citizenship more deeply in the interplay between contexts (China and New Zealand) and between relationships and individual dispositions.

1.5 Brief introduction to the organization of this thesis

This thesis is organized into ten chapters. Chapter one has given some background to this research. It is a narrative of the researcher and the research context. But it has also anticipated the exploration of this thesis with an exemplary story of one respondent and an account of the claim to validity of the thesis. Chapter two discusses what was found from the literature review for this study, including citizenship in Western and Eastern contexts, students study abroad, and Chinese students in New Zealand. I consider how the term 'citizen'

integrates with Chinese Confucian culture. At the end of Chapter two, I compare differences in citizenship in the New Zealand and Chinese political contexts when considering the fact that the participants of this research are thinking of citizenship between the two contexts. Chapter three describes how I adopted the method which suits this study and the role played by the process of collecting and analysing data. It provides a detailed description of the method and procedure of establishing an appropriate interview method. Chapter four to Chapter nine present the research's findings through themes relating to students' study, life, family and their relationship with their home country. The research findings also provide an explanation for, and a description of, the employment of metaphors to analyse the relationship between citizens and the institution, state, family, school. This is an extended report on the data which also integrates the data analysis with the research literature.

In the last section, Chapter ten contains a more theoretical analysis of the research findings, including how these findings connect to the concepts of citizenship and to other related concepts that have emerged from the relationship between the themes of the research's findings. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the study's implications and recommendations for future studies.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter provides an empirical and theoretical context to answer questions as to: How does the experience of studying abroad challenge Chinese students, especially in relation to their identities as citizens? How do Chinese students see their past life in China, and reflect on their life in New Zealand? What does citizenship mean to them, given they are studying in democratic New Zealand in comparison to how they experienced citizenship when living in authoritarian China?

This chapter first explores the literature that relates to students studying abroad and the current research on Chinese students in New Zealand providing a background for understanding the experiences of participants in this study. Second, the chapter provides a conceptual understanding of citizen and citizenship (Jafari & Batei, 2015). As introduced in the previous chapter, citizenship is a contested concept (Humpage, 2008; Turner, 1993) in modern societies. The term 'citizen' is not independent of history. To understand the concept of citizenship, traditional notions are reviewed in an historical context. The historical development of the concept of 'citizen' is traced by considering differing philosophical perspectives on citizenship. Next, contemporary understandings of citizenship are discussed, providing a basis for this thesis which offers a 'deep' interpretation of citizenship as experienced through every day practices. Researchers constitute the everyday world as problematic in order to better understand how it is organized or comes about (Smith, 1987, p. 110). The term 'problematic' allows for systematic inquiry into actual aspects of the organization of the everyday world (Smith, 1987, p. 110). In Smith's words, without an inquiry, the everyday experience does not adequately reveal its background social

organization. Everyday life, indeed, is a 'sociological point of feedback' (Lefebvre 1971, p.32) that illuminates how daily experiences are shaped by society in general. Students in this research may be unable to talk about citizenship as an abstract concept, but they reveal the action of citizenship through their daily life experiences. Therefore, I have been led to a theory of everyday citizenship to frame this research. The theory provides a way to explain Chinese international students' understanding of citizenship by better understanding the matters of their everyday life.

The third part of this chapter explores citizenship in China on the grounds that 1) participants are Chinese citizens; 2) China has a different understanding of citizen and citizenship in both its authoritarian and its Confucian context in comparison with that of Western, democratic countries like New Zealand. The fourth part of this chapter discusses the various citizen statuses and citizenship associated with the two countries. In general, each context provides a different interpretation of citizenship, but each interpretation of what it means to be a citizen and of citizenship has a common trajectory. In the last section of this chapter, I summarize four principles of citizens from the historical development of citizen and citizenship. I argue that whether or not these characteristics are converted into action depends on the social and political contexts in which they are activated.

2.1 Students studying abroad

Researchers (Butcher, 2004; Carlson & Widaman, 1988; Dolby, 2004; Henze & Zhu, 2012; Ho, Li, Cooper, & Holmes, 2007; Koester, 1987; Li, Baker, & Marshall, 2001) began to pay attention to students' study abroad as a response to globalization. Many positive aspects of study abroad programs include opportunities to; learn a new language, experience

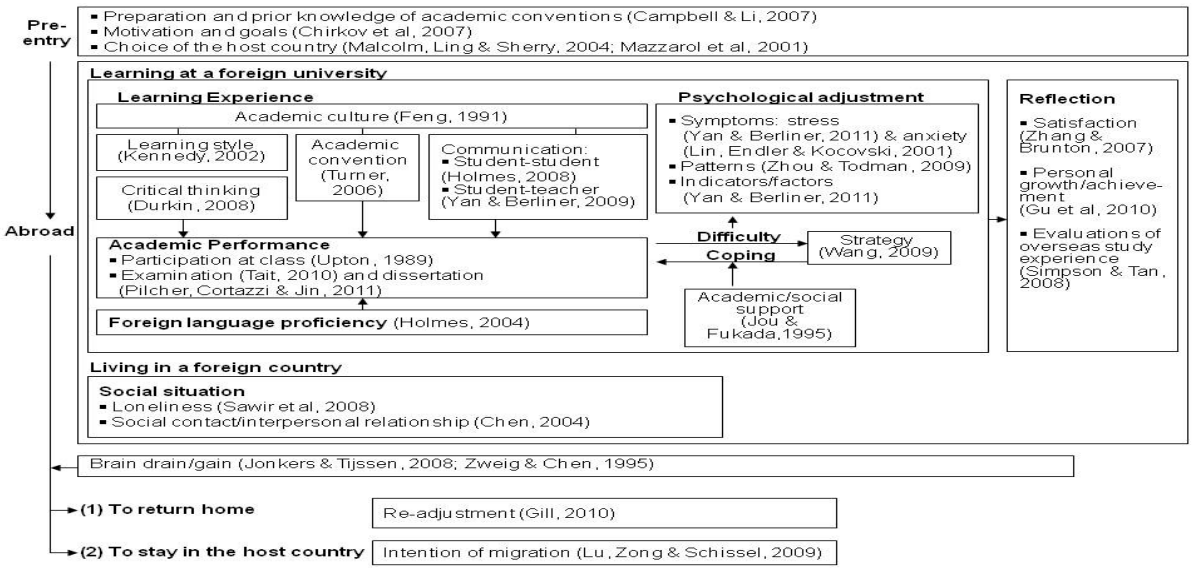
different cultures, develop work skills, expand one's worldview, and enhance future job opportunities (Smith, 2013). Indeed, the U.S Senate has declared that study abroad acts as an avenue to make citizens globally literate, as it will empower students to better understand themselves and others through a comparison of cultural values and ways of life (World Language and Culture, 2011). However, a review of the literature (Smith, 2013) suggests that there are no guarantees in current study that a student will become an actively engaged citizen, knowledgeable regarding foreign affairs and international issues by studying abroad. My thesis will fill the gap in the literature pertaining to the relationship between citizens and studying abroad in the context of China.

One of the most frequently articulated assumptions of study abroad programmes is that study in a foreign country will enhance a student's international understanding of general attitudes towards international culture, as well as their knowledge of political issues and events of national significance. As Carlson and Widman's (1988) study of students in Europe reveals, students who had previously lived abroad had more positive and critical attitudes towards political concerns, cross-cultural interests and cultural cosmopolitanism compared with those who had not previously lived abroad. This result is consistent with findings reported by Edmonds (2010) and Koester (1987) who found that previous experience abroad increased interest in international events and political issues. I speculate that the study abroad opportunity might not only contribute to students' attitudes and behaviours that help foster international understanding, but it may also involve the students undergoing personal change over time and space. This relates to the deeper affections for each individual, not just superficial change in their views of international events and political issues.

As well as improving students' international understanding, studying abroad challenges their thinking about how they relate to culture, politics and society. Compell (2008) perceives that international students need to deal with many challenges derived from the cultural contrasts they experience. In the process of meeting and overcoming those challenges those students are able to take advantage of prior educational experiences in their home country where they may have encountered other cultural values and beliefs.

In the specific area of Chinese students studying abroad, Henze and Zhu (2012) reviewed a wide range of highly diverse research literature to highlight the complex impacts that Chinese students studying abroad may experience. These are related to academic performance, personal adjustment and ability to adapt to a new culture. These are summarised in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Landscape of current research regarding Chinese students studying abroad. "Current research on Chinese students studying abroad," by Jurgen Henze and Jiani Zhu, 2012, *Research in Comparative and International Education*, p.91.



Henze and Zhu's review of a wide range of studies shows that most research on Chinese students' study abroad programmes presents solutions to practical problems related to university teaching and research system-learning experience, academic performance, foreign language proficiency and psychological adjustment. They found that very few research studies focus on Chinese students' social interactions in an overseas context. To some extent, Figure 1 reveals that much of the literature concerned with Chinese international students' experience when studying abroad draws on academic and cultural aspects rather than on critical self-reflection. The goal of my thesis is to contribute to this literature by exploring and better understanding similarities and differences in Chinese international students' self-reflections on their home country, China, and on their temporary home in New Zealand, as it relates to politics, culture and daily life.

2.1.1 Chinese students in New Zealand

Chinese students often choose to study in New Zealand because they believe it is a safe place in which to study (Middlebrook, 2001) and is less expensive to study compared to other countries such as the UK, USA, Canada and Australia (Malcolm, Ling, & Sherry, 2004). Much research has paid attention to Asian students in New Zealand (Campbell & Li, 2008; Ho et al., 2007; Holmes, 2008; Malcolm et al., 2004; Zhang & Brunton, 2007), and especially to Chinese students who make up the largest number of international students in New Zealand (Zhang & Brunton, 2007). Other research has examined the issues Chinese students face in New Zealand related to communication with New Zealand peers (Holmes, 2008), to adjustment to academic problems (Campbell & Li, 2008) and to reconstruction of their cultural awareness (Zhang & Brunton, 2007). A large amount of research has also

investigated ‘service quality’ or ‘satisfaction of learning experience’ to measure whether the host country’s current educational products and services satisfy Chinese students (Campbell & Li, 2008; Henze & Zhu, 2012).

However, the Department of Labour of New Zealand (2005) asserts that Asian students have visited New Zealand for over fifty years now and yet New Zealanders still struggle to accept Chinese students as a significant part of the social fabric of the country, let alone as a potential group of long-term immigrants that they are now fast becoming. Moreover, Butcher (2004) claims that Asian students in New Zealand should be taken as an important part of New Zealand’s history and as such become an essential part of the national conversation about New Zealand’s identity rather than isolating their experiences from the wider issues of the national identity. This thesis aims to fill a gap in the literature concerning the way in which Chinese students are recognized and re-examines their citizenship; and how they study and reflect on their lives and other experiences while in New Zealand.

2.2 Citizens and citizenship

‘Citizenship’ was not a term within the everyday language of the young people in a previous study (Lister, Smith, Middleton, & Cox, 2003). McMillan (2004) states that citizenship in its narrowest sense is used to describe the formal status accorded legal members of a particular state, while in its wider sense; it is used as a tool to understand the nature of membership and identity. In the following discussion, I briefly explore how there has been a shift in theorising of citizenship over time and place. I highlight Isin and Turner’s (2002) argument that the modern conception of citizenship as merely a status held under the authority has been contested and broadened. As such, they conceive citizenship as having

three fundamental axes: extent (rules and norms of inclusion and exclusion), content (rights and responsibilities) and depth (thickness and thinness) of citizenship. The first part of this section reviews how traditional notions of citizenship as a status are linked to a specific nation-state developed in a historical context. The second focuses on contemporary understanding of citizenship in terms of the depth of citizenship experienced through everyday practices.

2.2.1 The emergence of 'traditional' notions of citizenship

To highlight the contextual nature of citizenship, the following explores how 'traditional' notions of citizenship as a status that brings with it rights and responsibilities emerged over time and eventually became tied to the concept of the nation-state. These shifts brought with them a different relationship between citizens and state than earlier concepts of citizenship had entailed. Again, citizenship in the Greece, Sparta and Rome contexts was based on a hierarchy where some people gained more privileges than others because their status was considered to be higher. In the following discussion, I highlight that in the early period citizenship was not universal as later emerged in the modern period.

Greece

As Greek society developed and when resources and powers were significant enough to be contested between socio-economic groups, citizenship first emerged as an important concept. By the 6th century B.C., much of classical Greece experienced marked differences between town and country, rich and poor (Riesenberg, 1992). In this situation, citizenship became a central issue for Greek politics for several hundred years because it indicated who had what privileges. From the early beginnings of Greek political life,

individuals were distinguished by their status based on certain rights and privileges in their relationship to the community (Victor, 1959). Riesenberg (1992) claims the concept of citizenship developed within the *city-states* as a complex social organisation. The *city-states*, what the Greeks called the Polis, represented the Western world's first structured political community (Morris, 1989) and the typical structure of a community in the ancient Greek world. Morris (1989) argues that citizenship is the key to understanding the polis but Cartwright (2013) shows that not everyone was a citizen in the polis; instead only privileged people were 'full citizens.' Because they owned land and had birth-defined rights and responsibilities, including involvement in international affairs, both with other cities and non-Greek states, around trade, political alliances and wars (Riesenberg, 1992). The rest of the population were slaves, women or inferior groups, who were not part of the political community. The construct of citizen was thus based more on difference and privilege then on what, today, we think of as 'rights' (Turner, 1993).

Sparta (430BC)

The citizens of Sparta reputedly showed a steadfast loyalty to the state with some having privileges and the power of decision-making (Heater, 2004). Sparta imposed military service; while Greek military service came as a result of men offering themselves as soldiers as the highest act of citizenship (Foot, 2006). Even in modern China, Taiwan and Singapore, military service plays a key role in the constitution of citizenship, because it strengthens the direct connection between citizens and state. Heater (2004) argues that there was an overemphasis on the security and stability of society which distorted either the state, or the importance of civic status and what it should entail. As Aristotle declared: "The

Spartans…did not know how to use the leisure which peace brought; and they never accustomed themselves to any discipline other than that of war" (citied in Heater, 2004, p. 22). Only the highest classes of people had the right to receive education, while the remaining ignorant masses suffered economic pressure. However, Spartan women were much freer than Greek women. For example, they had a regiment to conform to, just as a Spartan man did (Pomeroy, 2002). To some extent, Sparta contributed to the foundation of Western citizenship (Riesenberg, 1992, p. 7) particularly in the concept's focus on performance in public service and preparation for war.

Rome

Under the Roman Empire, citizenship was defined: "A Roman citizen distinguished from a man who was of a lowlier status, or was un-free, or was illegitimate, or who was a foreigner" (Heater, 2004, p. 35). Citizenship in ancient Rome was a privilege in society as well as in Greece and Sparta; a male Roman citizen enjoyed a wide range of privileges in society. In contrast, client state citizens received limited citizenship but could not vote or be elected in Roman elections (Volkmann, 1969). Slaves had even lower status and fewer privileges than client state citizens. They could, however, become citizens once freed from their masters and were known as became named Freedmen. Compared with Greek citizens, Roman citizens also tended to be divided into several classes, such as warrior-citizen, plebeian-citizen, artisan-citizen, and worker-citizen etc (Isin, 1997). Women could not vote or hold office, regardless of whether they were of a higher class, and freedmen could not hold office either (Clark, 1981). The Roman concept of citizenship therefore was based on three categories: birth, gender and dependence (Gardner, 2010), and while the Roman law

distinguished between citizens, more subtle distinctions could be, and were, made at a social level. Citizenship in Roman times began to take on more of the character of a relationship based on law with less political participation than in ancient Greece.

2.2.2 Modern forms of citizenship

Modernity brought with the citizen a focus on individual rights. Modernity entailed the belief in the freedom of the human being (Alsayyad & Roy, 2006). This is a reflection of the emergence of a subjective experience of citizenship and personal autonomy (Grayling, 2014). As such, there was a shift away from using citizenship as a way of distinguishing between the rights and responsibilities of citizens living within a *city-state* or specific political community and a greater move towards universalising the rights and responsibilities of those born within a specific *nation-state* – rights they gained as a matter of pre-determined right (Flora & Heidenheimer, 1981). Importantly, modern notions of citizenship centre on idea of an independent consciousness of subjective citizenship. The statement is similar to Habermas's (1985) view that being a citizen as part of the life history of individuals, and also the idea of subjective citizenship is suitable as a basis for intersubjectivity in the lived-world. The independence of 'self' is a core value of being a modern citizen in the West (Taylor, 1989), reflecting two linked concepts: one, citizen personality; the other, citizenship as engagement in a political discourse.

First, citizen personality implies that a citizen in modern times is freed from the repressive experience of slavery or coercion (Neuman & Kickul, 1998). This is a personal, psychological space in which personal interests are, to an extent, decisive and responsibility is felt by the individual. In Hobbes' view (1998), there will be a vast personal space for

experiencing individual liberty in civil society; each individual must make a moral choice as to how to engage in public. It was through the work of the social contract theorists (Hobbes, Rousseau, Locke and others) that the concept of the 'public realm' became a tangible reality, and a context for universalising the construct of citizen.

Citizen personality was later configured into law, as in the civil law of contract and labour laws (Somers, 1993). Habermas emphasized that popular sovereignty and human rights have "shaped the normative self-understanding of constitutional status up to the present day. We are governed by law not by men" (Habermas, 1994, p. 1). In modern times, the law provides the boundaries for citizen personality. Citizen personality is a personal and psychological space for the citizen as an individual, while citizenship is a term which emphasises the relationship between an individual and public sphere. It was in this space that the concept of a citizen, as defined by privilege, was eroded and we saw the emergence of citizen as a moral agent.

Second, citizenship as engagement in a political discourse, as Osler (2002) asserts, is based on the emergence of the idea of a public realm. In the public realm, engagement in a political discourse is shared (Grayling, 2014). For example, three characteristics of citizenship were grouped by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), namely personal responsibility, participation, and justice. Similarly, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and Tilly (1995) defined citizenship from a perspective of political philosophy and constitutional law that citizenship involved rights and duties relating to an individual as a member of the state in modern times in Europe and eventually much of the Western world.

2.2.2.1 Bounded citizenship (citizen and state)

To be a citizen in modern times is also to have concrete rights against and duties to a specific sovereign state (Linklater, 1998). Citizenship is largely confined to the national dimension. International law affirms that each state may determine who will be considered a citizen of that state (Sassen, 2002). For example, there are marked differences in how citizenship is articulated and hence how non-citizens are defined in Europe, given that each nation-state has the power to determine its own rights and responsibilities (although the European Union has made this less so in recent years) (Sassen, 2002). These boundaries are important:

> All our experience of citizenship…has so far been of bounded citizenship: initially citizenship within the walls of the city state, later citizenship within the cultural limits of the nation-state. These boundaries have been actively policed. Admission to citizenship has always come with strings attached. (Miller, 1999, p. 69)

The enclosure of citizenship within territorially based national units was achieved, on the one hand, by the extension of rights and benefits to local civil society; on the other hand, by attributing some shared values, language, blood, history or culture – to the collective citizenry (Soysal, 2001). The latter thus links citizenship to national identity which provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world, through the prism of collective personality and its distinctive culture (Smith, 1991). Smith (1991) defines national identity as having a sense of shared historic territory, common myths and historical memories. Bourdieu and Farage (1994) stress that the state shapes national identity through promoting culture, language and a national 'character' through bureaucratic procedures, educational structures and social rituals.

2.2.2.2 A relationship between state and citizens. The relationship that a citizen has with his or her state differs in varied contexts and as a result there are at least three main forms of citizenship – liberalism, communitarianism, and republicanism – that emerged in Western political theory (Isin & Turner, 2002).

- Liberal citizenship

  Liberal thought had existed in Western philosophy since the ancient Greeks, but a liberal politics fully emerged in modern times (Turner, 2008). Liberalism puts a strong emphasis on the individual, and most rights involve liberties that adhere to each and every person (Doyle, 1986; Rawls, 2005). Liberal citizenship's primary focus is on maximizing individual liberty (Schuck, 2002) and liberal citizens are to pursue their self-chosen goals and cherish privacy (Parekh, 1992). In liberal countries such as the UK, Switzerland, Australia and New Zealand, citizens elect representatives to look after their interests. A liberal state relies on markets to allocate social rights and emphasizes civil and political rights (Isin & Turner, 2002).

- Communitarian citizenship

  In contrast with liberal citizenship, communitarian citizenship emphasizes the connection between citizens and community (society or nation). The theory of communitarianism concerns the cohesive and just functioning of society (Isin & Turner, 2002). A communitarian concept of citizenship views citizens as both right bearing individuals and as persons who must assume responsibilities toward each other and toward the community at large (Etzioni, 2011, p. 344). However, if citizens are encouraged to prioritise responsibility towards the community so heavily that

individual rights are curtailed, this might be considered to be authoritarianism. Authoritarian countries, for example, rely heavily on the state to maintain social order, social bonds and moral culture. Examples include Singapore, Malaysia and Japan (Etzioni, 2011).

- Republican citizenship

  Republican citizenship views citizens as holding a position of public responsibility, just like mayors, senators and city councillors (Dagger, 2002). The citizen who does not act responsibly might be said to betray public trust, while the citizen who faithfully does his or her duty displays civic virtue. Early republican citizenship was evident in the theory and practice of the Romans. As opposed to the liberal emphasis on rights, republican tradition stresses the promotion of a common good through political participation (Kartal, 2002). To participate in collective decision-making is the fundamental political duty of citizens. Thus, Republicans criticise liberalism's lack of focus on a substantive common good and the separation of politics and morality (Kartal, 2002).

In summary, liberal citizenship, communitarian citizenship and republican citizenship each have differing understandings of citizenship rights and obligations because they have differing views about state-citizen relationships. Isin and Turner (2002) argue that each has also been challenged by postmodernity and globalization, which contest the idea that the nation-state is the sole source of the authority of citizenship and democracy. In particular, they argue that citizenship must be defined as a social process and believe that it is difficult to dissociate the evolution of citizenship from the development of urban civil society. Such

developments have led to a sociologically informed definition of citizenship in which the emphasis is less on state-formed and more on norms, practices, meanings, and identities (Isin & Turner, 2002). This is discussed further in the next section.

2.2.3 Contemporary understandings of citizenship

As we have seen from the above section in regard to 'traditional' notions of citizenship, there is much debate about what rights and obligations are associated with the status of being a citizen and what this means for the state-citizen relationship and citizenship identity. Much of this early focus on citizenship more or less ignored the subjective understandings of citizenship that are experienced by individuals and contemporary theorisations pay more attention to these issues. The term 'everyday citizenship' is used to understand everyday constructions of subjectivity (Hermes, 2006). Andrew J.Weigert (1981, p. 36) has described the everyday as "a taken-for-granted reality which provides the unquestioned background of meaning for each person's life." Douglas (2015) first used the term 'everyday life phenomena' in his work by studying people in their natural context. These ideas bring me to a position of exploring citizenship in the context of relationships and everyday experiences. Everyday citizenship is a new approach for the exploration of citizenship within everyday spheres (Wood, 2010); it has expanded traditional conceptions of citizenship and encouraged a broader consideration of the degree to which individuals are able to participate in social life without valuing their self-definition (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011). Everyday citizenship stresses the everyday nature of expressions and experience of citizenship (Lister, Smith, Middleton, & Cox, 2003), thus accounting for the multiple ways in which people may participate as citizens at different points or sites in their lives (Lister et al., 2003b). In this

sense, contemporary theorising of citizenship is no longer only focused on the formal relationships between individuals and the state or between individuals and other citizens, but also on how individual citizens experience citizenship as an identity, within the context of community, family and institutional practices. Thus, a sense of citizenship belonging emerges from the connections and interactions that citizens have with others (Lister, 2016; Somers, 1993).

My thesis has been influenced by the emerging everyday idea of citizenship, focusing on the third axis of Isin and Turner's (2002) model, that is the depth of citizenship that comes through studying identity, emotional affiliations with the nation-state, feelings of loyalty, morality etc. Understanding citizenship from everyday life can help us understand the contestation and transformation of dominant power structures of society (Kallio, Häkli, & Bäcklund, 2015; Smith, 1987). This is important for understanding citizenship in a Chinese context.

2.3 Citizens and citizenship in China

Everyday citizenship has particular value because it allows us to see through the everyday life of Chinese international students to how Chinese social structures – family, government and CCP – shape their sense of self as citizens and, indeed, as individuals. Asian countries, such as China, Singapore, Japan and Malaysia, share a common idea in which individuals are expected to commit to a common set of values and take responsibility for the family and the community (Collins, 2006). Kennedy (2004) asserts that 'Asian citizenship' is characterized more by conceptions of moral virtues and personal values than by civic and public values (cited in Lee, 2010) due to the influence of Confucian traditions. Fukuyama (1995) makes

some further interesting points about the basis of Asian moral code that are worth noting here:

> The essence of the Asian is built not around individual rights, but around a deeply engrained moral code that is the basis for strong social structures and community life. Such a society can exist in a democracy like Japan, or in a semi-authoritarian state like Singapore. Although certain institutions would obviously be incompatible with this kind of social order, it is the social structures and their cultural coherence rather than the institution that define it. (Fukuyama, 1995, p.12)

Fukuyama's view of social structures and community life emphasizes a form of citizenship which is different from that found in Western countries and may even differ within other parts of Asia. In China, the notion of 'citizenship' has been seen as a Western construct, perceived by the government as a term imported into China (Lee and Ho, 2008) and not one usually regarded as compatible (given the implicit focus on individual rights and democracy) with one-party rule of the Communist Party of China (Janoski, 2014). Nonetheless, the first part of this section discusses the political, legal and social rights associated with the status of being a citizen within the Chinese state, highlighting that citizenship has some currency even though later chapters highlight that citizenship is not an identity that my research participants have strongly identified with. The second part of this section focuses in more detail on the relationship between Confucian culture and broader understandings of citizenship at an everyday level.

2.3.1 Chinese citizen status

Social rights China has a two-tier social welfare system connected to an individual's

hukou status. A hukou is a record in a government system of household registration that is required by law in mainland China, and determines where citizens are allowed to live. Citizens with an urban hukou are entitled to public and social services like housing, pensions, and education for their children while rural citizens have land-use rights, reflecting a thousand-year-old tradition of dependence on agriculture (Huang, Dijst, van Weesep, & Zou, 2014). Therefore, a Chinese citizen's social welfare provisions depend on whether they live in an urban or rural area. For example, in China, pension programs are mainly an urban phenomenon. However, the Ministry of Civil Affairs launched a pension programme in 1992 (Liu, Liu, & Huang, 2015) that has greatly extended rights to most rural areas. Janoski (2014) argues that it is a characteristic of communist societies to provide decent social rights, while neglecting political and legal rights, yet these differences in urban/rural rights suggest that such social rights remain uneven in China.

Civil rights According to international law, individual freedoms are basic human rights and should not be subject to any restrictions in any country (Risse & Sikkink, 1999). According to the 1954 Constitution, Chinese citizens technically have freedom of speech, of religious belief, and are able to criticize and make complaints about any state organisation or functionary for violation of the law or the dereliction of duty and so on (Zhen, 1982). However, Chinese law stipulates that 'citizens of the People's Republic of China, in exercising their freedoms and rights, may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society or of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens' (Zhen, 1982, p. 403). This means citizens' personal interests should be in basic accord with the interests of the state and society. Chinese citizens thus still in reality lack freedom of speech

and suffer severe punishments for discussing political matters. One example is that in 2005, China jailed 62 people for posting dissident views on the Internet (Dann & Haddow, 2008). Another example is that Google is not allowed to be used in China as the Google company refuses to provide China with a version of its search engine that omits references to the 1989 events of Tiananmen Square and terms such as, 'freedom', or 'Falun Gong', which is the name of the banned religious group (Dann & Haddow, 2008). Facebook is also blocked in China. In this way, Chinese people are limited in their ability interact with others outside China (King, Pan, & Roberts, 2013).

Media and communication play an important mediating role between citizens and state (Shah, Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005). As Urry (2015, p. 389) states, "citizenship has always necessitated symbolic resources distributed through various means of mass communication". Yet Internet censorship in China has eliminated discussion and communication for Chinese citizens. To resist and protest Chinese government's internet censorship, online activism has become popular in China, enabling users to organize, protest, and influence public opinion in unprecedented ways (Yang, 2009). Online activism is ambiguous in nature (Yang, 2009); for example, it is sometimes unclear as to whether comments made online represent dissent and are purposely political, although it may be interpreted as such by government authorities. Nonetheless, online activism is an example of everyday contemporary notions of citizenship at play, even if the formal rights associated with one's status as a Chinese citizen are restricted.

Political rights China was ruled for centuries by successive dynasties of emperors until the later part of the 19th century. The People's Republic of China was formed in 1949 making

the country a one-party state in which the Community Party is the only legitimate ruling power. China, unlike most Western states that have developed a strong philosophical history of theorizing citizenship, is an authoritarian country where democratic political rights at the national level are denied. Moreover, the Central Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party has a central role over the whole of Chinese society and this makes political debate extremely difficult. The Central Propaganda Department oversees the Propaganda and Education System which censors all of China's newspapers and magazines, film, television and radio broadcasting, the internet, the publishing industry, and all aspects of culture and information production from the highest to the lowest levels of society (Brady, 2006). In particular, the CCP-led enhanced political education effort following the 1989 students' movement in the face of perceived challenges to the government's authority (Meyer, 1990; Price, 1992; Rosen, 1993).

This political education uses a Party-favourable version of China's history to arouse in citizens an historical consciousness and to promote social cohesion. For example, to attract more people to selected patriotic education bases (where students may learn about the struggles and sacrifices of China's past), the CCP and the Central Propaganda Department launched a new program entitled 'Red Tourism' (Wang, 2008) in 2007. The purpose of Red Tourism was to encourage people to visit former revolutionary bases and landmarks. In 2005, China's National Bureau of Tourism published a list of '100 Red Tourism Scenic Sports' and recommended them to local tourists (Xinhua News Agency, 2005). This highlights the all-encompassing way that a Party-favourable history is promoted, even outside the classroom.

These examples show how the CCP attempts to shape what it means to be a Chinese but also what it means to be a 'people' that is loyal to the nation. This social control, as we have seen in social media and education, contrasts with the West and is arguably feasible because of China's history of Confucianism. When Chinese people find that government fails to respond to their demands, they may forfeit their private interests for the harmony of the society, rather than withdraw their support from the government (Shi, 2001).

After the economic rise of China in the 1980s, bringing with it improvements in the standard of living, Chinese political rights have expanded somewhat (Janoski, 2014) and the authoritarianism is decentralizing (Landry, 2008). At the village level and at a local level in the cities of China, elections have made progress in the last ten years (Janoski, 2014), especially within the village representative assembly. According to a law for Village committees, there are four kinds of democracy: election, decision making, management, and supervision (O'Brien & Han, 2009). Democratic voting is accessible to Chinese citizens at the local level (Shi, 1999), even if this is not the case at the national level.

In sum, a Chinese citizen holds a certain status within the Chinese nation-state that brings with it some important social rights but rather limited civil and political rights. Moreover, the status of whether Chinese citizens live in an urban or rural area can affect their access to such rights, particularly social rights. There have been changes in China, with online activism being one way to circumvent state control and there are elements of democracy at the local level; clearly China's conception of citizenship is different from the Western political theories discussed in this chapter. While there are strong parallels with some aspects of communitarianism, the lack of democracy and limited political and civil

rights clearly distinguishes China from countries adopting a communitarian approach, as well as the more liberal approach taken in New Zealand (see later discussion). However, if we look at deeper, more affective and subjective notions of citizenship we can see that there are important aspects of citizenship that are evident in everyday life in China. This becomes clear when we discuss the important impact that Confucianism has had on the moral and ethical behaviours of individuals, communities and the state.

2.3.2 Confucian legacy

Janoski (2014) argues that due mainly to Confucianism, Chinese citizenship is closer in similarity to a communitarian model than to a liberal or republican approach to citizenship. A number of empirical studies have shown that Confucianism is still highly influential in China, even with increasing exposure to the West (Ralston, Egri, Stewart, Terpstra, & Kaicheng, 1999; Gómez Arias, 1998). Based on the literature on Confucianism, there are five aspects to Confucian moral standards: family values, self-learning, guanxi (relationships) and diligence as an important Confucianism code; and judgement (Han & Altman, 2010).

- Family values. Strong family and kin values remain a strong part of Chinese society (Janoski, 2014). In school, a child learns how to be a good person through Confucian values, for instance, filial piety (respect for one's parents, elders and ancestors) is emphasized in primary school. Children also learn to be loyal to nation through history and family as a result (Reed, 1995). In this focus on family values, there are strong parallels with the collective loyalty and responsibility that are central to communitarianism.
- Self-learning. The importance of learning or education is strongly emphasized by the

Analects of Confucius (Waley, 2005). Confucius told his disciples to learn and to review knowledge repetitively (Meng & Uhrmacher, 2017). This was a self-learning and self-reflecting process of learning. As a result, China enjoys the world's largest high-level self-education system, with 56 of every 10,000 people in the country having attended self-study examinations for the equivalent of a college diploma (China Daily, 2001).

- Harmony. Central to traditional Chinese culture is forbearance in relations with other people, even in situations in which one's individuality is threatened. The aim of maintaining harmony explains why Chinese people have long supported their ruling classes over the past 2,000 years; arguably they have prioritised maintaining a harmonious relationship with their rulers, unless the situation becomes intolerable (Guo & Guo, 2008), so it does not matter who rules and in what way the country is ruled. At the 17th Communist Party Congress of 2007, stability maintenance acquired a new significance under the slogan of 'harmonious society', a leitmotif lying at the core of Chinese philosophy (Jintao, 2005).
- Guanxi. In a Confucian society, people are interdependent rather than independent (Markus & Kitayama, 1998). Guanxi describes the basic dynamic in personalized networks of influence and is a central idea in Chinese society. It serves as important cement in promoting group cohesiveness. It is a tacitly embedded within the Confucius philosophy. For example, the Confucius social hierarchical theory, i.e. the five relationships of emperor – subject, father – son, husband – wife, brother – brother and friend – friend perpetuates its influence in modern China (Bell, 2000) .

- Diligence. A strong work ethic has been developed throughout Chinese history. Westwood and Lok (2003) argue that there is a social and moral requirement for Chinese to be diligent and persistent in work: 'Chinese people treasure every minute in their lives by working hard and meeting deadlines' (Wang, Wang, Ruona, & Rojewski, 2005, p. 318). Confucian thought postulates that 'when a person is given a great responsibility, heaven may test him with hardship and frustrated efforts in order to toughen his nature and show up his inadequacies' (Han, 2010). Consequently, a sense of diligence transcends the whole life of the Chinese individual.

Confucianism at the micro-level is essentially concerned with the foundations of society being of the people and for the people. The meaning of people in Chinese politics, more so than citizens, was a concept introduced to China in the early 1900s. On the whole, the idea of a citizen with rights and obligations is somewhat new to the people of China (Janoski, 2014). In China, there is a cultural politics of citizenship which could be called 'peopleship' (Xiao, 2012).

2.3.3 Peopleship

The word for 'citizens' translated into Chinese is '公民'; '公' which refers to an affiliated relationship with state, 'public' and 'state-owned'; '民' is people, and this is significant. The term 'peopleship' differs in many ways from the concept of 'citizenship' found in Western literature. Rousseau (1994) differentiated between those who are associated in a state wherein they collectively take the name of a people (for example, the French), and those who are called citizens who individually have a stake in the sovereign power. Rousseau's definition of the two terms is not precise and these terms can be confused.

However, the distinction may be important for China where there is little consciousness of the concept of citizen, as an individual status, but there is a deep historical consciousness of the concept of 'people' making up a nation state (Xiao, 2012). The Chinese notion of peopleship is tied to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) control of the media and education which – as highlighted earlier – means people have the limited rights to speak and argue issues in public, meaning individual views cannot challenge this sense of collective peopleship.

2.3.4 Political/citizenship education

There is only a small body of literature on Chinese mainland civic education, especially the current framework of citizenship education in China (Lee, Ho, Davies, & Hahn, 2008; Y. W. Leung, 2004; Shuli, 2013). Indeed, a long existent compulsive curriculum of ideological and political education is employed by the Chinese government to promote citizenship education among Chinese students (Zhang & Fagan, 2016). Some scholars argue that China does not have citizenship education, given the issues discussed above (Chan, 1999; Guo, 2013; Zhong & Lee, 2008). However, China does encourage political education, ideological education and moral education, which I argue are all relevant for shaping an individual's views about his or her relationship with other citizens and the state (Fairbrother, 2013; Kennedy, Fairbrother, & Zhao, 2013). For example, the conception of a 'people' is produced by 'peopleship education', understood as state hegemony through public education to create Chinese individuals who do not question the legitimacy of the Communist Party of China (Xiao, 2012).

Previous studies (Fairbrother, 2003; Reed, 1995) have noted that political knowledge is very controlled in China (Ministry of Education, 1959), with only one textbook used in the

new political education courses since 1950s. Key words in this textbook include 'revolutionary spirit' or 'service to the people' (Reed, 1995). Secondly, the textbook emphasizes the 'transformation of citizens' (Fairbrother, 2004) by educating children through stories about how the Party CCP saved China in a civil war. Thirdly, in order to create a 'new society', the textbook encourages young people to cherish this vision and to believe that China can surpass capitalist nations in industrial production within 50 years (Ministry of Education, 1959). Up until now, there has been little discussion regarding the impact of political education on young peoples' understandings of citizenship.

Even though previous research has found that the Chinese public expresses fairly strong criticism of some aspects of Chinese society, such as education, environment and health, overall Chinese actually express high levels of confidence in the national government (Wang, 2005). Strong economic development also has the immediate effect of enhancing public support for the government – but, in the long run, leads to changes in values that are more likely to promote critical citizens (Wang, 2005). I argue that the government's willingness to allow Chinese students to study overseas is part of this process of change. As the following section indicates, this is because such students are exposed to new ways of thinking about citizenship, as is the case of the participants in this research who study in New Zealand where a liberal focus on individual freedoms and rights has dominated thinking about citizenship.

2.4 Differences in the Chinese and New Zealand political contexts

Unlike France or the United States, New Zealand citizenship did not emerge from a republican tradition but is largely influenced by liberal thinking (Pearson, 2005). Along with

a democratic government, there is a strong focus on individual civil, political and social rights. In particular contrast with China, there is more focus on individuals engaging in politics through discussion, voting and volunteerism in New Zealand (Blakely et al., 2006; Karp, Vowles, Banducci, & Donovan, 2002). There is also a free media which means political ideas can be discussed without government control. However, this does not mean everyone engages in political discussion or activities. Some researchers are concerned by young people's disengagement relates to their declining political turnout to vote in elections, which is a global trend (Benhabib, 2011; Claes & Hooghe, 2008; Leung, 2004). Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that there is limited citizenship discourse as the country has a short history of citizenship; although it became independent from Britain in 1949, it maintained strong British ties for several decades (Pearson, 2005). In addition, migrants require only permanent residency to access many citizenship rights and New Zealanders receive little citizenship education.

Although New Zealand is a democratic country while China is an authoritarian one, it is important to highlight that the New Zealand state has attempted to shape a particular narrative of history that aims to build a sense of 'imagined community' amongst people and such narratives are inevitably incomplete and tend to gloss over or ignore issues the state would rather have people forget. One example is the way in which the New Zealand state historically ignored the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi (Orange, 2015) and the negative impacts that colonialism had on the political, economic and social rights of indigenous Maori. Since the 1980s, the country has officially adopted a bicultural framework that recognizes the rights of Maori as an indigenous people and as signatories of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, although

Tawhai (2008) nonetheless found little discussion about such issues in the citizenship education curriculum. Terruhn (2014) also reports some white European New Zealanders being resistant to accepting biculturalism. More generally, Wood and Milligan (2016) argue that New Zealand lacks active and critical citizenship education. This is an important context for the later discussion which focuses on the lack of citizenship knowledge found amongst the Chinese participants in this research, for studies of New Zealand citizens also find their understandings of citizenship lacking (Humpage, 2008). Nonetheless, it is undeniable that free media and democracy do shape one's sense of self as a New Zealand and as a citizen.

There is a growing emphasis on the proposal that citizenship education could help students to think critically (Wood & Milligan, 2016), to be active citizens as independent agents, rather than dependent subjects waiting on the state's whims (Clarke, 2005) and to be free and equal citizens with a respect for all other human beings as moral persons in open borders (Carens, 1987). A citizen, as a member of a social community, cannot always live a wholly private life. The meaning of interaction for citizens involves social activity between 'us and others' (Pierre, 1988). To balance the relationship between individual and others as a citizen in society, it is necessary to understand the principles of citizenship.

2.5 Principles of citizenship

While citizenship has varied considerably throughout history, there are some common elements of citizenship over time. Regardless of whether talking about New Zealand or China, the West or the East, I have generalized the ideal nature of citizens from the historical development of the citizen, based on a philosophy of human rights, the equal status and rationality and the attributes of citizenship may be contractual, free, argumentative and

rational, and are clearly associated with liberal citizenship and more relevant to New Zealand.

Contract

Contract refers to a code that shapes a citizen's dealings the relationship with others in public life. Without social codes, human society would not function as it currently does (Rousseau, 1994). The theory of social contract tries to address this question by accepting that we must submit our individual, particular wills to the collective will, created through agreement with other free and equal persons (Hobbes et al., 1998; Rousseau, 1973). Given this, we conform to the general will, and we must be 'forced to be free' (Rousseau, 1973, p. 194).

Freedom

Citizens have limited freedom because of the social contract. There is a line distinguishing a citizen and a subordinate (Aber & Small, 2013). Strictly speaking, being a subordinate of a state is not being a citizen, because subordination makes a citizen lose basic human rights. Freedom is a 'knotty' issue in which citizens struggle to find an appropriate distance between being an individual in private life, and being a citizen in a collective community. According to history since Greece, a citizen cannot have complete freedom from the state. Freedom for citizens is based on agreement in the public arena.

Rationality

It is assumed that each citizen has the ability to make a free choice. The writing of Immanuel Kant (1796), Thomas Hobbes (1998), and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1994) offers examples of this tradition. Further, Habermas (1994) describes human rationality as a necessary outcome of successful communication, while Weber's (2009) interpretation of rationality is that it avoids a value-laden assessment, for example, that certain kinds of beliefs are irrational.

Rationality is, of course, fundamental to the democratic process, where every citizen gets the right to vote and make decisions about who will govern them.

Argumentation

Argument may be one of the ways of keeping citizens on the rational track (Gutmann & Thompson, 2009). Mouffe (1998) states: 'Rawls and Habermas have in common the idea that the aim of the democratic society is the creation of a consensus, and that consensus is possible if people are only able to leave aside from their particular interests and thinking as rational beings. However, while we desire an end to conflict, if we want people to be free we must always allow for the possibility that conflict may appear and thus provide an arena where differences can be confronted.'(para.10). Mouffe's model of democracy for a civilization society that envisages its realization represents a form of an ideal argumentation, as a task conceived as infinite, to be sure, yet which has, nevertheless, a clearly defined shape of democracy.

The first principle of contract may be reflected both in New Zealand and China. Citizens have a social contract with government. Rights and responsibilities are assigned for both sides according to the agreements in both countries. However, the principles of freedom, rationality and argumentation are more evident in New Zealand than in China. For instance, the right of protest shows that citizens have the ability to argue with the government if citizens are dissatisfied with the management of government. That is to say, protest can ensure certainty of freedom for citizens to express their opinions to the government and to help the government make a rational decision. In New Zealand, a wide variety of protest campaigns have been undertaken; those range from local issues of pollution to national

opposition to native forest logging and genetic engineering (O'Brien, 2016). However, when pollution is caused by fellow villagers in a Chinese rural community, environmentally concerned villagers are likely remained silent owing to the constraints of community relations and economic dependency (Deng & Yang, 2013). This is an example to demonstrate that the comparison between China and New Zealand suggests that the relationship between pollution and protest is context-dependent and that Chinese citizens lack the principles of freedom, rationality and argumentation but place more focus on human relations (guanxi). Hence, these differing notions of citizenship help us to understand the cultural conflicts experienced by the Chinese students interviewed and whose narratives are discussed in the following chapters.

2.6 Conclusion

Citizenship is an extremely complex concept, although it is traditionally understood to be grounded in the idea of rights and obligations that are tied to holding the status of citizenship within a bounded nation-state. This chapter has briefly overviewed the emergence of modern citizenship and has also pointed to the ways in which contemporary theorising of citizenship at an everyday, deeper, level may be more relevant to understanding the experiences of Chinese students studying in New Zealand. This is because conceptions of citizenship are shaped by the particular context in which they play out. In particular, Confucian ideas of social order and obligations and the Party-influenced Communist ideas of peopleship are important for understanding the rather weak awareness of the participants in this research as citizens; this is discussed in the following chapters (Janoski, 2014).

The local social conditions denote a contested participatory site in which actors with

overlapping identities as legal subjects, citizens, economic actors, and family and community members, form a public body and engage in negotiations and contestations over political and social life (Somers, 1993). Thus, my thesis understands citizenship not only as the formal relationship between an individual and the state but also as between individual citizens and the local community or family where identity, institutional practices and a sense of belonging emerge from these social connections (Lister, 2016; Somers, 1993). Later discussion highlights the contrasting traditions of citizenship found in China and New Zealand help to explain some of the challenges my participants faced when they arrived in New Zealand. Not only did they have to deal with language and cultural differences but also, they found:

a) Greater access to political knowledge about China due to the freedom of press and media in New Zealand
b) Varying expectations about how they should act and be as citizens (and as students)
c) Criticisms of China that they find difficult to defend because of their limited political knowledge

In this chapter, I have also discussed the way in which there has been a shift from conceptions of traditional citizenship (focused purely on citizenship status, citizenship rights and responsibilities bounded within the state and often – although not exclusively – focussed on, the relationship between citizens and the state) towards both a more globalised, post-national understanding of citizenship and a more individualised and intimate focus on everyday citizenship. A theory of everyday citizenship adds an important depth that is necessary for understanding citizenship in the Chinese context because when the notion of

‘citizenship’ is rarely used in China and is thus poorly understood by the Chinese students’ studies in this thesis I can only infer ‘citizenship’ through lived, everyday experiences. These everyday experiences and the way in which they become realised and acknowledged (to greater and lesser degrees) in the ‘third space’ of the interviews is the focus of the empirical chapters. In the next chapter, I examine methodology and methods of this thesis before introducing each participant, including details of their background in, in order to understand their multi-social identities.

Chapter 3 Discovering the methodology

Chapter one of this thesis emphasized the narrative approach to my methodology by the inclusion of my own experience and Amy's story. Chapter two discussed what was found from the literature review in terms of citizenship in Western and Eastern contexts, students studying abroad, and Chinese student experiences in New Zealand. I have examined how the term 'citizen' integrates with Chinese culture and political education.

This chapter describes the methods employed in producing a case study of Chinese international students' views of citizenship in the context of New Zealand. In this chapter, I begin by outlining qualitative methodologies within a case study and autoethnographic methods, which underlie my stance toward knowledge production in this research.

In the second part of this chapter, in order both to position myself as a reflexive researcher, I examine how my methods have evolved and developed, and describe the steps considered and taken as I conducted the research. I detail the research process, including a description of my experience applying the interview method at the outset of this study, a discussion of my dual role as an insider and outsider of the interview, and the portrayal of people through the narrative method in written thesis. Later in this chapter, I discuss the data analysis – how I used metaphors to analyze the data in the third space.

3.1 Qualitative methodology

Qualitative methodologies were selected for this research, in keeping with my aim to gain more nuanced, inclusive and detailed perspectives on Chinese international overseas students'

citizenship. The strength of qualitative research is its ability to give us insights into the meaning people attach to things in their lives (Taylor, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2015). Bruyn (1966) advised the qualitative researcher to view things as though they were happening for the first time. Nothing is taken for granted. Psathas (1973) wrote:

> For the sociologist, a phenomenological approach to observing the social world requires that he break out of the natural attitude and examine the very assumptions that structure the experience of actors in the world of everyday life. I set aside preconceptions and presuppositions, what I already 'know' about the social world, in order to discover it with clarity of vision (p. 14-15).

Qualitative research has been described as naturalistic (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This means that researchers adopt strategies that parallel the way in which people act in the course of daily life, typically interacting with informants in a natural and unobtrusive manner (Rallis & Rossman, 2012). Strategies in this thesis include case study and autoethnography in this thesis.

3.1.1 Case study approach

Case studies are a common way in which to conduct a qualitative inquiry. Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner (1984) argue that a case study – it is only useful in the preliminary stages of an investigation since it provides hypotheses, which may be tested systematically with a larger number of cases (p. 34). However, it is misleading to see the case study as a pilot method to be used only in preparing the study's larger surveys, because, as Flyvbjerg (2006) points out, this ignores the fact that the case study produces the type of context-dependent knowledge and the possibility of epistemic theoretical construction (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

A new case study movement, led by Sake (1994) in the US and MacDonald (1975) in the UK, aimed to describe the particularities of the case and its context of implementation in such detail that readers could *understand* the material and social processes involved (Kite, 1998). This understanding corresponds with the intention that qualitative methodology studies people to know them personally and experience what they experience in their daily struggles in society; the qualitative researcher looks at settings and people holistically (Taylor et al., 2015).Using a case, as what Stake (1978) terms, as a site, allows the researcher to discover the meaning or lived experience of the investigated topic and to address the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2012). It is a study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances.

Further, case study research is not sampling research. It does not study a case primarily to understand other cases. The first obligation for the researcher is to understand this one case (Stake, 1995) no matter whether we could study it analytically or holistically, culturally or entirely, and by mixed methods; we concentrate, at least for the time being, on the particular case (Stake, 2005). This research draws attention to the question of what it is that can be especially learned from the case of Chinese overseas' students' citizenship in New Zealand context. I will emphasize how I designed the study to optimize understanding of the case rather than to generalize beyond it.

3.1.2 Autoethnographic approach

Autoethnography utilizes ethnographic research methods and is concerned about the cultural connection between self and others representing the society (Chang, 2008). It is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011). By virtue of the autoethnographer's dual role as a member in the social world under study (an insider) and as an objective researcher of that world (an outsider), autoethnography demands enhanced textual visibility of the researcher's self (Anderson, 2006). Such visibility demonstrates the researcher's personal engagement in the social world under study.

Therefore, a central feature of autoethnography is that the researcher is a highly visible social actor within the written text (Anderson, 2006, p. 384). The following part of this chapter involves significant self-reflection of myself, as a researcher, during the research process. My own feelings and experiences are incorporated into the story and considered as vital data for understanding the other Chinese international students. I openly discuss changes in my beliefs in Chapter one, thus vividly revealing myself as a Chinese international student whose views of citizenship changed and as an example of an overseas Chinese student grappling with issues relevant to citizenship and participation in fluid, rather than static, social worlds. Autoethnographers should expect to be involved in the construction of meaning and values in the social worlds they investigate (Anderson, 2006). Autoethnography can take us to the depths of Chinese international students' feeling, leading us to be emotionally moved and sympathetically understanding of the students' view on citizenship.

3.2 The logic of enquiry in method

The section describes how I 'personalise' the method and how I theorise it. It is not a simple method of interviewing people; it involves the acquisition of data followed by its analysis. The process is complicated by the nature of knowledge, as well as by emotional interactions (Lee-Treweek & Linkogle, 2000). Knowledge of social states is personal, and is often held at the intuitive level (Polanyi, 2012). The interview is an opportunity, not just to 'recover' knowledge from a respondent, but to 'generate' it. The process involved me in two multiple layers of interview data and focus group data, in an iterative process in which data is returned to respondents for critical review. Meanwhile, as a researcher, a Chinese citizen and a participant, I am required to challenge my own values during the process of theorising the data. Thus, the process of collecting data, the emotions I feel during the interview, the moments of struggle in theorising the data, the occasional disagreements with the participants' perspectives and the journey of exploring the data with the focus groups all weave together occurring simultaneously. To make it clearer, I will present the process in the following sections:

- From mixed methods to qualitative study
- Methodological dilemmas
- Recruitment
- Interview as a methodology
- Portraying people after interviewing

3.2.1 From mixed methods to qualitative study

Peshkin (1988) states that 'the researcher's qualities have the capacity to filter, skew, shape, block, transform, and construe what transpires from the outset of a research project to its culmination in a written statement' (p. 17). Thus, I think I should make clear where my subjectivity is intervening in this research process. For my Master's dissertation, I conducted a qualitative research study on Chinese university students' English courses. The students involved were Chinese students studying English as a second language. I conducted 200 questionnaires on their perceptions of their studying English at a university.

When writing the proposal for my doctoral research, I thought mixed methods might help me assess how Chinese students construct a meaningful concept of citizenship on account of their experience in New Zealand. According to Creswell and Clark (2007, p.5), "mixed methods research is a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry". In research, we bring a discrete set of beliefs as well as philosophical assumptions: research is a subjective endeavour in both its aims and experience (Peters & Tesar, 2015). Mixed method research is often established on the premise that mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches can offer a better interpretation and analysis of research problems – a form of triangulation (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Greene, 2007). Thus, I designed a mixed approach study which was used to gather data through document analysis of Chinese citizenship textbooks, questionnaires, focus groups and individual interviews.

My research proposal was rejected by the reviewers for the use of inappropriate methods. One reviewer suggested that I needed to develop a methodology – a logic for the use of method. I had not given thought to the relationship between methodology and method.

That is to say, my methods were disconnected from the ideas and concepts relating to Chinese student's citizenship – it lacked 'construct validity' (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). For example: What are the characteristics of citizen experience and civic engagement that demand to be understood in certain ways? To understand the citizen experience, a researcher might need an interview to listen to, construct and theorise about the participants' story rather than using a survey questionnaire or interviews with pre-specified questions. Gita Sereny (2004, p. 2) explained her method of interviewing, which coincides with mine:

> When writing *Into That Darkness* I deliberately kept myself out as far as possible, hoping and believing that the personalities of the men and women in those pages, and the meaning of their words and acts, would best emerge not from my questions, or explanations, but from what they said and how they said it. Thus in my talks with people for that book as well as others, I asked questions only to the extent that would keep the conversations flowing with increasing intensity. This requires faith in the capacity of your [respondent] to think, patience to give him or her the time to do so, and finally the determination to tempt them into responding not just with, but to their own thoughts, which means bringing them to the point where they both ask and answer their own questions. Because, essentially, almost everyone wants or needs to talk about themselves. The result of this approach…is that people develop or indeed discover an increasing curiosity, an increasing need to know about themselves.

In my research, I proposed to question people by means of a focus group, individual interviews and questionnaires. Each produces different kinds of data – as I said, the value of a focus group is to learn from the way people interact through argument and debate. But a

question arises; Interact about what? What do individual interviews offer that focus groups will not? That is; What is the distinction in knowledge being generated in group responses and in individual responses? And if, in individual interviews, I ask students to theorise about their identities and experiences, how do I reconcile those theories? To some extent this depends on the interaction between different methods: Could I learn from a questionnaire to develop an agenda for a focus group? Could I generate questionnaire items from a focus group? Could I use individual life stories as a source for theorising? I found that I did not understand the logic behind each method, questionnaire, interview and focus group, or how I might use them for a single study.

As I learned more about methodology, I realized that studying students' view of citizenship through a questionnaire would not help me understand more about them. I realized that in my Master's thesis I had been ignorant of the contextual cause of the problems and difficulties students showed with self-examination. I did not really know what the students thought about themselves when they were studying in class in China. Did they worry about self-examination? Did they learn from the system of self-examination or were them just compliant in order to get a degree?

What did they expect of me, their English language teacher, to do or not to do? The research I conducted did not help me understand more about myself as a teacher (Elliott & Morris, 2001). I was still not sure whether my teaching was effective because I had little knowledge of my students. I could only assume that they learned from my teaching and from textbooks. Furthermore, the research I conducted did not help the students better understand the language they were learning. In fact, they did not know that I was studying their learning

and most of them just completed the survey as though completing an assignment.

Thinking about the questions the reviewer raised about method and my past experience in conducting the questionnaire, I found that I needed to ask a fundamental question about my doctoral thesis: What do I care about in this research? Do I care about awareness of citizenship across a population, or at the level of an individual about their experience? If I were to develop empathy for an individual's citizenship experience, I needed to understand the respondents in relation to the values, beliefs and prior experience underpinning their responses. Considering my own experience, as presented in Chapter one, I learned to care about Chinese students' social experience in China and New Zealand. Hence, to achieve a high conceptual level of insight and analysis of the respondents, I chose interviews over a questionnaire (Kvale, 1983a; Smith & Shepard, 1988), with a focus group to follow the individual interviews to discuss individual data as a group.

3.2.2 Methodological dilemmas: being an outsider and insider

Taking a dual role as outsider-insider raises issues about roles and relationships within educational enquiry. Merriam (2001) explores the implications in relation to 'power, positionality and representation', arguing, for example, that a cultural overlap between the researcher and participant merely provokes attempts in the participant to assert difference and to isolate the interviewer. Dwyer & Buckle (2009) argue that the duality is not sustainable – that the researcher from the same population as that being studied has both similarities and differences, and that the role should be defined as an 'in-between' role. My research experience tells me that I can be both 'insider' and 'outsider' simultaneously and discretely.

The issues have their origins in the school of social anthropology attempting to

interpret and explain the practices of primitive societies in terms of their own intrinsic world views (Brown et al., 2004). It was further elaborated in the discourse of participant observation in mainstream Sociology (Calhoun & VanAntwerpen, 2007; Chafetz, 1997), and in feminist research where there has been an emphasis on the interview for the 'co-construction' of narratives (Oudshoorn & Pinch, 2003; Wilkinson, 1998). More recently, it has been a methodological preoccupation for practitioner and team research, where 'reflective practice' (Irwin, Hanton, & Kerwin, 2004; Russell, 2005) encourages the practitioner to treat their practice as, itself, a form of enquiry. John Elliott (1988) describes five dimensions of the outsider-insider relationship embodied in action research – the epistemological dimension, the theory-practice dimension, the ethical dimension, the political dimension and the ontological dimension. The epistemological dimension believes practical knowledge of social practices and their procedural conditions generates valid theory as expressed through the insiders' self-understandings. The theory-practice dimension focuses on 'practical theory'– i.e. theory that is verified in action (Craig & Tracy, 1995; Lovelace, 1964). The ethical dimension concerns the grounding of knowledge in the ethics of practice (as opposed to generalised principles). The political dimension addresses the problematic competing interests that are found within the insider/outsider relationship. The last dimension, the ontological dimension concerns how the researcher positions themselves, their values and aims, as they act simultaneously as insider and outsider (p. 155). These five dimensions may be considered relevant to all those situations in which the researcher is part of the domain or population under study.

I believe that each of these five dimensions is helpful in defining the methodological

dilemmas I experienced as I talked to Chinese students about political and social issues that are reflected in my own experience, and as I came to regard myself as, in part, a participant. In my experience, all of these dimensions overlapped in a way not explored by Elliott (1988), as I found myself questioning my own life and beliefs in response to the stories my respondents gave to me. I found it difficult, for example, to distance myself emotionally and substantively from those stories, and I easily found my own positioning in them. Politically, my respondents' occasional hesitance in talking about sensitive political issues was echoed in the warnings from my peers not to stray into territory that might cause trouble for me back in China. I had some protection from my researcher role where I could be formally impartial, but this did not protect me entirely from being 'engaged' and having to deal with that engagement.

Outsider of the context

In fact, I had never thought that interviewing Chinese students would be so challenging. As a Chinese student, I was sometimes blind to the issues being raised. For example:

> However, he still felt bored in New Zealand which is lacking modern construction and which really does not compare with China. (From my interview documents)

When my supervisor asked: 'Why does he notice the lack of 'modern construction'? What difference does that make?' It had not occurred to me to ask why 'modern construction' was normal in China and what its meaning was.

I went back to interview that interviewee again with some more searching questions to do with modern construction and what it represents in relation to China. He talked to me about the lack of restaurants in New Zealand and about how Chinese people relate to the

street and to public life. The image, of course, is of a China that is bustling and developing rapidly and in sometimes unpredictable ways.

What I have learned is that if I am able to take an outsider role during the interviewing process, I would be more open to 'inadvertent' insights than if I draw on my own understanding. I take too much for granted. This requires a researcher to keep a clear mind free of the context and to present the data with bias-free values. To an extent, this is feasible. This is a psychological challenge, and is 'psychology,' acknowledging; however, setting aside one's subjectivity, might be included as a sixth dimension in Elliott's (1988) schematic. This recognition emerging from my reflective practice and use of autobiography makes a contribution to Elliott's theory.

However, keeping a clear mind out of the context was a challenge as I found my conscience, conviction, integrity, and knowledge of my motherland was torn asunder when other sides of China were revealed to me. At the same time, I experienced uplifting moments as I observed, for example, the excited tears from my compatriots who had stood on chilly nights for hours holding red banners to welcome President Xi to New Zealand. Standing beside my compatriots, a Kiwi police officer was confused by those hundreds of students' patriotic enthusiasm. One policeman said, 'we usually celebrate an individual's success. In terms of public figures, the President or film stars, we rarely celebrate like this.'

Nonetheless, I felt tired and upset during those few days standing at Auckland airport and in front of the door of Government House seeing the cars of the President leaving in darkness. I wondered, at times, what makes Chinese students such as they were. I wonder again, as I recall the event. Our enthusiasm seemed to be a secret: I was surprised by my

outsider-ness. To be an outsider to the research is necessary to gain the 'etic' view; however, in research of this nature there are significant advantages to being an insider so as to understand the 'emic' view. See Harris (1976), for the origins and explanation of the emic/etic binary in anthropology. The question for me was how to shift between, or how to balance the two roles.

From an outsider to an insider

I received, not just once, a 'friendly reminder' from friends that I should avoid discussing politically sensitive topics in my thesis. Shelley, who had heard that I was organizing a meeting with Chinese students on the 25th anniversary day of the Tiananmen Square Incident, had a long talk with me before the meeting and strongly advised me (I paraphrase) 'cancel your meeting! Do you know how serious the consequences will be when you go back to China? Two of my teachers were never hired by the government after the Incidents. I saw their lives ruined even though they were very talented. I don't want to see a similar thing happen to you! Have you considered your parents in China if the government seriously investigates what you are doing? Stop it.'

They are my friends. They wanted to protect me. But I felt sad, partly through a reluctance to believe the negative things they expected the government would do to me and partly because they still lived so cautiously even when overseas. It was still a surprise, however, that only four Chinese students showed up on that anniversary day.

One of the four students came because she wanted to help and support me as a friend. During the meeting, she sat far away from me, cautious, as though I might hurt her. I was curious to know what kind of person she was. I emailed an invitation to her to be interviewed for my

research. She gladly came to my office to talk over a cup of coffee. This was my first interview where I cared more about the person than the data. We talked about her childhood, her family experiences and even her fear of death. I felt she revealed a true side to me, which helped me understand why she used the words "I am afraid" so many times.

The process of being an outsider sharing an insider's experience allowed me to 'feel' the significance of an utterance. Reciprocally, a process of shifting from an insider perspective to the outsider gave me the basis for theorising. Kushner (2000b) provides a vivid analysis of how he went through the experience of being both an insider and an outsider.

> I was as beguiled as they by the naturalistic process, as confused as the students by the intimacy of the moment – though I, unlike them, had to and was able to slough off that intimacy as I bowed over my portable typewriter late at night. (Kushner, 2000b, p. 113)

'The intimacy of the moment', a short moment of being an insider, I believe, can be created during the interview – my own 'third space'– which makes the interviewee feel safe and trust the interviewer (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Kvale, 1983b; McCosker, Barnard, & Gerber, 2001; Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

3.2.3 Recruitment

Selecting participants The participants who have taken part in this study are 20 Chinese students in University of Auckland, New Zealand. The number selected was influenced by time and logistical constraints but was informed by considerations of qualitative sampling (Patton, 2005). Due to issues relating to feasibility, a somewhat arbitrary, lightly-structured sampling approach was adopted (i.e. using minimal selection criteria). Only Chinese students

from Mainland China were included: Hong Kong students were excluded on the grounds that Hong Kong's citizenship education system is different from Mainland China's (Fairbrother, 2003). One important criterion for selecting the university students is that they had had citizenship education in China and a reasonable understanding of the citizenship differences in the new context. Secondly, they had entered into the society as citizens as well as social protagonists enabling them to have the ability to think critically, through their perception of citizenship (Nussbaum, 2002). Overall, the criteria for selecting the participants should include, being:

- Over 18-years-old and currently enrolled as a student at a New Zealand university
- Born and raised in, and having attended secondary or high school in, Mainland China

I invited participants from a variety of disciplines who were studying at a university in Auckland. As soon as the person invited had read the Participant Information Sheet (Appendix A) and had given their informed consent to participate in this study (seen Appendix B and C), I scheduled a suitable time and method to conduct the interviews.

Sampling Twenty students agreed to participate. Of the twenty participants, eight were women and twelve were men. All were born in Mainland China and received their higher education from Chinese universities. Two of them have had the experience of studying overseas in other countries (the United States and Singapore). Their ages ranged from the mid-twenties to mid-thirties. Four of them were married and have children (see Table 1).

Table 1. The information of the participants

Pseudonym	Age	Male or female	Communist Party member	Rural or city background	Location of China	Focus group I
1. David	30	Male	Yes	Rural	North-Eastern province	Yes

2. Song	28	Female	Yes	City	North	
3. Xu	31	Male	Yes	City	South-Western	
4. Cello	34	Male	Yes	Rural	South	Yes
5. Xiaowu	27	Male	No	Rural	South	Yes
6. Chen	35	Female	Yes	City	North-Eastern	
7.Xiao jing	27	Female	Yes	City	South	
8.Ling	36	Female	Yes	City	South	
9.Sang	29	Male	Yes	City	North-Eastern	
10.Shan Dong	29	Male	Yes	City	North-Eastern	
11.Sun	34	Male	Yes	Rural	North-Eastern	
12.Yue	28	Male	Yes	City	Centre	
13.Lang	41	Male	Yes	Rural	Western	
14.Lu	27	Female	Yes	City	South	Yes
15.Qi	28	Male	Yes	City	Eastern	
16.Xiaobai	22	Female	No	City	Centre	
17.Ming	27	Male	Yes	City	Eastern	
18.Amy	35	Female	Yes	Rural	Centre	
19. Li	30	Male	Yes	City	South	
20. Jie	32	Male	Yes	Rural	South	
Total		7 Female/ 13 Male		13 city/ 7 rural		

Most of the participants were doctoral students in New Zealand. Only one of them was an undergraduate student. Of the doctoral students, most were supported by the Chinese Scholarships Council (CSC), through which they got to know one another and also got to know me. From the interviews, I learned that they have widely varying experiences in China and New Zealand.

A question may arise as to whether a sample of twenty participants would represent an adequate sampling size. This is a very common question in quantitative sociology. However, Small (2009) notes that saturation rather than representation is more important in qualitative research. Here, saturation is defined as data adequacy and means collecting data until no new information is obtained (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Morse, 1995). The researcher

estimates the sample size required to reach saturation equivalent to those formulas used in quantitative research. Rather, the signals of saturation seem to evaluate the adequacy and the comprehensiveness of the results. An adequate sample size in qualitative research is one that permits – by virtue of not being too large – the deep, case-oriented analysis that is a hallmark of all qualitative inquiry (Sandelowski, 1995).

Much of the debate regarding sample size focuses on the principle of 'saturation' – the point at which additional interviews merely repeat themes and issues that have already appeared. Mason (2010) conducted a meta-review of qualitative PhD theses and explored the validity of saturation. He noted (citing Guest et al., 2006, p. 112) that, 'for studies with a high level of homogeneity among the population', and where predictive statements about a domain are not sought, samples as small as six may yield insightful and generalisable data. The low level of variation I sought in my sample, and the focus on relatively high levels of homogeneity, means that 20 is a significant size of sample – especially when additional observations and two focus groups have been included for verification purposes.

Therefore, in my research, how do I ensure the findings will be generalisable, if not predictive? In other words, how do I know that attained saturation has been attained? Morse (1995) suggested that 'researchers cease data collection when they have enough data to build a comprehensive and convincing theory. That is how saturation occurs' (p. 148). As this research interprets 'saturation'; it involves eliciting multiple forms or types of occurrence, while valuing variation over quantity.

In specific, the data involves student's daily lives in China and New Zealand, their family, work, study and political views. Indeed, there are over 50 Chinese international

students involved in this research, in addition to the 20 in-depth individual interviews. To be more specific, the data resources are:

- 28 in-depth individual interviews (8 participants were interviewed twice)
- 2 focus groups (one of the two group students were additional to the 20 interviewees)
- 5-6 Chinese students I had spoken to whilst on a Māori trip (see in the story of 'citizen and people')
- 6-7 students we had debated with in QQ – one of the most popular communication app in China (see Appendix D)
- Over 20 students observed by the researcher at the airport (see Chapter 5)
- A girl at a 'democracy' seminar (see story of 'Democracy')

Through in-depth individual interviews, and subsequent fieldwork observations, verified by two focus groups, I realized that no significant new data on the participants' views on Chinese citizenship was emerging; I was confident that saturation had been achieved. This was a retrospective assessment and could not have been pre-specified.

Although according to the literature an interview is a stage-by-stage process (Burnard, 1991) that passes knowledge from one person to another (Brenner, 1985), in this study, it was part of the methodology (Kushner, 2000b; 2017). During the interview, the researcher undergoes a process of theorizing knowledge so that the interview process itself is an epistemological exercise – I experienced the interview's reflective dimension as in Kushner (2017). It was not only a stage for data collection; it also collected the first layer of data, the first-order data. In this study, the focus group was used to verify themes and issues and generate 'second-order' data (data-on-data).

3.2.4 The interview as a methodology

The first layer of data: interviews with Chinese students

In social research settings, the interview as a qualitative method acquires knowledge through a co-relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer. Lapenta (2004) describes an interview as a social encounter that explores knowledge in a contextual, inter-relational and linguistic form. The interview process fills the social identity gap between interviewer and interviewee. From this perspective, the fundamental goal of the interview is to attempt understanding of the 'epistemological identities' of the interviewee and the interviewer; knowledge during this exchange passes from an interviewee who possesses this knowledge (albeit maybe intuitively) to an interviewer who is interested in that knowledge (Brenner, 1985). I would argue with Brenner that the goal of interview is not to pass one person's knowledge to another one, but rather, it is about co-generating information for interviewer and interviewee (Kushner, 2000b). Also, in the focus group for the current research, the participants were learning from each other and generating a different, social kind of knowledge (Wilkinson, 1998).

Further, an interview is more than a strategy for asking questions. It should be seen as personalized instrument, enabling interviewees to express how they see the world and at the same time to reveal how and why an interviewer values people (Kushner, 2000b, p. 83). Here, the interview is no longer regarded as a stand-alone instrument, but is part of the logic of enquiry; as Kushner (2017) says, it is not a method, but a methodology. An interview is the way you discover the complexity of the enquiry and how you learn to see the world. I believe

that each participant in this research represents a new world to me that is partly revealed through the interview.

Before starting this research on Chinese students' awareness of the concept of citizenship, I wanted to discover the students' self-perceived identities in China and how they saw themselves in New Zealand in terms of their life experiences here. During the pilot interview, I was uncertain how I should ask questions in terms of citizenship and how I should approach my participants in the interview process.

The pilot interview The pilot study was an initial attempt to try out the research method. The pilot interview involved three Chinese participants: Qi, Xu and Song, who are described in the profiles of the participants. They were interviewed twice as I realised that I had experienced problems during the first interview; it occurred to me that the interview questions were not sensitive to politics, neither was the structured list of questions sensitive to the individuality of the interviewee. I felt nervous as a novice interviewer. Many researchers consider an interview that is unstructured to be beneficial as it allows for flexibility in the process of the interview (Turner, 2010). Some researchers view an unstructured interview as unstable or unreliable because of the inconsistency in the interview questions, thus making it difficult to code data (Creswell, 2013). I am in partial agreement with Creswell in that it is not easy to code data as the data may involve different sources and expressions, but I cannot agree with his judgement of this style of unstructured interview in relation to the results of data. In other words, the interview should value people (Kushner, 1994, p. 98). Kushner's view of interviews is guided by his values, experiences, and also the nature of methodological contingency. In fact, he rejects the characterization of

‘structured/unstructured’, arguing that all interviews, as social interactions, have ‘structure’ – the question is, of what nature?

Value-orientation determines the questions we put to reality (Weber, 2009, p.52). The values to which the sociologist and the historian relate reality are naturally variable. Hence, the standardized open-ended interview data would probably isolate and attend to a few key concepts or variables, while the non-structured (or differently-structured) interview could achieve a wider, richer description, and phenomenological data (Stake, 1982).

In practice, my experiences during the course of the pilot interviews told me that the process of interviewing is not as simple as the literature sometimes implies, for example, in stating that ‘the interview becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge’ (Kvale, 1983, p.5). To some extent, it is right that the aim of an interview is to obtain knowledge from respondents, but if knowledge becomes the priority while the respondents’ subjectivities are ignored, it would be a failed interview. For example:

One afternoon, my supervisor suggested that I work at understanding who my participants were. In the interview, my straightforward way of asking what citizenship meant to them proved to be based on the wrong kind of structure. Although I tried to organize a relaxed environment beginning with such things as a shared pizza or a casual conversation, I still found I could not get to the point where felt I could ask deep-level questions. The following exchange occurred in a doctoral workshop:

> Supervisor: yes. Sorry (to interrupt A, another researcher). I think A is right in saying that you don’t care about the people you interview.

Me: Me? Sorry, not sure why you should mention that I don't care about the people? How come?

Supervisor: Well, what I mean is that as a person you may be very caring, but as a researcher, maybe you are not. Well, they do not see you as a person. They regard you as a researcher. We've already said that A started this by saying that there is an interviewee, and behind that there is the person. Your job is to see that person. It is exactly the same with them: there is an interviewer, and behind that there is a person, YOU. What they see is that the interviewer is not someone who necessarily cares about them; you care more about the data. (Supervision, 29/08/2014)

This was a reminder that qualitative method is about people before data. However, from a point of view of someone with a Chinese research background, we often focus on a macroscopic, collectivistic and national view so that people as individuals are rarely considered in research analysis. In spite of today's famous CCP slogan, 'Serve the People', here, the people are not considered as individuals, but as a population, which indicates a conceptual massification. The discrepancy between the Chinese way of viewing people and the assumptions of Western theory represents a methodological challenge in qualitative interviewing. This realization that I needed to focus on the individual is in line with my theoretical interest in everyday citizenship.

I changed the research questions by changing the focus. I asked them more open-ended questions like, 'could you tell me a little story about yourself in China', instead of, 'what does citizenship mean to you?' Through changing the modality of asking questions, the data collected was different from that was previously collected. For instance, one of the

participants, Amy, who was referred to at the start of this thesis, shared a complex story about her life, work, childhood and family in detail. And, at the end of the interview, she said that:

> I heard you are doing research in citizenship education. I don't know if what I have said could help you or not. I am thinking…. (Amy, Education)

I didn't ask her any questions about the citizenship, but she picked up the question by herself. Thus, an important lesson that I learnt was, that before looking for the answers to research questions, researchers should first understand who their participants are.

The second layer of data: focus groups In this part of study, 45-minute café-style focus groups were utilized in order to trigger memories, thoughts, and ideas among the participants (Lichtman, 2012), as well as to test out themes and metaphors generated in the interview data. The aim was to share some of the ideas and perceptions arising from the individual interviews and to generate second-order data. The second reason for choosing to use the café-style focus group with Chinese students was the recognition that some participants might be shy and unwilling to share their experiences for political and Chinese-cultural reasons. Therefore, I adopted Wood's (2011) café-style approach with Chinese students to create a safe and mutually supportive space in which to explore their ideas. It enabled the students who had had similar study-overseas experiences to exchange opinions, to adapt, to omit, or to insert responses to research questions.

Two focus groups were conducted after the interviews. One consisted of five international students and the second focus group had four participants. They were asked to discuss the interview data, so that the focus group played a role in triangulating the interview data (Lambert & Loiselle, 2008), and for completeness and confirmation (Adami & Kiger,

2005; Halcomb & Andrew, 2005). This was designed to ensure the validity of communications, to reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation, and to test ‘saturation’.

The focus groups were designed to capture two perspectives. They were selected in order to negotiate part of the interview data. In the other group, the participants selected were students who were new to the study. This ensured two discrete bases to validation.

Negotiation in a focus group is a principle that governs relationships between the facilitator and the participants. In this case, negotiation involves a collaborative construction of knowledge with the research participants, a ‘second-order data’, using the supervisor’s suggestions.

Me: There are some themes that I don’t understand from the interview data.

Supervisor: Go and ask the other participants and look at what they say.

(This is from a supervision meeting)

For example, among the interview questions (seen Appendix E) that I had posed there were questions, such as: ‘Why don’t those Chinese overseas students approve of democracy in China when they are outside of China?’. I didn’t understand the participants’ answers. Therefore, I raised the same question in the focus group (seen Appendix F) to triangulate the interview data, and to explore possible interpretations. This follows the principle that individual interviews may be used to explore personal experiences, whereas focus groups may be used to examine opinions and beliefs about the phenomenon (Molzahn, Starzomski, McDonald, & O'Loughlin, 2005). Thus, negotiating the question in the focus group helped me to make sense of why the Chinese students strongly agree that China is good without democracy.

Judging by their conversation about democracy in the focus group, and in accordance with their own lived experience and conversations with friends, the Chinese students' attitudes toward democracy in China showed clearly that they are in agreement with the notion that democracy does not suit China. What the focus groups added to the individual interviews is an inter-subjectivity in which those Chinese students were able to adapt or test their subjective views to the subjectivity of others (Trevarthen, 1979).

A question raised here is China's suitability for 'intersubjective' knowledge and agreement. I want to examine, for a moment, the difference in data quality between an individual interview and an intersubjective exchange within a focus group. For example, Cello, a participant in an individual interview for this research, spoke thus:

> Cello: We don't have the concept of people, where from the concept of country? (Cello, Interview)
>
> Focus Group:
>
> Wu: There is no concept and boundary in terms of people, say, for example, those people who followed Chairman Mao during the civil war seventy years ago are people, and once one day, if Chairman Mao did not like you then you were an enemy of the people.
>
> Cello: Similarly, citizen cannot change unless you want to change it or you want to be a criminal that was deprived of political rights for life.
>
> Wu: That kind of criminal should be also counted as citizens because nationality cannot deprive them.
>
> Cello: So, we need to interpret the concept of citizen as defined by nationality or political rights. If it is defined by politics, then it is another story.

Ulida: Political rights?

Qi: The right to be vote and the right to be elected.

Ulida: I have not had that chance to be elected…

Cello: I felt once you talked about citizens, you are meaning you have to do something or you have to do some duty.

It can be noted that there is a difference between what Cello says about citizens in the individual interview and focus group. It seems as though Cello was in two minds about his opinions. Perhaps this is intersubjectivity working. Maybe in the process of listening and responding, Cello is re-thinking his ideas. I also observed that some Chinese students appeared concerned about what they were saying in the group, where they tended to agree with each other rather than disagree or argue with others, even though some of them held a different view.

There are two reasons that may explain why Chinese students attempt to agree with others in a focus group or otherwise maintain silence. One reason is that the authoritarian environment of Chinese politics does not allow the people to be critical of the government in public. The second reason may relate to the nature of Chinese culture and also to collectivism, manifesting in the desire to reach for a semblance of harmony in a group discussion. This is what I was concerned about and aware of when I came to analyse the 'consensus' data from the focus group in the discussion part of this thesis.

3.2.5 Portraying people after interviewing

For this research project, it is important to understand the values and priorities of the research object through interpreting people's experience. Focusing on portraying an

individual is not same as the recording of biographical data. Barry MacDonald (1977) first proposed the idea of the 'portrayal' that, when researchers write about participants, the reader needs to know 'what goes on' in education: it is an important task for the research to display the educational process in ways which enable people to engage in it with their hearts and minds. However, the technology of portrayal is difficult as it needs linguistic skills and devices that lie outside the biographical data in order to create and convey images of research which both preserve and illuminate its complexity (Eisner, 1975; Loughran, 2016). Kushner's (2014) notion of 'portrayal' refers to theorizing about people in an institutional context as well as in the context of their lives.

Further, human beings have a sense of time as an essential part of their social constitution: people cannot be cognizant without a sense of occurrences and personal change (Kushner, 2000b). Eisner (1975), Smith (1976) and House (1999) are those who have contributed to the tool of portrayal which takes the experience of the research participants as the central focus of investigation. As noted in Chapter two, to know who the international Chinese students are in terms of beliefs and expectations, we need to know their experiences in China and their new experiences in New Zealand to capture a sense of contrast and change. More importantly, in this thesis, I aim to show how they theorise themselves as a result of this contrast. In this sense, portrayal is a 'living methodology' (Whitehead, 2008) in the sense that both knowledge and method are being shaped by the interview process. Sometimes, even the person being interviewed, and the interviewer are shaped through this methodology as they come to self-realisation. Developed in contrast with other research types driven by research questions, Kushner's (2000) characterization of portrayal is worth quoting at length:

> Portrayal paints a picture of the individual as they are in the here-and-now, as they live and work and reason and enter into social exchange. In existential terms, portrayal allows us to interpret pasts and measure the significance of futures through the lens of the immediate; it allows us to discipline the general with the particular. This may well involve biographical detail but, at least as important as this, it will locate the individual in the recent sociology of their lives – both who and how they are (p.63).

It was on this basis that my supervisor advised me to conduct the interview, not necessarily to ask the question that is at the core of the enquiry, but to find the sense of coherence in the experiences and views of the respondent, rather than risk imposing my own ideas through questioning. For example, one of my interviewees stopped when I did ask her the core research question with which I was concerned. When I presented a paper with the word of 'citizen' to her (a participant), a few seconds later, she reluctantly answered me.

I tried to ask her to draw further on the relationship of citizen with society, but she pushed it back to me. In the above interview Song felt awkward; the question came from 'elsewhere' and did not coincide with her own thoughts. For my part, I did not know the appropriate questions to ask and I cared more about the data than the person I was interviewing. It was only by first exploring how a life context gives rise to values and beliefs that I was in a position to begin asking about citizenship.

Interviewing lies at the heart of my research and my own values. I came to value my participants and felt my own values changing as their stories triggered memories of my own experiences. Some of their experiences were very different from mine and I found myself consciously comparing and contrasting mine with theirs as I read the interview notes. As Butt

and Raymond (1989, p. 414) wrote, 'Others' stories do…act as counter-biographies of, or alternative interpretations of, similar contexts.' From the researcher perspective, my respondents were 'other'; from their perspective, I became the 'other' to their inner world. Researchers have acted as participant-observers in the field work (Horowitz, 1986; DeWalt& DeWalt, 2010) and have been impressed by the validity of the participants' accounts, the congruence between the story and the interviews (Cheung, 2009; Eikeland, 2006). I also worked out the limitations of my own narrative based on recollections and reflections of the data that is presented in the following part of this chapter. Then I studied the data to search for significant themes in the experiences of citizenship described in Chapters four to ten.

3.3 Data analysis – using metaphor in the third space

3.3.1 Third Space

This section offers a more complex analysis of Chinese international student's citizenship in a third space. Although research on space has previously undertaken (N. Brenner, Jessop, Jones, & Macleod, 2008; Christopherson, 1994; Newman, 1972), there is limited research available on the 'third space'. Lefebvre's (1971, p. 38) theorization of space as having different meanings to the people who interact in it has given the inspiration to my research – that is to say, Lefebvre's work led me to find a theory of the third space. The third space theory is based on the structures of linguistic theory and symbolic representation; specifically, Bhabha (1994, p.37) identifies that the third space represents both the general conditions of language, and the specific implication of the utterance. However, Martimianakis and Hafferty (2016) have used the third space as a site where specific behaviours take place and which contains positive energies that emanate from the friction created by variations in thinking process,

social norms, and organisational strategies. Thus, the third space was used as a site or symbolic space, in which tangible experiences of life were evoked. In methodological terms, this space can be seen as an ethical space – i.e. a site in which rights and obligations, privacies and revelations are negotiated in the search for meaning.

I was also influenced by Baker (2009, p. 18) who said that 'the third space is an area where neither the general nor the specific hold sway, but any symbolic, cultural or linguistic interpretation is an 'ambivalent' process that needs to be negotiated between the two parties (I and you)'. It means that the third space was not a physical space that we can see or touch, but a space that was imaged by two parties who share it. In my research, an interview was a third space for the interviewer (I) and interviewees (you).

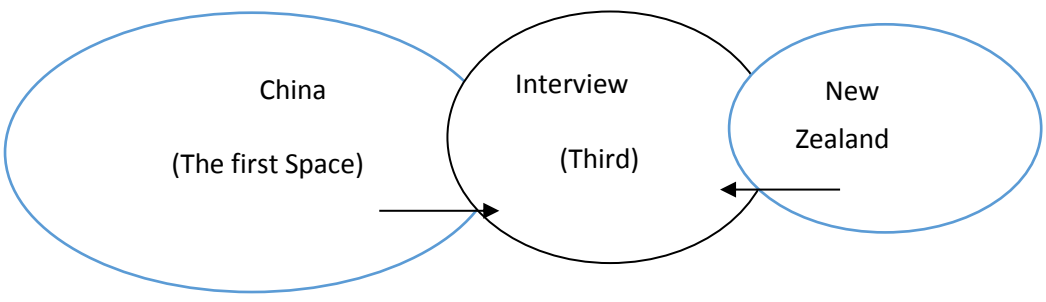
Each Chinese student revealed that China is no longer a precise geographical location, but something reconstructed in a third space created by the opportunities of the present. In the third space, they are able to consider previous education together with some social experience in New Zealand. For example, in the third space, they were asked to be flexible and adaptable as they reflect on new opportunities and experiences in New Zealand, without ignoring who they are and the importance of re-engaging with past experiences in China that are insistent. Our interviews provided a space in which the participants could understand themselves and the relationship between themselves and China. This was not simply the geographical space between Chinese and the New Zealand; the third space has more than one dimension, including language, cultural artefacts and emotion.

In this research, the third space provided a safe space where the interviewees participants had chance to think of some questions that may not have thought of in daily life.

However, such a situation may be uncomfortable, as shown by the fact that some of the interviewees wept as they reflected on early experiences. For example, after an early interview I told my supervisor that a participant had cried at the end of interviewing, and that I did not ask him about the sensitive topics that had led him to cry; despite this he was open to sharing his life with me. His crying was beyond my expectations and I hated myself as an intruder in an interview. My supervisor replied that the participant maybe needed to cry. My supervisor's wisdom led me to see just how complicated and unpredictable this kind of relationship between interviewer and interviewed could be in a third space is. On the one hand, I have to ask my participants to trust me and so that they will open up during the interview. On the other hand, I need to control my emotions for the participants and for my own sake.

In general, my study focuses on the Chinese students in this third space, experiencing an interruption of what is passively accepted, perhaps a space where values can be reflected upon and enlightened by those liberating themselves from their past life in China. This created an unstable but potentially creative space; it emerged through acts of negotiation and translation by which views of China were changed or affirmed. It was this space (see Figure 2), rather than the space between the binary poles of the China vs. New Zealand, individual vs. country and individualism vs. collectivism, which in Bhabha's words, 'carried the burden of meaning of culture' (1994, p. 34).

Figure 2. Interview as the Third Space for the participants

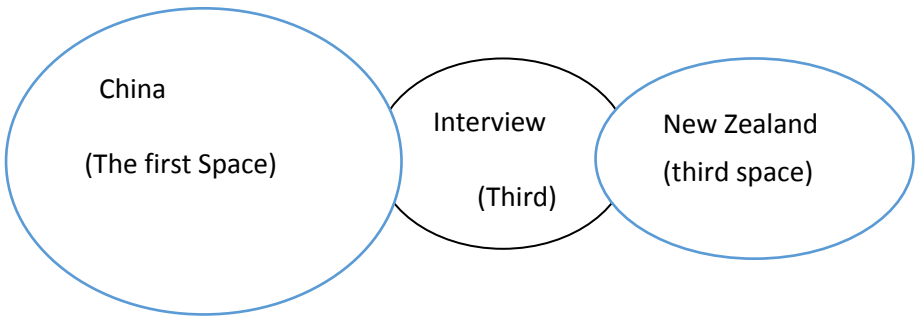


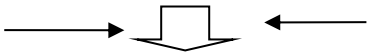
In this study, interviews constructed the third space in the participants' minds while they were in the second space of New Zealand, carrying with them their experiences and culture from the first space in China. In the third space, the Chinese students can be flexible and adaptable to new opportunities and experiences in New Zealand without losing the knowledge of who they are and the importance of re-engaging with past experiences. In this research, I have focused on the Chinese students' position in the third space. This third space provides an opportunity to explore the everyday in a different way than understood in China or New Zealand.

3.3.2 Themes in the third Space

The themes that emerged from the data and lingered for some time in my mind are 'Study, Study and Study' 'Democracy' 'Kites Flying' 'Citizens and People' 'Bird's Cage' and 'David and Goliath'. These are discussed in detail in Chapters Four to Nine (see figure 3). Each one of these seems to summarize the complexities of many of my respondents' experiences of being in New Zealand and reflecting back on China and their childhood. The various forms of data I collected were analysed thematically. Some of these themes emerged from the actual content of the interviews while others were drawn from the metaphors interviewees used.

Figure 3. Themes in the Third Space





Themes

a) Study, study and study (Chapter 4)
b) Democracy (Chapter 5)
c) Kites flying (Chapter 6)
d) Citizens and people (Chapter 7)
e) Bird's cage (Chapter 8)
f) A battle between David and Goliath (Chapter 9)

To distinguish between metaphorical and other emergent themes when analysing the data, I read and re-read all the transcripts, notes and feedback and I found the emergent themes were repeated again and again by the participants. For example, the theme 'Study' was mentioned by almost all of the participants when I asked them a question about 'what did your life look like in China?'. Study was the core focus of the Chinese international students' lives before they came to New Zealand. Therefore, the theme of 'study' was an inevitable topic in this research. Similarly, the word 'democratic' was always connected with the term 'citizenship' when the participants discussed this, leading to the theme of 'Democracy'.

In terms of the metaphorical themes, personal narratives help to explain everyday experiences of citizenship but do not incorporate an individual's position in the more complicated world view of citizen. My participants could not always articulate coherently how their everyday lives fitted into a theoretical explanation of being Chinese. To understand Chinese citizens from their experiences in a holistic way, I was more concerned with

intelligibly exploring my participants' thinking in the third space by using metaphors in this research. The idea of using a metaphor to capture and express the implicit theories in Chinese international students' personal experience appealed to me, since the students themselves used metaphors in their personal narratives.

I agree with Lakoff and Johnson (2008, p. 139) who argue that 'metaphors are capable of giving us a new understanding of our experiences. Thus, they can give new meaning to our past, to our daily activity, and to what we know and believe. Lakoff and Johnson (2008) see the metaphor as a symbol for understanding the meaning of our experiences. Morgan (2001) argues that using metaphors is a first step in theorizing. Both a theory and a metaphor are defined most easily as simplifications of a complex world. Morgan (2001) shows how metaphors help us to think about complexity in terms that make it manageable. This is especially significant when theorizing the notion of the 'third space'. I attempted to use metaphor and its entailments to explicate the relationships between Chinese student's the state, family, other institutions and their local context.

Lakoff and Johnson (2008) provide a framework for describing everyday cognitive structures using metaphors, making it possible to uncover both individual and collective patterns of thought and action. This was a useful method for a systematic analysis of Chinese international students' everyday citizenship in this thesis. In their work, the metaphor from 'A is B' represents the perception, conceptualization, and understanding of one object or event in terms of another. The form 'A is B' is not arbitrary because metaphors display what they call 'directionality': a less clearly delineated object or event, A, is structured by the more clearly delineated experience of a second object or event, B (Koch & Deetz, 1981). For Chinese

international students, ‘citizenship’ is an abstract word; they would prefer to find a metaphor that could be more clearly conceptualized and had a more widely shared understanding than an abstract term. In the metaphor ‘life in China is like a Pig’s crate’ (see Chapter Eight) offered by a participant, particular experiential aspects of life are highlighted by the clearly and widely shared understanding of a pig crate. In China, pigs are usually kept in a metal crate rather than around to roam free-range to forage for their own food. The pigs only have limited moving space inside of the galvanized crate but, on the other hand, have all their food provided for them without them exerting any effort. Here, the participant described his life was like a pig’s life in a crate because he appreciated the benefits of a strong state that provided for him and made many decisions about his life, but he also appreciated he had limited individual freedom in return.

Each metaphor has its own logical pattern. For example, the metaphor – ‘Kites Flying’ – given by one of my respondents really resonates for me; I too feel that our international Chinese students are like kites flying in New Zealand skies but with the thread still held in the hand of China. The thread is hard to define and depends on each student’s different life experience. It may refer to the well-established influence CCP, family and culture. ‘Kites Flying’ emerged as a main theme relating to the students’ personal relationship and the country and is explored in Chapter Six.

After identifying these themes, I reread the data. Through repeated sorts, patterns of metaphors emerge, clustering around recurring ‘main’ metaphors (Koch & Deetz, 1981). A picture that came into my mind was that kites have the potential to fly beyond national boundaries and many kites do fly outside of China. The students become flying kites who can

fly high and see widely when they can enjoy the freedom and democracy in overseas. But in the students' conversations, the string of the kite was always held back in China. The picture in my mind was divided into four patterns – honor, criticism, recluse and chameleon-based kites – which I then sorted into coherent groups.

The 'Bird's cage' metaphor came from the same interviewee who described his life with the government in China as a pig's crate (in Chapter Eight). In the 'Bird cage', the interviewee again articulated how he felt constrained both physically and mentally by the country as is the destiny of a bird in cage. As Chapter Two had mentioned, Google, Facebook and Twitter are banned by the Chinese government. The interviewee had limited choice to choose what he can do. The cage metaphors do not simply signify the country or the government, but also refer to anything that constrains citizens' freedom, like family and Guanxi, both mentioned later in the following chapters.

The biblical story of 'Goliath and David' (in Chapter Nine) is based on a contest where a smaller, weaker opponent faces a much bigger, stronger adversary. I found this metaphor when I was reading the Bible. I was struggling to find a metaphor that indicates the relationship between individual and collectivism. But when I was reading a story of Goliath and David, I realized that the story has a similar logic to what my participants mentioned when discussing their relationship between individual and the culture. Therefore, one of the themes was later developed with a title 'A Battle between David and Goliath'.

I also considered other themes during data analysis. Participants were asked about their experiences in two local contexts, China and New Zealand. In the third, reflective space the interview provided, they reflected on their view of citizenship. This led to a

biographically-based emergent theme of the state. Individual stories were presented – the frozen hand, the stabbed bus-driver – and linked to Chinese history in relation to the state, for example, the Cultural Revolution and Tianenmen Square. To be more specific, for the theme of 'Study, Study and Study' (in Chapter Four), I used two Chinese idioms at the beginning and at the end of analysis. The traditional Chinese idioms shaped the participants understanding, highlighting how citizenship needs to be analysed within a cultural and historical context of everyday life.

Chinese histories, cultural stories and individual stories are experienced, set aside, recalled, rejected, insisted upon, but in all cases, they are constitutive of the participants. Just as families carry the cultural mores of Confucius (and other ancestors), so the state is rooted in its own history. Just as with the individuals, the state itself experiences an emergent conceptualisation of citizenship; this is currently at the margins (Hong Kong, internet access), but nonetheless, tangibly present.

In general, what follows in the remaining chapters is a presentation of themes from the interviews and focus group data that to generate an understanding of the participants' everyday citizenship. Note that in my thesis, participants' experience of everyday citizenship is inflected differently by the political difference between China, their home country, and New Zealand, the democracy of their doctoral study period. To reconcile the political differences that affect participant's everyday citizenship, I subordinate everyday citizenship to the theoretical construct of the third space: the interview and focus group discussion between Chinese students and Chinese researcher, where we were safe to make sense of the political differences. I formulated themes that captured their view of being a Chinese citizen

from the collective pool of the participants' personal experiences, as well as from my own. Their varied personal experiences led to variations in being a Chinese citizen. However, there were some similarities owing to the nature of Chinese context of the international students. For example, Cello's view of citizenship on the grounds of his family experience may not be found in other students' experience, as with Amy's experience, described in Chapter one. In order to understand how the various experiences reflect the participants' view of citizenship, in the following six themes I have woven my own experience (my voice) into the interview data, as well as into the interpretations of lived citizenship.

3.4 Ethical considerations

As the nature of this study required the students to evaluate their conceptions of their identity as citizens in their original context, specific ethical conditions needed to be considered. Ethical tensions intensified as students began to reflect on their lives back in China, often uncomfortably and critically. The key ethical concerns established at the outset are outlined later in this chapter. Nevertheless, as the research progressed, other issues arose. Addressing ethical issues was not a process that ended with ethical approval by the University of Auckland Ethics Committee (UAHPEC 012399). 'Reflective practice' was an essential part of the process throughout the study, making the research itself an ethical practice (Madison, 2011; Simons & Usher, 2000). It was necessary to be aware of possible concerns and to continually discuss strategies with my supervisors and the research's respondents to minimize and avoid any negative impact that may result from my questioning. Ethics need to be 'situated' (Simons & Usher, 2000). Kushner (2000a) argues that:

> "…the social world lays multiple ethical traps for [researchers] and demands of them that they use their judgement rather than merely apply a principle… [application of a principle] deals only with ethical consistency and is no guarantee of ethical coherence." (p.57)

Students may feel under pressure, insecure, or anxious due to the sensitivity of the topic as related to the politics of China. For some it could raise sensitive social issues. Because citizenship is a broad topic, discussion involving students' ideas, feelings, and experience during the research, as well as my presence during their conversation, may have resulted in them feeling vulnerable.

I became aware that themes were introduced during the research that participants may not want to be included in, or to have published in this thesis. Students may feel conflicted if conversations that became data included viewpoints that contradict their personal, their family's or one another's viewpoint, especially in conversations that have not previously been rehearsed during life in China. Strategies for addressing ethical concerns include approaches that I took to alleviate the aforementioned ethical concerns. The strategies are grouped into the following categories: relationships and anonymity.

Relationships Appropriate social relationships are the key to addressing misunderstandings and concerns in research (Madison, 2011). In addition to working to build a mutually respectful relationship with the participants, I kept an awareness of the participant's feelings and attitudes with respect to the research. I adopted an empathic stance. Specifically, I maintained a warm, friendly, gracious and professional relationship with those who participated. If the participants became frustrated, I changed the focus to another topic and

returned to that question later by asking it from a different angle or letting the participants take a break.

Anonymity I have ensured that the participant's perceptions and the interviews are kept as anonymous as possible. To ensure that I made an accurate analysis of meaning from the interviews, the transcripts were returned to each of the participants to provide an opportunity for them to review and, if necessary, edit, should they feel their intended meaning had not been clearly communicated. This process ensures that participants have the opportunity to review the transcribed interview text prior to analysis so that they are confident that the intended meaning has been accurately recorded. At this stage, the data was confidential until and unless the interviewee had negotiated its use. Negotiation was the key to ethical practice (Kushner & Norris, 1980).

However, information collected during the research cannot be confidential throughout, as, eventually, it will be published. At this next stage, I have made every effort to ensure that the information the participants provided is only used in such a way as does not identify a particular individual as its source. Anonymity has been enhanced by using pseudonyms.

Participants were instructed not to discuss the research conversations with anyone other than those present and the researcher's supervisors. These conversations were held in a classroom or other suitably private location so that it was not possible for others to overhear the discussion. Participants were reminded of their responsibility to respect the views of all present.

The language used to collect the data was Mandarin. I felt that if the participants spoke in their own language, rather than in their second language, they would feel more at

ease in expressing their thoughts and ideas clearly. For the purpose of research, all the interviews were audio-taped, transcribed and translated into English by myself. In order to avoid changing or missing the meaning of the original data during the process of translating from Mandarin to English, the translated data was checked by a Chinese colleague.

This chapter contributed by discussing an appropriate methodology for investigating citizenship in Chinese context. Through my personalization of the methods, participants were provided with what this study needed: a comfortable and open environment in which they could describe everyday citizenship by talking about their lives and could reflect on some of the concepts underpinning citizenship. In the following chapters, I present the outline of this thesis within the framework of everyday citizenship. The findings are presented in a thematic analysis relating to students' study, democracy, family and their relationship with their home country in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 Study, Study and Study

In keeping with the theoretical themes of contract, freedom, rationality and argumentation in Chapter 2, this chapter explores my participants' experiences of being young Chinese 'citizens' in school. The theory of social contract will be used in this chapter to analyses the students' relationship with school, family and the state. 'As mentioned in Chapter 2, citizens have limited freedom because of the often implicit social contract with government. Chinese citizens must accept and advocate the CCP's legal legitimacy, subordinating their individuality, in order to benefit from the collective pooling of resources at the state level. This chapter also will look at Chinese international students' thinking and feeling about being 'citizens' in their daily life. This understanding of the 'depth of citizenship' (that is their emotional and subjective feelings about being citizens) and 'lived citizenship' in Chinese context. At the end of this chapter, it is clear that the participants also updated their thinking about their past experiences in China once they have a new experience of studying in New Zealand context.

4.1 A Chinese cultural story: Zaobitouguang

There was once a farmer's child called Kuangheng during the Western Han Dynasty in China. He wanted to read when he was very young, but he could not afford books because his family was poor. At that time, books were very valuable; there were books that people were reluctant to lend to others. Kuangheng worked on the land as a day labourer for wealthy families as a day labourer so that he could borrow books from wealthy families.

After a few years Kuangheng had grown up and became the main wage earner at

home. He spent all day working the land so that he had no time to read. His family was so poor that they could not afford oil lamps to use at night. But one night, Kuangheng saw a shimmering light coming from his neighbour's window. Then he took a knife and dug a hole in the wall. In this way, he read the books by the light beaming through the hole. Later, he became a high official in the Han Dynasty. This idiom came to refer to studying under harsh conditions. (Oriental Outpost, 2002)

I learnt that story when I was at primary school in a Chinese class. I was encouraged by the story – the spirit of Kungheng's hard work. Study is my life, from the first day at primary school in 1995 until now. Perhaps my life was arranged to study from the day I was born. If I had a chance to choose a life for myself, would I have chosen the same routine of a life of study again? It seems I was taught to study hard by the Chinese culture, my family and society, otherwise I would not be able to survive in a modern competitive society. One participant expressed a similar story in his interview.

> Sang: I never questioned the aim of studying in high school. I didn't question why I was studying when I was a child. For the Shandong Child every day it is study, study and study. If you don't study very hard, how can you get into the university? (Sang, Engineer)

Sang mentioned 'Shandong', a province along the lower reaches of the Yellow River in the east of China. Shandong province has played a major role in Chinese history from the beginning of Chinese civilization and has served as a pivotal cultural and religious site for Chinese Buddhism and Confucianism. The city of Qufu was the birthplace of Confucius and was later established as the centre of Confucianism.

Shandong is a typical province with a large population but only a small amount of per capita resources in China; it also has limited resources in education. For example, my undergraduate university was in Wuhan city, a developed city in China. But one third of students at that university came from Shandong province. In terms of this research, of the 20 students selected arbitrarily, there were five participants from the Shandong province; Limited educational resources had impacted on the participants' educational experience.

One of the participants said:

> Before the 1980s, Shandong was the poorest province in China. Even more so in the 1960s, my hometown people ate tree bark, peanut shells and leaves. My dad's family had eight children; however, four of the children died. One of the four kids who survived ran to Dongbei province just to have a meal to eat. Regarding the people in our hometown, I must admit that they are hardworking and diligent. The same as my mom and dad, they would explore a field once they saw a place where there was grass growing. Although my hometown is not big it does have a population of nine million. Until now, my habit has been to have a frugal life. (Sun, Education)

Sun's parents explored each field that they saw on the grounds that they hoped to grow something in it. The number of 'nine million' population in this province makes me involuntarily compare China with New Zealand, a country with a population of four million. I cannot imagine what education is like in Shandong province, and what the quality of the education is like in such a densely populated poor region.

> Sun: My high school was the poorest one in the whole town. Fifty students the shared beds a dormitory room. One occupant of the same bed followed on from the previous

> one, can you imagine that? In a hot summer the room had quite an odour and in the winter, it was extremely cold…I don't dare to speak English in front of the students who learnt their English in the city rather than in my small town. My accent in English sounded terrible in front of other students. (Sun, Education)

Sun's personal experience reverberated how the students studied hard in arduous conditions. The following data are from a Chinese student who was teaching English in Shandong University. She got her Master's degree in America and now she is doing her Ph.D. in New Zealand. Based on her overseas experience, she believes the quality of Chinese students' education in Shandong University is of a high level.

> Shan: In China, the students in a country with a huge population and fierce competition would all be crowded into a small classroom; whereas had they been studying outside China, these students would all be considered excellent and bright people. However, they cannot choose where they were born. They may think this is the law of society that people need to go through cruel competition step by step in society. In fact, the reality is not like that. For example, in New Zealand, if anyone wants to go a university, s/he doesn't need to take an examination, the same as in America. Even so, this is just not possible in China. Many Chinese don't believe schools overseas do not have college examinations. (Shan, Education)

In China, there are limited chances for students. Like Shan, Sun was unable to choose her own lifestyle because the social norms of Chinese society pushed her to study hard and be subject to cruel competition. These norms may be explained by Smith's (2010) 'invisible hand'– the unwritten laws of Chinese society by which the actions of self-oriented Chinese

are brought into conformity with social requirements. Although they don't know the purpose of early studying, they may just conform to the social requirements that we must study ‘to go through cruel competition step by step in society’.

To some extent, the phenomenon of study in China can be seen as an amalgam of subjective philosophy and social contract philosophy (Meyers, 2014), which argues that individuals have consented, either explicitly or tacitly, to surrender some of their freedoms and to submit to the authority of the ruler. Chinese international students in New Zealand are inspired by New Zealand’s liberal education system because they have realised that they are studying for life, in exchange for protection of their remaining right – to win a future in the face of intense competition. The influential sixteenth-century political philosopher Thomas Hobbes (2006) said that in the state of nature, humans would have right to all things and have the freedom to plunder and murder. Free men contract with each other to establish a political community i.e. a civil society through social contract in which all members gain security and interests in return for subjecting themselves to authority or state, family and local community. There are implications here for substantially broadening the understanding of the participant’s social contract in the case of studying and the potential to challenge established Chinese citizenship, as illustrated as follows on. First, the question arises: with whom are we signing the contract?

4.2 Study for Whom?

I still clearly remember a question which confused me for a long time in my childhood: Who was I studying for, for myself or for my parents? I was not able to work it out until I was in Year 5. One afternoon, before a math class, a math teacher rebuked an eleven-year-old boy

for not finishing his homework on time. I sat in the classroom and overheard their conversation: 'If you don't study hard, you will hang behind. Do you know who are you studying for?' The boy stood and wept. 'Do you know who you are studying for?' The question was asked again. Weeping, I wanted to help him to choose the answer 'I study for my parents'. Then, the boy said, 'For me.' When I heard this, I told myself, 'You are wrong', while the teacher said 'Right!'

Their conversation confused me. I am not from Shandong, but if I did not do well in my study, I would feel guilty with regard to my parents. One of the participants had a similar feeling to my own.

> Sun: In 1980, life in the countryside was very hard. My dad cut the wheat by hand under the blazing hot sun. I felt guilty towards my parents if I did not get a good examination result as they were working so hard in the field to support me in going to school. I felt especially bad, when I did not do very well in each mock examination, as though I had failed in a real college examination, (Sun, Education).

This highlights the rapid shift in the Chinese economy and society which has changed from an agrarian culture to a manufacturing culture. The transition is a significant contextual factor in the emergence of political identities. Sun's family was involved in this irresistible social pressure to study. This was a vicious circle for Sun; he had no choice and in a sense, he became a puppet of the Invisible Hand –'when the hand forms man for society' (Smith, 2010, p. 118) – a process of socialization working its effects on individuals.

Dawson and Prewitt (1977) further distinguish direct and indirect forms of socialization. In a direct mode, the individual is presented with explicit learning experiences or stimuli; in

the indirect mode, phenomena such as the transfer of predispositions from family or teacher to child are also included. To investigate how Chinese international students, encounter citizenship, I examine students' previous experiences whilst studying in China in the following section, as well as how their understandings and attitudes towards studying changed whilst in New Zealand.

4.2.1 Listening to 'dads' – family serves as a surrogate of the state

'I was studying at a technical school. You know the students at the technical school did not like to study. They didn't know that studying could change their destiny.' (Lang, Education)

Students who failed under the fierce competition of the University Entrance Examination had the choice of studying at a technical school. Normally, the Chinese society respects students from the University more highly than those from a technical school. The more prestigious the university from which the students graduated, the greater their chances of finding jobs in society (Jeffrey, 2014).

> Interviewer: Which year did you get into the Technical Secondary School?
>
> Lang: It was 1988. At that time only the excellent students in the whole town had the ability to get into the Technical Secondary School. In fact, it wasted my time.
>
> Interviewer: Why?
>
> Lang: Good students should go to University rather than go to a technical college.
>
> (Lang, Education)

According to Lang's interview, a technical school is not a good choice for students. There are two basic conditions regularly required in order to be recruited for a good job in China: a) to be a member of the Chinese Communist Party, and b) to have a degree from Project 211 or

Project 985 Universities, rather than those from a technical college. Project 985 is a constructive project conducted by the government of the People's Republic of China for founding world-class universities in the 21st century. Project 211 is the Chinese government's new national priority endeavour aimed at strengthening one hundred institutions of higher education and their key disciplinary areas for the 21st century (China education center, 2014).

Studying, then, is one of the mores of society making students believe that it is a crucial life skill to avoid becoming a 'loser'. Under pressure from society, with encouragement from parents, many Chinese students see studying as their destiny from early childhood.

> Shan: When I was a little child, my dad said I will relax once I get into University. Once I became a University student, my dad told me if I were a graduate student, then I would find a good job. After I was awarded my Master's degree, my dad said if I were a doctoral student, then I would not need to worry about anything in my life. Do you think I would still believe what my dad says? (Shan, Education)

Another participant responds:

> Interviewer: Why did you choose English as your major?
>
> Ling: This is a question that I never thought about. I listened to my Dad. At that time, I really did not feel that smart and I did not know which subject I wanted to pursue as my major. My dad said that I went ahead and did what he said. In other words, I accepted his suggestions. (Ling, Education)

In Chinese society, students listen to their parents. The role of 'dad' plays an important part in a Chinese family – 'I listened to my Dad' and 'my dad told me' – pointing to the fact that

Chinese society is patriarchal. The patriarchal approach relates not just to the family. Children listen to ‘dad’ at home, but it also applies at a national level. Chinese people take the country and government as parents (Fairbrother, 2003), which is evident in the story of ‘Kites Flying’ which follows. This reflects a form of citizenship as subordination at the level of family. Chinese lived citizenship occurs within a dependent relationship for Chinese citizens with family, country and government. Chinese individuals have to subordinate themselves to the collective groups in which they live. That gives lived citizenship a different flavor from its practice in Western democracies.

In other words, Chinese students, as young citizens, do not experience free choice or an equal relationship in the public sphere; rather, students have to obey the family. The ‘Dads’ in Chinese families construct a winner or a loser consequence for students who have the common belief that they can change their destiny through study or otherwise they will become losers. What emerges from the data is the suggestion that the family serves as a surrogate institution for State as well as embodying cultural values. The concept of citizenship may have been ‘foreign’ to my participants yet they were nonetheless subject to everyday obligations (and perhaps also rights) that shaped their relationships with others.

To reiterate, Chinese students enter into a study contract with society within a subordinate relationship because by studying hard they may have a chance, or a hope, of changing their own destiny. Once students have accepted the social contract, they apply it with a sense of honour as ‘it is in their own self-interest to do, provided that enough of their fellow citizens do the same’ (Binmore, 1998, p. 5).

4.2.2 School as a surrogate of the State

> Amy: To be a good student was the only motivation for me that gave me the hope I needed to carry on. It has been the most unforgettable experience in my life that I get to choose my seat in the classroom each half of the year. (Amy, Education)

There were 80 students in a classroom at Amy's high school. Normally, students would have a fixed seat in the classroom, and they might have their seat changed, depending on their academic performance. By custom, the best students in the class have the right to choose wherever they like to sit, and those who are studying poorly only have the 'left-over' seats to choose. The teacher uses academic performance as a measure of adjusting the student's seats.

> The teacher asked us all to go out of the classroom. Then we were invited in the order of our academic excellence to choose the seats where we would like to sit. I was always at the head of the class, so this was a great encouragement for me. I can sense my vanity at that time. Having the honour of choosing a seat is not an honour every student has, no matter how rich their family is, no matter how beautiful the clothes they wear, which was irrelevant at that time. (Amy, Education)

Through working hard, Amy finds an element of 'self-esteem' in her life which money cannot buy. For the poor children, especially, studying hard provides a route to social mobility, but also to self-esteem. Because the students in this research mainly talked about their studying experience in school, I realized that the school gives that same message of subordination to the student as the state, serving as a surrogate of the state. In Billig's (1995) words, the state remains the most widely accepted political category that permeates everyday life. As discussed in Chapter 2, state still plays an important role in citizenship in Chinese context but

by adopting an everyday analysis of citizenship, this research challenges the view that the state-citizen relationship is the only focus of citizenship. A focus on Chinese international students' citizenship in everyday life settings allows for an understanding of the ways in which citizenship is situated in the unfolding lives of young people and helps to make clear how these lives are themselves shaped by a social contract involving obligations and duties in an historical context. My above analysis stresses the importance of the role of study in Chinese families and schools, and thus in the lived citizenship of my Chinese participants while they grew up in China. I need to add that the importance of study in China has many different historical reasons, such as the history of the Imperial Examination.

4.3 Historical context

The Imperial Examination was a civil service examination system in Imperial China designed to select the administrative elite. The meritocratic examination system had existed in China for almost 2,000 years. It started in the Han Dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) and remained until 1905. Most importantly, it provided a conduit for the aspirations of an able man from almost any social stratum. Many poor scholars did succeed in this examination. In this vein, Modern China's national university entrance examination has a direct relationship with the Imperial Examination.

Gaokao, the current university entrance system for millions of diligent students, offers a ladder from provincial village schools to the nation's best universities just as the Imperial examination provided a chance for poor scholars to become an officer from a peasant background. 'Today's university entrance system is an imperfect heir to its imperfect father, the Imperial civil service examinations. But it does represent a continuing meritocratic trend

in Chinese society with a history unparalleled elsewhere' (Crozier, 2002, p. 14).

In this way, an examination culture is deeply rooted in Chinese families, passing from one generation to another. For our parents' generation, who were born between 1940 and 1960, it played an important role in their pursuit of education as they had no chance themselves to enter a University.

> Sun: My mom was always number one in her class but she did not have a chance to go to university because it was during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution. Now, my mom, a 62-year-old woman, who always dreams at night that she will be able to attend University. That is her only desire! (Sun, Education)

During the ten years of the Cultural Revolution, the government forced both senior and junior secondary school graduates, so called "intellectual youths", to go to the country and work as farmers in the villages rather than go to university. Thus, it is that generation of parents expected their children to fulfill their dream. Until the 21st century, at school, Chinese students studied society from the Han Dynasty. China may have changed the aim of education, which was to be an administrative officer in ancient times, but the country may not have changed the education system that makes students lose their identity and shapes them to be subordinates to society. The education system is still geared to produce 'a sponsor', an elite (Dahill-Brown, Witte, & Wolfe, 2016; Trow, 1973).

> Xu: I have confidence in the quality of China's primary schools. For example, students are better at doing some math questions than NZ students. NZ teaching methods focus on a child's life skills. However, it is impossible for China to copy the Kiwi ways as we have a large population. On the grounds of China's circumstances,

> the kids must study hard otherwise they would struggle for survival in the future. Faced with this fierce competitive environment, kids have no other choices. Chinese students must learn to work hard at their studies. In New Zealand, if you don't go to University and work hard, you still can live very well. China's social context is different from here. You can critique our education system, but you cannot think of another education system better than it is now! (Xu, engineer)

This begs the question of how China confronts its educational future. As Binmore (1998), analysing game theory and the social contract claims, 'We cannot plan to reform the morality game our society currently operates unless we first understand what function it currently fulfils in keeping our society going' (p.4). Chinese students may make sense of the rule of study and may like to change it once they first understand how other societies function. Holmes (2008) found that Chinese students were able to reconstruct and renegotiate their identity that is otherwise inevitably tied to the deep origins of the inculcated structure of their Chinese culture and beliefs. This view is supported by Thogersen (2012) who showed that students studying abroad make use of their prior experience in their home country to redefine themselves as independent individuals. In this section we have observed students' reflections on studying in China with family and school. In the next, the development of their thinking while studying in the context of the 21st century in New Zealand.

4.4 Outside of China

> Li: I think our generation is poisoned by Chinese education. In my primary school, I had lots of hobbies, playing ping pong or football; gradually all my hobbies were given up in favour of my studies, to be more accurate, college examinations. In high

school, all I knew was studying and doing homework from morning to evening, seven days a week. Because of the demands of my six years' study at high school, I was not able to keep up with a lot of other interesting stuff. I mean the way of teaching is extremely arduous for students. (Li, Science)

Jia: Unfortunately, college examinations are a single-lane bridge. Too many students compete for it, so that you have no choice, you must work very hard. (Jia, Sscience)

Ma: *En* [which means 'agree' in English], that fierce situation will reverse with the decline in students numbers. In my case, it was sixty students in a class with only ten students being admitted to university. (Ma, Arts)

Xu: Looking back, we have no extracurricular life, only reading books, from 7 am to 11pm. Even so, it was a kind of fulfilling life. (Xu, Engineering)

Thogersen (2012) demonstrated that students studying abroad make use of a vision of Western education to redefine themselves as independent individuals. They interweave their personal, professional and even national goals within the framework of the country they are studying in. Li's critical reflection that 'our generation is poisoned by Chinese education' is evidence of values on education changing in a New Zealand context – a democratic public sphere for Chinese citizens. Here, there is one more opinion, from Ling.

Ling: Our education [growing up in China] does not teach us about love, because our education system teaches us more and more emphasis on students gaining knowledge for their future. I don't think Chinese kids have the opportunity to feel peaceful and how to feel happiness on a daily basis. They are taught how to find a good job, and they are told that you must have a postgraduate degree. They don't care so much

about how those children are feeling inside. They seem to care more about teaching them about how they should behave and study on the outside. Even though my parents treat me very well they continually taught me 'you must be a good child' while they never touched my heart inside. (Ling, Education)

Ling realized that her old Chinese way of studying made her someone who has the degrees and job skills, but lacks creativity, individuality and critical thinking. My participant's similar experience provides another example:

Lu: In the 1990's, the city Guangzhou was in chaos; it was common to see young people who were fighting and taking drugs on the street. One time on my way to school, I saw a group of people were fighting on the street with knives in their hands. I did not know why the bus driver suddenly got off the bus and where he was going. After he came back later, half of his right-side body from shoulder was soaked with blood. At that time I did not have feelings and I only knew I need to go to school. If the driver had given up working, I can run to school. I really had no any feelings even I saw a man hold a big knife to kill another man. I felt that if he tried to kill somebody that was his business but I needed to go to school. I loved to go to school, so other things were not relevant to me. Now I felt scared. I found the more I grew up the more I timid I became. I also did not tell my parents because I thought those things were not important. (Lu, Education)

Smith (2010) emphasizes sympathy as a human need in society but also as part of the social contract and this, too, can be traced back to Hobbes. He argued that a society composed of self-interested individuals can give rise to judgements or actions that can have social impact (Hobbes, 2006). In Lu's childhood, she may have been too scared or maybe too focused on

her school requirements to allow society to enter into her thinking. Lu's experience shows how the Chinese fixation with study erodes the possibility for moral learning. Lu's spirit of pursuing studying may be described by a Chinese idiom, 'busy oneself in the classics and ignore what is going on beyond one's immediate surroundings'. Outside of China, students realize the drawbacks of the Chinese education system. Also, some of them find a sense of the meaning of life, rather than only studying. Another change for overseas students is in thinking independently from the institution, school, family and authority.

> Xu: In New Zealand, the most important thing that I learned was independent thinking. Chinese culture has weaknesses which hinder innovation, such as being afraid to criticise, being afraid to show personality or think independently. In China, the supervisor would interrupt too much in your research. In New Zealand, the supervisor is non-interventionist. My supervisor does not much understand what I am doing in my research area so that I need to explore by myself in the whole process, including my creative research and facing how to learn to solve problems in studying by myself, which is a common phenomenon here. Probably the benefit from my supervisor is he can help me revise my thesis, that's all. I don't like this training experience, but I have no choice. However, I am more independent than before. Another thing, I felt I improved the communication skills with foreigners because my supervisor confidently showed me in front of them at an international conference. (Xu, Engineer)

Developing 'independent thinking' can be a positive opportunity for Chinese students studying abroad. Thogersen (2012) asserted that students studying abroad often hope to make positive contributions to the national project of the party-state as well as to try to reconcile

their personal with their national agenda in the process of the transformation of both the individual and their nation. In other words, regardless of the way in which the political authorities hope to confine and control the changes it has called for, the studying abroad experience enables students to understand their own identity from a different perspective and in a critical light. This is a pivotal implication for Li.

> Li: But here [in NZ] is not like that. I can choose a different life, rather than making money. Oh, life can be lived like this, enjoying the sunshine beside the beach or being close to nature on weekends. The whole world is much broader and bigger then I imagined. As another example, parents in China have always been advocating that their child acquire a quality educational background; the higher level of education schooling the better. Here, things are different. (Li, Engineer)

His eyes glowed with pleasure when he was speaking…

> Now I can do for myself something that I like and I don't care how others look at me. I can choose to change my major if I don't like it and I don't care that other people may ask why I give up my former good major. Or I don't need to force myself to acquire a skills certificate to please my parents. Here, I have learned everyone has his own life thinking. I did not know how to achieve my self-worth as an individual and what I exactly needed but was just told by my parents since I was a child that I should make a lot of money. As to why I needed to make money, I did not know. How I was going to spend the money if I made it, I did not know. What I was living for, I did not know. (Li, Engineer)

I would argue with Bingmore (1998) who states that the survival of the social contract does

not depend on backing up by some external enforcement mechanism. In China, the external enforcement is CCP/family authoritarianism. In New Zealand, Chinese overseas students are free from the enforcement and can think outside of Chinese society that pressured them in China.

Study is a daily life experience for Chinese students in China and New Zealand. The theme of studying shows the relationship between Chinese citizens and the symbolized state (family and school) – 'listen to dads' and 'study is hope' – that is influenced by the long history of the Imperial examination. On the one hand, they were struggling in finding their identity and they were led to listen to their dads' suggestion in their journey of studying. Students are suffering study pressures from family, school, state and traditional Chinese culture in China. On another hand, changes in critical and independent thinking outside China are a way of breaking the studying contract with family, school and state. Being a critical citizen comes not only from curriculum education but is also able to be acquired from social experience, like through the participants' overseas study. Changes of the Chinese students may be an implication for Chinese citizenship education in future.

Image 1 &2. The modern type of Xulaingcigu, 2017, Hunan news. Retrieved from https://baike.baidu.com/pic/%E5%87%BF%E5%A3%81%E5%81%B7%E5%85%89/595051/0/f7246b600c3387441bcb4d1f520fd9f9d72aa043?fr=lemma&ct=single#aid=0&pic=37d3d539b6003af341e0307e3d2ac65c1038b652

During the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-220AD) it is said that there was a statesman named Sun Jing who studied very hard at an early age. He often studied from early morning till late in the evening, but because he was studying for so long it was easy to doze off. So as not to impede his study, he used a rope to tie his hair to the house beam so that if he fell asleep it would pull on his hair and he would immediately awaken. The right-hand picture is of a contemporary Chinese university student who tied her hair to ceiling to stop her falling asleep. The spirit of studying from the idiom still exists in modern China.

During the Warring states period (475-221 BC) there was another statesman called Su Qin. He often studied until very late, and in order not to fall asleep he prepared an awl. Whenever he felt sleepy, he would poke himself in the leg with it and then continued to study. I knew these stories when I was very young and in the same way, I drank coffees through the night to stop myself falling asleep when I prepared my graduate examination.

The above analysis about family life and study in China gives a backdrop to political considerations of citizenship and democracy. Values and opinions in relation to political roles are born in families and educational institutions. The follow theme shifts the focus to the

question of democracy. What I present in chapter 5 is that experiences with educational institutions are closely interwoven with views and dispositions towards democracy in China.

Chapter 5 “As long as the government is a good government, it is democratic”: democracy in China

Some participants said that they didn’t understand what democracy is when I interviewed them and some even refused to talk about it. They generally believed that ‘democracy’ is a sensitive word in China. One respondent, Li, pointed to a question, ‘Is democracy a good thing?’ on the interview question lists and winced saying ‘that is a sensitive question’.

Interviewer: Why is it a sensitive question?

Li: Er…you know… [Nervous laughing]. I thought it was a sensitive question from my first glance at this sheet. Are you sure what I am going to say is strictly confidential?

Interviewer: Yes.

Li: I am very serious and earnest about this interview.

He emphasized each of the last three words to make the point more emphatically. He made nervous, prudent and serious hands gestures, no longer laughing. I asked again, ‘Why do you think it is a sensitive question?’

Li: Because I think China is more open than before since the year of 1978, but well, there is still a gap between China and a Western country, especially in terms of the aspects of democracy. I have now experienced a high level of freedom of speech in the New Zealand atmosphere, especially when I saw New Zealanders protesting on the street for environmental protection, which China at this moment cannot achieve as our motherland is insisting on the policy of ‘growing first, clean up later’.

Interviewer: Do you think what we have talked about above are sensitive topics?

Li: Sort of.

Interviewer: What? Environment problems are a sensitive question?

Li did not directly answer that question, just repeating "Our government policy is 'growing first, clean up later' which was the way that America and England have both done it before. London was once called a foggy city. What China is now doing and its suffering from the environment pollution is normal! "

Interviewer: Why are you avoiding taking about 'sensitive' questions?

Li: I still want to go back to the motherland.

Interviewer: Why do you not dare to talk about it in New Zealand?

Li: [He did not answer my question directly.] China needs the younger generation to be improved into a democratic motherland. We will change it as more and more intelligent Chinese people go overseas and come back to China along with new views of the world. I pay much more attention to environmental issues now. Because I realized how silly I was when I was young: I used to throw firecrackers into the lake to catch fish, which I would never do it again.

A serious expression that signaled inner tension was on his face at every time he mentioned the word 'democracy' and he stopped at that point, trying to shift to another topic by saying "Let's continue talking about the environment…"

…

Interviewer: What do you think about democracy in those two different countries – China and New Zealand?

> Li: [clearing his voice…] To be frank, I think the voting system is opaque in China, including Hong Kong, where now thousands of people on the street could be seen protesting, calling for Beijing to withdraw plans to vet candidates for the next Hong Kong leadership election in 2017. The young people's attitude towards asking for democracy is good, but their actions in protesting almost once a month are not wise, as it disrupts the local people's normal life. (Li, Engineering)

Finally, he expressed his understanding that the concept of democracy means that every citizen has a vote and the right to elect a leader who is qualified, as is the case in the voting system in New Zealand. Then he started laughing. Maybe he felt relaxed through his laughter to diffuse his embarrassment at being asked to make value judgements between China, the homeland to which he felt loyalty, and New Zealand where he felt aware of expanding his ideas and benefiting from freedom.

Many times, in the interview, he tried to transform the topic of 'democracy' to 'environment protection.' In the end, he said he thought democracy meant each citizen should have certain freedom and rights, while insinuating that the Chinese government isn't on the right pathway to realizing democracy. However, he defended the Chinese government, which was always the 'Motherland' in his words, saying that 'it is undertaking the normal process of developing.' This is an ambivalent and guarded view of democracy from a Chinese students' perspective.

In relation to democracy, the United States and China can be thought of as model protagonists. One afternoon a seminar's title attracted me: 'The Ideal of Democracy: A Chinese perspective', by a professor, Zhang Weiwei, from Fudan University. While I and

other students waited for the seminar to begin, a Chinese girl sitting beside me said she thought it is a joke to talk about democracy in China. Unfortunately, I had no time left to ask her why she thought this as the seminar started.

The speaker, Zhang, provided his own perspective of democracy in China, saying, 'China explores the substance of democracy, rather than Western democracy. And China is a civilized state; the Communist Party of China is a continuation of China's long tradition of a unified Confucian ruling entity.' Convincing the audience was his strength, and he argued that China's meritocracy is different from and superior to Western countries' democracy. After the seminar, that Chinese girl went up to him and said something like this [I paraphrase from memory]: 'Thank you Professor Zhang, your seminar has spoken to my heart. I always argue about the democracy topic with my colleagues who are from Germany and America. They don't agree with what I say. Therefore, I have invited them to come along to listen to your seminar, and I am so proud of you. Thanks.'

From their conversation, Chinese ideas about democracy could be understood as being based on the rationality discussed in Chapter Two. That rationality comes from, perhaps, a focus on China rising as an economic power and feeding 1.3 billion people. In addition, the participants tended to believe that 'as long as the government is a good government, it is democratic' (Lee & 李榮安, 2004). Chinese citizens who had personally witnessed the economic improvements experienced by China, appeared to regard this, as Zhang articulated, to be the substance of democracy. However, this view of democracy could also be regarded as irrational to some extent because it is based only economic power, not also human rights and individual freedom. Zhang's arguments were backed up with a macro

perspective focused on abstract economic numbers and similar to the moral disconnect presented in the 'Study, Study and Study' chapter theme in the case of the young woman witnessing a stabbing. He ignored Chinese individuals' human rights. This highlights that the Chinese students interpreted and understood democracy differently than their New Zealand counterparts perhaps because of their different cultural grounding.

5.1 Democracy and Ethnic Structure

One participant explained how much ethnic variation within China influences and limits the potential of democracy.

> Xu: 'Democracy?' he hesitated for a while. 'It depends on a country's ethnic structure, which determines how much of a degree of democracy the country has. For example, China has 56 ethnic groups that have different beliefs, so the government has to ensure the balance of the society and that means it is impossible for to allow democracy in different ethnic areas, such as Tibet. Otherwise, they would secede from China. We are Han ethnic persons who have a different religion from the Tibetan people who are vulnerable to exploitation by Western media.' (Xu, Engineering)

Xu connected democracy with the Chinese traditional Han culture and the thousands of years of one-party governance, which have existed since the first unification in 221 BC. It seems that he approved of one-party governance as he felt it helps to keep a central balance of diverse views or beliefs by ensuring that the majority over-ride minority groups, which equates with democracy in Xu's eyes. Once again, this 'rationality' seems somewhat different in a Western context, since one could argue that countries like the United States, Canada and New Zealand are ethnically diverse yet are fully-functioning democracies. In contrast to the

CCP which wishes to suppress different views, these states are – even if incompletely – based on the idea that citizens will be less trouble if they are given the opportunity to 'voice' their opinions (for example voting in elections).

In contrast, many Asian countries, commonly assume that democracy in deeply divided societies takes either a majoritarian or consociational form. Democracies like Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand, are representations of a broader Asian model of democracy that emphasizes electoral majoritarianism (Lorenzo, 2013). Reilly (2004) argues that the majoritarian system suits the Asian model of democracy better than some European parliamentary systems as it is motivated by the aims of promoting government stability, reducing political fragmentation, and limiting the potential for new entrants to the Party system. A danger of this kind of majoritarian form is that politics may remain entrenched in authoritarian attitudes.

In consociational democracies, like Belgium, ethnic diversity is accepted as a principle for the organization of the state. The state tries to reconcile the differences between ethnic groups. Smooha (1990) notes, however, that in many multi-ethnic societies, even if the state is dominated by the majority, minorities enjoy democratic rights (p.391). In this line, Xu's view of democracy above that the majority over-ride minority groups was disproved in theory. In addition, Xu mentioned that China has 56 ethnic groups. Han is the largest of the 56 ethnic groups. China looks like an ethnic democracy in Xu's eyes. However, I would argue with Smooha when he says that China is an appropriate country to choose ethnic democracy because the Chinese government believes that China is not an ethnic democracy but a substantive democracy (Wei, 2010). The Chinese political structure is a one-party system.

Seven of the twenty students even believe that because it is based on Han culture, China is a procedural democracy, rather than an ethnic democracy or a Western democracy. Procedural democracy assumes that the electoral process is at the core of the authority placed in elected officials and ensures that all procedures of elections are duly complied with (Saffon &Urbinati, 2013). Procedural democracy is quite different from substantive democracy, which is manifested by equal participation of all groups in society in the political process. Next, I examine the terms of procedural democracy, substantive democracy and democracy in China in detail.

5.1.1 Chinese way of procedural democracy

In contrast to Xu's view of ethnic democracy of China, Jie, another participant, believes that China is a procedural democracy giving an example of experiences with the current Chinese President, Xijinpin.

> Jie: As to democracy, if you pay attention to Chinese literature, you might find China has democracy but that it is different from Western democracy – it is a kind of procedural democracy, one man one vote. However, in China, the spirit of democracy manifests in voting from a village up to a town then to a city. For example, our current president Xijinping, who served as the Governor of Fujian Province, a region known for its dynamic economy, then as the CCP secretary of Zhejiang Province, which was renowned for its thriving private sector. Later, in Shanghai, China's financial and business hub with a powerful state-sector, Xi in fact managed areas with a total population of over 120 million and an economy larger than India's. He was then given another five years to

serve as Vice President to get familiar with running state and military affairs at the national level. (Jie, Social Science)

Jie's view of procedural democracy depended on his observation of how Xi became a president from lower regional significance working his way up to higher significance. In fact, in procedural democracy the people or citizens of the state have less influence than in traditional liberal democracies (Dahl, 1979). Rather, Jie partly defines a technocracy – where individuals learn the skills of government in different roles until they become uniquely qualified for leading political positions.

Jie understood that technocracy describes the situation of democracy in China. Maybe his thinking is affected by Chinese officials and media which have advocated that 'there is a no huge difference between China and the rest of the world. The end is the same, which is to respect and protect individual values and rights' (Chinese Government, 2004). In the view of Chinese government, this does not mean that China has to adopt the Western democratic model but that China has a Chinese way of democratic centralism. The Chinese way of democracy consists of limited freedom of discussion and unity of action (Nixon, 1953). In practice, the Chinese government's decision-making is influenced by think tanks, government agencies, universities, professionals, and, these days, by heated debates on social media. A detailed examination of democracy in Chinese history and culture follows in the next section.

5.1. 2 Democracy in China

After discussing the terms procedural democracy and substantive democracy, it is necessary to review of the history of democracy in China to make sense of democracy in China.

> Qi: Since the 1920s, in Chinese society the ideology of the Three Principles of the People which was established by Sun Yat-Sen, the first president and founding father of the Republic of China, was popular. Even in Mao's times, we upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat, which we call the people's democratic dictatorship. In this sense, we have a kind of democracy that is a way of respecting the individual's interests which is different from Western democracy. (Qi, Politics)

Since the Communist Party of China (CCP) came into power, there is a common belief that the Chinese people have become the masters of the country. In China, when feudalism was the rule of the day, millions of peasants were subordinate to their landlords, and they were only able to acquire the very basic necessities of life. This feudalism lasted two thousand years. Most imperial courts believed that if their people were well-fed, the empire would be stable and peaceful. As a Chinese saying goes, 'food is the paramount necessity of the people'. It was not until 1949 that the CCP returned the land to the vast majority of peasants. Statistics reveal that 700 million mu of land (1 mu is .0667 hectares) and various means of production were redistributed among 300 million peasants who had been without any land before (Land reform and collectivization, 2014). This was hoped to provide relief in terms of food provision and self-agency to Chinese peasants, who, historically, had never owned land previously. This development, it was thought, would automatically imbue the people with a great appreciation of the CCP.

Hence, one view of democracy in China is, that as long as the government is a good government, it is democratic (Lee & 李榮安, 2004). From a popular perspective, it does not matter who rules and in what way the country is ruled; as long as the Chinese find themselves

in a situation where they can live their lives, maintain their relationships, and pursue their personal development. Life will be fine, that is, unless their living conditions become intolerable.

Indeed, the Communist Party in China came into being with the requirement of representing people (Chinese Government, 2004). Democracy is only one form of representation. The People's Congress and administration claim that the people are the masters of their country (Chinese Government, 2004). The government's current claim is that it is responding to the Party's founding requirement to enhance representation of the people. For example, inner-party democracy, aiming for collective decisions involving all members on inner-party affairs, was introduced after the Thirteenth National People's Congress of the Communist Party in 1987 (Zhou, 2012). Then village elections were implemented nationally in the late 1990s (Fu, 2010), which signifies a step towards democracy as some sixty percent of China's population lives in rural villages.

Moreover, Premier Wen talked about the construction of democracy and legal system in Government Work Reports in the years between 2004 and 2009 (CCP, 2007). Interactions between the government and the people have increased in the form of on-line dialogues between leaders and citizens. For example, many representatives of the National People's Congress have opened blogs on the internet, supposedly to better connect with and represent the people. In June 2008 (CCP, 2008), President Hu communicated on-line with netizens through People's Net (a news agency).

The dialogue between the President and the Chinese netizens was not the same as deliberative democracy that debates matters of public importance, as well as the mechanism

for that discussion to affect the decision-making process. However, village elections and leaders' on-line dialogues with citizens have created some of the procedural elements of democracy. China is still an authoritarian country, where leaders are not elected, and one party dominates. Democracy is an ideal and should be conceived as a good that exists only as long as it cannot be reached.

From a Western perspective, feeding people and obeying to authority cannot compensate for denying basic human rights, and it also cannot equate to genuine freedom of expression and the ability to debate and discuss important social issues. Rorty (1989) argues that human rights are a product of advanced economic and social order, rather than an invention of the liberal left or a natural condition of humanity. As society and its challenges become more complex, governments have to look further and wider for resources to solve problems. Inclusion and participation are driven by social and economic change. Democracy is implicit in the economic development of a country. The situation in China, as we have read from the participants' view of history, is that economic growth was not achieved for a long time so that 'food' still remains a priority of Chinese thinking rather than human rights. One participant directly pointed out that 'China has no democracy that focuses on freedom' as she related her working experience in a Chinese university for a few years to her study experience overseas for four years. This view is different from other Chinese students who were in favour of the Chinese government's economic achievement.

Interviewer: Why do you just say, 'no democracy and freedom?'

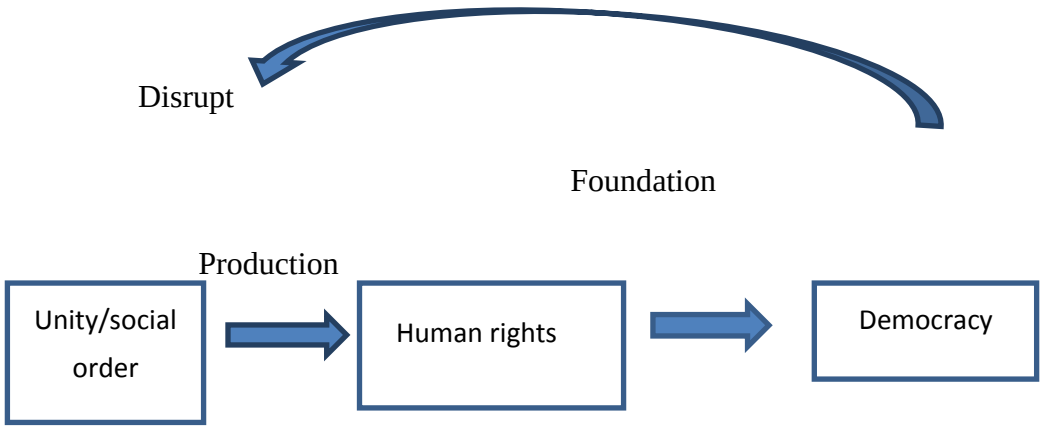
Shan: It's from my experiences. Universities in China are imbued with bureaucratisation and institutionalisation. Teaching is not a key in the University because it is more

> bureaucratic. Let me tell you in this way. The quality of a lecturer's teaching does not really matter, as long as the lecturer meets the demands from the leaders. To be clear, the information I shared with you is just for your thesis. Please don't tell anyone else. Even though I am not that happy in my current working place without democracy and freedom, I really believe it is a national problem. The democracy at the Universities in the rural areas is worse than within the key Universities. For another example, I just mentioned to you I once worked at a college, right? The head of my department school criticised a lecturer for a long time just because that lecturer had published a paper without affiliating the head's name. The head of the department made life somewhat difficult for that lecturer. She even made that lecturer cry. The behaviours of the head of the department at that school were ridiculous. (Shan, Education).

However, not all Chinese think the same as Shan who has five years overseas studying experience. Maybe, the critical views have a direct relationship with Shan's overseas experiences which opened her eyes. Indeed, unity and social stability, rather than critical views, are the foundation for developing an advanced economy and building social order inside of Mainland China. This highlights that citizenship plays out differently in China and the West. In the West, individualism, democracy and critical views may have higher values than authority and collective wellbeing. Instead of showing independence and freedom of thought and action, the norms in China are based on showing respect to authority and collective ownership of data/publications, as in Shan's example. In China context, the most important political value for the Chinese is unity and maintaining Chinese civilization, which developed two thousand years ago (Fukuyama, 2014). For instance, there is a survey that

shows that the majority of students in China expected that democracy would lead to social chaos (Chan, 1999). As the population has reached around 1.3 billion, it is impractical for the Chinese government to practice democracy as Western democrats have advocated, in which, each individual has the freedom to vote. To make it clear, I have drawn a figure of the relationship between democracy and social unity in terms of the Chinese belief system, shown in Figure 4, as follows:

Figure 4. The relationship between democracy and unity from the Chinese perspective



From the above figure, suffice to say that in Chinese culture an ideology exists regarding the relationship between democracy and social unity development. Mouffe (2000) believes that stability and order are more likely to result from compromise among divergent interests than from mobilising people towards an illusory consensus on the common good (p.82). Mouffe argues that stability and order are the result of an implicit agreement among the members of a society to cooperate for social benefits, for example by sacrificing some individual interests for social order. She proposes agonism as a medium of exchange, rather than antagonism.

Where 'antagonism' implies lack of tolerance for differences of views and interests,

‘agonism’ involves a respect for difference and the agreement to maintain diversity and difference. The means of exchange in agonistic democracy is argumentation. This raises a question about what is suited to human nature. In other words, democracy reflects human nature in that it is a natural tendency to seek consensus in situations of conflict (Mouffe, 1999). This, of course, goes against the idea of a social contract, which says that human nature is aggressive and that self-seeking agreement and consensus have to be forced on people. Rorty (1989) rejects both views, saying that there is no such thing as human nature and he argues that there are only dispositions which respond to particular contexts. One danger acknowledged in the Chinese context is that when people mobilise under an illusion of working for the common good, sometimes individuals who work for the cause don't question whether the CCP’s view of ‘the common good’ is accurate. They may not know if the common good is achievable, whether it is the impossible product of Utopian thinking. (This is an echo of the communist understanding of ‘false consciousness’.)

Substantive democracy is a form of democracy in which the outcome of elections is representative of the people. In other words, substantive democracy is a form of democracy that functions in the interest of the governed (Jacobs & Shapiro, 1994). In China, there is a kind of substantive democracy in which people have an illusory consensus with the government, or a wish to maintain a harmonious society with limited social development, as long as the government provides them with a basic standard and stable life. This, says Leung (2004), exhibits the Chinese character of substantive democracy which Chinese people have learned, as it were, from their experience of poor living conditions throughout history.

Leung’s (2004) research suggests that the right to enough food to eat in order to live is

the most essential human right in China, and that only a centralized authoritarian administration can feed the 1.3 billion people. He says: 'Notwithstanding its many deficiencies, the Chinese government has ensured the world's fastest growing economy and vastly improved living standards for most people. According to the Pew Research Centre, 82 percent of Chinese surveyed in 2012 felt optimistic about their future, topping all other countries surveyed' (p.227). The survey explicates the background of substantive democracy in China, showing that the current government, through working on satisfying basic human necessities of life, has won the support and trust of the people. This is different to Western democracies. Compared to Western democracies, the goal of feeding people is the same but achieved through democratic means. Yet Chinese citizens misunderstood the economic power as democracy.

5.2 Substantive democracy VS Western democracy

There is a tension between the democratic principle that power should be exercised by the majority of the common people (Mouffe, 2000) and the liberal discourse emphasising the value of individual liberty and human rights. Many liberals and democrats are aware of the tension between the liberal tradition constituted by the rule of law and the respect of individual liberty, and the democratic tradition composed by popular sovereignty.

For example, Schmitt (1988) supports the democratic tradition that the central concept of democracy is not 'humanity' but the 'people'. As Mouffe (2000, p.34) states:

> In the domain of the political, people do not face each other as abstractions but as politically interested and politically determined persons, as citizens, governors or governed, politically allied or opponents, in any case, therefore, in political categories. In

the sphere of the political, one cannot abstract out what is political, leaving only universal human equality.

Similarly, the Chinese view of substantive (or material) democracy for an individual Chinese citizen cannot be dissociated from the Chinese political situation. S/he is referred to as the 'people' by the government, which calls for consensus in deference to Chinese political ideology. Indeed, there is always a tension between individual and country/ institution. Jie described the tension in a metaphor of elastic jail:

Jie: I think there are two sides on the two different policies and I just want to make an objective comment – that China is copying Western democracy, including in the markets. However, China is not copying everything. For instance, it is not copying the feminist and environmental movements in America, because to some extent they might form a political force which cannot exist at the public level in China, just as occupy movements happened in America which cannot happen in China. But I cannot see what the significance is in practical terms. People have freedom to express, but what is the point after expressing their views? Can they change that policy? So, sometimes, an institution is like an elastic jail, giving you a certain freedom, but can the freedom change a policy? I acknowledge that it is helpful to identify social inequity, by paying attention to disadvantaged groups, but I believe it is under such a gigantic logic control that you cannot really subvert it. In this sense, I feel we have no way to go in this political world as some Westerners have thought that we had developed at the end of history. Whatever he or she chooses to demonstrate, I think that choice still is constrained. I don't know how to express what is kind of bound. (Jie, Social Science)

An important question raised by Jie is whether he can fight back with the government when he believes 'it is under a gigantic logic control.' It seems that Jie has fallen into a dilemma in that he wants to fight back the 'gigantic logic' but he recoils from being subversive – his interview provided a practical example of the conflict between individual and collective interest. This provides a psychological base for a social and political dilemma (Brewer & Kramer, 1986) which is a situation in which individuals could do better if they either changed their strategies or changed the rules of the game.

Interviewer: My interview data shows some Chinese students don't approve of democracy, so how do you all think of it?

Lin: China is good without democracy. If everyone votes on a project, it is unable to be finished in five or ten years.

Jing: At least, we have a high working efficiency.

Xia: It depends on the different stages of development.

Lin: Right, China will practice democracy on the condition of a declining population. At this moment, it is impossible.

Ma: China has 1.3 billion people; I cannot imagine everybody protesting on the street…

Xia: Compared with the old times, the policy is more open than before.

Jing, Ma and Lin are on the same side as Xia.

Jing: Government is adjusting….

Lin: Slowly making progress, right?

Xia: Right!

It is interesting to hear from Ma that 'I cannot imagine everybody protesting on the street'

because it suggests that many associate democracy with protest not with voting. Maybe this is due to Chinese government's political propaganda since the Tiananmen Square incident. Wang (2017) argues that Chinese citizens believe what the government said: the West uses democracy as a conspiracy means to disrupt China's rise. This highlights another disjuncture in Western and Chinese notions of citizenship.

The discussion from the focus group is similar to what we heard from Jie at the beginning of this story: that 'the government is adjusting' or the 'the country is making slow progress'. Through discussion, the participants are in a social dilemma about Chinese democracy being linked with 'food' and 'economic progress'. Here, I emphasize one of the social dilemmas; the individual's decision to contribute to a common resource. Social dilemmas appear in two basic forms: the public good problem, in which the individual must decide whether to contribute to a common resource, and the common dilemma, in which the individual must decide whether to take from a common resource (Brewer & Kramer, 1986). Chinese students' attitudes toward democracy in China show clearly that they are in consistent agreement with each other that democracy doesn't suit China, according to their own lived experience and conversations with friends. In relation to the public good problem with 1.3 billion people in China, the Chinese students achieved consensus in a focus group that China is better without democracy.

Further, Mouffe (2000) argued that 'consensus is the end of democracy'– i.e. the demise, not the goal. It is like a metaphor that 'we have got on to the slippery ice where there is no friction and so in a certain sense the conditions are ideal, but also, just because of that, we are unable to walk: so we need friction' (Wittgenstein, 1958, p.46), which is similar to the

understanding of democracy as 'agonistic pluralism explained' (Mouffe, 2000, p.14). Democratic politics represent difference and people need the forms of argumentation to keep life going on. This can link back to what we have discussed in Chapter two about the principle of argumentation – Mouffe's model of democracy for a civilized society was that argumentation is a foundation for realizing democracy.

However, I would argue that if the understanding follows Mouffe's (2000) logic by arguing agonistically about the motivation of the society, then people will die like the ass, according to the theory of Buridan's ass (Khalil, 1997), because if people are bounded by irrationality, uncertainty and complexity, people will never be able to make the best decision. Argument is inexhaustible. For example:

> Lin: A Kiwi asked me a question about when China can realise democracy? I replied that I had no idea. That Kiwi believes democracy is good because you have certain rights and so on. Even so, another friend says China is amazing! What my friend said was a very different observation because usually what I hear is more about the negative side of China. Then my friend explained that the reason he believes that China is amazing is because in China there was a stadium with a perfect design that was finished in two years; in contrast, New Zealand's stadium has not been finished in eight years! Then when the first guy heard this, he kept silent. At last, all of us remained silent. I think China will develop faster without democracy. (Lin, Education)

Lin's conversation with a New Zealander reaffirmed the view that the achievements of the Chinese economy are acclaimed even by the West. Other students in the focus group, after

hearing Lin's statement, made further comments:

> Ma: In our daily life, we are not involved too much with democracy.
>
> Xia: The most manifest characteristic about democracy is free speech and protesting on the street.
>
> Jing: Whilst I thought New Zealand was a democratic country, I found I was not completely correct on the grounds that you have to report to police when you are going to protest on the street.
>
> Yan: Democracy needs an economic foundation. How we can talk about democracy if 1.3 billion people live in hunger?
>
> Ma: I think that we are witnessing the development of an ongoing historical process. For example, the UK is a country that has experienced a constitutional monarchy. At that time, where was democracy? (Interviews from a Focus group)

Again, the concerns about people living in hunger and the dangers mentioned by Yan suggest a certain irrationality because they imply that most Westerners live in hunger when this is not true. In addition, Westerners have the ability to protest because many of their basic rights (for example, freedom of speech) are protected by law. It is interesting that these ideas about democracy and citizenship from the Chinese space invade the third space; although some ideas from the New Zealand space are found there, state-promoted ideas about the west still dominate the rationalities of many of the Chinese participants.

Considering the Chinese social context, social stability in China [in Chinese, 'weiwen'] has taken as a source of political legitimacy by the Chinese government. Concurrently, faith

in keeping social order is deeply instilled in Chinese culture and in politics; it is also manifested in Chinese harmonious culture.

> Jie: Democracy has many political expressions. Even American democracy is different from Western democracy, grounded on a different polity, but maybe both them are the same in terms of basic law and each person has rights to vote etc. Anyway, I thought that is a complex conception. It is just a word –'democracy'– but it amalgamates different meanings. In my personal opinion, democracy needs authoritarian control, and many Chinese people advocate for this. For example, in China and Singapore, a policy is decided in terms of higher working efficiency, without considering other's views, but it can be implemented by a strong power; whilst another version is in New Zealand or America, where even a small voice can be raised against a policy. The New Zealand government has to take time to discuss to achieve a common-sense decision, which as suggested by Habermas, is a kind of negotiation democracy that is a process of amalgamating all kinds of voices, but at the same time wasting a lot of time on that negotiation discussion. (Jie, Social Science)

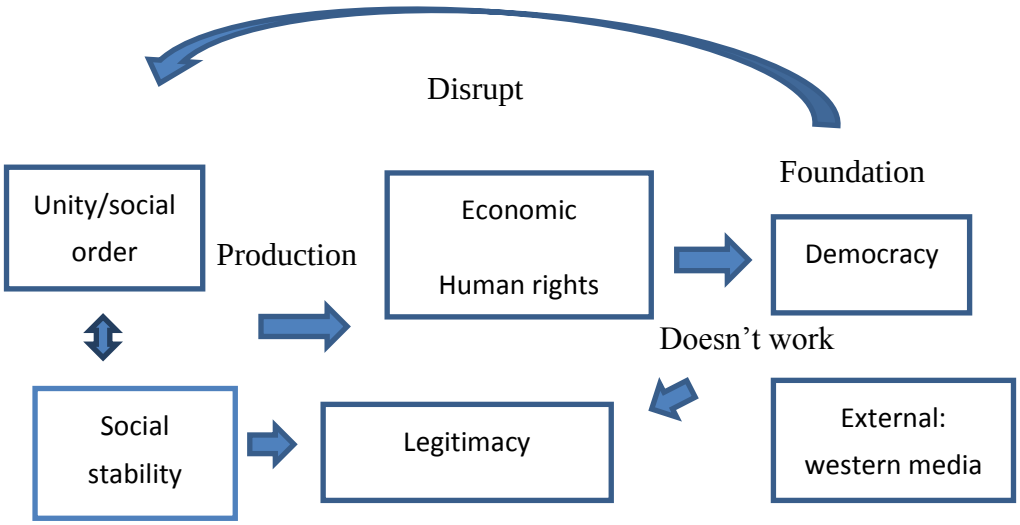
Jie emphasised the types of practical uses and not the forms of argumentation. He valued speed and efficiency more than deliberation and justice. This is similar to other participants who focused on denying the right to protest and social stability rather than human rights. These embedded values shaped their everyday understandings of citizenship, even in the context of New Zealand.

5.3 Conclusion

From the above discussion, Figure 5 shows that democracy in China is mediated by the

ideology of social stability. This ideology has not been eliminated by Western culture and values, but remains effective in China. It is an important way of sustaining and ensuring that future citizens have the required Chinese characteristic consciousness of substantive democracy, as the participants reflected.

Figure 5. Citizenship in China: a relationship between democracy and Chinese culture



My aim is not to define what democracy is in the Western context or in an Eastern culture, rather it is to discover how a Chinese student responds to his/her social environment in and around a complex society and to 'take off the cover' of a 'citizen' to reveal who s/he is.

It also reveals a complex picture of conflicting forces in forming a Chinese person as a citizen. These forces include Chinese traditional culture, the ideology of communalism, as well as Western media, and Western society and so forth. These together constitute Chinese citizens' actions in society. Social stability plays a role of integrating these forces of Chinese citizens in Figure 5.

'As far as the government is a good government, it is democratic' was a common theme,

highlighting the different understandings of democracy found in China and Western countries. State-dominated discourses about democracy were repeated by the Chinese students without any apparent critical thought. This is not surprising given that, in a Chinese context, the focus on a traditional harmonious culture balances the relationship between economic development and democracy. In this sense, many Chinese participants in this research viewed a good relationship with the government as central to social stability and thus reproduced many (but not all) of its dominate discourses uncritically retain.

This chapter has contributed towards an understanding not only of how my participants thought democracy was a key element of citizenship but also how their ideas about democracy were clearly shaped by China even when they were geographically situated in New Zealand and thus exposed to alternative viewpoints. The depth of their Chinese-dominated understandings is perhaps surprising (given they had chosen to live in a foreign country and had lived in New Zealand for some time) but also points to the way in which Chinese rationalities dominated their views of citizenship in the third space.

Chapter 6 Kites flying: Chinese students reflect on life back home

An encounter with what is different while studying abroad, it appears, may cause Chinese students to identify more strongly with their home country. They feel uncomfortable hearing host country members criticize China. The data suggest that, if Westerners criticize China, Chinese students tend to express a strong attachment with China. Hail (2015) analysed the phenomenon of the increased salience of national identity for Chinese overseas students from the perspective of groups that they belong to (e.g. social class, family, friends etc) as an important source of pride and self-esteem. In other words, groups give the individual a sense of social identity, a sense of belonging to the social world, which might explain why Chinese students have strong attachment with the China. However, I believe the theory of social identity may explain the reason in general but it does not encompass the vividness and depth of the whole complex picture.

Analysis of the interview data in this research has revealed a complicated picture of Chinese international students' feelings towards China: some felt uncomfortable, angry, or annoyed when local New Zealanders discussed some negative aspects of China with them; some preferred not to mention or talk about China; some were critical of China according to their family experience in China and some were feeling neither hate nor love towards China but hate-love together. Despite living in another country, there are emotional strings that tie each participant back to China and these articulations of national identity or national pride are an expression of citizenship even if they did not realize it. Therefore, the Chinese participants found it hard to find an appropriate word to describe their everyday citizenship in New Zealand context but rather used metaphors to express them. This chapter explores 'Kites

Flying' as a metaphor that relates to their personal relationship with China. Their comments were divided into four themes – honor, criticism, recluse and chameleon based kites – which I then sorted into coherent groups.

6.1 Honour-based kites

Half the respondents said that, at times, they felt uncomfortable with the way Western society talks about China. At such times, they appeared to strongly identify with China and look at China in a positive light, no matter what they had learned about it in New Zealand.

> Interviewer: What do you think when a student says that China doesn't have citizens?
>
> Lee: I don't say things like that. I am a Chinese. I have a country that named China. To have a Chinese nationality means to have many social benefits. At least, China provides much public welfare to me, such as the rights to accept education. My relationship with China is that I am bound together with China whatever China does. First, I have a grateful heart to China, and I am regarding China as my parents who fed me and brought me up since I was a child. I belong to the Han nationality. There is no doubt that I love China as I love my parents, in the same sense. (Lee, Engineering)

Lee didn't agree with other students who talked about the negative sides of China. With a firm tone, he said, 'I am bound with China'; he connects his destiny with the country. His strong sense of connection to China contrasts with Cello's view that 'China does not have citizenship' (seen p.88), meaning he did not feel that China offered him any rights or protections. Lee and Cello may have contrasting views of citizenship because of their different personal life experiences in China. Lee was born into a rich family in Shanghai while Cello described his family's economic situation as almost broken by the Chinese

government policy in the 1960s-1970s. Cello comes from a generation who were born in the 1970s, a time when he and his family were negatively affected by the country changing economically and politically. We hear him as being both subject to, and construing, history, but exemplifying it throughout.

> My parents were fooled by the government. They are honest people. When they were young, they followed the government policy, firmly responded to the CCP's call, and supported the Up to the Mountains and Down to the Countryside Movement. [It was a policy instituted in the PRC in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As a result of, the anti-bourgeois thinking prevalent during the Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong declared certain privileged urban youth would be sent to mountainous areas or farming villages to learn from the workers and farmers.] After the Movement, my parents were steadfast workers for government with good spirit towards the hard struggle in the collective to realize their worth. The government had promised that they would be taken care for the rest of their life. However, one day, they were laid off. [In the 1990s, the Chinese government launched an unprecedented reform of state enterprises, putting tens of millions of people out of work.] (Cello, Psychology)

As I have discussed in 'Study, Study and Study' theme, everyday citizenship in China is shaped by personal experience, which is shaped by Chinese history, politics and policy. Lee's family did not have the same experience of the government policy as Cello experienced – maybe their different family socioeconomic backgrounds is a reason for both have contrasts views of citizenship.

However, Lee's words resonated with what I learned from high school about two

important people in Chinese history. One is Wen Tianxiang, a scholar-general in the last years of the Southern Song Dynasty. For his resistance to Kublai Khan's invasion of the Song, and for his refusal to yield to the Yuan Dynasty, despite being captured and tortured, he is a popular symbol of patriotism and righteousness in China – 'everyone must die; let me but leave a loyal heart shining in the pages of history.'

The other one is Guyanwu, a Chinese philologist and geographer, who stated 'everybody is responsible for the fate of his country.' (Chinese: 天下兴亡，匹夫有责) The above propositions are taught in Chinese primary schools reflecting the dedication of Chinese traditional culture to the country and nation. It overlaps with the theme of 'Study, Study and Study' which illustrates how students listen to their father and let the parents decide their destiny. Here, the conception of state or country equals the family –the state is called *big family* and family is called *small family* in Chinese culture (Cen, 1962). The state is a bigger family composed of numerous small families (Peilin, 2012). In Chinese, family is Jia. Jia always connects with state. For example, a piece of Chinese propaganda is that if the jia (family) cannot be protected, how can we protect our state? (Peilin, 2012, p. 67) In this way, China is a country in which family systems are central to political culture. In this family based culture, the subjects Ideology and Moral Character, often taught once a week in each grade, emphasize learning about 'five lovings' – loving motherland, loving people, loving labour, loving sciences, and loving public assets (Lee et al., 2008). This is the educational background of the respondent who says "I regard China as my parents." This is similar to another participant saying:

Bai: When President Xi visited New Zealand, I was very excited and had a strong feeling of belonging to China as I could see the leader of our motherland visiting my overseas studying country in my limited studying years, which was a really precious chance.

Interviewer: Belonging? Could you explain it more? [Then he thought about few seconds and said, emotionally but sternly …]

Bai: I'll tell you one thing. At the moment of going through customs, my passport, a red colour, is different from other colourful passports; I knew my passport is a red one which means I am of Chinese heritage and have Chinese blood inside my body. There was no feeling of that in China until I got off airplane and saw my passport, a name card imprinted on my body to insist that I came from China. I cannot find words to express that feeling until I came across other Chinese students who had the same feeling, exciting slapping their thighs: "right, it was that feeling." So, belonging is important, no matter whether the country is good or bad and no matter where I am. My relationship with China is like a flower in the garden. [He cleared his voice, saying it one word by one word] (Bai, Social Worker in the Faculty of Education)

Motherland is an affectionate name for the country, indicative of how Chinese people endow the country with life, emotion and family values. Outside of China, it seems that the participant felt he was far away from 'home'– his motherland. As the following extract shows, 'belonging' is a word revealing the strong emotion that Liu also felt towards China and showed his national identity with pride and honour.

Liu says frankly and emotionally 'my relationship with China is affiliation. From outside, I can accept different thoughts no matter from west or east. But inside, I belong to

China. That is my motherland, having my family and hometown where I was born and raised. My body is Chinese blood and Chinese genes. I am a Chinese, including my thinking, my heart, and my behaviours all have Chinese background!'

An interesting question emerges: why has Liu such deep feelings towards China? What does he mean about 'Chinese blood' and 'Chinese genes'? In Chinese culture, 'Chinese blood and Chinese genes' evoke feelings of ethnic pride. Chinese people usually refer to 'Descendants of the Yellow Emperor' or 'Heirs of the Dragon'. Yellow Emperor refers to the culture of the Central Plains that emanated from the banks of the Yellow River in northern China. Both terms impart the idea of a single origin of Chinese civilization and that Chinese people have a common ancestry and the same roots. They take pleasure in this feeling of belonging. This patriotism or nationalism is something all countries aim to build. Thus, China is little different than other countries here, although the state domination of education, the media and other aspects of life makes it more difficult to contest views about Chinese national identity than in Western countries like New Zealand.

Another example of the sense of national identity felt by participants is offered by Song, who said she felt safety and at ease at home. 'I felt my roots are in my hometown. I had never, ever left Tianjin in China before coming to New Zealand. Here [New Zealand], always I felt I am a guest in a new territory'. She grew up in a warm family in China. Her parents always took care of her and her friends always accompanied her. She is also a traditional Chinese girl with a deep concern for the Chinese culture. 'Chinese culture is broad and profound.' she proudly said. 'But I hate that some Chinese people forget their roots. For example, xenophiles! Those people are supporting freedom which is advocated by foreigners.

I prefer our harmonious culture. We Chinese people are not attributed with an aggressive stance. Being implicit and conservative as Chinese people comes from our thousands of years of culture. Why would you discard your ancestor's culture while worshipping foreigner's stuff? This something I really don't understand!' Those Chinese who are worshipping a foreigner's culture are, in her eyes, inferior.

The notion of 'root' resides at the centre of the discourse of Chineseness (Wang, 2015) indicating the same authoritative figure – the Yellow Emperor from the same region in the Central Plains. The vitality and cohesion of a nation is based in the power of a 'root' culture – the same origin for all aspects of Chinese culture. Song's animosity towards some Chinese people who 'worship' foreign cultures rather than Chinese traditional culture reveals a strong sense of nationality as a Chinese citizen. Bai says:

> Bai: I am very proud of that land [China], culture, background where I am from. I am very proud. I cried when I saw the national flag and listened to the national song during the Olympics, yet I will never cry for NZ even though I like it. I would choose to go back to China if NZ and China had the same environmental conditions (Bai, Social Worker in Faculty of Education)

In Chapter two, I have mentioned that citizenship is largely understand at the national level. Bai clearly demonstrates her love for China, indicating a strong sense of patriotism and belonging to the Chinese nation-sate. Thus, although she and others did not recognise 'citizenship' as a concept, their comments suggested their everyday lives were shaped by key aspects of what is understood to be citizenship in the West.

Again, Ming, a respondent says,

> Ming: I need to back to our motherland to enhance it. Now I feel like a plant that is outside of the garden. I am not saying official words or bureaucratic tone clichés; instead I was moved when our government sent us out to learn knowledge and advanced skills. I strongly believe that our country will enter into high and new technology industry. So, once we finished our study, I and with my friends will organise a company in China to create new knowledge and make money by selling our skills to other countries, rather than to be a world factory. To be more specific, I am studying computing/computers and I may not go back to open a big company, but I am confident in myself that I am professional in regard to my major and I can work out some skills to promote our local economy to prosper. All in all, we are going to work toward the revitalisation of China. (Ming, Engineer)

Ming recognizes himself as a flower in the garden of China; Liu says his relationship with China is one of affiliation; and Song believes that in China lies her root. Three of them emotionally expressed the role of their country and their personal relationship with the state. Again, these are everyday nature feelings/experiences typically associated with citizenship.

6.2 Criticism-based kites

In contrast to the young Chinese students described in the previous section who shared vehement, excited, and impassioned speeches about how much they love China, two other students criticized China. This section shows the opposite side to the loyalty-based kites by considering criticism-based kites.

Cello: In New Zealand, people can protest government on the street if they are not satisfied. Even though they may not make some kind of difference in reality; at least they can vent their anger through protest. (Cello, Psychology)

His statement reflects a narrow view of democracy when he mentioned that 'people can protest government in New Zealand'. The more I interviewed him, the more I saw this as an example of thinking in the third space; the first space is his memory of his family experience from 1970s to 1990s in China. The second space includes his experiences of witnessing New Zealand's people protesting on the street. Here, he reflected critically on China in the third space of the interview. Another interviewee, Lu, had a similar response to Cello. I think it is important to present Lu's whole story to make sense of his reasons for criticising China.

Lu: 'Honestly, China is a country that made me afraid. My parents and my grandparents were fighting during Land Reform in 1950s [Land reform refers to transfer of ownership from the more powerful to the less powerful, such as from a relatively small number of wealthy owners with extensive land holdings to individual ownerships.] and the Cultural Revolution in 1975. My grand grandfather was a translator for the Japanese. My grandparents were landlords before the Land Reform. They were good landlords and they distributed money and food to land labourers who were sick. However, those land labourers suddenly betrayed them, looting their home at the time of Land Reform. Facing the looted home with chilling hearts, my grandfather and grandmother were forced to be beggars on the street for a while. Until now, they would sometimes be grumpy saying: 'what was wrong that our identity is landlord? We have a long

traditional education history in our family. Look at my grandchild – they pointed at me, is pursuing her study as a doctoral student now. Look at the labourer's child sitting idle. My grandfather on my father's side was a Kuomintang [a Party of China which was defeated and escaped to Taiwan in 1949 where it planned to return to China and rule again], a soldier of the Military Academy, where Chiang was the chancellor. Just because of my grandfather's background had a relationship with Kuomintang, my father had been a victim of the Cultural Revolution. So, he reaped the fruits of the family's shame, dodging the nasty stigma of being a 'Kuomintang's brat.'

Other children could sit in the class, my father only stood up in class. At that standing moment in the class, my father secretly determined that 'I must carefully study at school and never came back to this village once I grow up.' My father climbed in the school window on Saturdays and studied by himself in an empty classroom. In addition, my grandmother made a huge sacrifice by doing heavy manual work for my mom in case she was deported by the government to rural area from Beijing. My grandmother applied to dig coal pipes in the suburb of Beijing. It was unbelievable that her thick cotton-padded jacket could be soaked to the skin in the bitter cold winter.

Even suffering those unfair experiences, my grandparents still love the CCP. Now, they must see Xinwen Lianbo, China central Television's daily news broadcast every day of their whole lives. Especially my grandfather, he subscribes to the reference news, published by Xinhua News Agency. He reads and takes notes on it every day. I don't know why they have no personal animosity towards the CCP.

> After the Cultural Revolution, people had become more timid and circumspect than before. My mom was immersed in Falun Gong [It is a qigong discipline combining slow-moving exercises and meditation with a moral philosophy. The Communist Party launched a campaign to 'eradicate' Falun Gong in 1999]. One day the television broadcast the news about banning Falun Gong, and that news was repeated again and again in rolling coverage. My father burned all of books relating to Falun Gong – illegal activities in the government's eyes and condemned my mom, saying to her: 'if you kept on it, I would choose divorce. Who can suffer the second experience like the Cultural Revolution again if the event inclined to develop like that?' (Lu, Education)

Having that bitter experience seemed not enough for this shaking family. Subsequently, the family ushered in another tide of history – The Cultural Revolution. In her reflective thinking, Lu also looked to the future of the country:

> To our country, to our people, the Cultural Revolution was a scar. I wish the government could publicise it to people, but this needs a long process, and I don't hope to see single person resist the authority because it is the same as if an egg threw itself a rock. (Lu, Education)

Lu's family changed with social changes in China. My own heart sank at hearing her family's stories, which helped me to make sense of when she said 'something in China could make you timid and afraid. I felt afraid! ' I believe everyone who lived through in the Cultural Revolution might find those frightening experiences etched indelibly and profoundly in their minds when they have occasion to look back at that chapter of their lives. The memories may even be legacies for the next generation.

There is no doubt that the relationship between Lu's family and state has a great influence on Lu's critical view of the country. From Lu and Cello's views, their family life changes are the most important influences on their comments on the country. What Lu and Cello's families experienced shaped their rationality that the government is not respectful of the people., challenging the CCP's claims that the government *serves* the people. This shows how historical context is important when considering lived experiences of everyday citizenship.

6.3 Recluse-based kites

Some other Chinese overseas students neither passionately honored the country nor criticized it but chose to avoid talking about their feelings towards China while in New Zealand.

> Shandong: Last time, I had a conversation with my supervisor and an Iranian colleague. We talked about the issues regarding examination cheating in China. First, I told them this problem should not be blamed on China because the country would not have a control factor if you were to do a statistical analysis. I don't think it is possible to view a country directly to see how many people cheated on an examination. But I may say the country as a factor might have an influence on another factor, and then the other factor might influence the other factor… So finally, I said having a conversation on 'politics and religion' is not fruitful, because, to be honest, the discussion does not have a lot of meaning. (Shandong, Business)

From the above, we can see Shandong has an ability to reconcile the different views of China in the third space. He offered a strongly-worded explanation as to why it is unworthy to blame a country for some issues and futile to talk about them.

> Shandong: My personal attitude towards the topics of politics and religion is that I refuse to talk about these topics with friends. A conversation between friends should be relaxed, such as when we talk about our studies or life. Why must we talk about formal and heavy topics like religion or politics? Then too, because I am a student, I don't have the social experience to judge other countries and their politics and religions and so forth. My comments are more or less related to my personal journey, and would always be biased because I did not have very many social experiences. (Shandong, Business)

It is hard to tell why Shandong avoids the topic of 'politics' and 'religion' as to whether it is painful for him to discuss or whether he feels that he lacks the knowledge to talk about them. But Shandong's statements establish that citizenship is not a daily topic for people to talk about. Therefore, lived citizenship is a good tool to explore people's citizenship through their actions in daily life. In Bourdieu's words, 'people are motivated, driven by, torn from a state of indifference and moved by the stimuli sent by certain fields, and not others' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 26). Myself, Shandong and the criticism-based interviewees, are from different parts of China and have different cultural backgrounds. Some other students believed that some part of history in China is far away from themselves and it has no meaning if we talk about it and may think the same way as Shandong. For instance:

> Liu: In addition, I do not pursue politics much. It is not necessary to talk about it because it is far away from my daily life. I am not interested in it because it does not have any

relation with my life. Today's China is not the old times China. You, as a researcher may do some research on it, but do the results fit in today's Chinese society? Does the result play an important role in China? China has changed a lot. The Cultural Revolution was a tragic event in China, but I would not like to read books about it on the grounds that their stories are too specific and too individual and too far away from me. (Liu, Physics)

Liu's statement, 'China is not the old times China', is similar to what the students in the theme of democracy said when indicating that 'Government is adjusting' and 'slowly making progress'. Liu's younger generation, rather than that of the older generation of Cello and Lu who criticized China, seems to forgive what the Chinese government did in the Cultural Revolution and Tiananmen Square Incident. In contrast, Liu chose to submit to the authority of the government probably because he was satisfied with life; For Liu, the history of China seems far away from his daily life now. Possibly this is one of the reasons that some of the students chose to forget history. Liu and Cello have the different view of citizenship due to their ages, which means their lived experiences of everyday citizenship vary.

Liu: An author of a book who wrote about his experience in the Cultural Revolution might be a victim and what he wrote might change my view of the world and it may have a negative influence on me if I read that kind of book. It was just their experiences. Each one in the world has his/her own experience which is totally different from each other. I did not experience the Cultural Revolution, so I cannot relate to their words. If I have empathy for their writing, that empathy feeling was added for me by the author. Instead, I may read an autobiography of a famous author because he would not have any emotion

released in the writing, which belongs to literature, having neither right nor wrong values inside and not relating to the political. (Liu, Physics)

It is interesting to find here that there is a focus on individual experiences which it is assumed cannot be true for the collective. Liu may believe something based on having experienced it, otherwise he thinks it is another person's story and it cannot say anything to him.

Above are Chinese students who gave reasons why they avoided talking and discussing China in New Zealand; they stand neither on the side of China, nor do they criticize it, but each is reporting on their own experience. Another kind of recluse-based 'kite' is those that escape from the reality of China. My awareness of such a mental escape started from a simple question I asked Xiaojie: 'How was your life in China and New Zealand?'

Xiaojie: In China, I was interested in Chinese traditional culture, especially the landscape painting, traditional poems and calligraphy. This allowed me to escape from Chinese social society and the problems that I had there. In the four years in New Zealand, I never touched them again. I thought of that before and realized that traditional culture for me in China allowed me to consciously go into seclusion, a mentality of social adjustment. If I cannot enjoy Chinese social society, then I choose to elude its reality and to enjoy the arts world.

Interviewer: Were you escaping reality in China?

Xiaojie: I thought the paintings are beautiful. But now if ask me to think again about it, yes, I had a little bit of escapism.

Interviewer: Why did you choose to escape?

Xiaojie: Something in real life that I did not really realise and that contrasted with my dreams. Some social problems I experienced, I have realized that I cannot change them. For example, I was interested in agricultural problems as a freshmen student like other young people who have dreams at a young age. I came from countryside, so my dream was to solve issues of agriculture, and then gradually, that was lost in reality. If we talk about micro-politics in life, meaning political concerns of people, they are very tiny and trivial, grinding off our passion bit by bit. Since then, I have slowly moved far away from my dream of agricultural issues and then I turned to reading Jinyoung's novels for a time. Anyway, at that time I had to find other interests to compensate for what I had lost in real life.

Interviewer: Are you still escaping?

Xiaojie: I don't know. But what I know is that my life should be different between New Zealand and China. I assume that I would still enjoy that landscape painting and traditional poetry if I did my doctoral thesis in China but that will never happen in New Zealand as there is no atmosphere and space for me. China has that. I have a distance from the world when I looking at images in paintings. Appreciating beautiful painting and enjoying arts, to me was a kind of accepting society, a way of giving up participating into social movements of protest. As well, one of my supervisors, was a member of the CCP but finally he devoted himself to Buddhism, and another professor in Beijing University posts landscape photos every day on Twitter. My interpretation of them is a way of struggling in spirit and of manifesting that they are suffering in life to some extent. (Xiaojie, Arts)

Xiaojie escaped from the reality of life in China because he felt he was helpless to change society. Outside of China, in contrast, he does not have to escape from the pressures of collective. But, still, he described a group of people who remain in China, for instance by giving us the example of a professor, who sustains and develops his own spirit through art. In other words, Xiaojie hides himself in a spiritual shell, providing a piece of the picture of what it means to be a Chinese citizen.

Xiaojie's life experience is an example of a person who enters a different kind of social contract with China and New Zealand. In China, he knew that he was unable to change society so he hid himself by reading books and enjoying arts; similarly, one of his supervisors devoted himself to religion. In New Zealand, Xiao changed his view of the social contract. This reflects Hobbes' (2006) view that men are reasonable; they can see their way out of different states by recognizing the laws of nature. Simon (1972) develops Hobbes' idea that being reasonable is bounded by the assumption that the person has only incomplete information about alternatives. This may help us to understand how some students are chameleon kites.

6.4 Chameleon-based kites

Not every Chinese overseas student has clear attitudes towards China: honor, criticism or seclusion. Some are struggling to find their own position with China.

> Lu: I have a love and hate relationship towards Chinese government and Chinese people. It depends on the situation. Sometimes I have much more love and sometimes I have much more hate. Many times, I cannot feel free to make a choice between the emotions of love or hate as there are many others limiting factors. My attitude is like a chameleon.

Yan: Both love and hate emotions may be the true feeling.

This was a conversation from two Chinese students recorded in my field notes. In a 'chameleon' or 'love and hate' attitude students may allow themselves to criticise China when overseas but do not allow others to point out where China may be wrong. In other words, on the one hand, they are criticizing the problems in China, and on the other, they wish China to be seen as a strong and powerful country by others in the world.

Yang: Our country…my personal feeling…the label of China…I am a Chinese person. Certainly, I cannot avoid this. When I expressed the negative sides of China at home, my wife rebuffed me 'Aren't you a Chinese'? But…I have been living overseas for five years. I have changed a lot. Perhaps the changes influenced me subliminally. Even if I go back to China one day it means I will go back without much help. Hopefully, I can work overseas, but I was restricted by my family in China. I shut out the memory which was too painful to dwell on. However, I would like to look to the future.

My parents felt very happy because no one from my village had travelled to as many places as they had. Ai….[He sighed for a fourth time.] Anyway, I feel China still has hope. China is changing slowly. President Xi is a good leader. But when will the policies of the country affect the life of the common people, this is a question. When will the air not be polluted?

Interviewer: Do you still have hope for our country?

Yang: Sure! It is changing slowly. Our country is much better than before. (Yang, Education)

Yang felt helpless back in China for he was bound by his family there. However, at the end of

the interview he said that he still has the hope for the country. He enjoys his life outside of China and hopes that China will solve its social problems one day. These love and hate emotions towards the country of China are interrelated but it is the experience of being a social person – 'Man can love and hate, respect and despise himself. He can be content and angry with himself' (Riezler, 1943, p. 457). From Hobbes' (2006) point of view, people are essentially very complicated organic machines, responding to the stimuli of the world mechanistically and in accordance with universal laws of human nature. 'Love' and 'hate', for instance, are terms to describe the things are drawn to and repelled by, respectively. Rorty (1989), too, sees no difficulty in experience and belief embracing contradictory views. This, for him, as a pragmatist and a postmodernist, is a natural response to the contradictory pressures of life and experience. It is in the nature of contingency. Simon's (1972) view on the question of the 'love' and 'hate' problem was through observing actors in society with limited information. Simon's statement seems a universal claim that each decision he/she makes is imperfect as he/she is always constrained by limited resources. But I prefer Adam Smith's (1972) conception of the 'socialization' of the individual, in which social conditions interact with human nature: this seems to be the case in this study when Chinese students change their social conditions in New Zealand. Smith's (1972) concept of the 'socialization' of the individual is the manner in which human nature in its original state is adapted to social life. To some extent, this is a relationship between an individual and society and how the individual negotiates his/her way in the society. Yet, many of my participants do not adapt it seems in this research.

6.5 Discussion

6.5.1 Communist Party = New China

China only has one Party. Therefore, the Party is conflated with government and country. For instance, “without the Communist Party, there would be no New China.” That is the lyric of a song to remember the new China founded in 1949, led by Mao. People who were born after the year 1949 might carry the lyric in their heart, believing that the Communist Party is China, so that the Party has a priority position in the Chinese mind.

Interviewer: What is the position of the CCP in your heart?

Li: Sublime! The Communist Party has a certain advancement and one-party state. China will never have a second Party.

Interviewer: You just mentioned ‘advancement’. Where is this manifest?

Li: Are you kidding me? You know our CCP has the attribution of advancement. [He was a little irritated, then silent for few seconds] (Li, Engineer)

In other words, the Communist Party is China, one agency, one policy and one country, which has a common meaning to Chinese people through political education.

A focus group conversation had participants mulling over the mixed emotions around the issue of the CCP as it related to their own sense of identity. The conversation began when they read the transcript where Cello had said that “in my heart, the concept of country, China, does not exist.”

Ma: China had indeed sacrificed that generation in order to develop the economy. The CCP may have made mistakes on policy but they are changing and correcting what they have done. He (Cello) thought his parents’ experience totally denied the country and the CCP, but

I think that his view is narrow.

Jie: I see from his thoughts that he is hateful of the country and the CCP.

Yan: From Cello's viewpoint, he believes the concept that the country is represented by CCP.

Jan: So true! That is also a problem of our Chinese education instilling us that we must love our country as well as the CCP. So, he hates the CCP as well as the country.

Li: Therefore, he thought if the CCP is awful then he does not want to belong to that country.

Jie: Right!

Li: But we are thinking even we are unsatisfied with the CCP we are still part of China and its people.

Jan: Yep.

Li: Our only hope is that the CCP is better than it was before. (Focus group)

Here, again, the data shows students picking through the two interlocking attitudes: love and hate towards China. While students are criticizing the government's dysfunction and its extreme choices, they are also expressing deep feelings for the people, culture and history.

> Bai: Before studying in NZ, I told myself that my nationality won't change no matter how I change in NZ. I am not saying how much I love China, but I felt the sorry that the word 'China' has been politicised by the CCP. In my heart, China is that land, that river, and those national ethics, to which I belong. (Bai, Social worker)

Data suggest that it is important to recognize students' own constructions of citizenship and their capacity to resist values promoted by families and schools (Kennedy et al., 2013). In the

focus group, for example, Jan says ‘so true! That is also a problem of our Chinese education instilling us that we must love our country as well as the CCP.’ Some of them are struggling to make a distinction between country and government, rather than believing from their political education that the CCP is equal to the country.

In public in China, students espouse the leadership of the CCP and express their passion to be part of the CCP. They have to attend meaningless meetings of ‘election’ every year, knowing the truth that the delegate has been predesignated. It seems that everyone knows what happens but it is unspoken. Chinese overseas students may be able to redefine Chinese society after they left China, and may also be able to act independently to make their own free choices in New Zealand, interacting with the new ideologies in a Western culture. They are free to operate as conscious agents in a key dimension of a studying abroad environment (Thorpe & Jacobson, 2013). Nonetheless, the leitmotif of responses towards the country is confidence and gratefulness, including by those identified as having criticism and recluse kites.

6.5.2 Confidence and gratefulness

One reason for the confidence of the Chinese students is the fact that China is the world’s fastest-growing major economy, with growth rates averaging 10% over the past 30 years (Morrison, 2015). These Chinese overseas students have witnessed and experienced that China is making huge progress in the past few years, and feel proud of that.

> Jing: China is stronger and more powerful than before. I have confidence in China! Like the regional conflicts that happened a few months ago in the Middle East, China showed a higher level of handling the emergency ability to the world. (Jing, Business)

A few Chinese students felt the inconvenience and boredom of living in New Zealand, with its smaller population and limited resources as, for example, the shops are closed earlier than in China. These trivial things in daily life may seem irrelevant to citizenship but participants' negative views of New Zealand reinforced their sense of Chinese superiority and pride in their country, highlighting the 'deep' elements of citizenship found in emotion and affect.

Qi: I felt bored in New Zealand lacking modern construction which really cannot compare with China. I have no choice and cannot change the New Zealand society. I had long been yearning for Western culture in China and I am a fan of Harry Potter. Thus, I did try to immerse myself into the society but I found it's hard for me. (Qi, politics)

Qi seems proud of China's economic power. Compared with the era of the Cultural Revolution, the CCP's economic achievement has won the support of people. Again, this links to what was presented earlier in this study under the theme of Democracy (chapter five) when a participating student was worried that democracy may disturb economic development and felt China is better without democracy.

> Qi: I dare to say that no nation could compare with the Chinese nation in the future and the Chinese nation will stand in the top of all nations. Kissinger who once wrote a book about China around the 1970s predicted then that China would be the best country economically and culturally in the world. China is making that progress now, and is better than during the Cultural Revolution times when there was no freedom and self-sense. At least now I have freedom out of that country and I know what kind of life I need for my own happiness. Therefore, everything is changing and will be

better than before. Although somebody on the internet says the CCP is going to be overturned by the people, I think that will not happen. (Qi, Engineer)

Qi's 'great nation' chauvinism is similar to Jing's statement – both emphasize Chinese superiority and show pride in the government and the country. In this way, the participants' attitudes towards the country include being grateful and confident in China's future. Amy's experiences presented in Chapter one show a similar pride, that she repeated in her interview.

Amy: Actually, I believe our country must be better more and more! Our country allows me, a person with nothing, through my hard working, to pursue a Ph.D. now, which has been beyond my imagination. I am super satisfied with what I have now. Now my life is better than in my dreams. Our country is a good country because it allows any hard-working person to change their life, a situation that does not exist in every country in the world. Some countries have a ceiling that the people can see but never reach or develop beyond it. I didn't want to use some dishonourable trick to get what I want. I felt the city of Taiyuan to me is like a Heaven. (Amy, Education)

The data presented show the struggles of individuals to make sense of the complexity about citizenship and personal identity when they move overseas to study. Within the Kites Flying theme, all four of the kite patterns indicated how the Chinese overseas students personally identified with the Chinese nation, the culture, or the government. The interviews in this study show that in some cases there are strong attachments with the 'motherland' of China. Notably, this was much more than when they were inside China. The participants who were close to China are those who had a happier time when they were inside China, for example Lee, who came from a wealthy family contrasted with Cello who came from a materially

poor background.

Crossing from a communist society to a democratic one caused an identity shake-up for the Chinese international students. In general, this chapter found Chinese international students do have feelings/experiences of citizenship, but they may not realize it. For example, participants Liu and Song show their national identity is the key element of their sense of citizenship. In this way, lived citizenship is an appropriate approach in a Chinese context. Even if citizenship is an abstract word, Chinese participants expressed their views of citizenship as they talked about their daily experiences. Different students have different views of citizenship depending on their personal experiences – for instance, Cello and Lee. Compared to West countries, an interesting thing is that China bans the media, protests and freedom of speech to build patriotism or nationalism. Another finding is that a focus on individual experience cannot be true for those who grew up within the collective, for example, in the case of Liu who explained that being an individual is impossible for him. Narrow views of citizenship and negative views of New Zealand came out of their sense of Chinese superiority and pride.

Chapter 7 The citizens and the People

Student A: Is Citizenship Education like a kind of English teaching? It is the first time I have heard the term, Citizenship Education.

Student B: Citizenship education… What is that?

Student C: Who provides Citizenship Education? (Field Notes, March 24th, 2015)

The above is an extract from my field diary. I spent five days with some of the Chinese international students on a trip to a Māori marae (a traditional community living space) south of Auckland. During those five days, we were eating, resting and playing together. This was a good opportunity for me to explore my research questions on citizenship education in an informal way. In the end, however, I did not manage to find answers to my research questions. What I found was that my topic was incomprehensible to these students, who also met the criteria for participation in my study. During the first two days, I introduced them to what I was doing in my research. Each of them responded with silence, even when I carefully explained my intention and introduced my research topic to them as clearly as I could. I waited to let them start the conversation, but eventually I gave up.

At the beginning of this research, I realised that my citizenship study would be not to contest what the truth is about citizenship education to Chinese students. Rather, it would be to investigate the methods of knowledge production and how particular knowledge in terms of Chinese citizenship retains legitimacy and authority as it encounters and competes with Western knowledge in New Zealand. I wanted to know whether traditional values continue to exert an influence on Chinese students who have also been exposed to the influences of New Zealand. I was aware that their individual, family and peer influences also impact on all

Chinese students in terms of ideas about citizenship. I assumed that all of us develop our social sense as a result of our life experience of interaction with others.

Chinese international students must position themselves in relation to Western knowledge and to local Western people while maintaining and preserving cultural distinctiveness. Loyalty and obedience, as well communism, patriotism, internationalism and collectivism are Chinese cultural characteristics in citizenship which are different from the universal human values of democracy, freedom and humanity (Kennedy et al., 2013). Staying in a Chinese cultural context, I provided my respondents with space to understand who and what they are and how they can be understood through a process of conversations and dialogues. Unlike on the informal field trip where the Chinese students were resistant to entering into potentially sensitive dialogue, I created conditions for formal deliberation. The interview and focus groups were under somewhat controlled conditions because they were labelled as 'doctoral research' rather than informal chats. Respondents were free to maintain allegiance to their own ways of understanding and making sense of the complex universal context, even though their understanding of themselves and their position may differ from Western conceptions of citizenship.

In ancient China, the concept of 'citizen' was represented by 'subject' and 'people' (Shuli, 2013). The word 'subject' in feudal society has lasted for over 2,000 years and for that reason its influence over the history, social structure and the people of China cannot be overlooked. In Chinese understanding, 'subject' means possessing passive attributes that are made manifest in obedience and respect for the family hierarchy, a patriarchy that provides a template for the state. Traditional Chinese culture results in a difference from Western notions

of citizenship, which revolve around individual rights and responsibilities. In Western ideal models, the individual is actively engaged in political citizenship (Kennedy, 2004), rather than being passively obedient.

To better reveal the complex relationship between Chinese notions of citizenship, and the individual relationship with the collective – the 'people' – this chapter looks at how Chinese student participants responded specifically to the term and the concept of 'citizenship'.

7.1 Reactions to citizenship

Data from the Chinese international students' participants suggests that there are four kinds of reaction to the word, citizenship, in the following section. I will present the data first to show the four themes, and then will compare them and discuss what they suggest.

7.1.1 Not interested in citizenship!

When I showed Song a paper with the word 'citizen' written on it, a few seconds later she reluctantly said:

> …uh, citizen, that is, uh, if I have problems, the country should be able to protect me, and I should fulfil my duty such as pay taxes, and then that's all I can think of.
>
> (Song, Science)

I tried to ask her to draw further on the relationship of citizen with society, but she pushed the question back to me. Then a moment's silence followed as I waited for more, which did not come.

7.1.2 No Citizen, no country!

Cello: In my heart, the concept of the nation, China, does not exist. We don't have the concept of people, so where would the concept of country come from? The country should take care of everyone's interests. However, the CCP claims they represent the basic interests of the majority of people. In other words, they are calling for all our ordinary people to work hard for that majority of people. (Cello, Logic)

7.1.3 Does citizenship signify that people live in a city?

Lu was born in Beijing. When she saw the word 'citizen' on my question list, she was confused and asked:

Is it defined by law? I do not have very many feelings about it. In New Zealand, the word citizen plays a role of bringing different immigrants together to form an identity in this land, or let's say, this country – New Zealand. While in China, does it necessarily mean the same as in NZ? Because we have a strong Han culture that is equivalent to the idea of China. In China, probably there is a word in law that defines the identity of a Chinese person. Or it may help to strengthen the national sense of cohesion, considering that sometimes we divide ourselves according to geographical locations, for example, are you from south or north of China? Or does it mean because people are living in a city, they are called 'citizens'? How about people in the rural areas? If people in the city have citizenship, what kind of 'ship' would people who live in the rural areas have? (Lu, Education)

7.1.4 Accepted by the country

Ming: I don't know what the meaning of the word citizen is – a person with freedom? I am not sure but I think a citizen should be a person accepted by his country rather

than without a residential permit in China. I was from one of the unregistered households, or you could say, I was an illegal product because I did not have my own registered permanent residence until I was 16 years old. In other words, I did not exist in China because I was a second child of a family who had broken the one child policy. Until the day that I needed to attend middle school examination and obtain my registered permanent residence. My mother did not go to work for six months when she was pregnant; unfortunately, she was caught by the police for breaking the policy. Finally, she paid the penalty at hospital otherwise she was going to lose her job. I was in trouble while studying at school because many schools in the city refused me just because I did not have registered permanent residence. That feeling of being refused by the society was really bad. My grandfather used his relationship with the leader of the primary school to send me back to school. I clearly remember that there were six students in the same situation as me without registered permanent residence in my class and I was the last one, the sixth one who entered that class as a transfer student. A few years later, our family moved to a big city where I found almost every child was the only child in the family. There was a very strict regulation that if any couple broke the one child policy, both of them would be laid off. To be honest, the one-child policy has pros and cons, but our generation has been sacrificed. (Ming, Computer Science)

Ming was born a non-citizen. The next section tells more about his view of citizenship:

I think our generation generally has just one child in each family. Such kids live an easy life where they only have to open their mouths to be fed and hold out their hands

to be dressed, and they seriously lack survival skills. For example, I have learnt how to cook since I arrived here, which never happened in China. I ate at the dining hall in my old university. Then I thought that here [at the university] there should be at least a small dining hall. But I was astonished to see how local students cook for themselves. In this vein, the living conditions and life skills in China are a tremendous contrast to those in New Zealand. Probably the reason is that the large population in China does not allow everyone to have his own space to cook or to live independently.

Another time, I saw a parade on Queen Street, where a group of people protested against an oil company from Australia that was planning to explore a new area for oil. That is never going to happen in China. Thinking of the small oil fields in Shanxi province in China, once they found an oil site, they would dig the oil out immediately. [He cleared his voice saying.] Can I continue to talk about this? It is not sensitive. These small private oil fields, where people work who are not professional oil drillers, are lacking in safety measures and many people have died in them from accidents when a site collapses. (Ming, Computer)

Interviewer: Some other students are saying there are some problems in our Party.

When he heard this, a pained expression came over his face…he whispered: 'I love the CCP and I am a member of it. Of course, I know you also love CCP.' Then his hand pointed to the topic of education on the sheet saying: 'I would like to talk about this topic.' I was very curious about why he avoided my questions, such as those about 'democracy or the CCP', again and again. He answered me 'I have mentioned the topic of democracy already, but I am

more interested in talking about education. The education in New Zealand is more focused on developing everyone's interests, whilst China just emphasises liberal education. For example, I knew a guy who liked engineering. So, he chose all the courses relating to engineering. In China, a Chinese student cannot choose the course like that guy could in New Zealand. China has a big population so that it is unable to provide enough teachers to support each of the Chinese students' needs. To be more specific, in my class in China, there were 46 students, which meant that it was impossible for only one teacher in a class to help with the needs of 46 students. In addition, China's education system focuses on academic performance, rather than on personal development. '

He continued in an excited tone saying: 'The reason why I joined the CCP is because joining the Communist Party of China is a very glorious thing and I can be part of the advance in China, part of the CCP feeling is that we rise or fall as one nation, as one people. After being a member of the CCP, I have the right to vote and the right to be elected. You are a citizen. I am also a citizen, since I am communist, and I have a higher rank than that of a citizen. It gives me a close relationship with the country, a kind of acceptance by the government.'

Interviewer: Do you like the CCP?

Ming: Like. [He said in a small voice like the sound of mosquito.] Unfortunately, I became a member of the CCP when I was a freshman at university. I hoped I could be part of the CCP earlier. But I had a bad performance at high school.

Interviewer: Do you think that's fair?

Ming: Of course, that is unfair. I almost blurted out a dirty word, but I remembered we are recording our conversation. I think some other students who joined CCP are just looking for a good job.

Interviewer: What is the position of the CCP in your heart?

Ming: This is ridiculous question! The Communist Party certainly has an advantage in being in a one-party state. China will never have a second Party.

From the four different opinions of citizenship, these Chinese students have different interpretations. What surprised me was that Ming was still firmly loyal to the country, even though he was a non-citizen in China. Cello expressed critical comments about Chinese citizenship from his family experience. Lu confused the term of citizenship as only applying to people who live in the city. Song sent the question of citizenship back to me. It looks like that Chinese students have less opportunity to make critical judgments on government policy compared to moral behaviour and academic hard work on the grounds that students should uphold traditional and Confucian values such as respect for authorities, filial piety, and politeness.

However, students may develop critical responses of authoritarian regimes when they come overseas, as Cello said. Cello's statement described an informal way of citizenship education with schemes 'which are not regulated or systematized by the formal rules and procedures of social institutions but have their origin in the purpose of everyday life' (Kai & Yujie, 2013, p. 49). In school, Chinese students learn the knowledge, history and ideology of how the 'great' CCP saved China. In society, the students witness a great discrepancy between the advocacy of school and reality, such as bureaucratic corruption and power abuse'

(Chan, 1999). A discrepancy between school and reality was revealed by a group discussion:

> Jie: In Mao's (Mao Zedong) words it became apparent that socialism is better than capitalism….
>
> Interviewer: Are the high school students not able to tell what is right or wrong?
>
> Jie: They must answer like that otherwise they will not achieve a pass in exams.
>
> Ma: They cannot hear the dissident voices in China.
>
> Lang: When I grew up and learnt more from other books, I recognised that kind of thought is wrong.
>
> Xu: Don't you think that our education is lacking in critical thinking?
>
> Jie: No. We have critical thinking. But we mainly criticise capitalism.
>
> Xu: It is hard to have self-critical thinking.
>
> Jie: I agree with that. We are lacking self-critical thinking so that some historical issues were erased from textbooks. But now the situation is better than before.

As indicated in the literature review, current research on Chinese students in the New Zealand context is mainly limited to solving academic problems. This chapter highlights that the concept of citizenship is not well understood by the participants; some had sometimes not even articulated the word to themselves before. The focus-group data revealed that students surprised themselves with how open and critical they could be. It should be clear, nonetheless, that Chinese students have a background of formal citizenship education, including a formal school curriculum, and a Chinese hidden curriculum that somehow interconnects with school, state and family, all of which teach the importance of respecting authority and living in a rule-bound society. In New Zealand, Chinese international students are still learning about

the freedom of engaging in formal study at university, experiencing doctoral study, and having a relationship with local people. At the same time, those international students experience an internal process of having to negotiate the divergence between these two cultural contexts. They reflect critically on China and on themselves, beyond following their formal goals in educational institutions: test scores, language and literacy, and other academic achievements and challenges.

7.2 The citizen and the people

Lang: What is the difference between a citizen and an ordinary person? Is a citizen, rather than being an ordinary person, someone who should take more responsibilities? I don't know…I think a citizen is a person who should take on a certain kind of social responsibility and have a certain type of political orientation.

Wu: The word 'people' has political orientation, not the citizen.

Ulida: Is it that a citizen needs a certificate of authority, such as a passport or an identity card?

Wu: Right, identity card, but different countries have different definitions.

Ulida: So, citizen means you have your own rights and responsibilities?

Wu: A citizen is a person recognized and accepted by a country; people have political colour.

Ulida: A citizen seems to have more rights than people.

Wu: Right. A criminal can be a citizen but not belong to the people; in contrast, a criminal is an enemy of the people.

Lang: Ok. I admit that actually the concept of citizen does have an opposite side but 'people' do not have one. So we can say people and citizens are different in political terms. In other words, people have the relationship of evaluating who is their enemy for themselves. Do citizens have opposite sides? Unless they are non-citizens or savages. In one word, citizens are defined more in terms of nationality whilst people are more from a political view.

Wu: I added that there is no concept and boundary in terms of people, say, the people who followed Chairman Mao during the civil war seventy years ago were people, if Chairman Mao did not like them one day then they were enemies of people.

Lang: Similarly, citizenship cannot be changed unless the person wants to change it or she/he wants to be a criminal that is deprived of political rights for life.

Wu: That kind of criminals should be also counted as citizens because nationality cannot be deprived.

The above discussion from the focus group on the difference between citizen and people may explain why most Mainland Chinese have no conception of 'citizens'. In a nation of 1.3 billion people, China has a culture of collectivism and complex human relationships. 'People' has deeper meaning than 'citizens' in the Chinese culture. I prefer the term of 'peopleship' rather than 'citizenship' to describe what they discussed. It is interesting to find that the People's Republic of China manifests and imposes the 'people' in two forms: one is the cult of personality; and the other one is the masses. For example, Mao Zedong was a great man in Chinese history; he led the Communist Party and created a new China on the first day of October in 1949. He played the role of a king in people's hearts. He represented the CCP, and

thus the people. This reminds me of Lu's family stories, and also of Wu's talk about Mao in the focus group, which conveys the cult of personality in Chinese culture.

The 'People' also represent the interests of the masses. A socio-political theory was credited by Jiang Zemin, a former President of China, which was 'the important thought Three Represents' [sic] (Kai & Yujie, 2013), namely that the CCP would represent the advanced social productive forces, the most advanced culture and the fundamental interests of all people. The Three Represents (simplified Chinese: 三个代表; traditional Chinese: 三個代表; pinyin: Sānge Dàibiǎo), also expressed as the important thought of Three Represents (simplified Chinese: "三个代表"重要思想; traditional Chinese: "三個代表"重要思想; pinyin: "Sān ge dàibiǎo" zhòngyào sīxiǎng), is a guiding socio-political theory credited to Jiang Zemin, which was ratified by the Communist Party of China at the Sixteenth Party Congress in 2002.

The group discussion continued:

> Lang: So we need to interpret the conception of citizen should be defined by nationality or political rights. If it is defined by politics, then it would be another story.
>
> Ulida: Political rights?
>
> Qi: The right to vote and the right to be elected.
>
> Ulida: I have no chance of being elected….
>
> Lang: I thought you once talked about citizens. It sounds as though the person has to do something or she/he has to perform some duties.

Ulida: In Shenzhen – a big city in China, I felt a strong sense of citizenship because city-dwellers there enjoy more rights. For instance, I have rights to access to Hong Kong or to the city library as long as I can prove that I live in this city by showing an identity card.

Lang: Those are Chinese characteristics!

[Every one shouts their own opinion, to agree or disagree, their voices integrated together so that it is difficult to clearly understand what they are saying…]

Lang continues by saying: There two countries like this, one is China and the other one is North Korea.

Interviewer: Why?

Lang: Because it is good for the government. If I were a king, I would like to manage people like that, to stay in a city and not run away. If you move to another city, you don't have rights to go to school or hospital in that city. That way of organising things was produced by a planned economy…'

The Chinese students cited above were exploring citizenship from the view of nationality or city management. Lang mentioned the management of citizens in different cities. The Chinese government may be seen as a single central control: the Communist Party regulates the conduct of their citizens by means of laws and other imperative commands. China's government of a state has its own autonomous rationality.

Lang mentioned that the 'Chinese characteristics' above are attributed to the Chinese government's single central control over Chinese citizens. Yet Crook (1992) argues that the citizens in the current information society are skilled in critically assessing and producing the

messages of the new media, so that they are not reduced to being passive consumers of programs created only to produce profit. At this moment, the Chinese government hasn't achieved Crook's (1992) definition of citizenship. The Chinese government regulates the conduct of the citizens by limiting their rights (use of the internet, freedom of speech and voting). To understand citizens in China, it would be necessary to consider the political situation in China. As well as the attributes of the citizens, what is seen as good or bad, may also depend on local context.

7.3 What is a good citizen in China?

> Bai: How do we define a good citizen? The more important issue is how to be a good person. This is because it is more important to be good than to be a good citizen. I don't know how we define the concept of 'good citizen'. Government says a good citizen is someone who obeys the law; however, who makes the law? Of course, the law is made by the government. For example, a 'good citizen' listened to the government in the times when Hitler was alive. Look at what those so called 'good citizens' were doing at that time. They killed many people. Hence, the concept of 'good citizen' depends on different times. A Hong Kong person could be a good citizen in people's eyes but a bad citizen in Mainland newspapers. Those students deserved to be respected just the same as the students who were protesting in Tiananmen 25 years ago. If I were Hong Konger, I would join them. (Bai, Social Worker)

Bai considered that the concept of 'good citizen' depended on different people in different times. As one element of a verification exercise, I shared Bai's interview about 'a good

citizen' with Chinese students in a focus group and their discussions follow:

Lu: I agree with that. But in any era a certain principle exists.

Ma: The definition of a good citizen is in the hands of government.

Xu: A good citizen is limited by a boundary or history, which means that the definition of a good citizen is different at different times and countries.

Yan: Yes, like the fishing island in the news. The Japanese say that the island belongs to Japan and supports their government; the Chinese says it belongs to China. Anyway, both of the sides are good citizens in the eyes of their government.

Jie: So we cannot define the concept unless we have certain criteria to measure it against.

Xu: But I think the principle should service for the interests of the country.

Jie: Just as Yan said, both sides are good citizens, but they still have conflicts with each other.

Yan: So in this way, a citizen should stand on the same side as country, right?

Jie: So then what is the difference between citizenship and people?

[Jie asked that question and then he answered it himself.]

Jie: First, a citizen should have a nationality, right?

[It seemed he was still not sure of his answer to some extent.]

Lu: Then you mean the citizen is a global citizen who belongs to this world?

Interviewer: There is a statement about world citizenship in theory.

Ma: World citizenship only shows up after the breaking up of a country's political system.

Jie: According to my understanding, citizenship should be from a country within a certain boundary. In China, double nationality is not recognized by the Chinese government. Anyway, there is a certain criterion for measuring what a good citizen it is.

My participants may not be able to express their thinking about good citizens in a way that would satisfy the principles of Western citizenship (e.g. argumentation, rationality and freedom), but nevertheless they have sifted elements of the conceptualization of citizenship through experience, memory, consciousness and contemporary cultural practices in China. The participants provide a rich set of insights into Chinese citizenship by offering the details of their daily lives, highlighting their positive and negative experiences of taking part and having a say and, more generally, offering examples of the way in they act as citizens. This stresses the importance of exploring citizenship through everyday life experiences when investigating groups of people who come from countries with no official discourse of citizenship.

Chapter 8 A Bird cage

In the last theme of 'citizen and people', the relationships between culture, government and the CCP in the Chinese context were analyzed. In this theme, the focus is on how the participants reflect on restrictions and freedom. The metaphor of a bird cage refers to the government of China, the traditional Chinese culture, family or anything in China that participants said they felt bound their thinking. This metaphor comes from the interview data when a participant said he made different choices once he flew out of the cage, breathing the fresh air of freedom and seeing a world different from China. Some participants missed their comfortable life in the cage, while some other birds wanted to fly higher. The metaphor of a bird cage may appear to overlap with the metaphor of kite flying. But kite flying metaphor focuses on the micro/macro relationship between Chinese students and the state and traditional Chinese culture, whilst bird cage concentrates on the human experience of restriction and freedom.

8.1 Wishing to go back to the Cage

After the college examination, Qi said he felt free as a college student:

> I don't need to worry about the exams. To be precise, my life in China was like that of 'a captive pig', as I received an allowance from the government but was there for their purpose. In addition, I didn't need to worry about tomorrow's dinner or a job or something like that. Also, in New Zealand, I still have the similar feeling as 'a captive pig'. (Qi, Politics)

Qi described his life in China as being in the role of a caged farm animal by merit of

receiving an allowance from the country. In China, his life was arranged by the country and the family so that he lost the ability to live his life independently This apparently strong and humorous guy carried on speaking:

> Honestly I am very much missing my life in China. I felt that life was fulfilling and hilarious even though I was a poor student at Shandong University. It is kind of like ‘a sense of people’; at least I could converse with them. I have observed that many Chinese international students are not actively involved in local culture in New Zealand having an attitude of reticence and being afraid to take the risk of communicating with other people. They fail to adjust to their new environment. Some Chinese students have already formed a habit of living alone in New Zealand. (Qi, Politics)

International students, outside of China, have to learn to make decisions by themselves with respect to their studies and other daily life matters and to take responsibility for what they do. They find it is a challenge to adapt to their overseas life with so many free choices; instead they miss the life arranged by totalitarian societies. I clearly remember that when I inquired about how Song felt about her first year in New Zealand, she blurted out that she felt ‘alone, lonely and cold’ and she assumed that probably every Chinese student would choose these three words. Further, she explained to me:

> When I was an undergraduate student, I spent my time with my classmates, every day and we lived in the students’ dormitory where four students shared one room, but here, each person does their own thing. In the beginning when I arrived in New Zealand, I wanted to know more people but the environment was not bustling with noise and

> excitement, and now I have gotten used to being here, just a few friends accompanying me is ok. (Song, Science)

Song does not reflect the principles of citizenship highlighted in chapter two, yet she was happy with her life without those principles – argumentation, rationality, and freedom. Qi and Song believed that their life in the 'cage' was comfortable and easy. They didn't need to worry about their daily life, while they feel alone outside the 'cage' as friends and family are not around them in New Zealand. China is a society based on familiar or social ties whereas, in Western society, there are casual friendships, chance encounters, and sub-cultural connections, where people with similar interests hang out together and influence each other. These differences in the lives the students led in New Zealand compared to China shaped their understanding of citizenship. Lefebvre (1971) argued that everyday life is 'a sociological point of feed-back' (p.32). This means that not only *where* we live and consider natural but changes in our lived experiences offer us important information about who we are and how we feel about ourselves, others and our places in society.

8.2 In the Enlightenment

Not every Chinese overseas student interviewed agreed with Song and Qi, especially Li, who felt his life in NZ was much more meaningful than his life in China.

> Li: Looking back to China, I thought I was locked in a bird cage, or say, a zoo. I lived in a big zoo but I did not realise it until I walked out of the zoo. Wow, I lived in a zoo! Now that I am out of the zoo, I am changing my thinking about my previous life in China. For example, what is a good life? In China, everyone wants to make much more money. But here (NZ) it is not like that. I can choose a different life, rather than

making money. Oh, life can be like this – enjoying the sunshine at a beach or being close to nature at weekends. The whole world is much broader and bigger than I imagined. So are my life values. Another example, parents in China have always been advocating that their child must acquire a degree from a university. But in New Zealand, the aim of study is different. (Li, Science)

His eyes glowed with pleasure when he described the 'new' world that he found in NZ, a world in which he felt outside a cage or a zoo. He didn't realise the feeling of freedom until he left China, a society which worships making money, where his parents, or his friends, told him what kind of life he should have. His view is different from Qi's, the 'captive pig', but he reacted to being outside the cage with excitement and exuberance, in a state of enlightenment. This part, to some extent, overlaps with the story of 'kites flying'. They fly free high above the land while being firmly tethered to China.

8.3 Wishfully Flying

One participant directly shows his will to fly higher and to seek much more freedom in New Zealand.

Wu: The reason I am studying overseas is because China is too unified in talking and acting. In China, it is quite normal that I must follow other's orders, like my Master's supervisor in China. He usually organised our students to sing in Kalaok [karioki] or to eat dinner in a restaurant to celebrate each time he got a big program, normally worth hundreds of millions of dollars and then he transferred tens of thousands of cash around in the name of buying data. Actually, he used the money to bribe his manager. I thought my supervisor's behaviour was reasonable, because it is not easy

to get such a big programme's funding in a poor area that needs the money. Considering some other medical research scholars use research grants directly to buy a house, my supervisor's bribery was a small crime. (Wu, Medicine)

Relationships (in Chinese, guanxi), as Wu mentioned above, is a basic character of Chinese society. Social networks are important in China. Building and using personal relationships to get through life and work are common social practices (C. C. Chen, Chen, & Huang, 2013). This dates back to ancient China when Confucius prescribed a framework of five cardinal relations known as Wu Lun: Emperor-official, father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger brother, and friend-friend (Bell, 2000), as discussed in Chapter 2, rooted in traditional Chinese agriculture. Agriculture differs from both pastoralism and industry: farmers are necessarily connected to the land and live in solitude and isolation (Fei, Hamilton, & Wang, 1992), but the unit of isolation is not the individual but the group, within which the unit is the family.

On the one hand, living together as a group greatly contributes to everyone's security. People know each other intimately; they also get to know others' aspects of life equally well. This is a society based on human relationship – guanxi. On the other hand, Wu's comments suggest that you cannot necessarily trust those relationships because 'knowing each other better' than people in democracies is more about knowing how to work a system where choice and freedom are not encouraged. As Wu further reflected, many Chinese people feel they are judged by others if their behaviors are different from those of the group because of their intimate relationships with others.

> Wu: Anyway, if I didn't go with them to celebrate, some of my colleagues would think something is wrong with me. I have to keep in step with them. I know dissidents are not welcomed in China, and therefore, I felt bound by this kind of relationship. Here, in New Zealand, I feel freer than in China. New Zealanders would like to encourage you to do what you like and other people would not feel you are weird if you are different from them. The feeling of freedom is like a bird bursting out of the cage, flying to the beautiful blue sky. Unfortunately, I am just flying in half of the way as I have to return to that cage after I have finished with my study. (Wu, Medicine)

Until now, there have been three kinds of bird: a few missed their old life in the cage; many are flying in a spiral over the cage, to understand and to explore what is the difference between outside and inside of cage; and some others realise that freedom and individualism enables a rich pleasure realised as eudemonic.

But I still have a few questions that need to be further explored. First, the cage doesn't simply mean the country of China, or the boundary of a country. It may refer to something else that confines students. To understand the three kinds of bird more, I interviewed the participants in a focus group. At the beginning of the focus group, I read out some of their thoughts – 'Looking back to China, I thought I was locked in a bird cage, or say, a zoo'. Four of the Chinese students, Lan, Qiang, Ulida and Wu, discussed this as follows:

> Lan: I felt it was as though he was imprisoned by the cage so much so that he found it was difficult to have contact with outside of world.

Qiang: Yes, I felt the same as him. I know the news in China is blocked by… [He had not finished speaking and was interrupted by Lan]

Lan: O…K… [slowly in long-tones]

Interviewer: So Lan, it seems you don't agree with Qiang?

Lan: What I understand is that that guy [talking about the birds' cage] just means he found many differences between China and New Zealand.

Ulida: But now the situation is better than before as we now have Wechat [Chinese social media] and so we can read sensitive topics from Wechat.

Qiang: But sensitive topics are still blocked by machines [in WeChat].

Wu: Right, Google mail is blocked in China now.

Ulida: As well in Wechat, you just need to read sensitive news in a short window of time because usually it will be deleted in one or two hours.

Qiang: Er, that is the true situation in China.

Interviewer: So you guys agree with Qiang?

Wu: Yeah, I agree!

Lan: Y…eah, to some extent I agree.

At this moment, Ulida seems suddenly to have just thought of something. She looked light-hearted as she said,

Ulida: We [overseas students) are like kites that have flown away, we have flown to New Zealand; however, it is possible that you could be pulled back by the government in China one day, right?

Qiang: [giggled…] Some people really cannot go back….

The background to Ulida saying ‘you could be pulled back by the government’ is that some of the Chinese international students sponsored by the Chinese government scholarship (CSC) in New Zealand have signed a contract with the CSC that they must go back to service in Mainland China once they have finished their overseas study. In 2013, the CSC sent 21,300 Chinese students and scholars to 85 countries to study (Ministry of Education, 2013). Furthermore, 90% of the respondents in this research were sponsored by the CSC.

The objective of the CSC is to provide, in accordance with the law, statutes and relevant principles and policies of China, financial assistance to Chinese citizens wishing to study abroad. It also provides for foreign citizens who wish to study in China in order to develop the educational, scientific and technological, and cultural exchanges between China and other countries. Actively sponsoring exchanges includes, or often leads to, economic and trade cooperation. It aims to strengthen the friendship and understanding between Chinese people and the people of all other countries, and to promote world peace and the socialist modernization drive in China.

Wu: No matter whether you are in China or not, you cannot avoid the bond of the Chinese culture. Even for the Chinese who immigrated to New Zealand, they still keep the Chinese way of thinking.

Interviewer: Why do you think the Chinese culture binds us?

Qiang: Once you want to copy Western culture or Western characteristics, Westerners would be ….

Wu: Let me give you an example….

Ulida: Westerners would remind you that you are Chinese…

Qiang: It is hard for Chinese people to integrate into Western culture.

It seems each one of them wanted to add something on the question of being bound to Chinese culture. Students conflated culture and the Party as they conflated the Party and government in chapter 6: to them Chinese culture included the current political frameworks. The discussion was in chaos. I asked for an example of what Wu was trying to say.

Interviewer: What were you, Wu, just saying? Could you please me give an example?

Wu: [pausing for five seconds] If you don't want to get married in New Zealand, it is fine. You can live alone all your life. However, this is impossible in China.

Qiang: Right, you have to face the pressure from parents and friends who are pushing you to get married as soon as possible.

Wu: Emmmm, any Chinese has that kind of experience. Another thing you may not have noticed is that if you were a cleaner in a restaurant in New Zealand, you will feel free on the grounds that you would get higher pay than in China. At the same time, you would not be discriminated against by people around you, right?

Qiang: En, I agree.

Wu: Right! Right! Human relationships…

Interviewer: Why are human relationships so different in the two societies?

Wu: Who knows? Maybe we don't have enough resources in China. So, people have to use each other to get what they want.

At the end of their conversation, they agree that 'having limited resources' is a common phenomenon in Chinese society, which reminds me of a journalist's analysis of why Chinese people like to shove their way into an airplane even though everyone has an allocated seat.

That journalist explained that it is because social resources are limited in Chinese society with which 1.3 billion people to share.

The discussion about the bird cage was transferred to human relationships in China by the participants. The cage results from censorship by 'people'. The participants appear to have a similar feeling that they are free from their family and from guanxi. In New Zealand they feel they can control their lives, rather than being influenced by people around them.

To be more specific, first, in terms of family in China, parents are mainly involved in the participants' daily life, with issues such as marriage and career decisions. Chinese children often rely on parents' guanxi for help in achieving school or career goals (Riley, 1994). In the story of 'study, study and study', Ling and Shan gave good examples of listening to their father's suggestions. In other words, parents participate in the decisions that their children make, at the same time, the children depend on their parents' guanxi for help.

Second, guanxi is not only limited to family, it is everywhere, permeating every corner of our lives. In China, it is an important resource that can be accumulated, exchanged and used in all aspects of life, from the smallest, everyday aspects to the most important events in a person's life (Riley, 1994). Those who have ties or power within one sphere can exchange power with others to get help in other spheres. For someone who doesn't have guanxi, life may be unfair, as in Amy's story.

> Amy: I planned to go to the Shanghai International University, but I heard that someone replaced me because I came from the countryside. Then I was assigned to an ordinary university. It was fine as long as there was one university that admitted me. (Amy, Education)

She used a very calm tone, answering modestly, to recall this unfair experience at a pivotal moment in her life. Actually, she always was the top student in the class but because someone used ‘guanxi’ to nudge her aside, she lost a chance of studying in a prestigious university. China is a not a society structured by laws, rather, it is a society which manifests itself in how many strong relationships or social resources a person has. As a result, illegal social actions happen in Chinese society at times, as in the following example:

> Yang: After graduating from the college, I attended an exam for my graduate study. I was the fourth highest in the examination. The college admitted twenty students that year but not me. This is partly because I had not graduated from a formal school and someone from the Party sent money to the Dean. That really happened. Those people were so underhanded.
>
> I still feel upset by those people who played tricks on me. I will tell you something else. During the examination, a guy seated beside me copied my answers. In the end, he was admitted to another college, Dian College, but he did not tell me that Dian College was open for students to apply to while I was waiting to hear from the V College at the same time. Otherwise, if he had told me Dian College was looking for students, I would have been admitted by Dian College. In the following year, I was admitted to Dian College with a very high score. An administrator of Dian College asked why I had not come the year before. If you came here last year with your last years’ recording of the examination, we would have admitted you. It was that guy who was playing tricks on me by sending something to the Dean of the V College. I was too young at that time. I would not have let him copy my work if it happened

now. . . Ai [He sighed.] I don't want to talk about it. I was too young at that moment to make sense about who was my friend and who was my enemy. Now I must make sense of it. (Yang, Education)

In China, money is a tool used in 'guanxi'. In Yang's case, people sent money to the leader of the university. Money cannot solve every problem in human relationships, and guanxi is complicated for my participants, pushing them to jump out of the cage.

Li: The reasons I jumped out of that zoo are because I wanted to change an environment to come and live here and I was being squeezed by people in China. My life was sad, terrible and bad. I probably have a view of life which is different from the mass of people. To be more specific, I was working as an engineer responsible for weekly machine maintenance in a tobacco company in Shanghai, ensuring the equipment was working as normal. My supervisor would check my work in terms of how many machines I had fixed monthly. I was subject to a wage penalty governed by the machines working situation – my wage was dependent on how many machines were working. So, I had to ask my subordinates to check the machines. But they relied on luck because they were not hard working in their jobs. Consequently, the machines were out of our control. Even when we checked them every day they might still have problems at any time. Everyone knows that it is impossible to finish a heavy job in a limited time. But we cannot say 'no' to the boss. The leader did not care about the contingent things happening on machines and they would blame me for not doing a good job. Then they punished me by deducting my wages and in return I would punish my subordinates who would argue with me that when the machine did not

work, it was not their business. All my subordinates would shift the blame onto others. I expected that my subordinates were doing a good job because they had had over ten years' work experience. So, what could I do in that situation? I would choose the softest person to punish. I was the same to my subordinates as my leader was to me. He punished me and inevitably I needed to find someone I could easily push around. We both picked on a person who was a kind of low-hanging fruit.

Therefore, working in China is not dependent on the quality of your work, but on pleasing the leader or the boss. Maybe this is a Chinese way to do things that is based on a personal relationship rather than on law. If I had had a good personal relationship with my colleges by sharing common pleasures such as eating, drinking, playing cards and singing after work, I would not always be suffering in a situation of being squeezed, isolated, and detached by my boss and colleagues. Anyway, that is why I chose to leave. (Li, Engineering)

Again, Li's old work place in China is ruled by people, by upper-class people and by those who have resources, such as money or power, in hand. In Li's situation, the common people could feel pressure struggling against each other. Li chose to leave China and came to New Zealand. If the people who are unsatisfied and unable to leave the complicated guanxi environment in China, they would seek comfort in other ways. As another respondent, Lu, in the story of 'study, study and study' suppressed her desires and emotions to find outlets that were not restricted, such as religion and research.

Lu: My parents are Buddhists. They told me not to fight back when beaten or slandered. If others bully you just suffer it, I really remember it in my heart. In all my interactions

among people, I prefer to keep my distance from them and don't want to interfere in others' social life in case of having problems with others. (Lu, Education)

In escaping from his normal society, Lu sought help from religion and listened to her parents' suggestion to 'suffer the hurtful behaviours'. This approach is influenced by Chinese cultural traditions and Confucian ideology, in which tolerance can bring peace, and preserve in-group harmony in a collectivistic Chinese culture. Chinese people believe that a way of changing the 'suffering' situation is by working hard, which leads to success (Leung, 2010). This links to what we saw earlier from Amy's story in the Introduction; this may help us to understand why Chinese seek for stability in their old life in China.

This chapter shows that the Chinese international students describe aspects of everyday citizenship in China, indicating how their position as 'citizens' is shaped by money, relationships and power. However, in the New Zealand context, some of them craved individualism, choice and freedom from the bounded traditional culture and guanxi. Gradually, the flying kites (Chinese international students flying away but firmly tied to China) are in a battle between individualism and collectivism, as the next chapter explores.

Chapter 9 A Battle between David and Goliath

Goliath is a giant warrior in the Bible, who issued a challenge and came into combat well-armed. He was slaughtered by a young boy who faced him with just a slingshot and a few stones. In this thesis, there is also a giant named 'family-oriented collectivism', which looms large and has an irresistible power in Chinese overseas students' lives. Half of the respondents in this research belong to the generation of the one-child policy. Being an only child of a family means being the recipient of the attention and resources of the parents, which are focused solely on the one child. Family-oriented collectivism, inter-tangled with the themes of 'study', 'kite flying' and 'the bird cage', stands out as a challenge for Chinese international students in New Zealand.

> Tongyue: Really. I don't want to study. The reason why I left China to go overseas to study is because of my family. I wanted to go out to work, but my family discussed with me the necessity of doing a Ph.D., when I got back from a university. Plus, almost all my high school classmates were doing their Ph.Ds. My parents believe that there is more chance for a person with a Ph.D. degree to get a good job. So, to make my parents happy, I listened to them and I came to New Zealand to study. (Tongyue, Engineering)

Even though Tongyue doesn't like studying, he sacrificed his own preference his parents' will. In China, the consciousness of family-oriented collectivism is taught from primary school to university through moral education in compulsory ideological and political classes. Many Chinese students, however, have their own way of skipping or pretending to listen in the political classes. 'Skipping' or 'pretending to listen' is a way of challenging authority. Thomas Hobbes (2006) explained that authority is an essential characteristic of the state and

part of the bargain between the state and the individual. In order to explore the relationship between individualism and collectivism, the following section shows the interpretations of individualism from the participants' perspectives.

9.1 Individualism in Chinese students' eyes

In context of China, citizen's goals and needs are expected to be contingent on meeting political requirements. Citizens must be prepared to sacrifice their own interests if their own interests conflict with collective, family or national interests. To some extent, individualism is subjected to collectivism in China. Indeed, individualism is interpreted by Chinese students as 'selfish' rather than the idea that 'the individual is sovereign, and end in himself, and the fundamental unit of moral concern' (Biddle, 2012, para 2). For example, individualism is equated with selfishness in Song's eyes. She said:

> It depends on different people. China is a populous country so that it is necessary to compete with each other to get a job, which might cause selfish behaviour in some people. (Song, Physics)

The perception that individualism encourages human selfishness may be one of the reasons why so many people are uncomfortable with it (von Hayek, 1946). Chinese overseas students lack the nurturing of individualism in school, but they have their own understandings of individualism. Xu, an engineering doctoral student said,

> Individualism is kind of like cutting a connection with society. Uh… I believe that most Chinese are selfish, from ancient to modern times. I had not been overseas [even though he is in New Zealand now]. I don't know whether foreigners are selfish or not. People in New Zealand have the right of social benefits, so they don't need to worry about whether

others would help them or not when they are in a difficult time. In China, it would be another scenario because people mainly need help from their friends and family, rather than from our country and government. Wait, 'most Chinese are selfish' that statement that I just said is probably wrong. I remember that Chinese people resisted Western invaders in the Qing dynasty. [In the mid-19th century the Western colonial invaders exploded the gate of the Chinese ancient civilization with artillery]. The behaviour of Chinese people who sacrificed their lives to save our country were not selfish. (Xu, Engineering).

Xu was confused about whether 'most Chinese are selfish or not'. At the beginning of his interview, he believed that individualism for Chinese is selfish. At the end of interview, Xu remembered that Chinese people sacrificed themselves for saving the country in history, which made him evaluate his statement about the definition of individualism as selfish. It is probably typical that Chinese students lack certainty about individualism. Another interpretation of individualism is found in the explanation that a Chinese student gave, using the style of eating as an example of individualism.

Li: Can you explain to me the word of 'collectivism'?

Interviewer: What? You don't know? Do you think that China represents collectivism whereas New Zealand is more like individualism?

Li: True! True! Eating is a good example. You may think my example does not matter. Actually, eating has taken a huge amount of my time in NZ. I am not exaggerating it. In China, I usually like to spend my time with my friends and family at restaurants. However, it is more difficult to be in NZ where I normally have my meals alone at home.

In China, students usually eat in dining halls at university or at home with family. While in New Zealand, they have to cook for themselves and often they eat alone at home. Li's example is a good way for us to understand the social phenomenon of collective life in China as 'there is no other way toward an understanding of social phenomena but through our understanding of individual actions directed toward other people and guided by their expected behaviour' (Hayek, 1949, p. 6). He tends to assume that eating alone is a typical part of family life in New Zealand and thus offers it as an example of individualism. This reflects the poor knowledge of individualism amongst the participants and is similar to the example found in the theme of 'democracy', where the Chinese international students conflated 'protest' with 'democracy'.

9.2 Awakening David – Individualism

In the Bible, David, the young boy who faced Goliath, won in the end despite the odds being so much in Goliath's favour. In this thesis, David signifies individualism. When compared to their knowledge of collectivism, the students' knowledge of individualism is still weak.

> Jie: For instance, I can survive in any polity of the society, and my personality will show in other areas and I can escape from one side of society to commit myself to other aspects. So, you ask me if the authoritarian system is good for me or for all the people. In China, those with vested interests think it is a good system, but I am a marginalized person, and I don't have a core-vested interest in that system. (Jie, Arts)

This is shows the strength of Goliath's challenge – the challenge of the country, family, collectivism and society. Jie chose to transfer his attention from one aspect to other aspects in his life rather than confronting the battle with Goliath face to face. Jie didn't want to

surrender to Goliath and he was trying to find to his own value from other aspects of his life, like the boy David choosing his stones from the ground. Jie is struggling for a balance between individualism and collectivism. Tongyue gave a clearer explanation:

> Tongyue: The truth is that I do not like my supervisor in New Zealand. He is an extremely self-centred person. He once criticised one of his students. That student cried in the end. He rarely cares about the feeling of others. This relates to the question you just asked me about individualism and collectivism. I don't think it is necessary to sacrifice too much for collectivism. It is not necessary to lose one's life to save collective property. It is also not right to totally deny collectivism just for the interests of the individual. My supervisor is an example. He is proud of himself and he thinks that everything he says is right while others are all wrong. So we need to look closely and find a proper balance between individualism and collectivism. This balance has both a ceiling and a floor boundary. If we pass the ceiling, then it is collectivism. It we pass the floor then it is individualism. Inside of the boundary of the ceiling and floor is the balance between individualism and collectivism. Collectivism has merits but it ought to be equal to individualism. (Tongyue, Engineering)

The role of Tongyue's supervisor is not a good example of individualism as well, because he is talking more about a supervisor who plays a dominant role and possibly reflects that he does not fully understand what individualism is because he grew up in a collectivist country. Tongue shows he is seeking individualism, but also, he does not want to get rid of collectivism at all. He wants a balance and used his supervisor's behaviour as a negative

example of individualism. Balance between individualism and collectivism is found in the Chinese philosophy of harmony.

9.3 Harmony as a cultural component

In the 17th Party Congress in 2007, China acquired a new significance under the slogan of 'harmonious society', a leitmotif lying at the core of Chinese philosophy (Jintao, 2005). This faith in harmony, in the interactions between individualism and collectivism, leads the individual to be an active being who plays an important role in Chinese culture and society, in accordance with its origins in its relationship with nature.

In a process of managed social development, Chinese people have been adopting the philosophy of harmony in both the social and political sphere to grapple with human relationships. The aim of maintaining harmony explains why ordinary Chinese people have supported the ruling class over the past two thousand years; they want to maintain a harmonious relationship with the governor unless and until the situation becomes intolerable. In some senses, it does not matter who rules and in what way the country is ruled. Even now, China's socialist market economy is the world's second largest economy by nominal GDP (World Bank, 2015). Furthermore, economic development is thought to rest upon the parallel development of social harmony. At the same time, the legitimacy of harmony is strengthened in Mainland China, and it plays a role in Chinese social structures by 'providing stability and meaning to social behaviour and has attained a high degree of resilience' (Scott, 1995, p.33). Even so, harmony still places pressure on Chinese people to cultivate a compliant ethos and to live in harmony with others even if one's individuality is threatened.

> Wu: I was helpless to see it happen – a tragic story in his life – in front of my eyes. Seeing this kind of thing makes me sad and makes my heart ache, but I cannot do anything at the bottom of society. (Wu, Medicine)

Wu expressed he could not argue with the government after he suffered from what could be considered to be social injustice. The state is like a giant in front of him, and as Hobbes (1998) contested, subjects are disabled from changing the result of an action by the constitution. Furthermore, they cannot revoke the constitution (state or government), revise the constitution or make a different constitution. As Wu says 'I cannot do anything at the bottom of the society.' Chinese culture taught Wu a life skill – to learn, suffer and be tolerant, rather than revolt. To make this more concrete, Wu said:

> I would like to share a true story with you regarding how social inequality tends to suppress vulnerable groups. My brother-in-law's wife was going to give birth to their second child a few years ago. The second child breached the one-child policy. My brother-in-law took his family away to avoid the supervisors of the one-child policy. Unfortunately, the supervisor found they had gone out of their home town in order to have the second child. The local government warned my brother-in-law's father to ask the family to come back; otherwise they would pull down the family's houses. The brother's father is an honest, uneducated old man. (Wu, Medicine)

In China, if anyone breaks the one-child policy, the family will be fined by the government. The forfeit is from one thousand to over ten thousand yuan (approximately equivalent to 200-2000 NZD) depending on the local government. If the people are unable to pay, then they might suffer losing jobs or houses.

> This family is so poor that they only have a small house. There is nothing inside the house. The man's son didn't come back in the end. The supervisor brought three or four brawny men and an excavator to the house. Held by the beefy men, the old man could not do anything, he only stared dazedly at his house that had collapsed on the ground in one second. In that same instant, his life's hopes were smashed into pieces. The parents' lives had been so hard and harsh, but they suffered further seeing their only property was demolished. (Wu, Medicine)

This is a case of the house being demolished because the owner's son had broken the law of the one-child policy. Even though this is an individual case, it contributes to understanding a Chinese citizen from the lowest rung of society. Stake (1994) advocates that 'each case study is a concentrated inquiry into a single case', and that the researcher should understand what is important about that case within its own world and developing its issues, contexts, and interpretations. To understand the case of the collapsed house revealed by my participant, it is necessary to know the whole story.

> Wu: The worst thing was that the old man was diagnosed with lung cancer a few days later and died very soon after that. Most of the relatives laughed at this poor family because they did not understand the feeling of the house being pulled down. They gave no response to the old man's death because they thought it was natural due to his age. The son witnessed the death of his father. He felt so guilty and he finally committed suicide. When the young man died, the townspeople suddenly realised that something was wrong. Then, the community reasoned things out with the supervisors and the

family got one hundred thousand Yuan as compensation for their tragedy. (Wu, Medicine)

This complicated and sad story revealed a dystopian 'harmonious' society. The uneducated townspeople maintain a harmonious relationship with the government by obeying the one-child policy and by agreeing with the government that the houses should be pulled down if a family breaks the law. This harmonious ideal should ideally be the scaffolding of a stable Chinese society. But excessive pursuit of the harmonious can lead to personal tragedy. Those townspeople stood on the same side with the government until the young son committed suicide before they realized something was wrong.

Wu: It did happen. I cried when I heard that story. Many people don't understand the harsh life of marginalised groups. As the victims were not highly educated, they thought it was their bad luck. They never ever thought it was due to a problem with the policy or the government. Those residing in poorer areas are more like that. There is a saying in China that a Chinese person's life is nothing. (Wu, Medicine)

Chinese culture worships collectivism whereas individualism is less valued at this moment. Wu says, 'A Chinese person's life is nothing'. He felt sad about the family and the Chinese harmonious culture. The concepts of individualism, collectivism and harmony confused the Chinese overseas students. They encountered the demands and freedoms of individualism outside China but in a gradual and subtle way. In these interviews, they expressed a sense of individualism, but continue to hold an unshakeable, emotional relationship with the state and family. A forty year old man in an interview cried when he mentioned his parents:

LV: Human relationships are not that important to me as long as I am a strong person in the society, including the relationship of marriage. If my wife wants a divorce, I am fine. As for the relationship with my parents, who are living at the same apartment as my sister, I had travelled with them to Beijing, Hainan, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. I did my best for them, right? My mom said a sentence that touched me a lot. [His voice began to change.] I took a lot of photos for her.

[Now, tears in his eyes.]

She said, 'those photos…keep them very well…After I die, you put those photos on the wall. It would be a kind of glory for our family.' (LV, Education)

He cannot continue to tell the story. Then, he turns around to find a tissue.

This chapter suggests that many young Chinese international students continue to regard being 'selfish' and an 'individual way of cooking' as individualism, which reflects their poor knowledge of individualism even if some envied or craved it for themselves. Indeed, one of the most significant findings of this chapter is that the participants are living in a battle between craving 'individualism' and 'collectivism'. As LV's story showed, he has close emotional ties with his family and at the same time he is tiring of other human relationships, including with his wife. The ability to form close relationships may also be influenced by cultural and political loyalties, all part of everyday citizenship. As the practice of international study in the West becomes more common and as China adopts more Western ideas and practices, it is possible Chinese international students in the future could be able to find the balance between individualism and collectivism more readily in their everyday lives.

Chapter 10 Summary and Conclusions

This thesis has investigated Chinese students' perceptions of their home land (China) and temporary home (New Zealand) in relation to their self-identity as citizens. Chinese international students, outside of China, reconsidered and realized the truth of freedom and democracy by reflecting on their experiences and their sense of themselves as flying away but also being held firmly within China (kite flying), or as escaping from a bird cage. They considered the small part they played as part of 'the people' and the different understandings of themselves as citizens in China and in New Zealand. The resistance against the CCP's mandated collectivism that was so much a part of their past lives has been conceptualized as a battle between David and Goliath.

A review of the literature on citizenship in chapter two highlighted four principles of citizenship: contractual, freedom, rationality and argumentative. The remainder of the thesis highlighted that, despite not understanding the concept of citizenship (including notions of rights, obligations, individualism and freedom), the participants did actually 'live' these concepts in the various ways they enacted citizenship on a day to day basis through their relationships with family, the state and the nation. Here I summarize the findings and the meaning and potential of these understandings of everyday citizenship discussed in this research. My thesis offers some implications for the future study of citizenship in the Chinese context and international Chinese students studying in Western universities.

10.1 Summary of findings

One of the key aims of this thesis has been to understand how Chinese international students

think about citizenship. By recounting student's lives, beliefs and dilemmas as discussed in interviews and focus groups, I theorized six themes relating to citizenship as a living concept, rather than as something simply fixed in stone (Whitehead, 1989). In the themes, I emphasized a number of recurring tensions within my data and its representation as I positioned myself as both a reflective researcher and as someone who had experienced similar tensions as a Chinese student living in New Zealand. I also examined the contention that Chinese overseas students in New Zealand struggle between being an individual and submitting to the general will (family, state, Party and human relationships). In focusing on the everyday and its potential for a site of both struggle and agency (Douglas 2015),there are four main findings:

Views of citizenship are changing over time

With increasing economic development in China over the last thirty years, the participants have witnessed the history of the country being made. As Chinese citizens, they feel gratitude to the rising economic power of the country, as in, for example, Amy, Qi and Yang's stories. These three each grew up in a poor family, but through their hard work and the rising economic power of China, changed their destiny. These individual stories, to some extent, reflect a generation of Chinese citizens whose destinies changed as a result of a particular wave of Chinese history. This change happened so quickly that it has created an awareness of being part of significant social shifts. However, despite changes in China and despite living in New Zealand, some of my participants could not see beyond the traditional Chinese values they grew up with, mainly because they did not feel it is safe to do so or because they have been so well socialized into the values they do not see them as

problematic.

Western social contract theories and Eastern understandings of Citizenship

I have used social contract theories as a heuristic device to leverage my analysis and insight – but not as a definitive explanation of relations between person and state. This thesis opens up the scope for future research to consider whether China and the West share political and philosophical fundamentals, which may help the understanding of these Chinese students' reflections and utterances. For example, there are parallels between the way Hobbes (1998) interprets the rise of political society and the way I heard these students reconcile themselves to the demands of living in an authoritarian state. While these parallels are interesting, Chinese society and its traditions demand a more complex description and analysis.

Democracy does not work in China

A major narrative running through the data was that democracy, considered to be intimately associated with citizenship, may not be possible in China. The participants were so embedded in their collective society that they strongly agreed with government discourses that China is good without democracy. Chinese participants valued speed and efficiency more than deliberation and justice. They focused on protest and social stability as problems rather than human rights. These embedded values shaped their everyday understanding of citizenship.

Individualism versus collectivism

Chinese citizens are bound up with the family. As I emphasized in several themes, family stands for the country. The decisions and considerations made need advice from the family. For example, Shan and Lin's educational destinies were decided by their fathers.

However, in New Zealand, they have realised freedom and individual choice by living outside the physical boundary of family. They realized, as Li thought: ‘oh, life can be like this’.

The Chinese individual is embedded from the traditional networks of family, kinship and community, as well as the constraints of the traditional, mostly Confucian and patriarchal values and behavioural norms (Yan, 2010). Chinese culture places group interest over individual interest and the individual belongs and remains secondary to the group and the collective. Once the Chinese students leave their stability group and live outside of China, the local social structure and culture has some impact on them as individuals but perhaps not as much as one might anticipate given China’s strong social norms still continue to ‘tie’ them to China (even if to differing degrees for different participants).

Stability and the contributions to the country are indicators of this focus on the collective will, as discussed in previous chapters. Returning to the paradox of self-interest and general will in the social contract, it seems Chinese students struggle with the tension between self-interest and collective will. For instance, when I tried to identify whether a greater focus on individualism in New Zealand had change Chinese international students’ views on citizenship, I found they defended the state’s influence in their lives. The participants showed that they are inclined towards consensus and did not mind sacrificing themselves for the ‘harmony’ and ‘stability’ of the Chinese society. However, at the same time, some of them realized the joy of freedom and independence from the compulsoriness of study, family and human relationships while living in the democratic context of New Zealand.

10.2 Peopleship rather than citizenship in Chinese context

Citizenship is less important than 'peopleship' in China. There, the meaning of 'peopleship' has qualitative and quantitative meanings. The participants believe the 1.3 billion people are a unique problem for China. As noted earlier, most of them believe that China is unable to implement democracy because of its huge population and the complexities of balancing human relationships with each other. The data suggests that to be a citizen in China means not only to have a relationship with a country and its institutions, but also to have a relationship with the people more broadly.

Some of the participants in this thesis see themselves as being affiliated to China, though for many this was an emotional attachment to the country itself rather than to the CCP. Anderson (1991) argues that a nation – China, for these Chinese international students – is an imagined political community and is imagined as both inherent and sovereign (p. 6). However, the imagining of the sovereignty of nation subtly shifts power from the realm of party to a limited field of modernisation as economic productivity – a shift that produces a materialistic people whose interests lie in economic answers rather than political ones (Xiao, 2012). As the theme of *Democracy* shows, Chinese citizens gain economic freedom, but lose their spiritual freedom.

China is a highly collectivist culture where 'the people', exemplified through the CCP, act in the interests of the group – it may even be the case that individualism is realised only through participation in the collective will. In this sense, Chinese state authoritarianism can be regarded as a social contract. In that social contract, Chinese people sign an economic development contract with government. With the rapid economic development in China,

many Chinese gain material satisfaction, that gives some sense of economic freedom. How much spiritual freedom is felt is less clear since Chinese restrictions on the freedom of speech allow for little of this to be published. My post on the Tiananmen Square protest (see Chapter 1) was deleted by the government is one example.

Whether peopleship or citizenship, the key to understanding the Chinese citizen lies in the Chinese understanding of the individual as the duality of a small self and a great self, namely as a relationship between the individual and the social group (society, school, state, the CCP and family). This is one difference with New Zealand that an everyday understanding of citizenship highlights: citizenship largely plays out at family/local level rather than at the state level.

10.3 Review of the third space

The data reported in Chapters four to nine suggests that Chinese students outside of China are in a 'third space' in which they start to reflect on and realise the truths of freedom and democracy by positioning themselves in a series of metaphorical constructions: country (kite flying), people (citizens and people), government (bird cage), collectivism (a battle between David and Goliath) and their past life (study). The next step is to finally come to a theoretical understanding of the 'third space'. In Chapter three, I initially conceived of the 'third space' as an overlap between first and second spaces; it now emerges with its own characteristics.

The third space as a zone of safety (in which to talk about dissident thoughts)

In the third space, some of the participants were concerned about both the emotional and the political safety of talking about topics such as democracy and their private lives

before they explored their views of their relation to China. For example, Amy, in Chapter one, cried many times during the interview. In the Tiananmen Square incident meeting, Lu sat far away from me as if I might hurt her. She did not talk much and just listened to other students. Cello was invited twice to come back to a focus group; his responses to the same question of citizenship were different in the individual interview than they were in the, more public, focus group. Li asked for the reassurance that 'what I am going to say is strictly confidential.' To construct a safe environment in the third space, I adopted Wood's (2011) café-style approach with these Chinese students to create an intimacy which offered some control to the students. As we have read from the data, the participants came to feel comfortable in the space and they shared their personal life with me, discussing their individual concerns: Shan said 'Please don't say anything about this to my supervisor. I do not have much passion for a research career in the future'; Wu said 'I only share this with you'.

The third space has its own ethical principles (e.g. mutual respect, tolerance for difference, no hierarchy)

Third space ethics were based on (i) the negotiation of data, and (ii) my position of trust and care for the participants. First, worried that interview data might be biased since it was based on personal experience, I invited the participants to return to discuss the interview data in focus groups. In the focus group, students showed mutual respect. For example, Cello, even though he expressed clearly that 'we don't have a country, where do citizens come from?' contributed to the focus group with other students even when he did not agree with them. What I have created in this space is an environment of tolerance for difference. Second,

my role in the space is not only as an interviewer; more importantly, I trust and care for my participants. Students were made aware that this was an ethical space.

The third space is individualised but aims to achieve inter-subjective understanding

The focus groups in the 'third space' reached for an inter-subjective understanding, building multiple perspectives on the data from the individual interviews. The aim of inter-subjectivity is mutual understanding and agreement. In terms of democracy in China, Ming thinks it is a sensitive question; Bai hopes one day China will have democracy; and Xiao says China's democracy is a procedural democracy. To achieve mutual understanding and agreement on democracy, in a focus group, students reached the conclusion that China is good without democracy. In the process of discussing the topic of democracy, each one of the participants freely expressed his/her own opinion with respect of other's view. There is no judge in the third space to evaluate whether an opinion is right or wrong. What is more important is how the third space allows the participants to freely express their opinions and achieve an inter-subjective understanding of each other.

The third space as a reflective and theorising space

The third space is a reflective space in which the students can compare their past lives in China as citizens with their experiences in New Zealand. I used the interview, not as an information-retrieval exercise, but as one in which the student is encouraged to think about their lives and experience. It was an exercise in reflection. First, I used the interview to get them to talk about their lives, then I shifted them (mostly in focus groups) to evaluate and think critically about what had been said. This research found that young people easily become defined as mere instruments of economic activity that are cultivated to be compliant

workers, depoliticized consumers, and passive citizens. In China, modern education is characterized by rote memorization or the banking concept (Phoutrides, 2005), in which leading teachers deposit knowledge into passive students, inculcating conformity, subordination, normalisation and emphasising obedience to authority. Although today it is considered ethically reprehensible, strictly controlling student's learning is still the means of formal education. However, my research created the reflective space in which they could not be passive. Sometimes data shows the struggle they have to enter into that space; maybe that explains Song giving me the question back in the story of 'citizen and people' (p.182). To some extent, this is a process of re-educating themselves in the third space. Some accepted the changes in their view of the society, country and education. Some kept themselves back in line with what they were taught to believe is right; for example, democracy is not good for China.

10.4 Implications of the third space

This thesis shows a shift in the concepts, approaches and experiences of citizenship in a changing political, economic and social context. It has demonstrated the creation of a third space that allows critical reflection on citizenship. Frequently, people are unconscious and unwitting victims of these 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1975, p. 30) in terms of citizenship. Their own thinking imprisons them into accepting social arrangements that may be contrary to their own interests, of which they are not aware of as resulting in a struggle between self-interests and general will (in social contract terms). In the third space I developed, the Chinese students were able to reflect on tensions and struggles, which was (and perhaps still is) unachievable in China where considering the term of citizenship was 'sensitive and could

not be mentioned before' (Liu, 2005).

The impacts of these different political (a one-party-state in China and democracy in New Zealand), social and economic changes have confused Chinese students. In New Zealand, Chinese students to some extent realised freedom and individualism (theme of kite flying). This is unrealizable in China as a party-state country, but it may develop into citizenship in the future if increasing internationalisation makes possible a 'third space' reflection in China.

10.5 Conclusion

My aim in this thesis was not to define what citizenship is from either the Western context or an Eastern culture. Rather it was to discover how Chinese students partaking of international education respond to their social environment. It found that their sense of identity is challenged to change in and around a complex transition across different societies.

Understanding that citizenship would not likely be understood in terms of rights and responsibility, or the status of citizenship as discussed in the literature, this thesis gleaned important information about how citizenship is enacted on an everyday level in China by discussing their study experiences in China and New Zealand, the role of the family and the state and by analyzing their views on concepts such as democracy, rationality and argumentation. As such, it has highlighted the utility of everyday citizenship theory in this specific empirical context.

This thesis has also contributed to the methodological literature by developing the concept of a third space. Chapter three demonstrates how interviews can be used to provide a third space between a home and host country. I would argue that in this approach extended

the thoughts of my participants in many directions, and has assisted me to think in ways that I may not have thought of had I not adopted this method, allowing us to think freely about the research without the constraints of the 'recipe book' methods of some research paradigms (Earl, 2015). Perhaps greatest strength of the lens that this method provides is the acceptance of complexity and ambivalence.

The participants were very able to discuss what it means to be a citizen through daily experience even though the word citizenship had little meaning for them as a conceptual term. I argue that the third space that was created through this research project offered my participants an opportunity to discuss this everyday citizenship and reflect on their experiences, while at the same time providing a safe space where they were not forced to adopt Western understandings of citizenship or to be defensive. Indeed, many of them found the experience of living overseas made them appreciate the forms of 'citizenship' they were offered in China in new ways.

In general, crossing from an authoritarian state to a democratic one clearly has an impact on the identity for the Chinese international students, leading them to ask questions about both their host society and their home society. But traditional values continue to exert an influence on Chinese students who have been exposed to the 'democratic' and 'individualistic' of New Zealand. Furthermore, the advantages of democracy and citizenship so well understood in the West may not be self-evident to students raised in a system with different values. This challenges liberal assumptions that democracy and individual freedoms are always and necessarily key aspects of citizenship because this thesis demonstrates that the students enacted citizenship in their daily lives even while being largely unaware that they

were doing so. Thus, understandings of everyday citizenship are essential to broadening our understanding of citizenship in non-Western contexts.

Appendix A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project Title: Changing notions of citizenship: Chinese students studying in New Zealand

Researchers: Xiudi Zhang, Saville Kushner and Marek Tesar

Dear Student

My name is Xiudi Zhang, and I am a PhD candidate in the School of Critical Studies in Education, Faculty of Education University of Auckland. I would like to conduct research on Chinese students' understandings of citizenship when studying abroad.

Project Description and Invitation

My project is designed to investigate Chinese students' understandings of citizenship when studying in New Zealand. I would like to find out how the study abroad experiences of Chinese students' citizen identity in New Zealand by asking the research question: How are Chinese students' perceptions of citizenship shaped by their study experiences in New Zealand?

I would like to invite you to take part in my research. Your participation is voluntary and I will invite the first 30 people who respond to participate. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to take part in a café-style focus group interview with 3-4 other students.

The focus group interview will be conducted in café inside of campus and will take 45 minutes in Mandarin.

It will be audio-recorded and then transcribed by me. You can refuse to answer any of the questions and leave the focus group at any time. However, you cannot remove any of your comments or ideas because that would affect the flow and sense of the interview. In order to keep your ideas confidential, you will be asked to give an undertaking that what is said in the

focus group interview will not be discussed with any person outside the focus group interview.After the focus group interviews, I will be inviting 12 students to take part in an individual interview with me at a place of their choosing that will take 45 minutes. In order to contact you, I have asked you to provide an email address in the consent form. If chosen, our discussion will be audio-taped. Again, you can refuse to answer any of the questions and have the tape stopped at any point during the interview. The audio-recording will be transcribed by me. I will return the transcript to you for editing and return. If I do not hear back from you within two weeks, I will assume that you are happy with the contents of the transcript.

Student Involvement

Participants will be invited to take a 45-minute focus group in the first phase of collecting data. Participants may then be invited to the subsequent 45-minute individual interview. The above data collection will occur during your free time.

Participants' Rights

In the data collection phase, focus group participants may refuse to answer any questions and are free to leave without giving a reason, or should they become uncomfortable at any time. The information of focus group they have contributed up to that point cannot be withdrawn. However, the Participants are entitled to withdraw interview data at any time up to 28th February, 2015.

All participants have the right to refuse to answer any specific questions and to have the audio-recorder turned off at any stage. Participants who will be interviewed will be given a transcript to edit afterwards.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

The confidentiality of each individual is essential. However, because of the nature of focus groups the anonymity of participants cannot be guaranteed completely, but each member of the focus group will be asked to respect the other's privacy, not to talk about the group discussion with others, and to agree that everything that is said in the focus group remains confidential to the people involved. Interview data will be kept anonymous and confidential.

Data Management

Hard copy data will be securely stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Auckland, and electronic data will be stored confidentially on my computer. After six years, all hard copy data will be shredded and the digital information will be deleted. The data may be maintained for a longer period under the circumstance if the study is still on-going after six years. The data collected will be primarily presented in my PhD thesis, and may be used for future academic publications or conference presentations. If you would like to have a copy of the final research findings, please indicate this on the consent form, and I will send a summary to you.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet. If you have any inquiries or questions, please feel free to contact anyone in the following contact list.

Researcher	Main supervisor	Co-supervisor
Xiudi Zhang xzha481@auckland.ac.nz Ph: +64 09 373 7599 ext. 46303	Professor Saville Kushner s.kushner@auckland.ac.nz Ph: +64 0 9 623 8899 ext. 48183	Dr Marek Tesar m.tesar@auckland.ac.nz Ph: +64 0 9 623 8899 ext. 46375

Yours sincerely

Xiudi Zhang

For any queries regarding ethical concerns, you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, 1142. Telephone: 09 373-7599 ext. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON _____ FOR A PERIOD OF THREE YEARS. REFERENCE NUMBER 012399

Appendix B: CONSENT FORM (Focus Group)

Project Title: Changing notions of citizenship: Chinese students studying in New Zealand

Researchers: Xiudi Zhang, Saville Kushner and Marek Tesar

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

I agree /do not agree to take part in this study.

I agree / do not agree to take part in a focus group interview and have my responses audio-taped

I give / do not give an undertaking to keep what is said within the focus group interview confidential to only those people involved in the focus group.

I understand that:

- My participation in this study is voluntary.
- The focus group interview will be conducted in Mandarin.
- The focus group interview will be conducted at a place which is neutral and I find comfortable.
- I can refuse to answer any questions during the focus group interview and can leave the interview at any time.
- Because of the interference to the flow and sense of the interview, my contributions to the focus group interview cannot be removed or withdrawn.
- The audio-recording of the focus group interview will be transcribed by the researcher.
- My identity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym that I will choose and give to the researcher.
- The data will be used in the researcher's doctoral thesis, in publications and at conference presentations.
- Data will be securely stored for six years at the University of Auckland either in locked cupboards or on password protected computers.
- All data will be securely destroyed after six years.
- I might be chosen to participate in an individual interview with the researcher and I will provide my contact email so that the researcher can contact me if I am chosen.
- I will receive a copy of a research report.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Email Contact: x.zhang@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on … 2014 for a period of … years from … 2014 to …. Reference Number: 012399

Appendix C: Consent form (Interview)

Project Title: Changing notions of citizenship: Chinese students studying in New Zealand

Researchers: Xiudi Zhang, Saville Kushner and Marek Tesar

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

I agree / do not agree to take part in an individual interview with the researcher.

I agree / do agree to have my interview audio-taped.

I understand that:

- My participation in the interview is voluntary.
- I will be interviewed in Mandarin at a place that I nominate.
- The interview will be audio-taped and I can refuse to answer any questions and can turn off the audio-tape at any time.
- The recording of the interview will be transcribed by the researcher.
- I will receive a transcript of the interview and I have two weeks to make any changes and inform the researcher of those changes.
- If I change my mind, I can withdraw my interview data at any time up to 28th February, 2015.
- My identity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym that I have already nominated and communicated to the researcher.
- Data will be used in the researcher's doctoral thesis, in publications and in conference presentations.
- Data will be securely stored at The University of Auckland in either a locked cupboard or on a password protected computer.
- All data will be securely destroyed after six years.
- I will receive a copy of a research report.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on … 2014 for a period of … years from … 2014 to …. Reference Number: 012399

Appendix D:

Recruitment note for QQ

Invitation to Participate in Research about Chinese students' perspectives on studying in New Zealand

- Are you a Chinese international tertiary student?
- Are you from Mainland China?
- Are you want to share your experience in New Zealand?
- Are you studying in either the Faculty of Arts or Faculty of Science?

If so, I'd like to invite you to participate in my doctoral research project which explores how the study abroad experiences shapes Chinese students' identity in New Zealand.. This project will involve focus group discussion and potential follow up interviews.

If you are interested in participating in this study or if you have any further questions, please contact me at x.zhang@auckland.ac.nz, and I will send you Participation Information Sheet and Consent form that outline this project in detail. You can also contact my University of Auckland supervisors, please see their emails and phone numbers below.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

Xiudi Zhang

Main supervisor	Co-supervisor
Professor Saville Kushner s.kushner@auckland.ac.nz Ph: +64 0 9 623 8899 ext. 48183	Dr Marek Tesar m.tesar@auckland.ac.nz Ph: +64 0 9 623 8899 ext. 46375

The project has been approved by The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (Reference Number 012399).

Appendix E: Interview Questions

- Please share your experiences of living in New Zealand.
- Do you recognize changes in yourself as a result of your study abroad experience? Please describe those changes.
- Why don't those Chinese overseas students approve of democracy in China when they are outside of China?
- What are your interactions with Chinese and other students? How do they differ?
- What do you enjoy about your study abroad experience?
- What did you learn in New Zealand?
- How do you relate to the new people, the new groups, and the new patterns of behaviour that you encounter in New Zealand?

Appendix F: Focus Group Questions

- What are your memories / experiences of life in China?
- Why have you chosen to study in New Zealand?
- Please describe your daily life in New Zealand
- Which part of life in New Zealand have you enjoyed so far?
- Please tell me about your friends in New Zealand?
- How do you think of yourself since you left China? Have you changed, if so, how?
- How does your experience of life in New Zealand fit with your expectations before you departed China?

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