Irmengard K. Wohlfart

# Intergenerational Consequences of Lifestyle Migration

## German-speaking Immigrants in New Zealand

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# Foreword

It is indeed a pleasure to write the foreword to this most valuable study on the intergenerational consequences of lifestyle migration among German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand. This is an original contribution to research in a field which has been relatively neglected. German speakers were the second largest immigrant group to settle in New Zealand in the nineteenth century after the British and research has highlighted their contribution to New Zealand society. However, not so much work has been done on German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand over the last few decades, though the impact of contemporary German, Austrian, and Swiss migration has been considerable. In particular, very little has been written on how German immigrants have acclimatized themselves to life in New Zealand, and how the second and third generations feel about the country which their parents and grandparents adopted. Irmengard Wohlfart's analysis of the multigenerational consequences of permanent immigration from German-speaking Europe, and particularly German language maintenance and shift to English across the generations, nicely complements the work done by Helen Baumer, who examined the retention of the German language over three generations of German-speaking Swiss in New Zealand in her study *One-way Ticket to New Zealand: Swiss Immigration after the Second World War* (Frankfurt, 2003). Irmengard Wohlfart's findings are of great interest, particularly with regard to the role which environmental factors played in the immigrants' decision to emigrate to New Zealand, her participants emphasizing that they were seeking an "environmentally cleaner and safer home to regain the agency they lost in their perceived exposure to negative environmental factors in Europe," though it must be added that the environmental realities once they had lived in New Zealand for a while differed from their initial impressions when first visiting the country. It is also notable that Wohlfart has pinpointed an increasing trend for German emigration to New Zealand, particularly among those with "above average educational levels in their late twenties and early thirties." Wohlfart's main contribution in this study is however, her detailed navigation of the consequences of immigration for German-speaking immigrant families in New Zealand across three generations. Wohlfart's analysis confirms that by the third generation the families'

assimilation from the immigrants' original language and culture to the mainstream New Zealand culture was complete, with the most decisive cultural turns taking place in the second generation. I am sure that such findings would be supported in similar communities throughout the world. I congratulate Irmengard Wohlfart on her detailed and thorough research and commend her analysis to all readers who have an interest in German-speaking diaspora throughout the world.

Auckland
April 2016

James N. Bade
Professor Emeritus of German
Director Research Centre for Germanic
Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific
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# Preface

This book is the product of a four-year research project into the consequence of German speakers' migration to New Zealand across three generations. The study involved a total of 352 participants. It also turned into my very own *Verarbeitungsdiskurs.* That is, exploring and writing about the experiences of other German-speaking immigrants and their families helped me come to terms with certain consequences of my own migration to New Zealand.

The study adds precious insights into contemporary lifestyle migration. It is of interest for scholars in New Zealand and in Germany; and it should inform institutions involved with immigration in New Zealand and other immigrant-receiving destinations. Those intending to migrate will also appreciate learning about post-migration realities from the participants' lived experiences.

My gratitude to the participants for being such brilliant co-researchers! This project would not have happened without your commitment. I also would like to thank Auckland University of Technology for the Vice-Chancellor's Award received for this project. Special thanks go to my colleagues, reviewers, and the editors who supported the completion of this project through discussions and valuable feedback.

Auckland, New Zealand — Irmengard K. Wohlfart

# Contents

**Part I Engaging the Nexus of Practice**

**1 Introduction** . . . 3
- 1.1 Historical Migration—German-Speaking Europe to New Zealand . . . 4
- 1.2 Contemporary Migration from German-Speaking Europe . . . 5
  - 1.2.1 Tourism—Migration Connection . . . 6
  - 1.2.2 A Statistics Puzzle . . . 7
- 1.3 International Migration—Relevant Theories and Studies . . . 9
  - 1.3.1 Migration Theories . . . 9
  - 1.3.2 Studies of Lifestyle Migration . . . 16
- 1.4 Settlement Theories . . . 17
  - 1.4.1 Acculturation, Adaptation, Assimilation . . . 17
  - 1.4.2 Integration and Assimilation . . . 21
  - 1.4.3 Immigrant Strategies and Tools for Integration . . . 22
- 1.5 Long-Term Migration Consequences Across Generations . . . 23
  - 1.5.1 Learning from Past Immigration . . . 24
  - 1.5.2 Current Views of Migration Consequences Across Generations . . . 25
  - 1.5.3 Immigrant Generations, Belonging and Identity . . . 25
  - 1.5.4 Incorporation Pathways Across Generations . . . 27
- 1.6 Language . . . 28
- 1.7 Research Gap . . . 32
- 1.8 Research Questions . . . 32
- 1.9 Study Aims and Rationale . . . 33
- 1.10 Summary and Outline of the Book . . . 34

**2 Methodology** . . . 35
- 2.1 Positioning the Researcher . . . 35
- 2.2 Ethics Considerations . . . 37

2.3 Nexus Analysis—Research Principles . . . 39
2.3.1 Mediated Action . . . 40
2.3.2 Mediational Means/Cultural Tools . . . 41
2.3.3 Site of Engagement . . . 41
2.3.4 Practices . . . 41
2.3.5 Nexus of Practice . . . 42
2.4 Method—Procedural Steps in Nexus Analysis . . . 43
2.4.1 Engaging the Nexus of Practice . . . 44
2.4.2 Navigating the Nexus of Practice . . . 44
2.4.3 Changing the Nexus of Practice . . . 51
2.5 Engaging the Nexus/Preparatory Steps . . . 51
2.5.1 Participant Recruitment and Characteristics . . . 52
2.5.2 Data and Timeline of My Study . . . 56
2.5.3 Data Transcription . . . 57
2.6 Navigating the Nexus/Study Proper . . . 57
2.7 Summary . . . 58

**3 Discourses in Place** . . . 61
3.1 Discourses in Place Linked to Emigration—Push Factors . . . 61
3.1.1 Cold War . . . 63
3.1.2 Nuclear Pollution . . . 65
3.1.3 Weather and Climate . . . 67
3.1.4 Agricultural Pesticides . . . 68
3.1.5 General *Umweltvergiftung* . . . 69
3.1.6 European Political Changes During the 1980s and Early 1990s . . . 71
3.2 Discourses Linked to Immigration to New Zealand . . . 71
3.3 Summary . . . 73

**Part II Navigating the Nexus of Practice**

**4 Pilot Study** . . . 77
4.1 The Follower Generation . . . 78
4.2 Living the "Good Life"—Midlife Migrants . . . 79
4.3 Exploring the Nexuses in the Pilot Study . . . 83
4.3.1 Claudia—The Nexuses . . . 84
4.3.2 Gangolf and Hanni—The Nexuses . . . 92
4.3.3 Pilot Study—Comparison of Immigration Consequences . . . 106
4.4 Reflection and Implications for Main Study . . . 108

**5 G1—Lifestyle Migrants** . . . 109
5.1 Motives and Keys to Long-Term Residence . . . 109
5.1.1 Motives—Push Factors . . . 110
5.1.2 Migration Motives—Pull Factors . . . 111

5.1.3 Keys to Staying in New Zealand . . . 112
5.2 Settlement . . . 112
5.2.1 Settlement Experiences—Dreams and Realities . . . 114
5.2.2 Settlement Experiences—Human and Social Capital . . . 118
5.2.3 Settlement Experiences—Social Acceptance and Integration . . . 123
5.3 Beyond Settlement—New Zealand *Heimat* . . . 126
5.3.1 *Heimat* New Zealand—Ties to Land and People . . . 126
5.3.2 *Heimat* New Zealand—G1 Languages . . . 128
5.3.3 *Heimat* New Zealand—G1 Cultural Practices . . . 132
5.3.4 *Heimat* New Zealand—Material Cultural Tools . . . 137
5.3.5 Concepts Transformed into Cultural Tools and Practices . . . 138
5.3.6 *Heimat* New Zealand—Paradise? . . . 140
5.4 Summary of G1 Stories . . . 147

**6 G2—The Lifestyle Migrants' Children** . . . 149
6.1 Migration Experiences—G2 Born Overseas . . . 149
6.2 Heimat Creation—Overseas-Born G2 . . . 150
6.2.1 G2 Adolescents' Settlement . . . 152
6.2.2 G2 Adults' Settlement . . . 154
6.2.3 G2—Place Attachment . . . 156
6.3 Language—G2 . . . 164
6.3.1 G2—German and English Language—Settlement . . . 164
6.3.2 G2—Language Attitudes, Use, and Identifications Over Time . . . 166
6.4 Summary—G2 Stories . . . 172

**7 G3—The Lifestyle Migrants' Grandchildren** . . . 173
7.1 Historical Bodies . . . 173
7.1.1 Language—Learning and Usage . . . 174
7.1.2 G3—Language and Interaction Domains . . . 175
7.1.3 Place Attachment . . . 183
7.1.4 Security . . . 187
7.2 Societal Discourses impacting G3 Heimat creation . . . 187
7.3 Summary . . . 188

**8 Synthesis Across the Generations** . . . 189
8.1 Consequences of Migration Over Time Within G1 . . . 190
8.2 Key Consequences of Migration Over Time Within G2 . . . 191
8.3 Key Consequences of Grandparents' Migration Within G3 Over Time . . . 192
8.4 Migration Consequences: Key Changes Across Three Generations . . . 192
8.4.1 Survey—Changes Across Three Generations . . . 193

**9 Discussion of Findings** . . . . . 197
9.1 Discussion of Push and Pull Factors . . . . . 197
9.2 Discussion of Participants' Perceptions of New Zealand Realities . . . . . 198
9.3 Findings and International Lifestyle Migration of the Highly Skilled . . . . . 200
9.4 Intercontinental Lifestyle Migration—Consequences Across Generations . . . . . 202
9.4.1 Human and Social Capital Devaluation . . . . . 203
9.4.2 Social Networks . . . . . 204
9.4.3 Transnational Connections . . . . . 205
9.4.4 *Heimat* Creation and Change . . . . . 206
9.4.5 Language as a Cultural Tool . . . . . 209
9.4.6 Ethnic Identities . . . . . 212
9.5 Reflections on the Study . . . . . 216
9.5.1 Potential Weaknesses of the Study . . . . . 216
9.5.2 Strengths of the Study . . . . . 217

**10 Changing the Nexus of Practice** . . . . . 219
10.1 Contributions the Study Makes . . . . . 219
10.2 Suggestions Arising from the Findings . . . . . 221

**Appendix** . . . . . 227

**Glossary** . . . . . 231

**Bibliography** . . . . . 235

# Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| ANZAC | Australian-New Zealand Army Corps/ANZAC Day is a holiday |
| AUTEC | Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee |
| G1 | First familial generation; immigrant decision-makers |
| G2 | Children of the first immigrant generation |
| G3 | Grandchildren of the first immigrant generation |
| LM | Lifestyle migration |
| MBIE | (New Zealand) Ministry of Business, Innovation and Enterprise |
| MDS | Mediated discourse studies |
| NA | Nexus analysis |
| PR | Permanent residency |
| WP | Work permit |

# List of Figures


Figure 1.1 Visitor numbers—Germany, Austria, Switzerland 1985–2015 . . . . . 6
Figure 2.1 Positioning nexus analysis. . . . . 36
Figure 2.2 Example of nexus interlinking in the action of gift giving . . . . . 43
Figure 2.3 Semiotic ecosystem of migrating. . . . . 45
Figure 2.4 Survey respondents—familial generation groups . . . . . 55
Figure 3.1 Immigrants' main push and pull factors . . . . . 62
Figure 3.2 Mass protests in Germany against the nuclear arms race. . . . . 64
Figure 3.3 Low-altitude flight terror . . . . . 65
Figure 3.4 Distribution of radioactive clouds from April 27 to May 6 1986 . . . . . 66
Figure 3.5 Waldsterben/forest dieback . . . . . 70
Figure 4.1 Claudia's public and private discourses about her situation . . . . . 85
Figure 4.2 Home and belongings with symbolic values . . . . . 87
Figure 4.3 Highs and lows in consequences of Claudia's migration. . . . . 90
Figure 4.4 Time scales for migration processes and consequences . . . . . 92
Figure 4.5 Semiotic cycles leading to migration. . . . . 96
Figure 4.6 Gangolf and Hanni's tree planting along river. . . . . 103
Figure 4.7 Mapping a couple's semiotic ecosystem emanating from immigration . . . . . 105
Figure 5.1 Mapping G1's semiotic ecosystem of initial New Zealand *Heimat* creation . . . . . 114
Figure 5.2 Qualification acceptance and finding satisfying work . . . . . 121
Figure 5.3 G1—observed language use . . . . . 129
Figure 5.4 Maintaining social bonds through eating together . . . . . 134
Figure 5.5 Traditions—Mayfest and folk dancing . . . . . 135
Figure 5.6 Cultural artifacts . . . . . 138
Figure 5.7 The cultural concept of a wine cellar resemiotisized in brick and mortar . . . . . 139

Figure 6.1 Semiotic ecosystem of G2 *Heimat* creation . . . . . 151
Figure 6.2 Semiotic cycles in G2 adolescent settlement . . . . . 152
Figure 6.3 Semiotic cycles of creating own place. . . . . 159
Figure 6.4 Semiotic cycles involved in rearing children . . . . . 162
Figure 6.5 Observed language use—G2 . . . . . 168
Figure 7.1 Mapping G3's semiotic ecosystem of New Zealand *Heimat* creation . . . . . 174
Figure 7.2 G3—observed language production. . . . . 176
Figure 7.3 German language skills reported in the survey . . . . . 183
Figure 7.4 Spatial dimensions of G3 *Heimat* . . . . . 186
Figure 8.1 Consequences of migration—key changes across the generations . . . . . 194

# List of Tables


Table 1.1 Total work and permanent residence permits July 1997–Dec 2015 . . . . . 7
Table 1.2 Border crossings expressing 12-months-plus stay and absence . . . . . 10
Table 2.1 Pilot study participants . . . . . 52
Table 2.2 Participants in the main study . . . . . 53
Table 4.1 Mediated actions in couple's discourse in lead-up to migration . . . . . 93
Table 4.2 Consequences of the couple's migration. . . . . 99
Table 6.1 Survey—ethnicities (other than own) in families . . . . . 157
Table 6.2 Survey—multilinguals' other languages . . . . . 171
Table 7.1 G3 life stages during this study . . . . . 175

# Abstract

The longitudinal research described in this book explored consequences of contemporary lifestyle migration to New Zealand from German-speaking Europe over time and across three familial generations through Nexus Analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004), the methodological strategy of mediated discourse studies. In this approach, *Engaging the Nexus of Practice* is the preparatory stage, *Navigating the Nexus of Practice* the analytical task; and *Changing the Nexus of Practice* suggests a new cycle of study and action. The method enabled contextualizing participants' actions and views within intersecting societal discourses from a social construction perspective in a qualitative study, and testing these findings in a mixed quantitative-qualitative survey. The study fills the need for research from the perspective of well-settled German speakers and their families in New Zealand.

The study involved a pilot, followed by a main study involving 32 participants across three generations in three families originally from Austria and Germany. In-depth interviews and observations of daily interactions and special occasions at intervals over nearly four years provided rich data. The data offered powerful and reliable insights into migration motives, expectations and experiences of social and institutional realities in New Zealand, illustrating the vulnerabilities of contemporary immigrants and the tensions between their original cultures and those in New Zealand. The study reveals transformations of intra- and intergenerational *Heimat* creation as well as participants' reflections on living in New Zealand for decades. The concept of *Heimat* stood out as a theme in participants' narrative accounts. It functioned as a benchmark for their sense of belonging and safety, cultural maintenance and change. Findings were corroborated in a questionnaire survey yielding 317 replies across three genealogical generations of originally German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand.

The study contributes to international lifestyle migration research through explaining long-term intra- and intergenerational consequences of such lifestyle migration for families. It is significant as the first investigation of this kind in New Zealand, hence contributing to New Zealand migration research and providing important information for New Zealand institutions involved with immigrants. The findings can benefit potential migrants who may not be fully aware of the major consequences of such a move. The study is also of interest for European migration research because of the recent substantial increase in long-term skilled migrant arrivals in New Zealand especially from Germany.

# Part I
# Engaging the Nexus of Practice

# Chapter 1
# Introduction

This book reports on a four-year study of intergenerational consequences of contemporary migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand. Migration is a complex, fundamental human phenomenon and an intricate, worldwide process (Benmayor and Skotnes 2005). Indeed, in 2015, international migrant numbers rose to 244 million, with 8 million moving to Oceania (United Nations 2015), which New Zealand is considered part of. The country's immigrant proportion is high, with 25.2% of the population in the 2013 census born overseas (Statistics New Zealand 2013) and from 2010 to 2015, Germany was one of New Zealand's top five migrant source countries (ENZ 2016).

The study illustrates that migration is life changing for the migrants and for their descendants. It shows that resettlement makes migrants vulnerable in personal, cultural, and economic terms, as they navigate different sets of cultural meanings, systems, and behaviors in order to settle. Amongst many other aspects, this involves their sense of identity and belonging, and maintaining their self-esteem. The strong competitive forces between the cultures that migrants bring from their societies of origin and those in the society of their choice affect the migration decision-makers and subsequent generations. This book deals with these tensions and experiences through presenting participants' migration expectations, their lived integration experiences including hurdles they encountered and coping strategies they used, and the long-term effects of their migration on three familial generations.

The book is structured into three sections. The first is *Engaging the Nexus of Practice*, that is, the preparatory steps for the study. The second section is *Navigating the Nexus of Practice*, which is the study proper; and the third section is *Changing the Nexus of Practice*, which intends to invoke societal changes.

As part of *Engaging the Nexus of Practice*, this introductory chapter puts the study into context. That is, the chapter gives a brief overview of historical and recent migration of German speakers to New Zealand. It then outlines theories and studies of migration, settlement, and integration pathways relevant to the study. Also, the research questions are articulated and the study's aims and rationale are explained. Finally, the subsequent chapters are outlined.



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## 1.1 Historical Migration—German-Speaking Europe to New Zealand

Migration is closely linked to historical connections between countries (Rumbaut 2006). New Zealand has been a magnet for German speakers[1] for centuries due to historical connections between Britain and German-speaking nation-states in Europe and their Pacific explorations. The first recorded German speakers to arrive in New Zealand were father and son Reinhold and Georg Forster,[2] who travelled with the British explorer James Cook on his second Pacific discovery voyage 1772–1775. Georg Forster based his resulting report on his father's journals, presenting their methodical observations from an ethnological perspective. Published in English in 1777 and in German in 1778, the books were nevertheless also intended for the general public and read like adventure stories. The German book is widely considered to have instigated German travel literature, which flourished in the nineteenth century. These populist publications about the South Pacific encouraged discovery and adventure travel as well as economic expansion through Eurocentric stereotypical impressions promoting the exotic (Dürbeck 2007). Numerous contemporary German re-issues of Forster's book suggest that its content has not lost its appeal.

Assisted immigration drives by the New Zealand Company in the 1840s and the colonial New Zealand Government in the 1870s recruited settlers from Britain and from German-speaking Europe (Braund 1997; Burnley 1973). As Bade (1993) and his research team explicate, these settlers were valued because they were hard-working and assimilated easily into the British colony. German-speaking immigrants were also encouraged by those who immigrated previously (Baumer 2012) and by diplomatic and other institutional connections between the countries (Bade 1993; Stoffel 1993). Just as in Australia, during the nineteenth century German speakers also became the second-largest immigrant group after the British in New Zealand (Bade 2012; Leitner 2004). They settled throughout the country and contributed considerably to society.

Yet, New Zealand instantly followed Britain in declaring war to Germany in WWI and in WWII; and German men were interned for the duration of these conflicts. German speakers and those with a German name or ancestry experienced considerable societal hostilities and government sanctions (Bade 1993; Bönisch-Brednich 2002, 2005; King 1998) with all, including refugees from the National Socialist regime and naturalized citizens, classified as enemy aliens (Beaglehole 1998). Led by New Zealand women of British ancestry, campaigns during WWI demanded, "to see all traces of New Zealand's 'Germanness'

[1]I use the term 'German speakers' because the German language was a starting point to my study. Also, historical European border shifts and historical British naturalization practices make the term 'Germans' (as in German nationals but often also assigned to all German speakers) in migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand problematic.

[2]Anglophone usage: George Forster.

expunged from the social, economic and cultural landscape" (Francis 2012: 266; cf. Francis 2006).[3] As a consequence, German-speaking settlers became submerged in the British culture (cf. Bade 1998) and intergenerational German heritage language transfer ceased (cf. Burnley 1973; Wildfeuer and Eller 2009). The current general tendency to largely ignore the early influx from German-speaking Europe is still linked to this history as well as to the prevalent English monolingualism, which makes German-language sources inaccessible to most New Zealanders (Harrison 2006). Nevertheless, New Zealand has once again become a desirable destination for German speakers as explained next.

## 1.2 Contemporary Migration from German-Speaking Europe

Research interest in contemporary migration of German speakers to New Zealand surfaced only in recent decades, with the studies predominantly carried out by insider researchers, namely by German-speaking immigrants or descendants of German speakers, or by visiting German-speaking scholars. This may be due to the low profile that German-speaking immigrants still keep in New Zealand (Bönisch-Brednich 2002) but arguably also indicates a lack of wider societal interest exactly because these immigrants generally are unproblematic and invisible.

Studies have focused on migrants' motives for migration (Bönisch-Brednich 2005; Gruber and Kraft 1991); on decisions about staying permanently or returning (Bürgelt et al. 2008); on psychosocial processes related to migration and return migration after disappointments (Bürgelt 2010); on migrants' settlement experiences (Bönisch-Brednich 2005) and integration efforts (Diehl and Ochsmann 2000); on immigrants maintaining original cultural practices (Stadlbauer 2010); and on global "commuter migrants" whose transnational lifestyles keep them in a form of permanent transit as they move each year between homes in Europe and in New Zealand (Schellenberger 2011). Some of these "commuter migrants" are reported as maintaining businesses in both their countries. Still, no study of contemporary migration between German-speaking Europe and New Zealand supports the conventional economic migration paradigm. This economic paradigm builds on a framework of migrants' cost–benefit assessments to maximize economic return on their human capital (Castles and Miller 2009), with push and pull factors for labor demand and supply moving towards equilibrium (Massey et al. 1998). However, generally no economic improvement results from leaving the big labor markets of Europe for New Zealand where earnings are much lower in comparison (cf. OECD 2015).

[3]This is sad and ironic given the peoples' common roots and ongoing connections. Giving into similar political pressure, the British royal family changed their German family name Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (Sachsen-Coburg-Gotha) to Windsor during WWI. Such cleansing of Germanness continued. The UK's prince Philip's paternal name Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg was disregarded and he Anglicized his mother's name von Battenberg to Mountbatten in 1947.

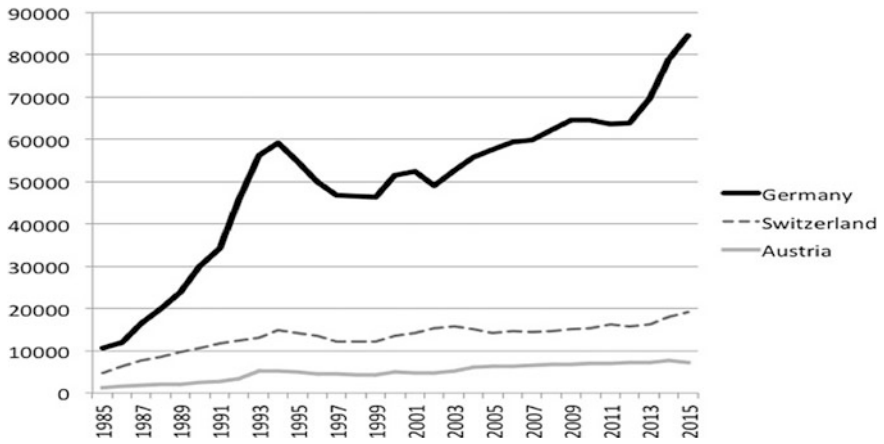


**Fig. 1.1** Visitor numbers—Germany, Austria, Switzerland 1985–2015

Rather, findings common to the above studies show that individual lifestyle choices, plans for self-realization and expectations of a pleasant lifestyle in a clean, green natural environment determine the contemporary migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand.

### *1.2.1 Tourism—Migration Connection*

My data showed that contemporary immigrants typically visited New Zealand for holidays before making decisions about staying for longer. Therefore, visitor numbers are also of interest when investigating immigration. In contrast to the discrimination that the participating immigrants reported, German-speaking tourists are sought after because as the second-biggest visitor group from Europe they stay longer and spend more than other tourist groups.[4]

New Zealand competes for visitors and immigrants and the country has a strong presence in the German-speaking media and the Internet. In January 2016, for example, a Google search for the German term *Neuseeland* yielded about 43.5 million hits. German-speaking television frequently brings films about New Zealand (which usually also can be viewed online on demand, e.g., on the German TV channeles ARD and ZDF). The effectiveness of New Zealand promotions with appealing images of pristine landscapes is illustrated in visitor numbers to New Zealand from the main German-speaking areas of Europe (Statistics New Zealand 2015) in Fig. 1.1, namely from Germany (population about

[4]Cf. http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/markets-and-stats/germany/.

**Table 1.1** Total work and permanent residence permits July 1997–Dec 2015

| New Zealand permits granted (INZ 2016) | Austrian citizens | | German citizens | | Swiss citizens | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | WP | PR | WP | PR | WP | PR |
| July 1997–Dec 2015 | 4966 | 763 | 132,046 | 9773 | 5787 | 1483 |

80.6 million), Switzerland (population about 8 million), and Austria (population about 8.5 million).

The visitor numbers in Fig. 1.1 reflect political changes in Europe. Especially since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and German reunification on 3 Oct 1990, which removed decades of severe travel restrictions imposed by the former East German state, visitor numbers from Germany have risen dramatically. This is assisted by the absence of visa requirements for European passport holders visiting New Zealand for up to three months. The majority of visitors come for holidays, with about 25% reporting that they visit family and friends; the visitors' predominant age group is 25–34 years, followed by those over 50 years of age (Statistics New Zealand 2015). The relatively large proportion of visitors who call on friends and family also points to the strong relationship between tourism and migration.

There is also a connection between the economy of the source countries and visitor numbers to New Zealand. The cost of airline tickets has not increased for decades, with the cheapest return flights from Europe offered for less than a thousand Euros. Yet, the decline in visitor numbers between 1995 and 2000 reflects a contemporaneous economic dip in Europe (cf. Pleitewelle auf Rekordhoch 1996). Also, Switzerland has about a tenth of Germany's population but higher disposable incomes[5] and relative to the countries' populations the proportion of Swiss visitors to New Zealand is about double that of German visitors. Also of interest is that relative to source country population and visitor numbers more Swiss than Germans have applied for temporary work permits (WP) and permanent residency (PR) per capita (Table 1.1) but finding reasons for this difference was beyond the scope of my study. The question is what makes this remote country so attractive for visitors and immigrants? The following provides some background to this.

### *1.2.2 A Statistics Puzzle*

The influx of mainly upper-middle-class German professionals has made German speakers the largest immigrant group from continental Europe in the first decade of this millennium, adding to the estimated 200,000 New Zealand descendants of earlier German-speaking immigrants (Bade 2012). Nevertheless, within the New Zealand population of about 4½ million, the numbers of those who report that they

[5]See http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/topics/income/.

are German-speaking immigrants or their descendants are not large. In the last New Zealand census in 2013, for example, 42,420 people indicated they were German speakers; this included 12,810 who reported being permanent residents and who noted German as their ethnicity. In addition, 8211 ethnic Germans were recorded without connection to information about their citizen or visa status (Statistics New Zealand 2013).

Ethnicity as a measure of group belonging is problematic. Statistics New Zealand (2011) defines ethnicity solely in terms of culture: "Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. Ethnicity is self-perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group." Yet, Rata (2005) argues that ethnicity has a strong biological content and is merged with the social concept of culture to politicize an ethnic group's interest. There is no way of knowing if census respondents see ethnicity as defined by Statistics New Zealand or in different ways. Those who consider themselves ethnic Germans in the census could include those who feel part of the cultures in German-speaking Europe; German and New Zealand passport holders who are permanent residents or holders of temporary student, work or working-holiday visa; tourists or business travelers in the country on census night; Germanophiles; and descendants of German immigrants. Others from such groups may not wish to be recorded as ethnic Germans.

Immigration statistics are also puzzling. For instance, New Zealand records of long-term arrivals indicate that German nationals' immigration mushroomed by an astonishing 465% in the decade to 2009 (Statistics New Zealand 2010). However, such numbers give indications of migration only in terms of cross-border movements (Bedford et al. 2010). Therefore, they need to be read with caution as they record travelers presenting a foreign passport at arrival and expressing their intention to stay 12 months or more on their New Zealand arrival card, rather than giving accurate numbers of those who actually stay and are genuine immigrants.[6] Statistics New Zealand acknowledges the limitations of statistics based on expressed passenger intentions and they are trying to perfect alternative methods of measuring permanent and long-term migration based on actual behaviors (Statistics New Zealand 2014). Behaviors affect the statistics. For example, someone recorded as leaving permanently or long-term may return to live permanently in New Zealand less than 12 months later; someone who intended to leave short-term, may end up living overseas for more than a year or permanently. Approved entry permits may give a more accurate picture of immigrant numbers even though an approved permit does not guarantee that the person actually took up the offer. Also, someone may leave much earlier than intended. In recent years, New Zealand also has embraced a de facto two-tiered visa system toward permanent residency by commonly issuing temporary WP first,[7] with PR later. These statistics are only available from 1997.

[6]Those who use a New Zealand passport acquired either through dual citizenship or through change of citizenship are not included in these numbers.

[7]http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/?utm_source=newzealandnow.govt.nz&utm_medium=referral.

As Table 1.1 shows, the numbers of issued New Zealand WP and PR to the European main groups of German-speaking applicants reflect a strong influx especially from Germany. These numbers might suggest that most migrants plan their New Zealand stay as a sojourn or they leave again because they did not find what they were seeking. In comparison with the census reports above, the numbers might indicate that Germans keep a low profile by not declaring German ethnicity and language in self-reported census information. Although there will be differences for individuals, it can be assumed that all these factors play a role in these statistics. Another indication of some permanency are the numbers of arrivals and departures of German citizens who express the intention to stay or leave for 12 months of more on the arrival or departure card as shown in Table 1.2.

However, interpreting this contemporary influx of German speakers to New Zealand presents challenges. A problem with such statistics is that reasons for entry permits and movements remain hidden. Those who leave may have arrived intending a limited sojourn to gain experience abroad. Others who had intended to stay permanently might leave because reality does not match advertising and their pre-migration dreams of paradise as indicated, for instance, on social media.[8] My study explores motives for participants' migrations because motives impact on individual consequences and on the sending and receiving societies. Secttion 1.3 explores the theories and previous studies considered relevant to the study.

## 1.3 International Migration—Relevant Theories and Studies

International migration refers to persons changing the country of their usual residence. This section reviews theories and studies that are pertinent to the current study in relation to migration processes, immigrant settlement, and long-term consequences across generations. The research gap is also identified.

### *1.3.1 Migration Theories*

Despite the wealth of scholarly texts, theoretical understanding of international migration determinants remains weak according to Massey et al. (1998). The authors point out that contemporary international migration theories combine the relationships of socioeconomic structures at the macro-level with household tactics and individual decision-making at the micro-level. Goldin et al. (2011) explain that

[8]E.g., http://e2nz.org.

**Table 1.2** Border crossings expressing 12-months-plus stay and absence

| New Zealand border crossings (statistics NZ 2016) | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Long-term arrivals—German citizens | 2461 | 2791 | 2639 | 3397 | 3682 | 4018 |
| Long-term departures—German citizens | 1003 | 972 | 812 | 904 | 841 | 806 |

methods at the micro-level pay attention to individuals and families, their migration decisions, and target motivation; those at meso-level focus on social capital, networks, and systems that link potential migrants with opportunities in the destination country, and therefore transform micro-level decisions into actual migration; while methods at macro-level concern demographic, political, and economic circumstances at the origin and destination that function as push and pull factors. In the authors' view, networks link these factors whereas differences between these factors generate the predisposition to move.

In contrast, Castles and Miller (2009) maintain that micro-, meso-, and macro-levels are intertwined in migration processes without clear divisions. In line with Castles and Miller's argument, I use nexus analysis (NA) in this project to consider these inextricable interconnections, that is, the nexus of practice into which actions of migration and settlement are linked. One aspect of migration became more and more obvious as my study progressed. That is, while law and social constraints may protect immigrants from outright harm, the action of migrating makes them vulnerable in personal, social, and economic ways. Their vulnerability arises from the embodied sociocultural experiences that they take with them but that do not reflect the receiving culture and they mostly leave behind the sociocultural systems that have made them the persons they are.

### Economic Explanations for Migration

Massey et al. (1998) explain that contemporary migration-process theories grew out of general discontent with the push–pull framework and neoclassic economic explanations. The push–pull framework considers migration as "a means of establishing equilibrium between regions of labor supply and demand" (Massey et al. 1998: 8). This view of push–pull factors cannot explain recent migration of the highly skilled from the large labor markets of Europe to the smaller New Zealand labor market, where earnings are much lower in comparison (see e.g., OECD 2012). Useful from the push–pull framework for the current study are push factors as reasons for dissatisfaction with life situations at the original place, and pull factors as the appealing qualities of the destination, with geographical distance acting as a deterrent (Dorigo and Tobler 1983). However, the point about distance deterring from moving does not apply to the increasing extreme-distance migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand. Although inquiries into increasing German migration to the United States (Diehl and Dixon 2005a) and within Europe (Verwiebe et al. 2010) found employment reasons for these moves, no previous

research has looked into motives for the recent exceptional German migration growth to New Zealand.

The focus on economic migration motivations (King et al. 1998) leaves a gap of motivations that are evident in the current study. Yet, three aspects within economic explanations of migration are useful. One is that individual actors do not usually decide on migration in isolation (Massey et al. 1998). Two other relevant aspects are human capital and social capital. Broadly defined, human capital as investment increases the market or nonmarket productivity of human beings (Bedi 2001). A cost–benefit analysis to maximize economic returns on human capital through migration is assumed in economic migration theories (Castles and Miller 2009). This does not apply to migration from affluent Europe to New Zealand. Instead, human capital in the form of qualifications and health fulfills New Zealand immigration requirements and was key to being allowed entry into New Zealand in my study.

The main feature of social capital is that, like human capital, it can be converted into other forms of capital such as monetary remuneration (Massey et al. 1998). This potential to earn a living at the destination is relevant for the immigrating families in my study. The concept of social capital is rooted in the intellectual thought of Max Weber and Emile Durkheim (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; see Durkheim 1933; Weber 1922). Bourdieu (1980) defined social capital essentially as the sum of actual and potential resources accrued through an agent's membership in enduring reciprocal utility networks and as used for social improvement. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993: 1323) redefined social capital as "those expectations for action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behavior of its members, even if these expectations are not oriented toward the economic sphere." This inclusion of intangible social capital is more useful for the current study. Theorists see social capital as having positive consequences (Massey et al. 1998). A contrasting argument is that bounded solidarity and enforceable trust, which are distinct types of social capital, can have positive as well as negative effects (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Different types of social capital with positive and negative effects and network connections can explain certain findings in the current study.

Questioning economics and capital as the all-determining factors of migration has led to interdisciplinary approaches, with migration networks theory and transnational theory (among others) emerging from such critiques (Castles and Miller 2009). In contrast to purely economics-oriented explanations of causes and consequences underlying migration, interdisciplinary approaches focus more on social and individual migration motivations and consequences.

### Migration Networks Theory

One aspect of migration networks theory that is relevant for the current study is Castles and Miller's (2009) argument that migration microstructures include social networks created by migrants to cope with migration and settlement as well as immigrants' cultural and social capital. Cultural capital comprises, for example, knowledge of the destination country, the means for organizing travel, capabilities for finding work and adjusting to a new environment. These social processes

involve nonmigrants as well as migrants and their families. For example, employers may gain and retain capable employees; migrant children develop bicultural or transcultural identities through peer relationships and schooling (Castles and Miller 2009). These points are relevant for this study. However, while considering consequences of immigration for immigrant children during and through schooling, the theory seems unconcerned with long-term consequences beyond settlement and across several generations.

### Transnational Theory

Transnational theory is similar to networks theory in a number of ways. Migrants' transnationalism, i.e., their grass-root-level ties to countries of origin through social networks, economic, and political structures, has always been recognized although transnational possibilities; and research interests in it have increased with the rapid development of travel and communication technologies (Portes et al. 1999; Vertovec 2001). Portes et al. proposed a new framework to examine dynamics and potential implications of transnationalism; and Portes (2003a) confirms that transnationalism represents a novel perspective on the old phenomenon of individuals' cross-border networks. Transnational theory maintains that migrants' close transnational ties impact on their identities and have consequences for international politics (Castles and Miller 2009), potentially transforming "the normative assimilation story" with considerable implications for sending as well as receiving countries (Portes et al. 1999: 229). For example, Bartley and Spoonley (2008) found in their study involving 121 Asian senior-high school students, who were residents in New Zealand, that while these adolescents were motivated to achieve high educational qualifications they were "not destined to settle in New Zealand," suggesting a new version of transnationalism (Bartley and Spoonley 2008: 80). This raises questions about the country's return on educational investment and about availability of those trained in the system for New Zealand's industry needs.

Bauböck (2010) points out that ties across countries include opportunities provided by political institutions, which are themselves transformed through transnational relations. The recent softening of German policies toward allowing dual citizenship is such an example (cf. Morehouse 2012). Glick-Schiller proposed the concept of "transnational social fields," i.e., "networks of networks that link individuals directly or indirectly to institutions located in more than one nation-state," which locates migrants in transnational territorial relationships (Glick-Schiller 2010: 112). A contrasting view is that such a third space more or less divorced from the original and receiving society does not apply to immigrants' transnational activities (Schunck 2011).

Although Portes et al. (1999) consider potential flow-on effects across generations, it seems that transnational theory is concerned with the migrants but not with subsequent generations. Although research noted transnationalism, for instance, in the Asian 1.5 generation (who immigrated up to the age of 18) in New Zealand (Bartley and Spoonley 2008), the findings were about these immigrants' settlement uncertainties and return migration rather than transnationalism in the sense of ongoing connections for immigrants who stay permanently.

### Migration of the Highly Skilled

International migration of the highly skilled might be considered brain drain, that is, emigration of highly qualified workers, or brain gain, which refers to the human capital advantage these highly skilled bring to their destination (Brückner et al. 2012). Paradoxically, wastage of skilled permanent immigrants' skills is symptomatic of operational problems with skilled-migrant policies in times of increasing international competition for their human capital (Cameron et al. 2013). Operational problems occur, for instance, in matching the untapped potential of highly qualified, yet unemployed immigrant engineers with the dire need for mission-critical engineering and technical skills in various industries (Cameron et al. 2013). Similar issues are evident in New Zealand, where immigrants' human capital shrinks on entry and migrants' knowledge specific to their countries of origin is deemed "obsolete" (Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998: 18). This is absurd as skilled immigrants are selected because of their skills and separation between place-specific and transferable skills is debatable. It does not warrant human capital wastage through un- or underemployment. Perhaps reflecting the increased globalization of New Zealand's skills recruitment (Bedford et al. 2002), reported post-arrival problems are related to language skills, credential and qualification legitimacy (Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998). Such disadvantages are said to decrease over time because eventually "immigrants may be able to generate credible information about their skills" (Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998: 18). This position generalizes societal distrust in immigrants' self-representations, their countries' education, and in immigration selection processes.

Changed immigration procedures have been reported as resulting in better settlement outcomes as skilled immigrants "integrated immediately into the labor market" and maintained labor force participation "in excess of 90%" according to a large-scale longitudinal New Zealand government study (Masgoret et al. 2012: ii). The same study described links between the immigrants' jobs and their skills as "very positive for skilled migrants" (Merwood 2010: 5). Yet, individual experiences may not conform to statistical findings (Benmayor and Skotnes 2005) and labor market inclusion is not the same as efficient acceptance and full use of immigrants' skills. Indeed, in their review of several New Zealand studies on settlement outcomes, Benson-Rea and Rawlinson (2003) found a mismatch of skilled immigrants' expectations and the reality of their labor market situations, which the authors relate to a lack of complete information readily available to migrants. These researchers stress that more insight into individual experiences of immigrants is needed to further elucidate large-scale statistical results. The current study answers this call.

Considering that incomes are considerably higher in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland than in New Zealand,[9] the assumption of migrants seeking optimal financial returns on human capital investment does not apply to skilled immigrants

[9]Cf. e.g., http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/income-and-work/Income/NZIncomeSurvey_HOTPJun15qtr.aspx and http://www.tradingeconomics.com/germany/wages.

from these countries. Of interest to the current study is, however, that organizations promote New Zealand as a lifestyle choice to attract highly skilled employees (Colmar Brunton 2000). Such business and government[10] promotions give weight to Brettell and Hollifield's (2000) argument that purely economic factors separated from social and cultural contexts cannot explain migration. The section below explores other possible factors impacting on migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand.

### Lifestyle Migration

Of fundamental interest for the current study is lifestyle migration (LM). The catchword lifestyle is extensively used to attract visitors and immigrants to New Zealand. Official promotion presents New Zealand as a natural playground where balanced lifestyles are closely connected to therapeutic landscapes and welcoming communities (see e.g., MBIE 2015). Natural amenities such as pleasant landscapes, nature conservation areas, climate, and access to the ocean influence in-migration and New Zealand uses these attractions to the fullest.[11] Rising visitor and immigration numbers prove that the marketing works.

To realize LM to New Zealand, however, the lifestylers must comply with the immigration rules in place at the time of their migration. While these rules change depending on political, social, and economic situations, relatively stable aspects for admission of voluntary migrants are: desirable qualifications and professional experience and/or considerable monetary investment; being within a certain age range and healthy; and providing a clean police record. These rules tie LM to skilled and investor migration.

Every migrant seeks to improve on the situation left behind but the growing phenomenon of LM from prosperous societies has not yet been completely understood and interpretations differ. LM as an individual's active search for a better quality of life is considered a social phenomenon of the present individualistic era (Benson and Osbaldiston 2014) facilitated by relative wealth (O'Reilly 2009). Quality of life is perceived as having four dimensions:

- Livability of the environment, an external quality that refers to characteristics of the environment;
- Life-ability of the person, an inner quality that relates to how well a person is equipped to cope with life's problems;

[10]See, e.g., http://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/living-in-nz/balanced-lifestyle; http://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/living-in-nz/clean-beautiful.

[11]See, e.g., http://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/living-in-nz/balanced-lifestyle; http://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/live-in-nz/a-warm-welcome; http://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/living-in-nz/safe-secure; http://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/living-in-nz/clean-beautiful.
http://www.portaloceania.com/nz-life-index-ing.htm.

- Utility of life, a life outcome that refers to the usefulness of a person's life from an external point of view; and
- Life appreciation, an inner life outcome (Veenhoven 2000: 6–7).

LM involves a great range of people at different stages of life seeking quality of life and idylls in diverse destinations for different reasons and varying time frames. Individual life events and desirable places feature prominently in LM interpretation. For instance, Hoey (2006: 350) comments that at pivotal points in their lives, "lifestyle migrants seek geographic places as personal refuges that they believe will resonate with idealized visions of self and family"; and their move gives them a sense of regaining control through purposeful place attachment (Hoey 2009). In a similar vein, LM is considered an "escape *from* somewhere and something, while simultaneously an escape *to* self-fulfilment and a new life —a recreation, restoration or rediscovery of oneself, of personal potential or of one's "true" desires" (O'Reilly and Benson 2009: 3; *italics* in original). Indeed, New Zealand is promoted as "the ultimate escape" (Lonely Planet 2016).

The above indicates that patchwork biographies underpin LM. In patchwork biographies, people do not follow a predictable life pattern from school through work and family formation to retirement. Rather, various life phases and spheres interweave with each other through careful planning or by chance (Fauth-Herkner 2001). Yet, like the argument that the lifestyles sought involve a renegotiation of work–life balance (O'Reilly and Benson 2009) a rejection of conventional school–work–retirement life paths does not apply to retirees' LM. Another interpretation that only applies to working-age LM of those who move with family is that choosing a lifestyle destination is an intentional decision about "*how* to live" aiming for greater balance of work and family resulting from a process of "moral reorientation" (Hoey 2005: 615).

Prior travel and attraction to landscapes perceived as natural and pristine, and other physical and community factors commonly influence LM decisions (e.g., Clark-Barol et al. 2015; Gaspar 2015; Kuentzel and Ramaswamy 2005). While "aesthetic qualities including quality of life are prioritized over economic factors" (Knowles and Harper 2009: 11), one needs to remember though that anticipations involved in limited breaks from daily routines affect the tourist gaze, which is filtered by "ideas, skills, desires and expectations" (Urry and Larsen 2011: 2). LM is also seen as quest for utopia "motivated by dreams" (O'Reilly 2009: 103). A quest for utopia means of course that reality will not fulfill expectations.

While LM offers individual reinvention for many (Korpela 2014b), it is deemed to reproduce class positions through habitus as well as economic and cultural capital (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010). For example, LM requires the financial means to relocate and provide continuing income or at the very least sufficient resources for a transition period. Also, whilst international LM involves the decision-maker's agency, it removes social-system securities and replaces them with risks (Korpela 2014b). Not all these factors are necessarily contemplated or predictable at the time of LM decision-making.

### 1.3.2 Studies of Lifestyle Migration

LM theories have mainly been drawn from smaller studies of north-to-south LM within Europe to warmer and sunnier regions (e.g., O'Reilly 2009; O'Reilly and Benson 2009; Clark-Barol et al. 2015) and from urban-to-rural migration in the USA (Hoey 2005, 2006, 2009). For many northern Europeans, southern Europe fulfills their desire for sun and a relaxed lifestyle. This leads to retirement migration and to seasonal residential tourism south aiming to experience perpetual summers. Torkington (2010) posits that these residential tourists generally do not speak the local language and do not integrate into the receiving society but rather live in parallel expatriate groups. LM from urban to rural areas has attracted some interest in Australia (Buckley et al. 2006) and New Zealand (Hall 2006).

While not focusing on LM per se in her ethnographic study of 117 German immigrants coming to New Zealand, Bönisch-Brednich (2002) refers to lifestyle motives for those arriving in the 1980s and 1990s. Bürgelt (2010) comments on the research gap relating to migrants from affluent countries searching for different opportunities and better lifestyles. Her two-year study involving 17 potential and actual German migrants to Australia and New Zealand found that migrant decisions harmonized with recent patchwork lifestyle trends towards personal growth, the realizations of dreams and living the desired lifestyle.

Previous studies of German speakers' contemporary migration to New Zealand have shown that reasons for LM to New Zealand differ but landscapes and the natural environment of the destination are the common key pull factors. Yet, lifestyles in idyllic landscapes and with leisure pursuits touted in advertising are not enough to sustain immigrants' lives in the country. Rather, economic factors and other societal aspects are important for immigrants' settlement in their chosen country; and studies of Germans in New Zealand indicate that these lifestyle migrants generally arrive inadequately prepared for the challenges ahead. As Bönisch-Brednich (2005) found, for example, none of her 102 immigrant participants had clear insights into settlement-related difficulties for themselves or for their children, nor had they thoroughly prepared for the settlement situation before migrating. Like in other studies (e.g., Diehl and Ochsmann 2000), this reflects the unrealistically optimistic expectations of life in the destination country that Moravek (2006) found in her study of Germans' pre-migration considerations. Such prioritization of feelings evoked by media and holiday travel over logical intercultural considerations and migration preparation most probably contributes to the high return migration rate of Germans that Bürgelt et al. (2008) found.

Investigations into LM tend to focus on the migrants (e.g., Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Hoey 2005; Sidebotham and Ahern 2011) whereas there is scant information on children who move with their lifestyle-migrant parents. There are few exceptions. O'Reilly's (2009) study of 90 British children of lifestyle migrants in Spain showed that the teenagers did not integrate into Spanish society and planned to leave the country after completing their private English-medium school education. Another study (Korpela 2014a) investigated home-schooled children of lifestyle

migrants who spent part of the year in Goa, India. Korpela found that the children were socially open and easily chatted with adults they did not know, yet solely moved within the Western expat community. Generally, these lifestylers and their children neither engaged with the local population beyond tourist and other instrumental encounters nor did they learn any local language. There is thus a need to consider further the wider consequences and impacts of LM as permanent migration, especially long-term consequences for families.

## 1.4 Settlement Theories

Migration processes are not completed of course when people arrive at their destination. Cultural balancing and socialization processes (Geisen 2012), or acculturation processes (Berry 1997) involve all aspects of life for immigrants and their families, and institutional and individual members of the receiving society. While experiences depend on life stages and vary for individuals, settlement is commonly seen as an early part of a longer integration process (Fletcher 1999). Settlement is "a process of complex renegotiation" (Burnett 1998: 1), during which immigrants "must come to terms with already existing schemes of understanding and of power relations" (Bottomley 1992: 39). This involves not only the immigrants, but also the receiving society and government. The term renegotiation suggests concessions from all parties. Immigrants might therefore expect social and structural cooperation from the public and institutions especially in recipient countries that actively attract immigrants as New Zealand does. However, others focus on individual adaptation processes. Crosscultural adaptation is considered an immigrant's personal journey towards "intercultural personhood," an identity development that matures through challenges and inner crises and stretches the individual to achieve personal growth, intercultural empathy and competencies (Kim 2001: 194–195). This also emphasizes the transitory nature of adapting to life in a new country.

Terminology is perplexing in the vast but fragmented field of immigrant settlement across disciplines, across countries and their interests, and within different historical contexts. Terminology may not transfer well across languages either. For the current study, post-arrival processes and cultural tools used in these processes are important. Therefore, the meanings communicated through the terms acculturation and adaptation, assimilation and integration are relevant.

### *1.4.1 Acculturation, Adaptation, Assimilation*

According to Berry's (2004) entry in the "Encyclopedia of Applied Psychology,"

> Acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between cultural groups and their individual members. … It continues after

> initial contact in culturally plural societies, where ethnocultural communities maintain features of their heritage cultures. Adaptation to living in culture contact settings takes place over time. Occasionally it is stressful, but often it results in some form of accommodation.

Elsewhere, Berry sees acculturation and intergroup relations as two separate domains (Berry 2001) and cultural change relates to the changes in the cultural groups in contact (Berry 2005). Several difficulties emerge from these explanations.

The concept of *group* in categorizations of immigrants is problematic, not only because a group always creates outsiders. Reminiscent of immigrant exclusion is Berry's categorization of immigrants as "ethnocultural groups" in contrast to the "larger society" (Berry 2001: 618). Through these terms, immigrants are marked and stigmatized, their ethnicity and culture considered shortcomings, in contrast to the "larger society," which is unmarked as the "normals" (cf. Goffman 1963/1986). Berry's wording perpetuates the view of immigrants arriving as "ethnics" (Waldinger 1993). New Zealand also disseminates the construct of "ethnic people" as exotic[12] and therefore as outgroup, which is bizarre since the last census records more than 25% of the total population as born overseas (Statistics New Zealand 2013). It also neglects the fact that everyone including the "normals" has ethnicity, that is, "a sense of group belonging, based on ideas of common origins, history, culture, experience and values" (Castles and Miller 2003: 35). For Bommes (2005), groups are unsuitable reference frames for settlement research. His rationale is that individual immigrants' daily interactions are much more likely with individuals than with a cultural group. Immigrants need to find their way into society's differentiated social systems, which have structural conditions and specific role expectations that need to be fulfilled—or assimilated to—to be successful (Bommes 2005). Bommes says that immigrants must acquire sociocultural competences for specific roles in particular circumstances like everyone else. Arguably, through achieving such essential competencies immigrants achieve group membership even though individuals differ in their ways of dealing with these requirements in daily life in their new social environments.

Contemporary German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand probably should not be considered a coherent cultural group despite certain public discourses implying cultural homogeneity within national borders (cf. Wessendorf 2008). Yet, there are significant cultural differences within Germany; and several European countries are home to native German speakers. All this includes heterogeneous cultural configurations including diverging political and religious ideologies (cf. Bell 1993), as well as dialects unintelligible to one another even within Germany were it not for *Schriftdeutsch* [written German], that is, a common standard German understood by over 90 million people in Austria, Germany, Luxembourg, and Switzerland, for example. In New Zealand, German speakers' spatial dispersion, for

[12]See http://ethnicaffairs.govt.nz; http://ethnicaffairs.govt.nz/homepage-feature/2013-05-24/ethnic-affairs-minister-opens-ethnic-people-commerce-conference-2013; http://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/address-ethnic-people-commerce-epic-nz. Accessed January 2014.

example, across the greater Auckland region (Holt 1999) also raises doubts about contemporary German-speaker community formation in New Zealand.

The research discussed in this book illustrates the complexities of culture, ancestry, and ethnic classifications, as it included participants who could claim Māori, German, and Irish ancestry but in their cultural orientation conformed with the New Zealand English mainstream. Others, whose cultural orientation was similar, had Māori, Austrian, and British ancestry, with details of the latter not known, whereas others had a German and an English parent with Scottish ancestry but no Scottish cultural practices. In the families with Māori ancestry, Māori cultural practices were reserved for Māori family events such as a tangi (farewell and funeral) whereas Māori ethnicity was claimed when seen as advantageous.

For New Zealand statutory procedures, "Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. Ethnicity is self-perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group" (Statistics New Zealand 2011). For this study, ethnicity is used as declared by the qualitative-study participants and survey respondents, even though I prefer the term culture to ethnicity. My reasons are that cultural imprints determine meanings impacting beliefs and behavior, whereas concepts of ethnicity still carry misunderstood and abused "race" burdens related to people's skin color. Such misunderstanding and abuse persist and serve as tools of political power even though human skin color differences are just natural melanin sun protection, an evolutionary adaptation closely related to geographic regions more or less exposed to UV radiation.

Ongoing issues arise also from the term culture even though the term is fashionable and used widely (e.g., acculturation, mono-, bi-, and multiculturalism, cultural practices, cultural roots, cultural differences, culture shock, culture clashes etc.). There is no consensus on what culture entails (Jahoda 2012) although there seems to be agreement that culture is a social construct and includes patterns of meanings and behaviors learned through socialization; culture therefore has historical characteristics and is shared among a group of people (cf. Geertz 1973; Hofstede 1980; Triandis 1972). The term "meanings" here refers to people's interpretations of the world, their beliefs and guiding values. Values are "what we consider as important in life" (Boer and Fischer 2013: 1113). Rather than directly observable, values are an "invisible part" of cultures revealed in visible cultural behaviors and practices (Hofstede 1998: 482). Values are considered universal guiding principles of conduct, but priorities of value significance differ across cultures (Schwartz 1992). With regard to immigrants in a neo-European sociocultural environment such as New Zealand's mainstream it is significant that, "In the absence of immaculate perception, human beings interpret the world through culture-specific metaphors—particularly those aspects of the world that are not fully known to them" (Mühlhäusler 1995: 281).

Schools of thought differ on the importance of culture for social life (Geisen and Bekerman 2012), with immigrants' culture often seen as hindrance and consequently their acculturation an implied matter of submission to the majority culture (Geisen 2012), whatever that might be. For young immigrants in particular, active

work towards belonging is required in relation to both the values of their heritage culture *and* the majority culture (Mecheril 2003). Verschueren (2008: 26) suggests that, "the notion of culture, handled as if separable and distinct group-bound cultures exist, should be discredited as analytically useless." Wessendorf's (2008) research into second-generation Italian immigrants in Switzerland supports this argument through illustrating the intense intertwining of various Italian and Swiss cultural manifestations.

From Verschueren's linguistic pragmatics perspective, communicative competence including negotiation skills are the essential factors for successful discursive interactions within as well as across cultures. Yet, communicative competencies are culture-bound, which means that immigrants need to learn different culture-specific ways of communicating. German and Anglophone cultural communications tend to clash in terms of directness, for example, with German direct talk often considered impolite by English speakers (House 2006) whilst German speakers consider certain New Zealand/English conversational routines evasive. Such communicative competence issues arise as immigrants arrive at "the significatory boundaries of cultures, where meanings and values are (mis)read or signs are misappropriated" (Bhabha 1994: 50). Immigrant acculturation should therefore be considered in terms of negotiations in this interstitial context of fuzzy cultural thresholds.

In explanations and applications of acculturation in the literature, the distinction between the terms acculturation and adaptation is blurred. Adaptation is considered the outcome of acculturation (Sam and Berry 2010), yet acculturation is also "the meeting of cultures *and* the resulting changes" (Sam and Berry 2006: 1, italics added). Elsewhere, adaptation describes the process of acculturation as immigrants go through complex patterns of continuity and change in adapting psychologically, socioculturally and economically to the new context (Berry 1997). In these cross-cultural transitions, psychological adaptation refers to changes of attitudes, values, and behaviors in individuals through long-term crosscultural contact, and to feelings of wellbeing and satisfaction (Berry 1997; Graves 1967[13]; Ward and Kennedy 1994), whereas sociocultural adaptation refers to cultural competencies, i.e., appropriate sociocultural skills to successfully negotiate interactions in a cultural environment (Searle and Ward 1990).

If acculturation is seen as mutual getting closer and eventual merging of cultural meanings and behaviors between whole population groups within one place, as Berry's (2004) definition suggests, it is unlikely to be completed during individual migrant settlement but rather across generations. Individual immigrants may well modify certain attitudinal and value aspects—as is likely for everyone going through life stages—but wholesale cultural changes are doubtful at least for immigrants who arrived as adults because of individuals' deep-seated, embodied cultural experiences and practices. Life stages and generational differentiation are

[13]Graves' article suggests that whilst the three cultural groups (Anglos, Latinos, native American Indians) lived side by side for a long time in the community where the research was carried out, there was not much close contact between them.

inseparable from the processes of adaptation and integration (Rumbaut 2004). As Berry (2005) argues, acculturation may take years, generations or even centuries. Because acculturation considered as an adaptation process between people from originally different cultures might take that long, I think the term acculturation is more suitable perhaps for a long-term view of cultural changes. Acknowledging that all learning is cultural in some sense, I prefer the terms adaptation and integration when focusing on immigrants' settlement actions in their adopted country. I will examine integration next.

### *1.4.2 Integration and Assimilation*

Integration is a term most frequently used in continental European immigration-related texts. Spencer defines integration as

> … processes of interaction between migrants and the individuals and institutions of the receiving society that facilitate economic, social, cultural, and civic participation and an inclusive sense of belonging at the national and local level (Spencer 2011: 203).

For Geissler (2004), integration is both an analytical and political normative concept that refers to the processes of immigrant incorporation, the state of inclusion as the result of these processes, and the desired goal of incorporation. Different understandings of integration have different political implications. That is, those who use integration synonymously with assimilation or acculturation illuminate different aspects of reality than others whose understanding of integration allows for cultural pluralism (Geissler 2004). Spencer (2011), Geissler (2004) and Esser (2001) distinguish between basic dimensions of systemic integration and social integration. Esser (2001) suggests that this differentiation eliminates the problem of understanding assimilation. Building on Gordon's (1964) societal structures, Esser (2001) defines systemic integration as assimilation into the structures of society in the sense that society offers equality of education, income, professional prestige, and political participation for all regardless of ethnicity.

This systemic assimilation can be seen as synonymous with "equal participation." For Esser (2001), social integration immediately after arrival may be integration into the immigrants' ethnic group to avoid marginalization, but this should not lead to ethnic group segmentation but rather to eventual social assimilation. Social assimilation is understood as mutual adjustment towards becoming a cohesive society (Esser 2001). On the path to societal cohesion, reaching normative integration concepts on a political level is imperative (Sezer 2010), and a nation's self-perception with robust discussions of essential fundamental communal values is vital (Münz et al. 1999). Esser suggests that systemic integration requires secularization and individualization, with positions and recruitment based on merits rather than on ethnicity. He notes that social integration (in terms of social assimilation) usually lags behind systemic integration (in terms of systemic assimilation) and might take generations. This is an interesting point to consider for

the current study. Also, as Latcheva and Herzog-Punzenberger (2011) point out, integration process structures are linked to particular points in time and circumstances. The authors explain that the dynamics of the integration process depend on individuals' biographical events and life phases; on socialization contexts (which differ for each generation); on particular conditions of the country's economy; and on opportunity structures (e.g., citizenship regulations).

There is no agreement on social policies to facilitate integration, but absorption emerges as the final goal, making it a gentler form of assimilation (Castles and Miller 2003). New Zealand institutional requirements for immigrants include levels of English skills, which can be seen as dominant English-speaker group assimilation *demand* that facilitates exclusion, for instance, from certain jobs. On the other hand, individual immigrants may *choose* selective assimilation to reach certain goals and be respected and therefore fully integrated as equals (Cook 2003). I see integration not as entirely synonymous with assimilation as Esser (2001) does, but—on the part of the receiving society—as offering equal participation, and—from an immigrant's point of view—as adaptation to essential communal values, and to institutional and social role requirements to achieve inclusion. I take assimilation as submergence in the target culture. Next, I examine the ways immigrants are thought to adapt to the recipient society.

### *1.4.3 Immigrant Strategies and Tools for Integration*

Three notions regarding strategies and tools employed by immigrants and their descendants in migration literature are considered useful for the current study. First, Berry's acculturation strategies are seen as central to crosscultural research (Ward and Kus 2012) although the framework has been criticized (e.g., Weinreich 2009). Another view of immigrant integration is Nayar's (2009) theory of navigating cultural spaces. The third is the notion of cultural tool kits (Codde 2003).

Berry (1997) identified four acculturation strategies, namely integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization to deal with two dimensions of acculturation, i.e., maintenance of heritage culture and relationships sought with/in another cultural group. According to Berry (1997), people assign values to either dimension, and choose acculturation strategies accordingly, given they are free to do so. Assimilation applies where individuals have no interest in maintaining their original cultural identity and pursue interaction with other cultures on a daily basis. Separation is the opposite. In this case, individuals avoid interaction with other cultures while valuing their original culture. Integration applies when individuals are interested in maintaining "some degree of cultural integrity" of their original culture while interacting daily with other groups (Berry 1997: 9). Marginalization is defined when individuals have little interest in or possibility for cultural maintenance as well as scant interest in having relations with other cultural groups.

According to Berry (1997, 2001), the most positive and least stressful strategy is integration, which requires mutual accommodation. He adds that integration

requires immigrants to adopt the larger society's basic values and, on the part of the receiving society, institutional adaptation to meet the needs of all groups in a multicultural society (Berry 1997, 2001). Berry (1997) does note that preference may vary depending on length of residence and on generational status, and that one strategy might be preferred in more private domains and another in public. Yet, his general assumption of an individual's preference for one of these acculturation strategies poses problems (Nayar 2009; Schütze 2003).

In her personal-networks study of young educated Russian–Jewish immigrants in Germany, for example, Schütze (2003) found that while all of Berry's acculturation strategies were used, over a three-year period attitudes and strategies fluctuated in connection with occupational opportunities and social acceptance. From her study of Iranian women in Australia, Jamarani (2012) concluded that acculturation strategies depended on target-language proficiency and on acceptance of strategies by immigrants' own and by mainstream ethnic groups. She therefore added target language proficiency as an important aspect into available acculturation strategy choices.

Nayar (2009) derived her theory of "navigating cultural spaces" from research into daily occupations of Indian women immigrants in New Zealand. The core of this theory is that in creating a space for themselves and their families, immigrants move in and out of, and between the cultural ways of their original culture and the cultures they encounter in their new environment, or they choose the "best of both worlds" in their daily occupations. Dimensional elements are private and public spaces, and different situational cultural ways and identifications depend on these dimensions.

In the context of consequences of immigration across generations, Codde's (2003) translation studies idea of cultural tool kits is inviting. According to Codde (2003: 96), "people actively choose the ends they wish to achieve … and in order to arrive at those goals, they use culture as a "tool kit" from which they select the most expedient means." This bears similarity to Nayar's theory. Understanding cultural meanings and behaviors in the social environment that immigrants move into is essential for integration success. Acquisition of these sociocultural competencies allows immigrants to move between their cultural repertoires and choose cultural tools that are appropriate to achieve situational objectives. Yet, as this study indicates, there are also significant emotional elements involved in migration and its consequences.

## 1.5 Long-Term Migration Consequences Across Generations

Rumbaut (2006) calls for academics to advance knowledge in the interstices between theory, rhetoric, and reality in the immensely complex field of long-term immigration consequences across the generations. To achieve valid insights into the

integration of immigrant generations, studies are needed that consider individuals' life stages and the dynamics of their social lives over time (de Valk et al. 2011). The current study contributes to this.

### *1.5.1 Learning from Past Immigration*

Not surprisingly given the history of migration numbers and diversity, observations of earlier European mass immigration to the United States underpin understanding of assimilation. Portes and Rumbaut (2005: 985–986) see this past assimilation as one-sided cultural blending into a dominant American mainstream across three generations in that

> Children of immigrants learned English, gradually abandoned their parents' language and culture … By the third generation, foreign languages were a distant memory and ethnic identities were social conveniences, displayed on selected occasions but subordinate to overwhelming American selves.

This straight-line assimilation portrayed by Portes and Rumbaut differs somewhat from the Hansen-Herberg three-generation hypothesis. Related to almost complete submergence or assimilation in the receiving society, Herberg (1955/1960) combined Hansen's (1938) principle of third-generation interest in their forefathers' culture with Reeves Kennedy's (1952) research findings to suggest that while the second generation turned away from their parents' culture and especially their religion, the third generation returned to the religion of their grandparents. Hansen (1938) had claimed that the second generation turned away from their parents' culture and actively aimed to be indistinguishable from natives in mainstream society. The third generation, however, was so curious about their ethnic origins that they could not help but explore their heritage (Hansen 1938). However, in Nahirny and Fishman's (1965) view, the third generation's interest is relative to the second generation discarding their ethnic roots. This means that the third generation appreciates their ethnic roots exactly because these aspects have become symbolic tokens weak enough not to be cultural restraints in any way.

In her study of marriage statistics, Reeves Kennedy (1952) found assimilation occurring through intermarriage between national-origin groups. Yet, at the same time intermarriage separated people into a "triple melting pot" along religious lines. Herberg (1955/1960) suggested that for the first immigrant generation, social life revolved around their religious institutions, which were transformed in the process of accommodating members from different regions of origin. Handlin (1951/2007) argued that church attendance was not necessarily due to religious devotion but religious communities were helpful in material, economic ways for networking and social support. The second generation, according to Herberg (1955/1960), tended to discard religion altogether, identified with and assimilated into the Anglophone American mainstream. The third generation was linguistically and economically

completely assimilated into this mainstream. Yet, they longed for differentiating self-identification within the mainstream, which could be satisfied by returning to the religion of their immigrant ancestors, leading to what Herberg, like Reeves Kennedy (1952), considered a tripartite social division of American society into Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. This predicted social-religious division has not eventuated according to Gans (1997) although currently there are perceptions of problems as expressed in the term Islamophobia (cf. Kivisto 2014) and certain anti-immigrant campaigns.

### *1.5.2 Current Views of Migration Consequences Across Generations*

From the time when Gans (1992) questioned the traditionally assumed almost automatic social upward mobility and straight-line assimilation of immigrants' descendants, investigations into long-term consequences of immigration across generations have generally focused on the second generation. This is because questions of immigrant descendants' ethnic orientation, identity and language shifts, intercultural marriage, economic outcomes, and societal stratification are decided in the second generation according to Portes (1994). Family and home language play vital roles in maintenance and intergenerational heritage transmission, which enhance cultural identity and family ties (Fishman 1991) but due to topic restrictions within the home and the second generation's preferences for English the heritage language goals are difficult to achieve (Sheyholislami and Sharifi 2016). Instead, as McCabe (2016) argues, transnational connections have become most important in heritage language maintenance across immigrant generations.

### *1.5.3 Immigrant Generations, Belonging and Identity*

Usage of the term generation is problematic in immigration research, with age factors and historical context often not acknowledged (Kertzer 1983). First generation may refer to instigators of immigration or to these adults *and* their immigrating children (i.e., immigrant children) (Perlmann and Waldinger 1997; Portes and Rivas 2011). The second generation, according to Skrbiš et al. (2007), can be sorted into statistical, social, and linguistic groups. For Skrbiš et al., the *statistical* second generation refers to children born in the receiving society to foreign-born parents; the *social* definition extends this category to include those born outside the country but who immigrated during early childhood; the *linguistic* distinction expands the social category to include children below the age of 13, as speech-sound habits become fixed during puberty (cf. Clyne 1972). This grouping relates to the critical period hypothesis, which states that implicit linguistic

competence acquisition (i.e., acquisition of prosody, phonological, and morphological systems, and syntax) has an upper age limit (Paradis 2004). It includes simultaneous bilinguals (i.e., children who have two first languages before 3 years of age) and sequential bilinguals (i.e., children whose first language has been fairly established before they learn a second language, e.g., when home and school languages differ) (Paradis 2010).

For others, second generation includes children of immigrants without any definition of where they were born (Perlmann and Waldinger 1997); or children of immigrants born in the receiving country (Dubuc 2012; Portes and Rivas 2011); or children born in another country who have lived in the receiving country for five years or more (Portes and Schauffler 1994); or immigrants' children or children with one immigrant parent born in the receiving country (Portes and Hao 1998); children of immigrants born in the receiving country until they are granted citizenship, from which point they no longer are considered immigrants (Bourhis et al. 1997); children born in the receiving country or elsewhere as long as they attended school in the new country (Wessendorf 2008). Third generation is used to refer to children whose parents were also born in the receiving country (Alba et al. 2002; Karthick Ramakrishnan 2004), which does not fit with several definitions of the second generation.

Some scholars have tried to improve generational categorization to deal with cultural imprints. For example, those who immigrate under the age of 12 have been classified as generation 2a, with 2b referring to those born in the country (Burnley 1986; van Rensburg et al. 2008). The 1.5 generation refers to foreign-born children who arrive before adolescence (Portes and Hao 1998) or "at an early age" (Portes and Rivas 2011: 220). According to Rumbaut and Ima (1988), this early arrival allows them to develop bicultural competence in the interstices of two societies and cultures. Others extend the 1.5 generation classification to those who immigrate between 6 and 18 years of age (Bartley and Spoonley 2008). The term 2.5 generation may refer to those with one foreign-born parent and one parent born in the receiving country (Karthick Ramakrishnan 2004).

Considerations of generation, belonging, and identity can hardly be separated, as Skrbiš et al. (2007) assert. The authors point out that subjective definitions of generation depend on individual perceptions of identity and belonging as well as identity and belonging attributions by others. Parents' experiences also impact on the next generation (Portes 2003b). Immigrants and subsequent generations may adopt multiple ethnic identities, or hybrid identities and they may use these strategically depending on the context (Skrbiš et al. 2007). Subjective generational definitions that foreground ethnicity, such as second-generation Greeks instead of first-generation Australian, also can serve as a form of "othering," of exclusion (Skrbiš et al. 2007). Subjective ethnicity definitions are points of interest for the current study. The current study uses generation in its genealogical sense whilst considering age at immigration and family circumstances in relation to cultural competencies.

### 1.5.4 Incorporation Pathways Across Generations

There is no consensus on contemporary incorporation paths of the generations descending from the original immigrants, although understanding can be categorized into: assimilation across the generations on a classical linear path; a "bumpy-line" version of assimilation with some upheavals along the way (Gans 1997); a blending of original and "new" cultural aspects as in hybridity (Bhabha 1994); selective assimilation (Portes 2003b); strengthening of ethnocultural distance (Esser 2004; Waldinger and Perlmann 1998); or segmented assimilation into different segments of society (Esser 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997). Selective acculturation (Portes 2003b) resembles Berry's (1997) integration strategy in achieving bicultural competencies with retention of original cultural aspects. For instance, immigrants may adapt to the ways of the receiving culture in their workplace but use their original cultural ways in their own home (cf. Fischer et al. 2009; Nayar 2009). Intergenerational conflicts considered developmental phases might deepen when children of immigrants acquire disparate values from the recipient society, for instance, in relation to respect for elders and parental control (Phinney et al. 2000). Portes and Zhou (1993) suggest that members of the contemporary second generation undergo segmented assimilation into different societal strata, that is, they integrate in one of three ways: into the mainstream middle class as in the conventional assimilation model; into marginal societal groups that lead to enduring poverty and perhaps criminal association; or they achieve economic success within their own ethnic group. These points were made earlier by Gordon (1964) although he did not use the label "segmented assimilation."

A number of factors are considered critical determinants of incorporation paths across the generations. Family structure, families' human capital, and their social reception are crucial (Portes and Fernández-Kelly 2008; Schittenhelm 2011). Experiences of social distance and discrimination may lead to immigrants and subsequent generations emphasizing their ethnic identities (Esser 2004; Portes and Rivas 2011). Portes and Rivas suggest that, "repeated incidents of discrimination are found to lower adolescent self-esteem" (Portes and Rivas 2011: 230). They also think that there may be a connection between low self-esteem and lower academic achievement. Human capital is an important element for the children's educational and socioeconomic attainment (Söhn 2011). High parental and second-generation education supports selective acculturation evident in the use of hyphenated self-identities (Portes and Rivas 2011) such as German-Americans. Individual agency and economic circumstances are also considered important for subsequent generations (Gans 1997; Rumbaut 1994).

Age and region of origin matter too. Empirical studies show that descendants of immigrants born in the country of immigration and those who came at a very young age are more likely to identify with the receiving society than immigrants who arrived in their youth (Portes and Rivas 2011). According to Beck et al. (2012), region of origin and social distance to the mainstream society have considerable

effects on educational and adult success, with the age of eight being the watershed, with those who immigrate later having worse future prospects. Using the United States census statistics, Beck et al. (2012) show that child immigrants from non-English-speaking countries—in comparison with those from English-speaking countries—are much less likely to report very good English skills and are much less likely to marry an English speaker, with endogamous marriage much more likely. The authors suggest a cause–effect relationship between these factors. Without a doubt a common language plays a considerable role in forging relationships. In my view, however, language-origin demographics do not support such cause–effect conclusions. That is, other cultural values and attitudes that are unlikely to show in a census may encourage or discourage in- or out-group marriages and contribute to or hinder educational and professional success.

Portes and Rumbaut (2006) suggest that selective acculturation with retention of cultural elements including religion is a feature in today's second generation that offers stabilizing and educational benefits. For Gans (1997), the third generation is almost completely assimilated. Yet, he cautions: "the opportunity for any but the most formal or superficial assimilation may not even become available until the third generation" (Gans 1997: 877). Gans also suggests that rather than genuine revived interest in secular and religious ethnic cultures that was suggested by the Hansen-Herberg hypothesis, members of the third generation re-embrace the ethnicity of their ancestors only in symbolic ways that do not interfere with their daily lives. Patterns adopted to express this nostalgic "symbolic ethnicity" are, for instance, ethnic festivals and consumer goods such as food, and specific ethnic identification for children from intercultural liaisons. Since the third-generation children in the current study are all from intercultural relationships, this last point is of particular interest in the current study. While the visibility of symbolic ethnicity might suggest heritage-culture revival and return to the values discarded by the second generation, Gans sees it rather as a different form of acculturation.

## 1.6 Language

As Fishman and García (2011) note, identity perceptions and language are closely related and very complex. Two questions regarding language are relevant in the current study: What happens with German across three generations as a consequence of immigration into an English language environment? What are the circumstances and reasons?

As noted above, Portes and Rumbaut (2005) suggest that heritage languages were just memories by the third generation in previous immigration waves from Europe to America. Portes and Rumbaut overlook that at the beginning of the twentieth century, 9 million German-Americans maintained their German language (Kloss 1966). Starting with WWI hostilities, however, German language was blocked through laws, humiliation and persecutions (Grosjean 1984), resulting in unprecedented, complete linguistic assimilation into Anglophone America

(Kloss 1966). Experiences and attitudes linked to the National Socialist regime in their countries of origin and to hostilities between the countries impacted settlers' German-language use, resulting in German-language loss and shift to English for immigrants and refugees also in Australia (Clyne 2003). Such reasons for interruption of German-language maintenance also applied to New Zealand's previously German-speaking communities (cf. Morris 1993; Wildfeuer and Eller 2009) although Salmons (2002) argues for the USA that the World Wars had a more indirect effect, with Anglophone educational institutionalization already well advanced resulting in gradual assimilation.

Portes and Rumbaut (2005) refer to "foreign languages" in relation to immigrants' community languages in the United States. This signals exclusion and persistent pressure for all immigrants to assimilate through English monolingualism. This is because language socialization includes acquisition of cultural principles and meanings systems, as well as social and situational norms (Ochs and Schieffelin 2011). Testing the three-generation model of linguistic assimilation, Lieberson and Curry's (1971) study of historical United States census data suggests that despite first-generation immigrants maintaining their languages, the shift to English was complete and final within a few generations. Later studies in the United States, for instance on Spanish immigrant language, show a general preference for English in the second generation (Alba 2004; Rumbaut et al. 2006; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), with the third immigrant generation especially from Asian countries generally speaking English only (Alba 2004). German-language exceptions to this are so-called *Sprachinseln* [language islands] in fairly isolated colonies of German immigrants, for instance, in Brazil, Russia, and the USA (Rosenberg 2003). However, as Rosenberg points out, political pressure, persecution, and increased Russian language contact led to the demise of German-language retention in such Russian communities. On the other hand, German still remains the language of church and community communication within the close-knit, faith-oriented Old Order Amish in Pennsylvania.[14]

Alba et al. (2002) compared United States censuses from 1940 and 1970 for European immigrants and their descendants with 1990 statistics to determine the home languages of second- and third-generation children. They found that of all assimilatory changes, language was most impacted by generation, with three-generation Anglicization typical across ethnic groups. For instance, 68% of second-generation German children in the 1940 census and 97% of third generation in the 1970 census had English as their mother tongue, with intermarriage accelerating language shift (Alba et al. 2002). Generational German and Dutch language shift is considered proceeding along similar time frames (Clyne 2003). For example, Hulsen (2000), in her study of three generations of Dutch speakers in New Zealand found that across three generations English increasingly dominated and maintenance of Dutch decreased. Similarly, in Crezee's (2008) study of old Dutch immigrants in New Zealand, immigrant grandparents could no longer speak Dutch

[14]See http://amishamerica.com/amish-online-encyclopedia/.

with their English-speaking grandchildren, who had only retained very few Dutch key words related to food.

Bilinguals and multilinguals acquire linguistic multicompetence that is best seen as a continuum rather than as discrete states of development (Schmid 2011). Changes within this continuum start in the first immigrant generation. For example, in her study of language attrition in German-speaking Jewish emigrants after nearly 60 years in Anglophone countries, Schmid (2004: 252) found three categories along a line of decreasing L1 proficiency. Group 1 showed L1 preservation "to an astonishing degree"; group 2 could disguise their reduced lexical repertoire with avoidance strategies; group 3 displayed the highest rate of language loss. In her study of German immigrants in the United States, Badstübner (2011) found unsurprisingly that German-language teachers (time spent in the U.S. between 1.5 and 25 years) showed fewer differences such as L2 interference, grammatical errors, and lexical retrieval problems in their L1 speech than professionals in other areas (time spent in the U.S. between 1.4 and 24 years) when compared with a control group of monolingual German speakers in Germany.

In the 1996 Australian census, first-generation immigrant German speakers reported the highest rate of language shift in the home among all ethnic groups, with nearly 50% reporting English as their only home language (Clyne 2003). Clyne (2003) suggests that immigrants' language shift to English represents a cultural-regional continuum, with shift to English increasing the further north and west—and thus increasingly closer to England—the immigrants' region of origin is in German and Dutch-speaking Europe. Other reasons have also been identified. For instance, Australian statistics indicate exogamous marriages at a very high rate for German speakers (Clyne 2003). Still, 1976 and 1986 census data showed German as one of the top-ten languages other than English (LOTE) spoken at home in each Australian state (Clyne 1991). German remained in the top-ten LOTE spoken at home in six Australian cities (Clyne et al. 2008). In Melbourne and Sydney, Australia's biggest centers, where German-speaking immigrants tend to live at the city fringes rather than congregate in one place, German was not among the most common LOTE (Clyne et al. 2008). This tendency of German-speaking immigrants to disperse was also found in New Zealand (Holt 1999).

The high population density of German speakers in South Australia corresponded with low language shift (Clyne 1991) while Hatoss (2006) reports high language shift in Queensland despite their numerical strength there. Considering the dispersion of German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand, this is of interest in the current study. Clyne concluded that restricting reasons for language maintenance and shift to language use in the home understates the significance of community languages. The primary network of the extended family is important too:

> It is social communication within the extended family, not necessarily in the home that maintains the language. Two important variables in community language use are then the presence of an extended family – especially grandparents – within easy reach and the cohabitation of the extended family (Clyne 1991: 113).

Clyne includes close friends in this primary network. Significantly, while German-language use was found to be high among the 55-plus age groups, rapid decline of German as the home language for children throughout Australia was evident in census data (Clyne 1991). The 90% shift to English from German in the second generation was only superseded by the 95% shift from Dutch to English (Clyne 2003). A similar high Dutch to English shift rate was reported by Crezee (2008). Clyne suggested that the children appeared to instigate the shift from German to English in families. In contrast, Lieberson and Curry argue that "bilingual parents must pass on English as the mother-tongue of the next generation" for language shift to occur (1971: 126). Interestingly, Lieberson and Curry found that bilingual parents from groups with high levels of bilingualism were more likely to raise their children as English monolinguals. These are points of significance for the current study. Also, language and accent are markers that perpetuate immigrants' outsider positions, their "otherness," which in New Zealand settings resulted in immigrants home language shift so their children would not be seen as outsiders (Bönisch-Brednich 2002, 2005; Crezee 2012).

German-language maintenance and shift to English across the generations have not been investigated in New Zealand. The current study contributes to filling this gap. Supporting Clyne's findings of higher densities of speakers in communities supporting language maintenance and slowing down language loss, there are indications that German was still spoken, for example, in the 1960s in South Island settlements founded by German speakers in the early nineteenth century (Morris 1993). Yet, German speakers did not pass on their language to the next generation from the time of World War hostilities between the countries. Residents of another originally German-speaking settlement also made this point (e.g. Wildfeuer and Eller 2009). The visiting German linguists Wildfeuer and Eller discovered German still being spoken by some elderly descendants about 150 years after their German-speaking Bohemian ancestors arrived in Puhoi.[15] The linguists were interested in features of the elderly speakers' German dialects,[16] which had kept local-origin differences between families but included, for example, lexical and morphological blending with English and Māori. The current study also touches on such codemixing.

While German-language competence is at times mentioned in passing, for instance, by Watts and Trlin (2000) who report Dutch and German currently as the most prominent European LOTE in New Zealand government entities, only three small studies have focused on the languages of German-speaking immigrants or their descendants. One linguistic study focused on the role of social networks in the use and retention of German in immigrant children. In her case study of four German-born immigrant children living in New Zealand, Walker (1996) found the use of German and English fairly balanced. She concluded that social networks are crucial for language maintenance but wondered how the language situation would

[15] http://www.puhoihistoricalsociety.org.nz/.

[16] Mp3 recording extract on http://www.deutschboehmisch.de/neuseeland/.

change once these children left home and English dominance increased in their daily lives. The current study explores such scenarios. In her study of German-speaking immigrants' English, Halstead (2005) found that quality of interactions with New Zealanders correlated with English language competency and sense of belonging and affiliation with New Zealanders. She concluded that issues of identity are interwoven with language learning in the target language culture but did not elaborate. The current study, on the other hand, considers the nexus of language as a cultural tool and identity across three generations.

## 1.7 Research Gap

The research gap that this study fills can be summarized this way: There is a need for investigation into globe-spanning LM in search of the life that the migrants desire. International LM research has generally overlooked this extreme-distance LM. It is doubtful that maximization of economic returns, which has generally been considered the main driver of migration of the highly skilled, applies to migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand. This and related monetary aspects of LM need to be investigated.

Experiences and coping strategies of the lifestylers' children as a consequence of their parents' migration remain under-researched. Long-term consequences of German speakers' migration to New Zealand and on their children have not been considered from their points of view. In New Zealand, there is a need for valid insights into the integration of immigrant generations through considering the dynamics of their life stages and social lives over time and across the generations. Also, whilst intergenerational German heritage language transfer has been documented prior to hostilities related to WWI and WWII, present-day German-language maintenance and shift across generations have not been investigated in New Zealand.

## 1.8 Research Questions

This research question aimed at closing the research gap:

- What are the consequences of migration for the first German-speaking immigrant generation and the two subsequent familial generations?

To understand actions and their consequences, one also needs to understand underlying reasons and this subset of questions further focused and organized the project:

(a) Why did the participants leave their country and move to New Zealand?
(b) In their narratives and survey responses, what do participants recount as experienced and perceived consequences of migration and their responses to these?
(c) What are their reflective explanations of these?
(d) What consequences of migration—including language use—are observable in participants' everyday actions?
(e) What are the similarities and differences of explanations, recounted experiences, perceptions, and responses, and observable similarities and differences across familial generations?

## 1.9 Study Aims and Rationale

The study evolved from my personal interest as a German-speaking immigrant in New Zealand with children and grandchildren in the country. It intended to reveal long-term consequences of contemporary migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand across three familial generations within intersecting wider social discourses. This project balances migration research that focuses on immigrants from the receiving society's perspective. It does this through presenting consequences and evaluations of migration from the perspectives of well-settled permanent immigrants and New Zealand-born descendants combined with researcher observations of qualitative-study participants. Strengthening its validity and reliability, the study further explored if the pilot and main study findings could be corroborated in the wider community through an electronic survey. This survey used quantitative and qualitative questions that evolved from the qualitative findings and it supported these findings.

Understanding consequences of migration is important for a number of reasons. People who are considering migration need access to realistic information before making this life-changing decision. The study provides potential immigrants with factual and coherent stories of families' experiences of settling in New Zealand and their integration strategies, and as well as long-term consequences evident across three successive familial generations.

Contemporary German-speaking immigrants generally keep a low profile (Bönisch-Brednich 2002) and thus remain largely unknown to New Zealanders (Braund 1997). My study gives such established immigrants and their descendants a voice, allowing monolingual New Zealanders better insights into the experiences of these immigrants and their descendants in their midst.

The high return-migration rate of German-speaking immigrants who had intended to stay but changed their mind incurs considerable costs not only for the returnees but also for New Zealand as the receiving society trying to retain skilled immigrants (Bürgelt et al. 2008; Bürgelt 2010). This signals the importance of exploring and reporting on trajectories emanating from migration in depth.

## 1.10 Summary and Outline of the Book

Chapter one has supplied context for this study by referring to previous studies of migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand. These studies identified New Zealand's landscapes and lifestyle opportunities as common key pull factors for German speakers. The chapter also gave an overview of theories about migration, settlement theories, and intergenerational integration that are relevant to my study. Further, the chapter identified the research gap and explained the rationale and aims for this study.

This book has three parts. The first part "Engaging the Nexus of Practice" entails the preparatory steps of grounding the study in theory and prior research in this chapter as well as the methodological approach in the next chapter. The approach includes positioning the researcher, describing the principles, and processes of the study and introducing the participants. Chapter three reports on the discourses in place, which were relevant for the migrants' decisions about moving to New Zealand at the time. It links the preparatory with the analytical stage and shows that research preparation and analysis cannot be completely separated in practice.

The second part of the book is "Navigating the Nexus of Practice." Part II includes chapters four to nine and contains the participants' stories compiled and translated from raw data, transcripts and analysis as well as discussion of the findings. Chapter four reports on the pilot study, with the subsequent chapters telling the stories of three genealogical generations involved in the study. That is, chapter five reports on the lifestyle migrants. Chapter six tells the stories of the lifestylers' children. Chapter seven focuses on the lifestylers' grandchildren. Each of these chapters considers language and other cultural maintenance and changes over time as well as belonging and identity as observed and as told by participants. These chapters integrate the findings from the online survey that was conducted to test if the qualitative findings could be corroborated in the wider community. Chapter eight presents a synthesis across the generations and chapter nine discusses the findings.

The last part of the book is called "Changing the Nexus of Practice." This part includes reflections on the study. It outlines the study's contributions to knowledge in the field, for relevant institutions and individuals, as well as suggestions for further study and societal changes.

# Chapter 2
# Methodology

Methodology is "the logical study of the principles underlying the conduct of scientific inquiry… including the starting premises as well as the full round of procedural steps…" (Blumer 1969: 24). I used Nexus Analysis (NA) (Scollon 2001; Scollon and Scollon 2003, 2004) to investigate this complex project. Figure 2.1 illustrates the philosophical underpinnings of NA in social constructionism, sociolinguistics, mediated and critical discourse studies as well as the embedding of the mediated action, which is the unit of analysis, in intersecting cycles within a "semiotic ecosystem" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 89). Following Fig. 2.1, which is based on Scollons' graphsand explanations, I explain my positioning as the researcher, consider ethical issues, and outline the research principles, terminology and procedural steps for this study.

## 2.1 Positioning the Researcher

Preparation for research in *Engaging the Nexus of Practice* includes the researcher's positioning because bias-free understanding does not exist (Gadamer 1960/2010). A person's paradigmatic underpinning determines the whole analytical perspective (Habermas 2001). Yet all people commonly "use a plurality of theories" (Feyerabend 1981: ix), so labeling a researcher's position within a specific research paradigm might be problematic. It is my full intention to remain vigilant and not to let my bias corrupt this study. Integrity demands that I declare my preconceptions, especially since as a German-speaking immigrant living in New Zealand I am an insider researcher.

*Weltanschauung* (worldviews, perspectives of the world), and *Weltbild* (literally, world picture; received as well as actively constructed images of the world) are shaped by a person's historical body, to use Nishida's (1998) term for accumulated, lived and embodied experiences and thought. In a social constructionist manner, this notion not only considers the body as historical matter but also as co-creator of the world. My fundamental socialization and therefore my first and deeply forming



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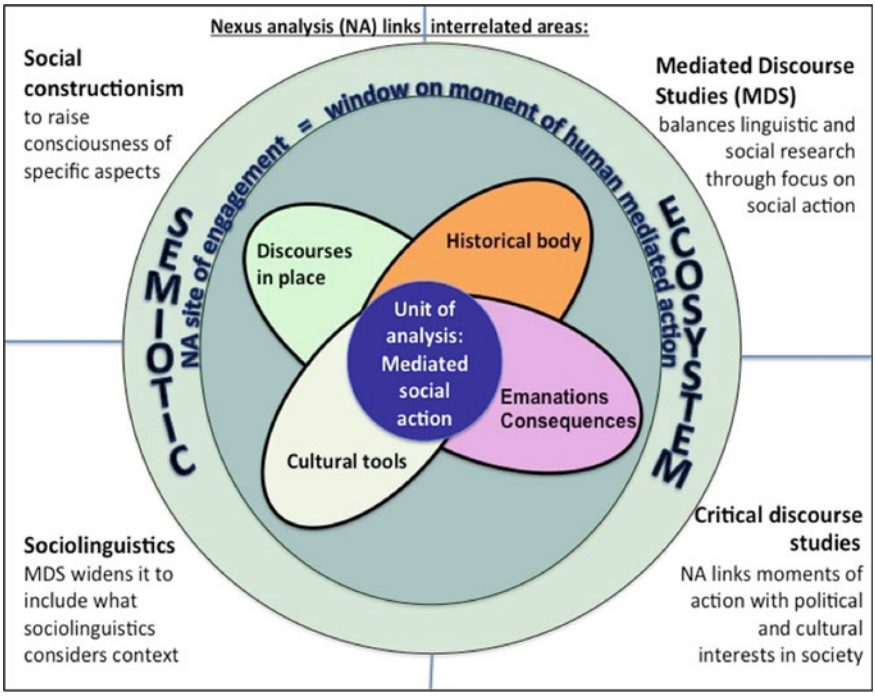


**Fig. 2.1** Positioning nexus analysis

contact with concepts occurred through the German language. This sociocultural conditioning not only explains my preference for the German terms *Weltanschauung* and *Weltbild*, which have more complex meanings than their English translations, but it also explains my ongoing thought processes and practices to a certain extent. *Weltanschauung* and *Weltbild* are inseparably intertwined and influence each other. That is to say, for example, that at the time immigrants arrive in New Zealand they filter their perceptions of society through the lenses of their prior beliefs, values and principles, creating and evaluating their *Weltbild*, or rather their New-Zealand-*Bild*, i.e., their image of New Zealand and New Zealanders, against these prior benchmarks. While the current project is data-driven rather than theory-driven, how the data presents to me and how I actively interpret it and integrate this into my *Weltbild* is nevertheless guided by my *Weltanschauung*.

I believe in realities as ongoing dynamic processes of cultural and social constructions interlinked with nature and natural processes,[1] with all such aspects

[1]The natural processes that determine life stages from birth to death are entwined with sociocultural practices impacting these stages, for instance, in birthing practices or in the now common Western sociocultural practice of retirement homes for the elderly that more and more replaces families caring for their oldest. Another example for interlinked natural processes and sociocultural practices, which impacted on a number of participants in my study, is evident in the consequences

allowing as well as restricting personal agency. Portes (2010: 1540) aptly states that, "Culture is the realm of values, cognitive frameworks, and accumulated knowledge. Social structure is the realm of interests, individual and collective, backed by different amounts of power." We are born into social structures and forces underpinned by cultural values that shape and institutionalize us from birth. Through moving into another society one becomes acutely aware of such socio-cultural aspects, at times through intense culture shock. I grew up in a German city but have lived in various cultures on different continents for many years and New Zealand has been my home now for over three decades. Because I have children and grandchildren in New Zealand, exploring multigenerational experiences of other immigrant families grew out of personal interest and was close to my heart.

## 2.2 Ethics Considerations

My core principles and values developed through early teachings were modified through life experiences and critical reflections, yet still resemble early guidelines of "treat others as you wish to be treated." This includes modern ethical research principles as proposed by Strohm-Kitchener and Kitchener (2009): beneficence (do good/benefit others); non-maleficence (inflict no harm); respect for others (regard for others' autonomy); fidelity (loyalty, honesty and trustworthiness); and justice (fairness). Here, this translates into respect for participants having sympathy for their problems and the wish to look for fair treatment of immigrants and their descendants in the receiving society while staying fair and objective towards all involved.

The Austrian philosopher Wittgenstein (1965) likens explanations of ethics to the attempt of creating a typical face through superimposing multiple images. With respect to my research, these layers included permission by the Ethics Committee at Auckland University of Technology (AUTEC) as prerequisite for working with human participants (AUTEC 08/229), with supplementary submission of research amendments and survey questions. The addressed ethical principles were: informed and voluntary consent; respect for rights of privacy and confidentiality; risk minimization; truthfulness and limitation of deception; adequacy of research; avoidance of a conflict of interest; as well as social and cultural sensitivity.

With this inquiry I aimed to understand the lived realities of families of originally German-speaking immigrants to New Zealand. Habermas (1994: 123) asserts

(Footnote 1 continued)

of the February 2011 tectonic plate movements on the city of Christchurch and the people of Canterbury. That is, had the warnings of the 1888 Canterbury earthquake been heeded and had buildings consequently been constructed in more earthquake-resistant ways and not on reclaimed swamp, the social impact of the 2011 earthquake would have been different.

that "The first-person reference, and hence the relationship to the identity of a group (or an individual) is grammatically inscribed in ethical questions." My reading of this is that researchers (as the syntactic subject) cannot remove themselves from ethical problems in their research (the syntactic object in such questions). Therefore, next are ethical considerations of doing research with families.

Research involving families needs to be situated within relationship ethics (Cram and Kennedy 2010). This includes accommodating the pace at which a family wants to proceed, their decisions about their stories, and their decisions to move in and out of the research as they wish. To ensure voluntary consent and elimination of coercion, all potential participants in my main study (in the case of small children their parents) were fully informed about the research verbally and in writing. An option for participants was to withdraw all or part of their data from the research at any time before inclusion in the research report. I also notified participants about the independent and confidential support services offered by the university should any issues and concerns arise from the research. Consent covered the possibility of using data including video and photos in academic publications. This poses risks to participants' rights to anonymity. Therefore, participants were given the choice to have their faces digitally obscured in publications, or have only audio-recorded data used. The survey was anonymous.

Risks to anonymity in the main study were also mitigated through using fictitious names unless explicit permission was given for using a person's real name or face in photos. To allow participants to frankly voice discontent with societal issues, specific sensitive language transcripts of data and/or data evaluation of the main study were not assigned to names. In accordance with the cooperative nature of NA mentioned above, individual data, transcripts and analysis in the main study were scrutinized by individual participants or in the case of minors also by their parents, giving them the option of withdrawal, editing and censorship before data and subsequent analysis were included in the research report. Parents made the ultimate decision about their minors' participation.

I acknowledge the vulnerability of the participating children because of a power imbalance between children and an adult researcher. Therefore, throughout my study I took great care in interactions with these young participants to make them feel comfortable. Children who were involved in the study knew me from social gatherings, and their assent/information sheet included my photo, so they knew who was doing the project. I tended to sit on the floor when collecting data from the youngest children to be at their eye level. As an alternative, I asked parents if they wanted to record their children's interactions when I was not present. In addition to checking with parents if inclusion of collected data and analysis were acceptable, I asked the children if they wanted to see and/or hear my recordings of them, asking if they liked me to use it in my homework (because for the younger children the idea of research was too abstract). The outcomes of this research are in the children's interest as they might benefit, for example, from their parents' greater awareness through evaluation of their languages and potential changes in language usage resulting from this study.

## 2.3 Nexus Analysis—Research Principles

The sociolinguists Ron and Suzie Scollon developed mediated discourse analysis and NA (Scollon 2001; Scollon and Scollon 2003, 2004). They explain NA as the strategic analytical approach of mediated discourse analysis but also collapse both terms into NA, declaring that mediated discourse analysis is encompassed throughout NA. In my view, it is better to use the term mediated discourse studies instead of mediated discourse analysis because, as van Dijk (2007) rightly points out, studies accommodate theoretical underpinnings whereas analysis is restricted to methods of examination. I therefore refer to mediated discourse studies (MDS) and NA.

As a sociocultural methodology, MDS draws on interactional sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis, and linguistic anthropology. Wertsch (2005) traces the origins of MDS ideas back to the work of Vygotsky (1934/1986) on mediation of human action. MDS aims to elucidate the complex relations between discourse and social action. Seeking to keep the complexity of a social situation intact, it balances social science inquiry, which regards language as secondary and linguistic inquiry, which regards social context as secondary.

In MDS, discourse is understood not only as stretches of language but also in a wider sense, integrating Gee and Blommaert's definitions. Gee's Discourses (he uses capital 'D' for these to differentiate from chunks of language) are "ways of being in the world; they are forms of life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities"; therefore, Discourse is an "identity kit" that projects a "particular role that others will recognize" (Gee 1989: 6f.). To distinguish these wider Discourses from discourse as stretches of language, the expression "nexus of practice" is used in MDS instead of (capital D) Discourse. For Blommaert (2005: 3), discourse "comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns and developments of use".

To clarify the connections between MDS notions and NA methods, I detail relevant theoretical principles of MDS and then the tactics of NA that I used in this study. MDS is based on three broad principles outlined by the Scollons: Social action, communication, and history. These principles are also intrinsic to social constructionism (cf. Berger and Luckmann 1966; Gergen 1999). In my view, NA is therefore also rooted in social constructionism even though the Scollons did not make this connection. The overview of the principles illustrates these foundations and shows the advantages of being an insider researcher.

Principle one is the principle of social action. It stipulates discourse to be considered as a matter of social action (rather than a structural language system) to understand action in society and the role discourse plays in social action. Six corollaries emanate from this principle: One, the mediated action is the appropriate unit of analysis. Two, social action is based in generally subconscious practice. Three, social action is based on a person's accrued experience of social actions.

Four, social action is embedded in a linked-practices network, which asserts identities and social belonging of all involved, including those talked about and bystanders. Five, since social actions position individual participants, interactions effectively socialize them into groups through a network. Six, this socialization effectively produces outsiders.

Principle two is the principle of communication. The term "social" in "social action" implies a shared symbolic meaning system because an action has to be communicated to be social. Corollary one: *Mediational means* are used for semiotic purposes that mediate shared meaning. Corollary two: Mediational means used in a social action are connected and organized in complex ways with each other and with the action under investigation in its very place and moment in time.

Principle three is the principle of history. Social means historical in the sense that shared meaning derives from a common history or common past. Three corollaries relate to this principle. The first is interdiscursivity, explained as the embedding of all communications in "multiple, overlapping, and even conflicting discourses" resulting from histories (Scollon 2001: 8). The second suggests intertextuality, i.e., the recycling of other texts and communications, and in turn, usage in future discourses. The third, dialogicality or practical inference states that all communications respond to and anticipate other communications.

The following five centrally important concepts are derived from and interconnect with all the above principles:

- Mediated action
- Meditational means/cultural tools
- Site of engagement
- Practice
- Nexus of practice.

I will explain each notion in turn.

### *2.3.1 Mediated Action*

The unit of analysis in MDS is the mediated action, which is the unique moment in real time in which the social actor acts with mediational means in the sociocultural environment. Yet as Scollon (2001: 3) also explains, "the focus is on social actors *as they are acting* because these are the moments in social life when the Discourses in which we are interested are instantiated in the social world as social action, not simply as material objects." In accordance with the principle of social action and social constructionist thought, an action is always part of a social practice, in turn is linked into other social practices. Within these links, a social action (re)creates social identities. For example, immigrant participants in my study planted sweet chestnut trees in order to continue their Austrian social practices of gathering, roasting and eating chestnuts, thus recreating their Austrian identity.

### 2.3.2 Mediational Means/Cultural Tools

All actions are mediated or facilitated through mediational means, also called cultural tools, in interaction with the actor's "historical body," to use Nishida's (1998) term for accrued lived and therefore embodied experiences and thought processes, and the sociocultural environment. Scollon and Scollon (2004) define mediational means as semiotic resources of mediation in every action. Mediational means can be embodied (e.g., gestures, language), material objects (e.g., room layout or floor surface facilitating dancing), and concepts (e.g., principle of beneficence in research). While the Scollons prefer the term mediational means or semiotic resources instead of cultural tools, I will forthwith use the term cultural tools whenever I refer to mediational means as semiotic resources because even how we use our bodies in actions is socioculturally developed and understood (cf. Ohashi 2010; Triandis and Brislin 1984).

Multiple cultural tools are involved in social actions, carrying historical affordances and constraints. I anticipated that the cultural tools that participants use would inform about their feelings of belonging, knowledge and competence, and about their material belongings. For example, a participant used a handmade wooden slicer with stainless steel blades imported for the purpose of shredding cabbage for *Sauerkraut**, proudly presenting tool and product to visitors and emphasizing that his *Sauerkraut* was made the traditional Austrian way. Languages are cultural tools that also play an important role in this study. For example, what languages are spoken within the families, intra- and intergenerational, and why? What sites of engagement provoke the use of a particular language?

### 2.3.3 Site of Engagement

A site of engagement is the real-time window that facilitates the occurrence of an action (Scollon 2001). This window is opened through the intersection of social practices and cultural tools, through the social and political environment, a social actor's stance towards time and space, and their historical body. For instance, one New Zealand site of engagement requires certain non-British immigrants already approved under the skilled migrant category to sit a professional competence test, which is conducted in English.

### 2.3.4 Practices

Scollon (2001) emphasizes that practices are socially distributed, learned through repetition of social actions, and internalized as habitual patterns. For continental Europeans moving to New Zealand, different social practices quickly become

apparent. For example, New Zealand cultural tools such as "links fahren [drive on the left]/keep left" displayed on rental-car dashboards and on South Island country roads frequented by tourists remind of this local social practice in order to avoid dire consequences of reverting to the continental Europeans' practice of driving on the right.

### 2.3.5 *Nexus of Practice*

No social action is possible without participating in social discourses (Scollon 2001). While it usually is obvious where social discourses in Gee and Blommaert's sense are referred to rather than discourse as a stretch of language, Scollon replaces social discourses with the term *nexus of practice* when clarification is needed. Nexus of practice relates to the point "at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas, and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: viii). In my project for example, these trajectories are reflected in common push and pull factors, and in social practices that have symbolic value. A nexus of practice is formed by a linkage of practices to other practices over time, and can be identified for one mediated action at a time. In other words, a nexus of practice is a repeated site of engagement where some kind of social action is made possible through a fairly consistent set of social processes. These nexuses of practices are commonly seen as context in sociolinguistic analysis but they are as important as language in an inquiry into the consequences of international migration.

Of interest for parts of the analysis is the "constellation of linked practices [and] the identities thus produced, not necessarily the specific practices and actions themselves" (Scollon 2001: 5). For example, do the participants (report to) use a cluster of social practices in their home, workplace, or at school, that produce an integrated Kiwi (New Zealand/New Zealander) identity or an outsider identity? Does this change at different times and for different occasions? An example of exploring trajectories of a nexus of practice could start from the action of giving a *Weihnachtspyramide* [Christmas pyramid][2] as a gift (see Fig. 2.2). This nexus links four generations of one participating family with the tradition of woodcraft in the German Ore Mountains. The Christmas pyramid was a mother's gift to her son before the family moved to New Zealand (practice of gift giving at Christmas and of parent caring for children no matter what age). The pyramid carries emotional value for the granddaughter because she was very fond of her late grandmother and she asked if she could have it (practice of remembering ancestors through material things). The original pyramid had suffered somewhat under regular use over the decades (practice of using symbolic items), so on a visit to Germany (practice of

[2]See e.g., http://www.erzgebirgepalace.com/index.php?cat=97&filter_id=18.

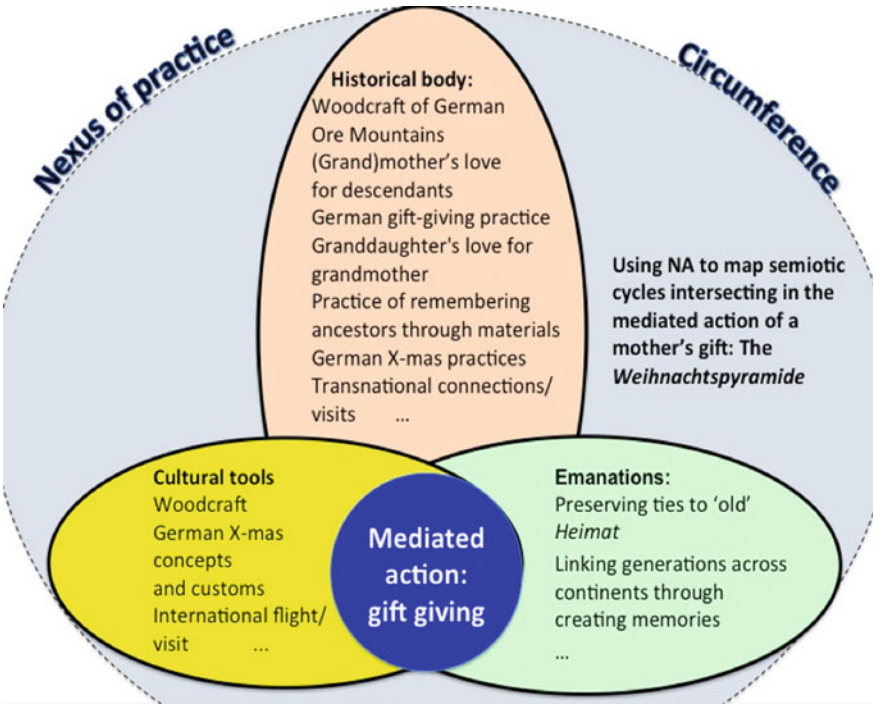


**Fig. 2.2** Example of nexus interlinking in the action of gift giving

visiting family in Europe) her mother and aunt went (practice of going shopping together) to the Christmas market[3] (traditional Christmas practice) to buy the same pyramid for the daughter and grandchildren. This practice of using symbolic items that express German identity continued across generations (cf. Lane 2009).

## 2.4 Method—Procedural Steps in Nexus Analysis

The term "nexus" denotes "a link between two different ideas or objects which links them in a series or network" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: viii), yet NA is not quite that simple. As the strategic analytical method of MDS, NA is a way of opening up the circumference around moments of human actions, so that the lines of historical and social discourses coming together at such a moment become visible, as well as detecting the outcomes emanating from such a moment, such as transformations in those discourses, social actors, and cultural tools (Scollon 2002). Home language, i.e., the language used within the immediate family in the home, for example, is a

[3]See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4jAKyNxF_s8&feature=endscreen.

nexus in this study. This move beyond analyzing single events through addressing how social realities are created across time and space expands the scope of traditional discourse analysis (de Saint-Georges 2005).

NA regards social life taking place through individual actions, which are possible and explicable only with respect to various potentially significant aspects of the context—from sociohistorical institutions and discourses, to places, objects, and individual histories (Wortham 2006). Each of these forms a cycle of discourse that intersects in the action; and Scollon and Scollon (2004) acknowledge that the challenge for the researcher is to determine which are relevant because many of these aspects could be key to the action under investigation. Investigating the discourse cycles intersecting in actions is the main concern of NA and the processes involve three steps:

- Engaging the nexus of practice
- Navigating the nexus of practice
- Changing the nexus of practice.

### *2.4.1 Engaging the Nexus of Practice*

As Scollon and Scollon point out, these tasks may overlap. Engaging the nexus of practice involves preparatory steps that include, for instance, placing the study in context, choosing the study focus, getting ethics approval and recruiting participants. The main task of NA is navigating the nexus of practice. This includes data gathering and the analytical part of the study. NA is considered social activism that intends to bring about positive changes, so the final step (which may lead back to the first task to open another cycle of NA) is changing the nexus of practice. These procedural steps are outlined in more detail next.

Engaging the nexus of practice, the preparatory steps of the research, include positioning the researcher and considering ethics of research as well as getting ethics approval. The overlapping of preparatory and analytical tasks announced by Scollon and Scollon eventuated from the need to provide background information for migration consequences, namely the migrants' motives for their move to New Zealand within the discursive contexts in their countries of origin and New Zealand.

### *2.4.2 Navigating the Nexus of Practice*

In this study, navigating the nexus of practice involved mapping the semiotic cycles of people, places, discourses, and cultural tools that intersected, for example, in the action of migrating, looking for expectations and consequences, relationships and changes, but importantly also limiting the circumference of relevance around the

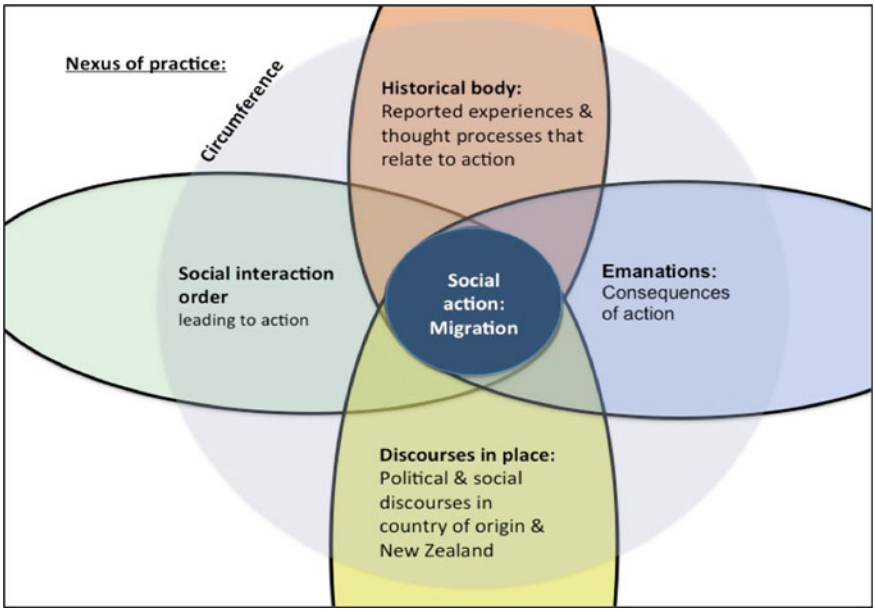


**Fig. 2.3** Semiotic ecosystem of migrating

nexus of practice that was navigated. The nexus of practice involved mapping the semiotic cycles intersecting what Scollon and Scollon (2004) call the micro-semiotic ecosystem. Figure 2.3 gives an example of such a central ecosystem in this study.

The crucial social action in the micro-semiotic ecosystem in this example is the action of migration. The semiotic cycles of the migrants including the relevant aspects of their historical body, the semiotic cycles of places, discourses, and cultural tools intersecting in this action had to be mapped, looking for expectations and emanations, relationships and changes. These NA terms are explained below, but keeping all these aspects separated in practice is "very difficult and largely pointless" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 160). In the qualitative part of my study, the mapping of semiotic cycles included the discourses in place in the immigrants' countries of origin (i.e., Austria and Germany) and in New Zealand at specific points in time as evident in the participants' narrative accounts, and how participants described these as impacting on their migration and on the consequences thereof.

#### 2.4.2.1 Semiotic Cycles

As Scollon and Scollon (2004) state, the historical body, the interaction order and the discourses in place that intersect in an action, all have a history that leads to this

action and a future that leads away from it in semiotic cycles of change and transformation. To take an example from this study, the action of migrating to New Zealand is at the nexus of an immigrant's historical body (e.g. prior New Zealand traveling experience), the interaction order (which in the case of an initial applicant may relate to shared environmental concerns and imaginations of an unspoiled land; and societal order that one group may see as desirable but others perceive as exclusion), and future cycles emanating from the immigration that in broad terms can be described as consequences of that migration. An action like migration therefore clearly provides fresh momentum into future cycles of change and transformation. Navigating and exploring the pertinent cycles was vital to assemble a comprehensive picture of the consequences of such action.

#### 2.4.2.2 Historical Body

The term "historical body" is taken from Nishida (1998). It encompasses all the lived and therefore embodied experiences of a person. This study was not concerned with the full life stories of the people involved. Rather, I was interested in understanding how and why the action/practice and the cultural tools under scrutiny became part of the individual's historical body. For example, why did the participants move to New Zealand? Or, when thinking about a child speaking English to his/her bilingual mother or father, how did this come about? How habitual or innovative was this action for that person? In other words, to what extent was it a practice? To which other practices was this linked for the individual? Also, what was the emotional impact on participants in this action?

#### 2.4.2.3 Interaction Order

NA takes the term interaction order from Goffman (1983). He explains interaction order as an abstraction, with social interactions being orderly and based on participants' cognitive understanding of other participants' knowledge and roles, with choices made from social and cultural conventions and norms (which can be flouted and changed). Therefore, interaction order is coupled with social structures, for example, individual relationships; societal status; political institutions that can impose specific interaction orders; and with doctrines or movements that can undermine social structures (Goffman 1983). In this study, an example of interaction order regulated by the New Zealand state is involved in gaining permanent residency. An example of political agency in this interaction order is that once permanent residency has been granted and electronically recorded, the permanent resident must still pay for a new sticker in every new passport.

#### 2.4.2.4 Discourses in Place

As the Scollons point out, discourses in place usually are semiotic aggregates. The guiding question here aimed to discover what aspects of the place were crucial or foregrounded in relation to the action under investigation (Scollon and Scollon 2004). A place consists not only of built structures, furniture, and other objects, but also of discourses such as conversations, social, commercial and/or political discourses. Overt discourses in place may be present as interaction order (such as publication of Chernobyl disaster facts forced by questions posed by radiation-monitoring institutions and governments), and as signs, music, texts, or other place discourses such as park trees, or road layout. Other discourses, however, may be hidden. The Scollons argue that separating the material aspects from other discourses only serves as analytical heuristic, which might lead some to the view that the physical aspects of concrete objects are denied. I do not see it this way. Rather, the reality of material objects linked into social actions is also filled with meanings to be discovered. One example of semiotic aggregates or discourses in place intersecting in the action of emigration of a number of first-generation migrant participants was the real, concrete fallout from the Chernobyl nuclear disaster as well as the discourses around it, all of which were very much foregrounded in their attention. Relevant discourses in place are explained in Chap. 3.

#### 2.4.2.5 Discourses Internalized as Practice

Many discourses are hidden in an action because they have become internalized and submerged in practice; making such invisible discourses visible is a goal of NA (Scollon and Scollon 2004). Making them apparent is only possible through following the semiotic cycles back and forth from the action in focus. Some of these invisible discourses feeding into migration are made visible in the Discourses in Place (Chap. 3), such as the impact of low-flying planes or pesticide use. In line with the Scollons' suggestion, I also started by asking what discourses were foregrounded in order to make them habitual. For instance, did a participant call attention to an object so it could be talked about? How habituated were the actions? Habituated actions usually entail submerged discourses. If an action was not yet practice, was there an expectation that it would become practice in the future?

#### 2.4.2.6 Objects and Concepts as Cultural Tools

As mentioned above, in MDS/NA there is no meaningful distinction between the cultural tools that are objects and those that are concepts although the Scollons suggest that concepts take longer to be internalized than working with objects. In other words, it takes less time to internalize the mechanics of working with wood on

a building site than it takes to comprehend the concepts underlying such construction. As a heuristic, however, separating the cultural tools that are objects from those that are concepts might help understanding the trajectories intersecting in an action. For instance, for the participants, Christmas based on the ancient mid-winter celebration of the darkest time of year having passed may not easily translate into the New Zealand concept of Christmas at the beach in the middle of summer. Taking a picnic basket to the beach for the event, on the other hand, might easily become habitual action. Questions are about the histories of the concepts and the histories of the tools in the action. An example from my study for this was a pine felled, debarked and carved in the action of turning it into a maypole (see Fig. 5.5). How did it come to be used, i.e., through whose agency, and why?

Questions about concepts as cultural tools were directed at aiding the understanding of trajectories in an action: Which conceptual tools were used? These could be language or other semiotic codes, such as the knowledge of how to conform to institutionalized ways of doing things or codes of behavior. For instance, school uniforms are uncommon in German-speaking Europe but the norm in New Zealand. Were these concepts internalized or not? When, where, and who with were they internalized? Was it the same or different for all participants? Was a concept shared among participants? For example, did participants of the second or third generation in my study share concepts of celebrating events in their lives with the first generation or not? Examples of difference were G2's graduation ceremonies and their marriage ceremonies held in gardens. That is, in Germany and Austria, for instance, marriages have to be signed in a registry office and university graduation does not involve semiotic codes of academic gowns and mortarboards for ceremonial capping (cf. Bönisch-Brednich 2010).

#### 2.4.2.7 Anticipations and Emanations

To understand the situation of an action on a longer timescale, the action needs to be considered in terms of anticipation and emanation (Scollon and Scollon 2004). In other words, migration is not usually an action undertaken at the spur of the moment. Anticipations lead to migration and emanations evolve from it. Another example is the action of digging a hole in the ground, which happens in anticipation of tree planting, for instance, and the crop the tree would yield. Cleaning the gumboots afterwards emanates from the action of digging. However, the actions of digging and planting such a tree could be anticipation as well as emanation from prior actions and practices. Participants' planting of chestnut trees in New Zealand not only was in anticipation of future crops, but also an emanation of the earlier practices using chestnuts back in Austria. They did not, for example, plant date palms, which can be seen as revealing the hidden discourse of cultural practice and awareness of horticultural growing regions.

#### 2.4.2.8 Transformation and Resemiotisation

Actions may transform or resemiotisize one kind of discourse into another. For example, the New Zealand expression "number 8 wire," the simple fencing material used by pioneer settlers to create various gadgets or perform all sorts of repairs has been resemiotisized into a concept that praises New Zealanders' ingenuity. To give another example from this study, Austrian concepts and plans used as cultural tools were resemiotisized into a wine cellar through brickwork, woodwork and other actions.

#### 2.4.2.9 Challenge of Choices and Staying Focused

The list of ideas and options in the toolbox of NA for finding answers is somewhat intimidating and the challenge was how best to proceed. Scollon and Scollon (2004) do not provide a prescriptive recipe for research, but rather suggest roughly drafting the nexus of practice to begin with, and then selecting some cycles and working along their circumferences. Such a cycle could be a practice, the actor's historical body, or a discourse that shows potential for answering the research questions. Once the main lines of an action of interest have been sketched, the Scollons suggest learning from the participants about their own semiotic cycles. Because anticipations might determine outcomes, anticipations linking into the action of migration were important. For instance, did a participant expect to stay permanently in New Zealand or only for a specific time? Also, was the motive for an action within the actor's historical body; or through whose agency was the action happening? For example, did the children have any say in the action of immigration? NA is always a journey of discovery, in which the paths and detours invite exploration of discourses in the widest sense. The Scollons' caution that following the semiotic cycles will lead to finding other crucial nexuses of practice in the circumference points to the importance and difficulty of staying focused.

#### 2.4.2.10 Analysis of Discourse as Language or Other Semiotic Systems

NA regards the narrower concept of discourse, i.e., discourse as a stretch of verbal and nonverbal language, also as important and present throughout NA in at least these six forms:

- Speech of participants in actions (foregrounded or backgrounded)
- Texts as cultural tools (foregrounded or backgrounded)
- Images and other semiotic systems used as cultural tools (e.g., manner of dressing; design of buildings and other places; artifacts)
- [Actions] habituated in the participants' historical bodies and in their practices

- [Actions and cultural practice] submerged in the design of the built environment and objects
- The analyst's speech, writing, or images in conducting the NA (which may be within or apart from the moment of the action (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 173).

When analyzing these discourses, the Scollons suggest drawing on critical discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology.

Critical discourse analysis, as understood within NA, is concerned with social power interests produced in the discourse, and with the wider Discourses overtly or covertly present. Asking about systemic and power relations is relevant, as is questioning what is avoided or not being said. The Scollons point out that a Discourse may be so obvious that it is invisible. Keeping this in mind is especially important for an insider researcher.

Interactional sociolinguistics focuses on interpersonal connections, on structures of participation, positioning, alignments, and identities. Rather than only concentrating on positions and alignments between participants and the Discourses they were involved with, however, participants' positions and alignments with places and objects and to the cultural tools they used, as well as the actions they took with these were equally significant for this NA. Of interest was also how alignments were accomplished in actions, especially in moments of resemiotisation. Sociolinguistic alignment for participating German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand, for example, was using English when monolingual English speakers were present, while in the resemiotisation of verbal English to written notes, German or English, or a mix of both languages was used.

Linguistic anthropology is concerned with the relationships between language and culture as well as in their connections with thought. For NA, the central question is, "How are sociocultural or historical thought or cultural patterns in the language (or other semiotic systems such as images or gestures) and its genres and registers providing a temple for the actions of participants in the nexus of practice?" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 175). Therefore, the question was what language was used in an action, if the language was different from the language of analysis, and if this made a difference in the templates used in analysis. Also, which cultural scripts and schemata were internalized as cultural tools?

#### 2.4.2.11 Motives

Motive analysis is fully integrated in discourse analysis. It seeks to understand how participants and analyst are positioning themselves when explaining their actions. Rather than yielding a "true" motive, one needs to keep in mind that the attribution of motive itself is a discursive strategy for positioning social actors in relation to the action taken.

### *2.4.3 Changing the Nexus of Practice*

NA is considered social activism, so the final task in NA is changing the nexus of practice. Changing the nexus of practice may involve actions motivated through and brought about during the NA, or bringing one's analysis back into the semiotic system by identifying and making comprehensible the connections within the many trajectories of social life that can bring about change through and for the participants and/or the wider society. However, as Scollon and Scollon (2004) note, in NA the analyst is not in a privileged position to bring about social change unilaterally. One needs to consider also that the researcher's actions change the trajectories for the researcher and also for the others in the nexus of practice. In other words, whatever we do has consequences. In this study such change may be, for example, raising the third participant generation's awareness of their German-speaking heritage during data collection, and/or contributing to building international migration theory through this book.

## 2.5 Engaging the Nexus/Preparatory Steps

This section describes procedural steps in my study. Once the study focus had been established through reviewing previous studies and identifying the research gap, I made decisions on whom to involve in my study and what questions to ask. Initially, it aimed at understanding settlement experiences of contemporary German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand. Yet, soon my study confirmed the Scollons' point that the preparatory and analytical stages of a study will overlap and that circumferences of analysis will grow.

In other words, my study grew organically. I soon felt the need to extend its scope to investigate long-term immigration consequences across generations within families. This is the reason why I widened the circumference during my pilot study by opting to focus on three generations in immigrant families in my main study rather than concentrating only on the immigrants themselves. Also, NA purposefully unifies the two traditionally different levels of discourse analysis, "the micro-analysis of unfolding moments of social interaction" and the "much broader socio-political-cultural analysis of the relationships among social groups and power interests in the society" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 8). This became very clear during the years I spent on the main study. Therefore, I added a survey with quantitative and qualitative questions (see Appendix) arising from my main study findings to see if these could be corroborated in three familial immigrant generations in the wider community, which indeed was the case.

### 2.5.1 Participant Recruitment and Characteristics

Three sets of participants took part in my study. First, a snowball system was applied to find well-settled German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand. That is, I first informed two adult German-speaking immigrants from my personal networks about my project. These initial contacts informed others, asking interested people to contact me or if they could pass on their contact details to me. Later, I advertised for participants for the survey. All potential participants were fully informed about the study and safeguards for participants.

#### 2.5.1.1 Pilot Study Participants

A pilot study tested the research focus and analytical method, and informed on how to proceed. Participants from Germany were involved in the pilot study as outlined in Table 2.1.

The preparatory engaging-the-nexus-of-practice phase encompassed focusing the research through identifying the crucial moments in time through which the research questions might be answered and the most important cycles of discourses and historical bodies intersecting in the mediated actions in these moments. This was crucial for data collection and became a cooperative task between the participants and me. The pilot phase illustrates the overlap between the research phases of engaging and navigating the nexus of practice. It proved fruitful for research question refinement and for my reassessment of how to proceed.

#### 2.5.1.2 Participants in the Qualitative Main Study

To be able to discover consequences of migration across generations, I decided to focus on three generations in families in my main study. I aimed to focus on

**Table 2.1** Pilot study participants

| Participants in qualitative pilot study | Number (*n*) | Age at time of migration | Had lived in New Zealand for … years by time of study | Female (f) male (m) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st generation immigrants | 2 | 40–45 | 12–26 | 1f; 1m; |
| Mother following/sponsored by their son | 1 | 69 | 16–20 | 1f |
| Total in qualitative pilot study | 3 | | | 2f; 1m |

**Table 2.2** Participants in the main study

| Participants in the main study | Number (*n*) | Ages at time of migration | Ages at start of data collection | Gender female (f) male (m) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st familial generation, immigrants (G1) | 6 | 36–43 | 61–70 | 3f; 3m |
| 2nd generation (G2) = children of G1 born outside NZ | 7 | 5, 12, 13, 14, 16, 21, 28[a] | 30–43 | 4f; 3m |
| 3rd generation (G3) = New Zealand (Australian)—born children of G2 | 19 | N/A | 16 months–12 years | 5f; 14m |
| Total main study | 32 | | | 12f; 20m |

[a]Migrated to New Zealand years after his parents and siblings

immigrant families with all family members living in New Zealand and participants I could easily get to from my Auckland base.

Considerable challenges are involved in recruiting and working with families for research (Jamieson et al. 2011). I found first-generation immigrants were very keen to tell their stories, but trying to recruit whole families with three familial generations living in New Zealand was difficult, as people's lives do not necessarily fit neatly into research categories. I count myself fortunate that I was able to recruit three whole families with three generations to take part in my main study. Indeed, Bott (1957/1968) found that families participating in research did so because they wanted to assist the research and to compare themselves with other families.

The families' generations were spread around the greater Auckland region in the North Island, Canterbury in the South Island, and Victoria in Australia, where one of three second-generation participants in one of the recruited families had moved to for work reasons. Because this move was a consequence of his parents immigrating to New Zealand I also included him and his children. This still allowed me to visit participants by car and on cheap flights, and communicating on Skype or by phone for follow-up questions and the like. By the end of my four-year data collection the ages of the participants in the three families ranged from 2½ years to 72 years. This indicates the strong interest in the topic of this study (Table 2.2).

In this study, I use generation in its genealogical sense: the first generation (G1; $n = 6$) are the participating immigrants and their partners, all qualitative-study G1 participants were born in the 1940s and were in their thirties and forties when they immigrated to New Zealand; their children are the second generation (G2; $n = 7$) and were all born overseas; and their children, the third generation (G3; $n = 19$) were born in New Zealand, or in Australia ($n = 3$; G2 parent moved there from New Zealand). Unless a name was used with permission, I used fictitious names for participants as this expresses their importance as persons rather than mere research subjects while respecting their anonymity.

#### 2.5.1.3 The Survey Participants

The online survey was designed to elicit quantitative and qualitative responses from German-speaking immigrants and two subsequent generations in New Zealand. Its aim was to see if findings from my main study would apply in the wider community. This way, the circumference of the study was widened. As Scollon and Scollon (2004) explain, such expansion helps understanding layers of societal and geopolitical circumstances. German-speaking immigrants and two subsequent familial generations were therefore targeted with an online survey generated with Survey Monkey.[4] The survey link was circulated in New Zealand via work and personal contacts, electronic newsletters of organizations, for instance, the German Society, Austrian and Swiss Clubs, businesses and a New Zealand newspaper (online). The survey included a cover page in English and German with comprehensive information about the study and contact details. The questions (see Appendix) were also in English and in German and answers were given in English or in German, with some respondents switching between the languages in their answers. This codeswitching reflected observations in the main study but closer analysis of codeswitching in the survey was beyond the scope of the study. This was because the survey served to see if the qualitative findings were unique to my pilot and main study participants or if other German-speaking immigrants and their descendants in New Zealand had similar views and experiences. For these reasons and because the survey corroborated findings of the pilot and main study, it is not dealt with separately in this book. Rather, survey responses are included with the main study where appropriate. Arising from the main study, quantitative and qualitative questions covered these four broad themes:

- Migration motivation and fulfillment of expectations
- Qualification, employment, and budget matters
- Social acceptance, integration, and multicultural families
- Cultural maintenance and shift.

Inevitably questions in such a survey need to be able to be answered by ticking specified categories and adding relatively brief comments. Whilst many comments were added, the survey collected more superficial information by comparison with the in-depth interviews, as there was no opportunity for clarification of questions or explanation of responses with the researcher. There is also no way of knowing how representative the responses provided were of all German-speaking migrants and their descendants who live in New Zealand. Notwithstanding these caveats, the information provided by a much larger number of immigrants and their descendants from the target population to questions relating to migration and settlement experiences does assist in assessing the extent to which some of the findings from the qualitative research are likely to be reflective of experiences amongst the larger (originally) German-speaking population resident in New Zealand.

[4] http://www.surveymonkey.com/takeatour.aspx.

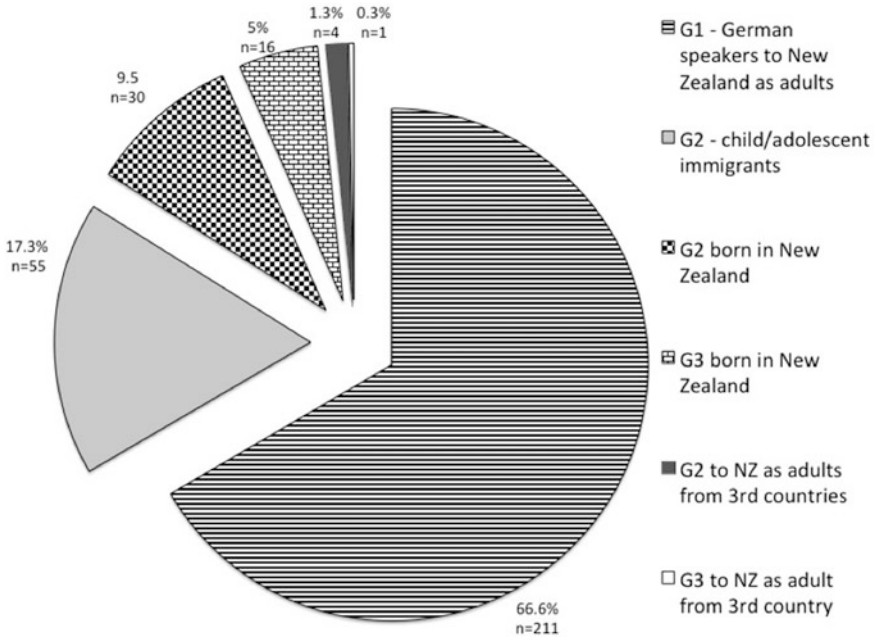


**Fig. 2.4** Survey respondents—familial generation groups

In total, 317 responses were received. Most G1 respondents reported Germany as their country of origin, with some respondents from other German-speaking areas of Europe. The respondents' ages ranged from 16 to over 80 years. As illustrated in Fig. 2.4, 211 survey respondents were German-speaking G1 immigrants, whereas 55 G2 respondents arrived in New Zealand with their parent(s) during childhood or adolescence. Of the 46 New Zealand-born respondents, 30 were G2, that is, they were born to one or two German-speaking parents who immigrated as adults; and 16 were G3, that is, they had German-speaking immigrant grandparents and at least one immigrant parent. Thus, they were a similar type of G3 to the one in the main study, but they were older. For this reason, they were able to add information that the former were unable to provide due to their young age.

The composition of G2 and G3 in the survey responses complicated comparisons with findings from the main study. Four respondents migrated to New Zealand as adults but were born to German-speaking immigrant parents in other non-German-speaking countries (in the Americas and Africa); they grew up there and lived there as adults. One respondent with German-speaking grandparents migrated to New Zealand from the United States as an adult. Therefore, in terms of generational distance from the original German-speaking immigrants these five respondents fit into G2 and G3. Yet, because they migrated to New Zealand as adults, they were included with adult immigrants in this analysis. Main study G2

participants were all born outside New Zealand while a number of G2 survey respondents were born in New Zealand. G3 survey respondents were adults, whereas G3 participants in the main study were children. Therefore, while G3 survey responses were worth noting, comparison with G3 in the main study was only partially possible.

### *2.5.2 Data and Timeline of My Study*

The scope of my main study covered a time frame from the 1980s through to 2013 presented through participants' narratives underpinned by documents and photos, and researcher observations of interactions. Qualitative data was collected over a period of 4 years. This included observation of ongoing processes such as children's language development and other cultural practices at occasions and intervals that suited the participating families.

Qualitative-study raw data consisted of some video-recorded and mainly audio-recorded informal interviews and conversations focusing on migration and settlement experiences with G1 and G2 and between participants; video-recorded and audio-recorded natural interactions by participants and/or researcher to capture cultural practices including language use; photos and other documents supplied by participants; my notes of phone conversations and other interactions, and of special events. The reason for this varied data is that "meanings are created in texts and interactions in a complex interplay of semiosis across multiple modes which include but are not limited to written and spoken language" (Bhatia et al. 2008: 129). Yet the problem with using video is that it is more intrusive than audio recording and it uses an enormous amount of storage data; so after initial video-recordings I opted mainly for audio-recordings. I also went back to the participants via email and phone when additional questions surfaced during analysis of their data. I interviewed the older G3 children and tried to elicit German utterances, attended school events and birthdays, trotted along to the zoo and museum, observed G3 playing, their interactions in and around their home with siblings, parents, grandparents, playmates, and adults not belonging to family, and recorded many hours of interactions at intervals of about six to eight months when it suited the families.

The online survey was developed from findings in the main study to see if these experiences resonated in the wider community of German-speaking immigrants and their descendants. It was conducted in 2013. Within four weeks from the first emailed request to complete and distribute the survey, 317 completed replies were received from a resident population of 12,810 German speakers (Statistics New Zealand 2013). I closed the survey after four weeks because I needed to complete my study for work and personal reasons.

### 2.5.3 Data Transcription

For transcription, I drew on conventions laid out in GAT 2 (*Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2*) (Selting et al. 2009). Conventions in this orthographic transcription system are that punctuation does not reflect grammar but pauses; square brackets indicate overlaps; laughter or crying are noted in brackets in the transcripts. Small letters were used, with capital letters reserved for emphasis of words or syllables, for German nouns and proper names. To reflect spoken language rather than an idealized written orthography, my transcripts include the reproduction of omissions (e.g., *nen* instead of *einen* [one]), assimilations (e.g., *ham* instead of *haben* [have]), word combinations (e.g., *hammer* instead of *haben wir* [we have], and regional variations[5] (e.g., Swabian *woisch* or Bavarian woaschd/woasd instead of *weißt du* [you know]). I did this to document the use of spoken language and dialects as lasting cultural tools and read my transcript out aloud to hear if it sounded like the original data. I also marked codeswitching and codemixing by underlining the switches.

Codeswitching refers to the usage of words or phrases from another language within an utterance; or changing the language used within an interaction; or changing back and forth between languages in an interaction. In contrast, codemixing is used when a word is changed to fit grammatical structures of the other language, e.g., adding a German prefix or suffix to an English word.

Transcription was useful for close analysis of discourse as a stretch of language, for instance, to identify which language parents used to their children and how children answered, or the occurrence of codeswitching. However, close analysis of language as cultural tool formed only part of this study, while finding answers to consequences of immigration importantly focused on the actions and Discourses in these actions in the wider sense, i.e., discourses as nexus of practice as explained above. A complication was that most of my raw data was in German but I wanted to make the participants' stories available to readers of the English text. Therefore, I added English translations in square brackets.

## 2.6 Navigating the Nexus/Study Proper

The preparatory processes described above were part of engaging the nexus of practice, which overlapped with the main phase of navigating the nexus of practice, i.e., the analytical phase, and vice versa. For example, data transcription of recordings is a first analytical step because "transcripts are by their very nature translations—they are always partial and selective textual representation" (Rapley 2007: 50), not least because the nonverbal richness of communication is largely lost

[5]In the German and Austrian regions that participants originated from dialects are not considered less prestigious than standard German.

even if descriptions are added. In my study, this selective analytical step involved three translations: one, selecting and transcribing pertinent parts of recordings; two, translating the selections into English; and three, combining them into coherent participant stories in English.

The research process in the main study was highly interactive to the point that participants could revise and adjust their initial responses and ongoing interaction was commonplace. True to the principles of participation and partnership between researcher and participants inherent in NA and in the AUTEC ethics guidelines, I submitted the stories I had created from interviews and observations to the main-study participants for inspection, amending and resubmitting the stories if participants wanted to supplement or change them. For instance, the couple taking part in the pilot study realized from this revision that they—in their view—had been too negative in recounting their experiences and therefore added more positive information. I also consulted with all but the survey participants about my analysis of their data in case I had misunderstood anything, or went back to them to get a clearer picture of specific aspects in the data. For example, I asked the G1 participants in the pilot and main study to indicate the importance of the various push and pull factors mentioned in their narratives on a scale from 1 to 10. In contrast, the anonymous survey responses were compiled in a descriptive manner and because the survey was anonymous, I could not get back to the respondents with any questions. That is, there was no revision of survey responses. Given the significant difference between these two data collection methods, the confirmation of findings in the survey responses lends support to my claim that as an insider researcher I was as objective as possible.

Also, when giving examples for a specific theme by referring to "participants" or "a participant" in the analysis and discussion sections of this book, the example is taken from any part of the study because the opinions or experiences given were similar across the study. Where a distinction is necessary for clarity, I refer to "pilot-study participants," or "main-study participants" or survey respondents.

## 2.7 Summary

This methodology chapter situated NA within a "semiotic ecosystem" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 89), outlined its philosophical foundations, explicated its notions and described the procedural steps of the study, explaining its scope and organic growth into widening circumferences. The chapter explained the researcher's insider position as well as the *Weltanschauung* and *Weltbild* underlying the research approach. Ethics considerations for the study were presented, as was the aim and scope of the study. Further, the chapter introduced the participants in the three stages of the study, i.e., the pilot, the main qualitative part, and the survey added to test the qualitative findings in the wider (originally) German-speaking population in New Zealand.

The next chapter explains relevant discourses in place in Europe and in New Zealand. That is, it provides time-and-place background for my study by presenting the participants' reported time-and-place conditions and social push factors that instigated their move away from Europe. The chapter also makes explicit the New Zealand's attractions for the participants. In doing this, the chapter illustrates the overlapping of preparation for a study and the analysis involved in the study. After the next chapter, Part II of this book reports on analysis and discussion of findings. In NA, that part is called "Navigating the Nexus of Practice."

# Chapter 3
# Discourses in Place

Discourses in place (Scollon and Scollon 2003, 2004) provide time-and-place background and connections for a study. Thus, this overview of discourses in Europe and New Zealand outlines the time-and-place discourse trajectories that I tracked from the narrated expectations leading to the pilot and main study participants' migration decisions, and expectations meeting experienced post-migration realities. These discourses resounded in answers of those survey respondents who migrated during the same time frames. The discourses in place for those survey respondents who moved from Germany to New Zealand around the time of German reunification and after that are also included. In this study, discourses are considered in Gee's (1989) sense as linguistic as well as nonlinguistic embedded symbol systems, ideologies, and power relationships. Push and pull factors narrated by the migrant participants are discourses that therefore link into historical paths and places, ideas, and objects, and interconnected with the participants' embodied experiences to facilitate their migration decisions. The push and pull factors indicate that participants generally expected to find in New Zealand the positive opposites of aspects they had considered wanting in Europe. Discourses intersecting in their post-migration experiences exemplified the differences between their expectations and New Zealand realities (Fig. 3.1).

## 3.1 Discourses in Place Linked to Emigration—Push Factors

While accrued wider environmental concerns were considered dominant push factors for participants' migration as detailed below, work-related discourses such as stress and age, family detachment, and perceptions of common *Übermensch* attitudes were mentioned as contributing push factors towards a change of lifestyle and place in midlife. All the migrants participating in my qualitative-study migrated during their midlife phase. This life phase is commonly considered a time when people have a



I.K. Wohlfart, *Intergenerational Consequences of Lifestyle Migration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3260-8_3

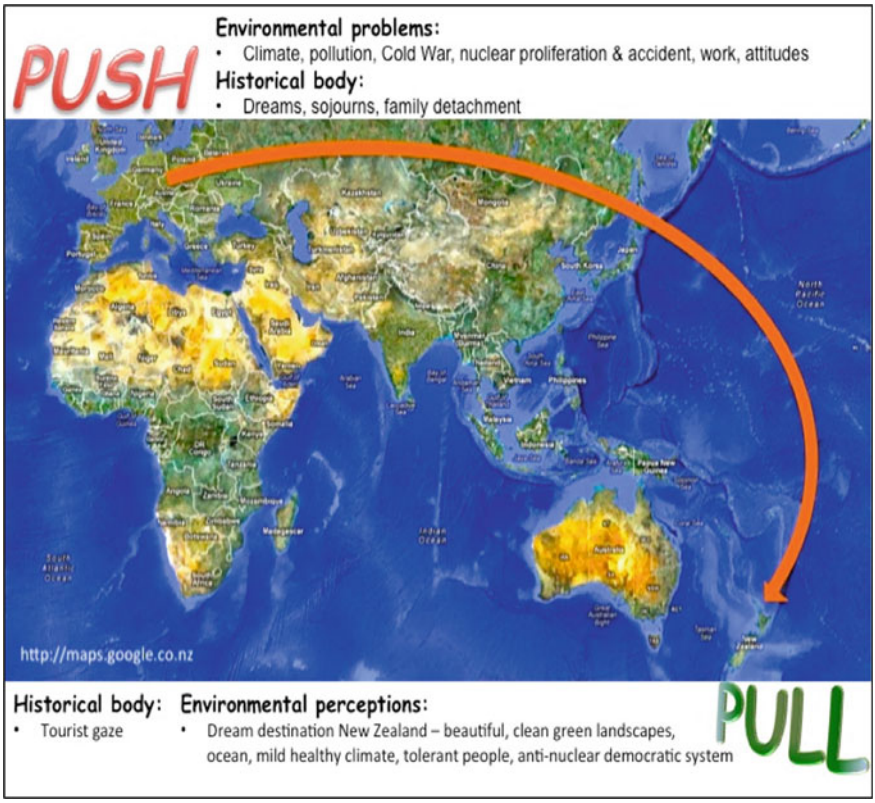


**Fig. 3.1** Immigrants' main push and pull factors

career and/or family but also meet midlife crises. That is, people tend to review the pressures in their lives and seek answers on how to change their lives for the better

> immer dieser Druck. immer die Überstundn (Gangolf, G1)
>
> [always this pressure. always the overtime]
>
> immer des 'mir san die bestn. mir ham die beste Technik. die bestn Autos' und so weiter. so 'am deutschn Wesen soll die Welt genesn' (Gangolf)
>
> [always that 'we're the best. we've got the best technology. the best cars and so on. like 'the German spirit shall heal the world']

[1]Originally '*Und es mag am deutschen Wesen einmal noch die Welt genesen*' [and the German spirit might once heal the world' from '*Deutschlands Beruf*' [Germany's calling] by Emanuel Geibel (1861, cited in Conrady 2003: 493). The nineteenth century poem called for a warrior-emperor to unite Germany and reassert its status in Europe against French superiority, Russian power, and papal influence. The Nazis used the poem for their ends, and the cited last two lines are still used to refer to a craving for status.

kaum bist vierzig dann bist zu alt (Axel, G1)

[hardly forty and you're too old]

These pressures brought about by work situations and societal attitudes perceived as common were mentioned as contributing to migration decisions. It appears that these midlife concerns and contemplations acted as the proverbial straw on the camel's back while accumulated wider environmental issues dominated as push factors in the participants' minds. The qualitative-study participants left Europe to migrate to New Zealand in the 1980s and early 1990s, and their expressed leading push factors related to experiences of the Cold War; the weather affecting health and wellbeing; to pesticides and other pollutants; and the Chernobyl nuclear meltdown. These issues are detailed below, followed by the political changes that played a considerable role for those survey respondents who left Europe after the fall of the Iron Curtain.

### *3.1.1 Cold War*

Post-war Germany presented difficulties for young people, who felt alienated by the unstable political situation and by occupying powers controlling the country (Bönisch-Brednich 2005). The current study also indicated Cold War push factors for those who migrated in the 1980s. Four of the main study G1 participants from Austria and Germany were born during WWII and all G1 participants experienced the Cold War era. However, only Germans mentioned Cold War aspects as relevant to their migration decisions. The survey brought similar results, suggesting that this is related to prevalent public and political discourses as in contrast to Austria such issues remained pervasive in Germany well into the 1980s as explained below.

The two German states (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland/BRD* [Federal Republic of Germany/FRG] and *Deutsche Demokratische Republik/DDR* [German Democratic Republic/GDR]), established in 1949 yet never autonomous from Western and Eastern power blocs respectively, were frontline in the Cold War. The Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, the most sensitive interface between the Western and Warsaw power blocs, ran right through Germany and Berlin (Janssen 1980) and massive presences of occupation troops were constant Cold War reminders. Indicating that the presence of these troops had become normalized rather than being felt as threatening discourse, participants clarified that the troops per se were not the real problem but their weapon stockpiles were. "*Du bisch der allwei vorkomma wia d'Wurscht in der Semml*" [you always felt like the sausage in the bread roll (meat in the sandwich)] (Gundi) related the lack of agency in being wedged in this interface between the power blocks. The presence of nuclear weapons since 1953 was kept in public discourses through political campaigns and protests by leading scientists (e.g., Bopp et al. 1957; Lipp et al. 2010), through media trailing military politics (e.g., "Der kleine General" 1957; Chauffeure der Bombe 1967), and through public


**Fig. 3.2** Mass protests in Germany against the nuclear arms race

mass demonstrations of a growing peace movement (LeMO n/d). Radio, TV,[2] and print media reported on Cold War issues and détente efforts[3] and such discourses became more prominent as the nuclear arms race accelerated to extremes in the 1980s (see, e.g., Bässler 2012; von Bittorf 1983; von Lederer 1983) before stockpiles were reduced. Such public discourses intensely contributed to participants' viewpoints. Several survey respondents also commented that they participated in protests against nuclear weapons and nuclear power. These issues combined in public discourse, motivated mass protests (e.g., Fig. 3.2; Heck 2008; Otto 2005) and keep raising concerns (US-Militär 2013; "USA wollen Nuklearwaffen in Deutschland aufrüsten" 2013).

Frequent low-altitude flights over the FRG were part of Cold War strategies and FRG governments were keen to take part. From 1959, the German Air Force was equipped with Lockheed F-104 Starfighters to have fast and far-reaching nuclear bombers ("Bundeswehr/Starfighter: Kauf von Schrott" 1969). The fighter jets, known as widow makers and flying coffins in public discourses because every third crashed (Christiansen 2011), were only one of several Allied and German military jet types. With the exception of big-city air spaces, these jets kept sweeping in extremely

[2]Cf. Das Erste Deutsche Fernsehen [TV1] http://www.daserste.de/planspiel/zeitstrahl.asp. Accessed June 2013.

[3]Cf. Deutsche Welle/DW: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDTmYpBghGE. Accessed January 2013.

low-altitude "razor flights" over West Germany. If all these flights over one cloudless day had been drawn onto a map of West Germany, the map would have been black ("Tiefflieger" 1984). This illustrates these flights as a countrywide menace terrorizing people with their sudden screaming noise and shockwaves. One participating mother recalled flyovers endangering the children as their spooked horses took off into traffic. Another, who had just returned to Germany from years abroad, recalled her infant clinging to her trembling with shock every time such a plane flew over: "*am End hab i einfach d'Schnauzn voll ghabt*" [in the end I was simply fed up to the back teeth] (Gundi). An aggravating factor for Gundi was that they had built their dream home in the countryside only to realize on their return from a long overseas sojourn that the place was anything but idyllic. The caricature (Fig. 3.3) with its sarcastic caption, "What a comforting feeling to know that they protect us" illustrates related common opinion and the loss of people's agency in the military-flights issue.

### *3.1.2 Nuclear Pollution*

"Post-Chernobyl" immigrants in the main study ($n$ = 6 G1&G2) emphasized the meltdown in the Ukrainian nuclear power plant on April 26, 1986 and its consequences for their places of residence as a major push factor. Immediately after the disaster, public discourses in German-speaking Europe were dominated by the

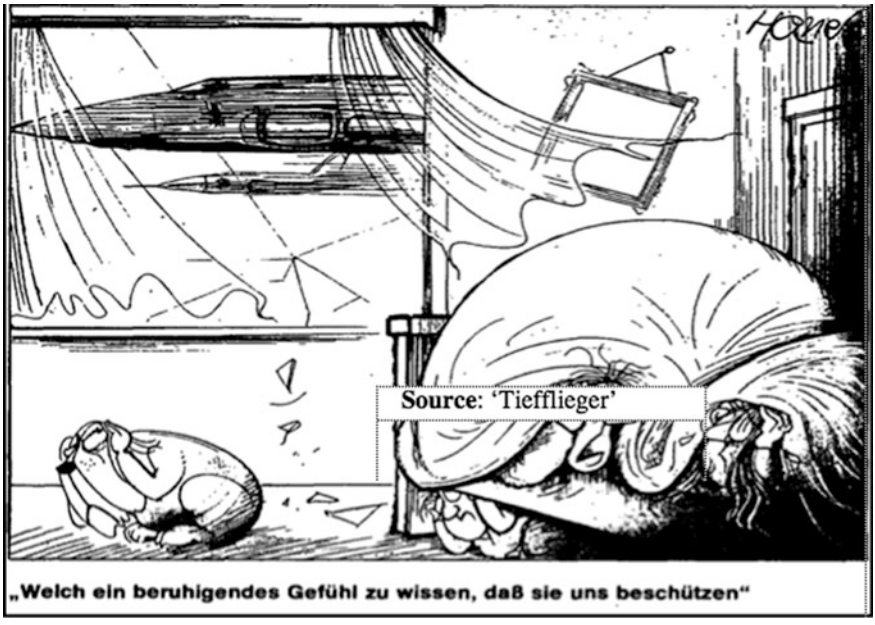


**Fig. 3.3** Low-altitude flight terror


**Fig. 3.4** Distribution of radioactive clouds from April 27 to May 6 1986

*Super-GAU*[4] with its immense fallout expanse and intensity, the potential of comparable catastrophes in regions covered by nuclear power stations and nuclear weapons, and the delusion of unlimited technological power (cf. "Du Perle im Sternbild des Atoms" 1986; Alt 2008; Moore 2008; Pausewang 1987). Surveys captured strong anti-nuclear feelings (Eiser et al. 1990). Reactions correlated with recorded fallout quantity (Verplanken 1991) despite immediate government assurances that German nuclear power generators were most secure (e.g., Dregger et al. 1986). Thousands of young families migrated to keep their children safe from the nuclear fallout (Bruhns and Theile 2006). People intuitively grasped the impossibility of limiting the circumferences of the catastrophe, which transcended borders and continues into the future (Rosenkranz 1998; cf. "Die Spätfolgen von Tschernobyl" 2011), a scenario described by participants as terrible.

The physicists Hohenemser and Renn observed that "the total release of radioactivity was equivalent to the fallout from several dozen Hiroshima bombs" (1988: 5). Due to the wind direction and precipitation, the nuclear fallout (see Fig. 3.4) made specific pre-alpine regions across Austria[5] and Germany as some of

[4]*GAU*, i.e. ***g****rösster* ***a****nzunehmender* ***U****nfall* [biggest assumable accident].

[5]Austria has no nuclear power and is nuclear-free by law like New Zealand: 149. See Bundesverfassungsgesetz für ein atomfreies Österreich [149th Federal Constitutional Law for a nuclear-free Austria] (1999, August 13) *Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich*. http://www.salzburg.gv.at/1999a149.pdf. Accessed November 2011.

Europe's most contaminated hotspots (Erlinger et al. 2008)[6] and affected participating families, who felt powerless. Among the most affected Austrian areas was Styria (Strübler 2011) and southern Bavaria where a number of participants in this study came from.

### 3.1.3 Weather and Climate

Weather was also among the push factors. Weather is defined as the instantaneous state or sequence of atmospheric states measureable in physical units while climate usually is seen as the sum of all atmospheric circumstances at a specific place over a long period of time (Szalai 2007). In the vernacular, weather is used for both.

Winter temperatures were one main aspect contributing to migration decisions. Austria and Germany usually have had cold winters with snow (Nie wieder Schnee? 2000). In 1978/1979, for example, temperatures reached minus 25 °C and snow piled up to four meters (Vollmer 1998). Extreme low temperatures accompany high-pressure zones expanding from Arctic areas southwest into central and western parts of Europe (König 2007) in so-called Siberian winters. In such conditions, temperatures fall below minus 20 °C and have reached record lows down to minus 45.9 °C (Deutscher Wetterdienst n/d; "Extremster Kälteeinbruch in Deutschland seit 1986" 2012; "Winterwetter bringt weiteren Kälterekord" 2009). People think that sudden cold snaps impact on health conditions (Braunmiller 2008). Axel said he moved because it was so cold that "*nicht mal der Hund ging rau'*" [not even the dog went outside]. This utterance links to the idiom "*Hundewetter*" [foul weather; literally: dog weather], which indicates that one would not even chase a dog outside in such circumstances. Gundi's comment, "*i krieg schon Kreuzweh wenn i bloss ans Schneeschaufeln denk*" [the mere thought of shoveling snow gives me a backache] pointed to homeowners' winter responsibilities to clear footpaths. Both acknowledged that the cold affected them more because they had lived in warmer climates for a long time. Finding an escape from such temperatures, all but one family settled in New Zealand's "winterless north," where frost temperatures are localized and fleeting and precipitation only very occasionally falls as hail, where snow makes headline news yet melts on touching the ground.[7]

Headaches attributed to common weather conditions were also a key factor contributing to migration decisions. The frequency of such complaints manifests in expressions such as "*wetterfühlig*" [weather-sensitive] and *Föhnkrankheit* [föhn[8]

[6]Cf. http://www.spiegel.de/flash/flash-25703.html.

[7]Cf. http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10745187.

[8]The German term föhn is used as a loan word in English. The phenomenon is not unique to the European Alps. It occurs where an alpine ridge is high enough to block moist air masses. For example, in Canterbury, New Zealand, föhn is called Nor'wester because the wind falls down the

sickness]. A survey of 1000 people in Germany found, for example, that 19.2% thought weather strongly affected their health and 35.3% reported that weather had some influence on their health, with headaches/migraine the most frequent symptoms (von Mackensen et al. 2005; cf. Ferrari et al. 2012; Schulte von Drach 2008). Two participants blamed föhn, a common weather condition on northern European alpine slopes, for frequent headaches. Sophie said she told Lukas that she had no migraines while on a visit in New Zealand: "*hab mer denkt* WOW *KEIN Kopfweh.* gibts *ja gar net. da möcht i lebn*" [I thought WOW NO headaches. that's not possible. I'd like to live here]. Labeling the absence of weather-related headaches as inconceivable expressed Sophie's extreme surprise. It is thought that föhn-related air pressure fluctuations impact on the autonomic nervous system, and that people who have preexisting conditions or injuries feel these fluctuations in particular (Schulte von Drach 2008). Lukas, who had never been to New Zealand, saw migration as an escape from the agonizing effects of an earlier accident: "*do hob I gsogt glaubst dass des für mich auch was wär? dass mein Kopfweh auch weggeht?*" [then I said do you believe that this would be something for me too? that my headaches also disappear?]. Sophie's assumption, "*wenns bei mir weg is wieso net*?" [if mine disappear why not?] was followed by Lukas' recalling his immediate migration decision: "dann gemma" [then let's go]. Their co-constructed recount of health-problem resolution through migration illustrated migration decision-making based on a hunch. They saw migrating as regaining agency over their health. In any case, scientifically proven interactions between climatic and biological processes might not have been as important for the nexus intersecting in participants' migration decisions as their feelings and beliefs.

### *3.1.4 Agricultural Pesticides*

The impact of pesticides on health was among push factors for participants who were surrounded by the Hallertau hop fields in Bavaria, the biggest connected hop-growing area in the world (Kopetzky 2011). Hop grows up to eight meters high and the mature flowers are harvested and dried for beer brewing. Two participants grew up in the area. Two others moved there from the city, realizing their lifestyle dream of their own house "*im Grünen*" [in the countryside]. Yet, on top of the very frequent military flights upsetting their lives, they became aware of their ongoing exposure to pesticides as permanent hop monocultures are particularly prone to pests and therefore require very frequent pesticide treatment from budburst to flowering (Maurin 2008; Seigner et al. 2003). Pesticides have high biotic effect potentials (Lahl 2006) and studies of patients with pre-senile dementia, Parkinson's

(Footnote 8 continued)

eastern leeward side of the Southern Alps from a northwest direction. See http://www.weatheronline.co.nz/reports/wxfacts/The-Foehn-foehn-wind.htm.

syndrome, and associated depression, for instance, have demonstrated correlations with premorbid pesticide exposure (Vieregge 2002; Laske et al. 2004).

The saying "hop wants to see its master every day" points to the ongoing work required in hop fields. Hanni reported that she used to help family in the hop fields but always experienced illness afterwards: "*do simmer ollwei d'Arm ogschwolln und an Ausschlag hob i griagt*" [my arms always swelled up and I got a rash]. Consequently, she became extremely concerned about the pesticide impact on her family.

### *3.1.5 General* Umweltvergiftung

Apart from localized *Umweltvergiftung* (literally: poisoning of the environment; the translation "environmental pollution" is an understatement in comparison) through agricultural chemicals, ubiquitous environmental poisons and their impact on people's health and the environment were considerable push factors. Slogans such as *Umweltvergiftung*, *Waldsterben* [forest death/forest dieback] and *saurer Regen* [acid rain] focused people on environmental contamination through commonly used materials, and through airborne pollution particles that affect human health (cf. Heal et al. 2012). Chemical terms became part of lay vocabulary because of experienced and publicized effects on the environment and on people (e.g., Carson 1963). Among others, these chemicals surfaced in participants' discussions of environmental push factors: Persistent organic pollutants [POPs] (see UNIDO n/d) such as DDT; Dieldrin; dioxins; Lindane; PCBs and PCPs; all of which have become part of an ubiquitous background load[9] of harmful substances negatively affecting the environment and human health (BGVV 2002). Yet, hinting at push factors not necessarily being offset by their positive opposites in New Zealand, participants commented that before being allowed on New Zealand soil, they were doused in insecticide spray in the airplane by New Zealand MAF[10] staff. Not only does such practice make a mockery of the environmentally clean image disseminated by New Zealand, there is painful irony in this loss of agency on arrival because loss of agency in participants' exposure to environmental poisons was such a strong push factor towards their migration. While such spraying ceased some years ago, aircraft disinsection (that is, treatment of the aircraft interior with insecticides) has replaced

[9]Natural background load refers, for instance, to water quality that has received no pollutants from agricultural or industrial activities. On the other hand, soil still carries a heavy introduced background load from DDT among other pollutants. This background load affects, for instance, breastmilk (see e.g. http://www.nrdc.org/breastmilk/ddt.asp).

[10]MAF: In the 1980s, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, in 1995 changed to Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and in 2012 amalgamated with Food Safety and Fisheries into Ministry of Primary Industries. Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biosecurity_in_New_Zealand.

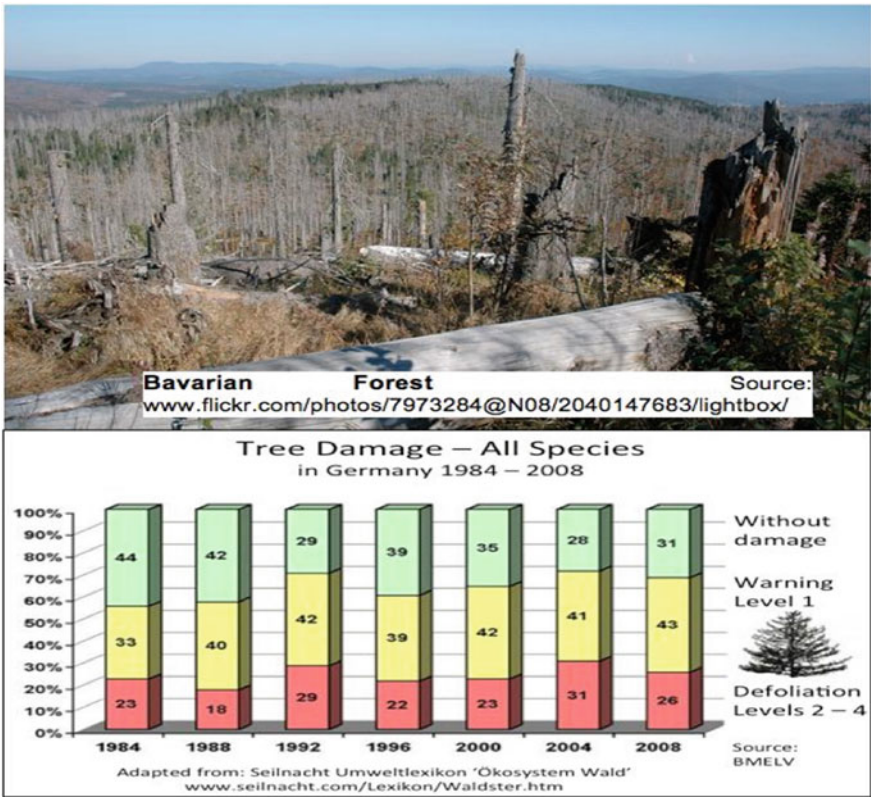


**Fig. 3.5** Waldsterben/forest dieback

it[11] but participants did not consider the resulting exposure necessarily less harmful than the spray applied directly on them.

*Waldsterben* [forest dieback] depicted in Fig. 3.5, was included in the push factors expressed by participants as a symptom of ubiquitous environmental toxins. Forests cover 31% of Germany and the forestry industry is of economic significance (BMVEL 2003). Hence, the highly visible *Waldsterben* has caused great concern for government, industry, and the public as well as for participants: "*Mei do worn sovui Baam kaputt im Wold*" [so many trees were dead in the forest' (Hanni).

The German government started countrywide inquiries into forest conditions in 1984 (Künast 2004; cf. Fig. 3.5). Forest dieback is considered a multiple stress disorder indicative of environmental problems, with complex potential effect chains resulting from interactions of air pollutant concentrations ($SO_2$, NOx, ozone), soil contaminants, organisms, climate, genotype, type of silviculture, and trigger events such as extreme weather conditions as well as the recovery ability of trees

[11]See http://www.who.int/ith/mode_of_travel/aircraft_disinsection/en/.

(Altenmüller 1984). Ozone created in photochemical processes mainly from pollutants such as nitric oxide and hydrocarbon compounds contributes to tree damage and prevention of growth (Paffrath and Peters 1988). Figure 3.5 shows the extent of forest damage in Lower Bavaria and across Germany.

### *3.1.6 European Political Changes During the 1980s and Early 1990s*

In contrast to Torkington's (2012) assertion that LM is clearly not motivated by political factors, my study shows that there are political reasons for LM. That is, not only were there political factors related to the Cold War, to pesticide use and pollution, even political changes considered generally as positive contributed to push factors. With various main foci at different times, the aspects had also been part of media and public discourses and contributed to German emigration across all social strata, for instance, in the 1980s ("Weg von hier—um jeden Preis I" [Away from here at any cost] 1982: 84).

The political changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s also brought political push factors. Perestroika and the subsequent fall of the Iron Curtain, and Germany's reunification also acted as push factors, especially for people from the former GDR when previous severe travel restrictions imposed in the GDR were suddenly removed, allowing world travel. German reunification, which initially was met with unbridled enthusiasm on both sides, uncovered fears of continuation of such positive developments as well as disillusionment with the resultant circumstances. Both acted as push factors that enticed people away from Europe. The ensuing contemporaneous interest in New Zealand is clearly visible in New Zealand visitor statistics depicted in Fig. 1.1 (Chap. 1) and findings from the main study and the survey showed a causal relationship between holiday impressions and migration.

Political changes were also reflected in regions of origin currently referred to as Alto Adige in Italy, Alsace in France, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Luxembourg, Poland and Slovenia. These diverse regions of origin for 12 survey respondents also indicate the embedding of language in social practice rather than within changing political boundaries (cf. Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Gal and Irvine 1995).

## 3.2 Discourses Linked to Immigration to New Zealand

New Zealand landscapes were strong pull factors for participants, but this did not reflect any dislike of European landscapes. Rather, these lifestyle migrants expected to find uncontaminated New Zealand landscapes in their attempt to gain agency in

environmental matters. Embodied experiences involved the long-held dream of an ideal world. Qualitative-study participants remembered the initial trigger for New Zealand becoming this ideal world in their minds. For example, two men remembered that seeing a film about New Zealand in their youth fed into realization of a long-held dream. Another kept an article from an Austrian newspaper (Nöhrer 1984), which convinced her and her husband to travel to New Zealand on holiday although "*am liebsten wäre ich sofort ausgewandert*" [I would have much preferred emigrating immediately]. Enticed by media images, most participants visited New Zealand. Their holiday impressions matched the imaginations and in turn fed into their immigration.

Contemporary images, for instance in the German edition of *The Lonely Planet* travel guide,[12] present New Zealand's astonishing landscape diversity from mighty mountains and rugged valleys; huge sounds and amazing fjords; breath-taking national parks; rugged volcanic craters; to seemingly endless spectacular beaches with pristine sands (Bain et al. 2007). The authors describe wild coasts; perfect surf waves as well as safe swimming beaches; secluded sunny beaches and dark foggy wilderness; hot springs for relaxation; white or black water adventures for adrenalin bursts and so on. They also praise the cordiality, tolerance, and warm-heartedness of New Zealand's people. The guide also reflects that most landscapes appear devoid of people in a country that is about three quarters the size of Germany but has a population of only 4.5 million.

German-speaking media tend to refer to New Zealand's dream landscapes, for instance, in television documentaries, focusing on superficial images of the most beautiful world's end[13] (e.g., "Der Traum vom Auswandern" 2011; Wemmer 2008). Films such as Peter Jackson's Tolkien films have been touted in the German media as event of the year, as colossal and phenomenal.[14] The ground had been thoroughly prepared with the German version of the book *Lord of the Rings* (*Der Herr der Ringe*), reportedly the most-read German book of the twentieth century.

Suggesting rather one-directional interest perhaps due to New Zealand's media mainly monolingual lenses, German-language TV appears to broadcast about New Zealand much more frequently than New Zealand TV about German-speaking Europe (unless there is a globally newsworthy event or repeats of war movies around ANZAC Day). In Germany, emigration advice books also sell well (e.g., Esser-Hall and Melchior 2006) and the Internet contributes to travel information and news exchanges. Positive New Zealand images are repeated by returning travelers contributing, for instance, to *Neuseeland* News[15] and on a myriad of other websites.

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[12]See e.g., http://www.lonelyplanet.de/reiseziele/neuseeland/index-5686.html, http://www.lonelyplanet.com/new-zealand/images.

[13]See also, e.g., http://info.zdf.de/ZDFde/inhalt/20/0,1872,8419956,00.html, http://www.umdiewelt.de, http://www.theglobetrotter.de/neuseeland/reisebericht/.

[14]E.g., http://www.n-tv.de/leute/film/Der-Hobbit-folgt-auf-Der-Herr-der-Ringe-Peter-Jackson-verfilmt-erneut-J-R-R-Tolkien-article9763456.html.

[15]http://www.neuseeland-news.com.

New Zealand's landscapes are prominent in official New Zealand advertising,[16] where they operate as communicative tools towards the goal of increasing the country's income. In this respect, landscapes are political texts (cf. Duncan 1990). Also, "The myth of paradise remains an important factor in the marketing of destinations" (Waldren 2010: 94), which explains that New Zealand's spectacular scenery and diverse landscapes have been exciting German-speaking travelers for centuries. Despite changed times and circumstances, this was true also for the participants in the current study.

## 3.3 Summary

This *discourses in place* chapter has provided time-and-place background for the participants' migration to New Zealand. That is, the chapter outlined the push and pull factors as reported by the participants both in the main study and in the survey, which had a mix of quantitative and qualitative questions. The chapter shows that environmental concerns and personal factors played considerable roles in migration decisions. Depending on the life stages of their migration, personal factors included going through reassessment of work–life–family balance during midlife, and traveling the world in younger years.

Push factors included political factors that had built up over a long time. These became a major push factor. Depending on the time of their migration, for the earlier German immigrants these political factors included the Cold War between the major Eastern and Western powers with its significant ongoing impact on the German population, for those who migrated later the lifting of travel restrictions after the fall of the Iron Curtain and German reunification. The intense nuclear fallout over Southern Germany and Austria caused by the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant explosion was another major push factor for a number of migrants. Others referred to the climate, weather, environmental poisons made visible in forest dieback, and agricultural pesticides impacting health.

Pull factors generally included realization of dreams about an ideal, clean green New Zealand as seen in films and promotions. New Zealand's successful marketing of its beautiful landscapes and relaxed leisurely lifestyles fed into the main pull factor towards this remote destination for the participants. Most participants had been to New Zealand on holiday and had found their imaginations confirmed in superficial tourist impressions.

[16]See e.g., http://www.newzealand.com.

This chapter links preparation for the study by providing background information to migration decisions with the part of the study called "Navigating the Nexus of Practice", i.e., analysis of the migration motives explained by the participants. The next part of this book concentrates on in-depth analysis of the 352 participants' raw data provided in interviews, through documents, observations, and the survey. The survey served to complement the other data and therefore is included as part of the analysis rather than kept separate.

# Part II
# Navigating the Nexus of Practice

# Chapter 4
# Pilot Study

This chapter starts reporting on the analytical part of the study. It introduces the pilot study participants through their stories compiled from raw data, i.e., from interviews and other interactions. German as well as English was spoken during such occasions. Creating stories from raw data is a selective analytical and translation process and therefore forms part of analysis, which in NA is called Navigating the Nexus of Practice. After the stories, the chapter presents additional analysis of the pilot study participants' experiences in New Zealand. Like the stories, this section shows that these lifestyle migrants moved at pivotal points in their lives. They were pushed by discontent with their situation and aimed to realize their dreams in an extreme-distance LM to New Zealand. Analysis also laid bare the vulnerabilities of the migrants and the tensions between their original culture and mainstream New Zealand as well as the struggles involved in their new lives. I then reflect on what I learned from the pilot study to take into the main qualitative study.

I separated my inquiries with the three pilot study participants from the main study because I realized the importance of investigating migration consequences across three familial generations while working with them. Yet, this was not possible with these participants. Their stories are still presented here because they can inform would-be migrants in similar situations. Also, in light of the recent significant increase in family reunion migration demands,[1] the story of the mother points to an urgent need for more research into the experiences and societal consequences of the older-parent migrations sponsored by their migrant children.

Like in the main study and the survey, a prominent premigration theme in the pilot study was the strong pull factor of New Zealand's idyllic landscapes and their perceived purity. This promised a future dream lifestyle that participants leapt to at a pivotal point in their lives. Shared post-migration themes were the tensions between the cultures of the migrants' origins and their chosen society and the vulnerabilities that migration created. Cautiously expressed, the participants' post-migration experience of New Zealand realities did not fulfill their premigration expectations.

[1]See http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/stream/live/parent/default.htm.



I.K. Wohlfart, *Intergenerational Consequences of Lifestyle Migration*,
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## 4.1 The Follower Generation

I had known this woman for many years from when she first visited New Zealand before she immigrated. As soon as I mentioned my study intentions, she keenly expressed her interest in taking part in the study. At a crucial point in her life, she had moved to New Zealand attracted by the New Zealand landscapes, the ocean environment, and the lifestyle it promised during earlier holidays. Her permanent move to New Zealand was made possible through the immigration category of family reunification because her son in New Zealand sponsored her immigration. I call this immigrant generation the follower generation. Here is her story (like all the names of participants in this text, her name is fictitious).

**Claudia's story**

Claudia lived alone in her New Zealand home, which she called her *Wolkenkuckucksheim* [literally cloud cuckoo home; cloud cuckoo land but she restricted the term to her home]. Three intertwined themes associated with place, people in the place, and aging dominated her narrative accounts. These themes exposed vulnerabilities that migration created for her.

Links between place, people, and fiction acting as enticement were evident in the lead up to Claudia's migration as she referred to a book by Mary Scott[2] that inspired her in her early thirties with peaceful pastoral descriptions of New Zealand. Her interest in the place was rekindled when her only son immigrated to New Zealand with his wife, creating a family relationship with people in the place. Claudia visited and became passionate about New Zealand's landscapes, whereas her city-dweller husband considered New Zealand boring. Describing her husband's death as '*Befreiung*' [liberation], Claudia (then aged 69) immediately traveled to New Zealand and within a week bought a house with a mortgage from the local bank made possible by her substantial German retirement income and her son acting as guarantor. Returning to Germany, she had her belongings loaded in a container and flew to New Zealand within weeks. She never returned to Germany again.

Creating a place where she felt at home took several years. Claudia applied her DIY skills in the renovation of her house and attempted to make herself at home with personal belongings. Yet, she was not happy with the exact location of her house. She sold and purchased another house with stunning sea views. This property needed extensive repairs, for which she employed local tradesmen.

Claudia aimed to integrate into the community. She learned English at the local Community Center and through distance learning. Her English learning progressed quickly. She also attended painting classes. Up to the age of about 84, she still used to invite or go out with friends from her classes and visit German speakers. These immigrants phoned and visited her and she knew she could call on them for

[2]Mary Scott's humorous novels about simple backblock-farming life in New Zealand were translated into German, turned into bestsellers and are still reprinted. The earliest translation (*Frühstück um sechs [Breakfast at six].* Munich: Goldmann) dates back to 1957.

assistance. Yet, she would have liked more contact with her son. Asked about her grandson, she commented that phone calls increased before birthdays and Christmas, but otherwise everyone was very busy. However, her son had suggested she should move into her own flat in their house. She would have moved in with her son but not with her daughter-in-law, whom Claudia did not hold in high regard.

Her relationships with New Zealanders were problematic. She mentioned how friendly New Zealanders were but that this was only façade. Claudia repeatedly stressed that she was '*NEVER*' invited into a New Zealander's home although she hosted quite a number over the years. She did, however, initiate a romantic relationship with a New Zealander who had worked on her house. Yet, he lost his battle with cancer a few years later. Going into his home was something different, Claudia pointed out, as she invited herself after they had been involved for some time.

Claudia kept as independent as possible while getting help as needed. She occasionally cooked her own meals in the northern German style she was used to and froze portions for later. She watched films from her extensive collection of German movies as in her view there was mostly rubbish on TV. Claudia repeatedly read German poetry and novels, books with meaningful content, as she explained, not meaningless modern drivel. She liked classical music and played solitaire and chess on her laptop. From the age of 83, Claudia employed home help, and services for the aged from age 85. At the start of this project, Claudia frequently went shopping, visited friends or the beach. Then she used a mobility scooter to get to her car, and a mobility car park. Later she disposed of her car, no longer left the house and eventually spent most of her time in bed. While Claudia experienced her early stages of settlement in New Zealand through the '*rosarote Brille*' [pink spectacles] of her excitement with new experiences in a new environment, her new *Heimat* remained fragmented. Increasingly, issues relating to end-of-life stages and her disappointment about lack of reciprocity in social interactions accumulated to a progressive reduction of *Heimat* to her home.

## 4.2 Living the "Good Life"—Midlife Migrants

A German couple that had migrated during midlife also took part in the pilot stage of the study. Below, they are introduced through their stories of realizing their dreams of the 'good life' in New Zealand.

**Hanni and Gangolf's story**

Quite a number of years before this study, Hanni and Gangolf attended a number of permaculture workshops with Joe Polaischer[3] and set out to put the learned

[3]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aJ0xFQgU2pc, http://www.treehugger.com/culture/talking-permaculture-with-joe-polaischer-of-rainbow-valley-farm-part-1.html, http://permaculture.com.au/joe-polaischer-tribute/.

techniques into practice. For this study, Hanni evaluated their two decades in New Zealand: '*Wir sind froh dass wir in Neuseeland sind und wir haben es ehrlich gesagt nie bereut*' [we are glad that we are in New Zealand and we have honestly never regretted it]. Gangolf agreed even though their New Zealand paths proved quite bumpy at times.

Hanni and Gangolf moved to New Zealand with three sons, back then aged between six and fifteen. Gangolf described their migration decision as growing from early seeds of a New Zealand slide show that impressed him at school. A major contributory factor, said Gangolf, was having '*die Schnauze voll von*' [being fed up to the back teeth by] the prevailing arrogance that sees German attitudes, knowledge, expertise, work ethics, and products as the best of the best and as recipes for the world to follow.

While Hanni explained that the rigid bureaucracy surrounding Gangolf's job placed a burden on their family, environmental factors played a considerable role in their decision to emigrate. Indeed, Hanni's main reason to push for the move to New Zealand was environmental dismay. She reported that in their small country hometown, where the children used to ride their ponies, low-flying air force jets would frequently spook the horses, putting the children in great danger. Another environmental concern was pollution evident in forests destroyed by acid rain. Also, in addition to Gangolf's and Hanni's own responsibilities, there also was great demand from both their parental families to help in hop-gardens. Hops are sprayed every fortnight with so-called '*Pflanzenschutzmitteln*' [plant-protection agents]. This euphemism camouflages harmful pesticides as beneficial plant protection. Working with the hop vines coated in pesticides caused Hanni health problems. The proverbial straw on the camel's back was the nuclear disaster of Chernobyl, which exposed the area they had lived into severe nuclear fallout. These environmental and health concerns as well as tensions within their wider family pushed them to migrate.

Hearing about Gangolf's long-held dream of traveling to New Zealand only when he faced his midlife crisis, Hanni says she was instantly inspired. In the late 1980s, they went on a five-week holiday to New Zealand, traveling the length and breadth of New Zealand. Enthralled by the beautiful landscapes, they started networking with German-speaking immigrants regarding immigration possibilities.

Their migration process and their settlement proved difficult, presenting many tensions that migration can bring for migrants and their families. They waited for their oldest son to complete school before leaving for New Zealand. They recalled that their two younger sons settled well into their New Zealand school and quickly made friends, yet their oldest did not. Unable to cope with ethnic slurs directed at him at senior high school, he protested against being forced to live in a country where he was not welcome. He returned to Germany but felt unsettled there too and eventually came back to New Zealand to stay.

During their settlement period in New Zealand, Gangolf was offered a job in his professional field and worked for a short while, but then they decided on other means of creating an income. Hanni, who had previously sold paintings through galleries in Germany, took up painting again and Gangolf framed her paintings.

Airfreighting the packages, they kept selling Hanni's work through several channels in Germany. Eventually they started farming a smallholding in New Zealand's South Island. They battled to conquer the economic vulnerabilities that these decisions created for them with intense labor.

Their New Zealand experiences also included struggles to gain agency and disappointments about lost agency. Hanni explains that they had thought that it would be so much easier to grow organically pure vegetables in "clean, green New Zealand" where the ground would not be as poisoned by pesticides as in Germany. Pointing to the tensions and struggles involved in their cultural experiences in their chosen society, she adds in a sarcastic tone, "*ja, haben wir gedacht*" [yes, so we thought]. New Zealand did not turn out quite as natural as they had anticipated and getting organic certification proved much more difficult than they had imagined: '*und dann sind schon die BÜROKRATEN aufgetaucht, haben uns das Leben SCHWER gemacht*' [and then the BUREAUCRATS turned up, making our life DIFFICULT]. One of the conditions for organic certification was repeatedly turning the soil to rid it from thistles and other weeds: '*ZWANZIG mal*, SANDY soil, *überleg mal*' [TWENTY times, SANDY soil, think about it]. Gangolf and Hanni strongly disapproved because repeated deep soil turning brings up the many stones of the alluvial soil, which damage grubber blades and beam. The stones heat up in the sun, adding to plant stress. Overtilling also leads to wind erosion and failure of new crops in the marginal rainfall of the Canterbury Plains. Their solution to the rigid soil turning system imposed by the bureaucrats was to ignore it after first disastrous results and to follow their neighbors' advice. They shallow-disk harrowed only once, sowing immediately to take advantage of the moisture in the soil. Their initial reluctance to bend the rules was brushed aside by a New Zealand neighbor imitating their strong southern German accent in English: 'just tell them "I did not quite UNDERSHDAND" da siehst wie die uns gut verstanden haben' [there you see how well they [the neighbors] understood us]. Another condition for organic certification was to plant only native plants in shelterbelts, but these withered away without wind protection. Hanni concludes that, at the time the bureaucrats did not really know what they were doing because commercial organic farming had not been well established in New Zealand. Conventional New Zealand farming practices created additional obstacles

> Wia dia zu der erstn audition komma san. vorher hammer des gar no nia gseng ghabt. unser Nachbar hod zur selbn zeit midn Fliager chemisch gspritzt. jo mei mir ham no nia geseng dass sowas gmacht worn is. mir ham gschaugt. mir ham net gwusst wos uns passiert (Gangolf)
>
> When they [the organic certifiers] came for the first 'audition'/inspection. oh my we had never seen that before. our neighbor sprayed chemicals with an airplane at the same time. yes we had never seen that something like that was done. we looked, we didn't know what was happening to us

Also, the braided rivers of the South Island pose significant threats to surrounding land. After rainfall in the Southern Alps, these shallow rivers shift channels quickly into one huge torrent. The farm lost acres to the river before they

used discarded, stone-filled chicken cages as effective riverbank reinforcements. Silt settled in between the stones, letting willow twigs and other plants grow into the cages. They were happy about the willows taking hold even though they are considered unwanted plants in New Zealand. Later, neighbors and the local Council applied similar methods up and down the river. This suggests Hanni and Gangolf contributed to positive change in their new country.

Early on, Hanni and Gangolf planted many stonefruit and nut trees along the river bordering their farm. They grew acres of vegetables for a processing plant, linseed for an oil manufacturer, and a range of flowers for the wholesale and retail market. Such fieldwork was very labor-intensive and dependent on precipitation and their emergency water right from the river. They did all the farm work, helped by the boys as long as they lived at home. Hanni recalls getting up regularly at 3 a.m. to cut flowers and deliver them by 6 a.m. to Christchurch. They also purchased calves from dairy farms, raising a hundred at a time. They raised free-range organic chickens outdoors and sold free-range eggs but gave up when the *kahu*, the protected New Zealand hawk, found their free-running chickens as a reliable food source. Yet then, the local Council did not renew their permit to draw water from the river (permits have to be sought annually and are allocated on a first-come-first-served basis), leaving them to depend entirely on the unreliable precipitation of the plains.

By the end of the study, the couple was at retirement age and reflected and considered options for the future. Hanni and Gangolf gave up farming on a commercial scale some years back, but continued to raise calves and keep chickens for their own needs. Gangolf still played tennis and goes skiing and is contented where they live. Yet, Hanni no longer could participate in these sports after a serious skiing accident and now feels somewhat isolated in the rural area they live in partly because surrounding farmers they were friends with moved away. As agricultural smallholders '*sind wir eigentlich Dinosaurier da*' [we actually are dinosaurs here].

Hanni asserted that they did not change their cultural practices although they integrated into New Zealand. Their traditional farming practices have been praised for producing better quality and taste than crops treated with synthetic chemicals. They cook as they have always done, introducing German specialties as a treat for guests, including homemade *Sauerkraut* with *Weisswurst* [Bavarian veal and pork sausage in natural casing, served hot] and *Bauernbrot* [farmer's sour dough bread from mixed rye and wheat flour] sourced from German businesses in the area. Hanni says she likes the more lighthearted New Zealand approach to Christmas celebrations and the New Zealand practice of a free Christmas in the Park celebrations for families with familiar Christmas songs, even if the lyrics are in English. Hanni and Gangolf recall that in the beginning they had some trouble communicating in English because their school-English days had long passed, but they learned quickly and found their English sufficient for work and socializing.

As I was writing this, Hanni emailed me, '*wir sind halb zerrissen*' [we are half torn]. While they achieved everything they ever wanted, their sons did not wish to keep the land holding, so they were looking at a number of options. Hanni, who traveled back to Germany only once since their immigration more than twenty years

ago as she hated flying, considered having permanent summers through spending time each year in Bavaria where their youngest lived with his German wife, whom he met at university in New Zealand, and with their son. Yet, Hanni and Gangolf also said they have made New Zealand their *Heimat* and their only regret was not immigrating ten years sooner.

**Summarizing the stories**

The strong influence of social connections on *Heimat* perceptions was prominent in the narrative accounts of the three pilot study participants. They all proclaimed that New Zealand had developed into their *Heimat*. This perception appeared heartfelt and firm, yet conflicted at the same time. Tensions between the competing original and 'new' cultures, and the migrants' social, economic, and personal vulnerabilities were obvious. Due to accumulating issues with social integration and end-of-life stages, the octogenarian's New Zealand *Heimat* became less satisfactory and more troubled, with her focus on *Heimat* as a place shrinking to her immediate home environment as time passed.

## 4.3 Exploring the Nexuses in the Pilot Study

I subscribe to Scollon and Scollon's (2004) view that one must also consider anticipations of actions. Migration motives and expectations may therefore clarify consequences. This analysis widened the circumference of specific aspects of the pilot participants' stories by mapping mediated actions as units of analysis. As actions are embedded in networks of practices that assert identities and belonging, the intersecting nexuses illustrated the creation of the participants' new *Heimat*. Comparison of similarities and differences between participants' experiences follows. Last are my reflections on the pilot study and what to take forward into the main study.

As illustrated in the stories above, themes emerging in the pilot study were

- Realizing dreams through migration
- Professional qualification as key to entry into New Zealand whether or not continued in New Zealand
- Family reunion immigration
- Cultural tensions and connections
- Personal, social, and economic migrant vulnerabilities
- Social relationships—within families and with New Zealanders
- New Zealand landscapes—images and reality
- Creating a new *Heimat* and connections to the old *Heimat*
- Land and home ownership

- Everyday occupations and cultural practices
- Bureaucracy in original and new *Heimat*
- Languages
- Pensions.

### *4.3.1 Claudia—The Nexuses*

**Insider researcher and analysis**

Claudia enthusiastically volunteered to participate as soon as I mentioned my intention to explore the consequences of immigration. However, working with Claudia as an insider researcher created a sense of obligation that proved as emotionally demanding as difficult to fulfill. Such relations and reactions interfered with my analytical processes. Like Kanuha (2000: 442), I found distancing the insider researcher from natural connections "the most profound methodological process I had to learn."

**Age and dependency**

As an aging immigrant, Claudia took on an identity at "the new nexus of migration and gerontology" (Warnes and Williams 2006: 1259). Such immigrants are constructed and generalized as a separate social category with even more special needs than other elderly (Schopf and Nägele 2005; Torres 2006). The increasing association of an aging population with stress on public finances brought intense focus on older people (King et al. 1998). Although the terms 'old' and 'elderly' have no clear definition, they are commonly used in relation to needs, problems, and care (Bachrach 1980; Sorkin et al. 2002). The terms cover everyone from 65 to over 100, suggesting a uniform fixed 'old' identity in need of special care and resources and therefore burdening society, while older people disagree with these negative associations of old age (Cruikshank 2008). In fact, wealthy migrating retirees stimulate southern Europe's regional economies, for example (Warnes and Williams 2006). Another perspective constructs immigrants aged 50 and over coming to New Zealand under the Family Reunion category as elderly and dependent (Selvarajah 2004). The publications suggest that the perspectives relate to cultural experiences, role, and age of commentators. I associate the term 'dependent elderly' with frail aged people, whose health has deteriorated to an extent that they no longer are able to undertake normal daily physical and/or mental activities and therefore require help while not necessarily being financially dependent.

**Claudia—elderly and dependent?**

Claudia's decline from the independent inquisitive vigor of an active retiree to a final life stage of dependency and loneliness partly resulted from immigration. Claudia arrived in New Zealand as late-in-life immigrant under the Family Reunion

category, but the labels 'elderly' and 'dependent' would have seemed inappropriate until she reached her mid-eighties. For many years, she was instantly prepared to travel wherever someone would come with her. In her late sixties and early seventies, she rolled down the hill with her grandchild, parasailed behind a boat, and took up DIY renovations. Observed enthusiasm and joy in these activities were also related in her narrative accounts. However, her attempts to widen her networks to include New Zealanders were not successful. Her interest in new experiences might have played a role in her keenness to take part in this study or could have served as a strategy against loneliness.

There is a tension between her past eager participation in social actions and her repeated declaration that she preferred to be alone. Comparing Claudia's public and private discourses (disclosed to me as a friend and inside researcher) is informative (Fig. 4.1).

As Fig. 4.1 indicates, Claudia concealed negative feelings well when performing a more public social role. Public and private social roles are located along a spectrum, with private aspects more prominent in what is perceived as private role (e.g., sibling, close friend) and may vary depending on the situation (Jones 1984). In Claudia's discourse, contradictions existed between more public statements to acquaintances and more private statements to close friends, with emotional longing for family contact by her own admission not even acknowledged to family. Her decision not to live with her family because she did not like her daughter-in-law was not a consequence of migration as she said she would have acted in the same way in Germany. Her more public roles seemed to reflect a more independent and contented identity. Later, private role performances reflected a dying-person identity.

Legal connections to Claudia's original *Heimat* placed her outside discourses about the increasing economic burden that immigrants and an aging population

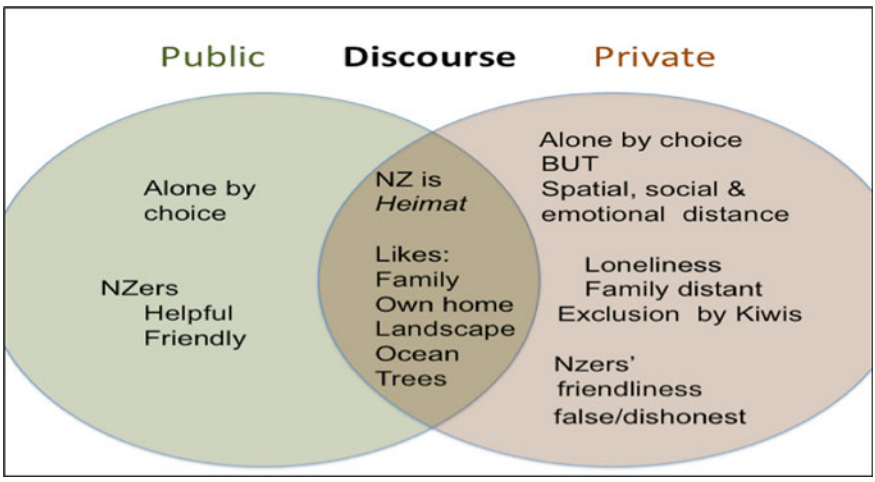


**Fig. 4.1** Claudia's public and private discourses about her situation

place on society (cf. Büchel and Frick 2004; Zimmerer 2010). Such legal connections were maintained through Claudia's nationality and retirement income. The latter enabled her to purchase a property and clear the mortgage within 15 years without impeding her lifestyle. However, German pensioners must file tax returns in Germany and leaving Germany may impact on pensions (Deutsche Rentenversicherung 2010). For many years, Claudia avoided dealing with this. In positioning the authorities as the other ('sie'/they) and admitting her fear of retribution, she acknowledged her outsider and non-compliance role in this power relationship: '*ne mitm Pass und so da hab ich n bisschen Angst dass sie da an meine Rente rankommen*' [no with the passport and so I fear a bit that they get to my pension]. Only when her octogenarian friend in Germany could no longer deal with Claudia's delegated power of attorney, Claudia informed authorities of her permanent move to New Zealand and faced the long-ignored accrued taxation consequences.

Language builds or destroys bridges (Szymanski 1999) and accordingly, language skills are regarded as key elements controlling communication extent and quality between immigrants and the local community (King et al. 1998). In terms of English language skills, Claudia remained largely independent. Her reliance on family interpreters was restricted to a short period after arrival, and to events that required thorough understanding of complicated legal matters. Despite having only basic schooling, she had worked in cognitively demanding jobs for many years. On arrival in New Zealand, she was determined to learn English and documents showed her English skills comparable to general IELTS levels 5.5[4] within a year. This reflects the need for caution regarding age and second-language learning relationships (cf. Marinova–Todd et al. 2000). I recorded her in conversation with an English-speaking immigrant, for instance. She talked about a variety of topics in personal stories, about books and current affairs, only occasionally asking for vocabulary. Her oral English showed grammatical flaws and, compared to my earlier observations of her communications, her English skills later declined. Yet, she exhibited a sharp mind until her death. Therefore, rather than relating this attrition to prior formal education levels and pre-immigration English skills as Crezee (2008) does in her study of elderly Dutch, I suggest that Claudia's English language attrition related to restricted social opportunities rather than cognitive decline. Her English skills did not seem to have helped building enough bridges for social integration.

### Claudia's transformation of Heimat

Feelings of belonging relate to social spaces and interactions and both have a number of dimensions. '*Ich seh mich wohl als Deutsche, aber fühl mich zuhause und wohl in Neuseeland*' [I regard myself as German, but I feel at home and happy in New Zealand]. The term '*wohl*' has numerous possible meanings in English. Here, its first instance (*wohl* followed by *aber* [but]) indicates one side of an

[4]Cf. www.ielts.org/researchers/score_processing_and_reporting.aspx.

argument: German cultural and legal identity. In the second part of the sentence, *wohl* means comfortable, happy, or at ease. Claudia's sentence structure gives prominence to her original cultural and national identity. Yet, signaling the intricacies of an immigrant's feelings of belonging, meanings, and values of wellbeing and protection that are integral to *Heimat*, she assigned these feelings to her chosen place and in particular to her home (zuhause [at home]). Indeed, Claudia's New Zealand *Heimat* recreation developed as a German micro-*Heimat* in her home as explained below.

**Heimat and place**

New Zealand became her *Heimat* in terms of connections to place although Claudia was eventually restricted to her home. Her explanation of her home as a place where everything was perfect was, she acknowledged, unrealistic and showed that she was fully aware of her engagement with a fantasy world. Cumming (1963) points out that substitutions of earlier social actions with residual symbolic memories are steps on the path of disengagement in aging. For Claudia, Cumming's statement needs to be further qualified. At first, Claudia recreated her familiar German cultural *Heimat* with her material belongings while reaching out to New Zealand society. Later, her reminiscing accounts had an air of longing for a younger age (for instance, talking about a picture, '*ja, da war ich noch jung*' [yes, then I was still young], which supports Cumming's claim. Her missing social connections were replaced by virtual social connections via her old German movies and books. Claudia, bar some exceptions, did not acquire New Zealand cultural practices and her home portrayed a slice of Germany filled with belongings that carried memories

**Fig. 4.2** Home and belongings with symbolic values

and symbolic values of bourgeois achievement. These were significant considering narrated deprivation and turmoil in Claudia's early years: her father drowned, leaving her mother to bring up three children during the great depression. The family was displaced from East Prussia in WWII and Claudia recounted, for instance, searching for coal along bends in train tracks or stealing it from wagons to avoid freezing.

Figure 4.2 shows Claudia in her home surrounded by belongings that had symbolic values related to her original *Heimat* (Old-German style furniture, landscape prints and tapestry, lamp and curtains) and to her efforts to recreate a new *Heimat* in New Zealand (e.g., crockery that she hand-painted).

Although at the end of her life she experienced New Zealand scenery only from her windows, Claudia remained enchanted by the landscapes that played such a significant role in bringing her to the country. Yet, her attitude to New Zealand changed over time as her use of the past tense and '*noch*' [still] in '*das war so im ersten oder zweiten Jahr. ich war noch so aufgewühlt von Neuseeland*' [that was in the first or second year. I was still so deeply moved by New Zealand], shows. On several occasions, she said she was not surprised about Auckland's bad air quality with all the badly tuned vehicles that Japan no longer wanted.[5] In corroboration, the World Health Organization published alarming readings of pathogenic $PM_{10}$ for all five New Zealand centers,[6] with Auckland's pollution equal to that of Tokyo and worse than New York (Bennett 2011). Claudia maintained that it no longer concerned her, and this tension between realization and denial probably was partly a result of trying to see her original immigration expectations fulfilled and partly resignation. Her references to negative realities possibly also justified her retreat into her imaginary world.

**Social aspects of Claudia's new *Heimat***

*Heimat* includes a multitude of social components including family connections. Claudia's German cultural understanding reverberated "obligation and mutual support of family members" coexistent with individual "independent orientations" (Schwarz et al. 2010: 708). These cultural characteristics were present in Claudia's family but were not all positive. Claudia's earlier choice of autonomy over family closeness negatively impacted on contact frequency due to spatial distance.

*Heimat* includes feelings of security, which link place aspects with social aspects. Claudia felt secure in her home even though an intruder had threatened her elderly neighbor with a knife. Her feeling of security rested on modifications to house access and lighting after this incident. Claudia's sense of safety also depended on using New Zealand's care systems such as Age Concern,[7] a non-profit organization that

[5]New Zealand imports used vehicles from Japan, where much more stringent vehicle requirements support the car industry.

[6]$PM_{10}$ is particulate matter less than 10 microns in diameter; see http://www.mfe.govt.nz/environmental-reporting/air/air-quality/pm10/.

[7]See http://www.ageconcern.org.nz/.

screens and recommends home maintenance personnel. Her medical alarm connected her to immediate ambulance services.[8] Her pacemaker and in-home public health care (cf. Ministry of Health 2011) added to her feeling of safety.

Claudia's New Zealand *Heimat* contained a void of complex unsatisfied social relationships that illustrate her social vulnerabilities. With one exception, she only formed transactional and superficial social relationships with New Zealanders. Claudia recalled New Zealanders' many polite conversations that included indications of future connections that were never followed up (e.g., we must get together some time). '*Und dann war ich enttäuscht dass das alles gar nicht stimmt, dass ihre Freundlichkeit gar nicht wirklich gemeint ist, dass das nur ne leere Höflichkeit ist weil sie alle so aufgewachsen sind.*' [And then I was disappointed that all that is not true, that their friendliness is not really meant, that it is actually only empty politeness because they all grew up that way.] The disappointment was coupled with awareness of cultural conditioning but nevertheless judged as insincere and deceitful. These culturally different understandings of honesty and consideration often lead to conflict, with Germans perceived as rude by New Zealanders and New Zealanders as dishonest by Germans (Bönisch-Brednich 2002). Claudia's inability to solve such intercultural communication problems might have been partly due to her age at immigration. Her posture and demeanor might also have played a role. She was tall and before her health declined radiated self-confidence and assertiveness, which could have been interpreted as domineering. Her failed attempts to create social connections resulted in feelings of anger and exclusion, which overt denial could not always mask. One such declaration was that disappointment, being '*ent-täuscht*' or '*Ent-täuschung*' (the German prefix ent- corresponds with the English prefix de-) actually was positive since the '*Täuschung*' [illusion; deception] was taken away and that she preferred to take it that way.

The social exclusion she experienced increased her feelings of loneliness and disintegration, which led to incomplete *Heimat* recreation. Her comment on wearing pajamas and robe rather than getting dressed, '*es kommt ja doch keiner*' [no-one comes anyway] confirm her feelings of loneliness. Research shows a cycle of illness leading to depression and depression in turn leading to illness (Aneshensel et al. 1984). Health deterioration severely restricts social activity (Cavalli et al. 2007) and leads to social isolation (Bachrach 1980). For Claudia, health deterioration amplified preexisting social exclusion and led into a spiraling cycle of social isolation and mental and physical health problems. Her standard answer to questions about her wellbeing became, '*ich lebe noch wenn man das ein Leben nennen kann*' [I'm still alive if one can call that a life], communicating Claudia's depressed and lonely end-stage-of-life identity. The emotional tone of voice and facial expression can be effectively combined and understood (de Gelder and Vroomen 2000; Ekman and Friesen 2003). Claudia's decline from outgoing positivity to depression showed in her facial expression, flat tone of voice, and her drooping

[8]See http://www.stjohn.org.nz/medicalalarm/.

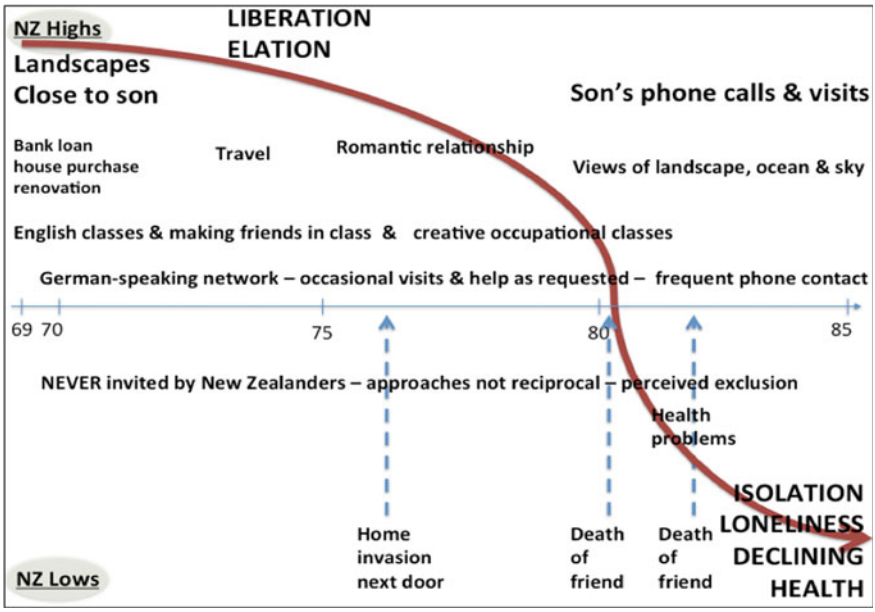


**Fig. 4.3** Highs and lows in consequences of Claudia's migration

posture. I trust my judgement of these signals because I knew Claudia for a long time, and because nonverbal messages are part of a multimodal culture-specific communication system understood by its members (Birdwhistell 1968; Kirch 1979).

**Summary of Claudia's consequences of migration**

Figure 4.3 summarizes the consequences of immigration for Claudia to age 85 at the time of completion of this part of my study. Positive experiences are marked above her age timeline, and negative experiences below that line. Font size and bold font indicate emphasis in her discourse. Mutual accommodation is necessary for successful integration (Kunst et al. 2015). Lack of reciprocity kept Claudia from fully integrating into New Zealand society and recreating a successful *Heimat*.

This timeline reveals the interplay of migration consequences with aging. Claudia's predicament reflects circumstances that are both common in aging *and* consequences of immigration. Growing old is associated with a life situation of withdrawal to the margins of events in the outside world (Cavalli et al. 2007) and the loss of associates "to distance, illness, and death" (Hauerwas and Yordy 1998: 173). Claudia's discourse indicated loss of life's meaningfulness, and one consequence of immigration was regret that her dream of creating a socially rewarding *Heimat* did not happen.

After my pilot study was completed, Claudia died alone in her home at the age of 87. It seems appropriate to close with a text excerpt by one of her favorite poets that she shared with me, adding that after her passing she would '*winken von dort oben*' [wave from above there]

Wir wissen nichts von diesem Hingehn

Das nicht mit uns teilt …

…

Doch als du gingst, da brach in diese Bühne

Ein Streifen Wirklichkeit durch jenen Spalt

Durch den du hingingst …

…

'Todeserfahrung' (Rainer Maria Rilke, 1907)

…

We know nothing of this passing

Which does not share with us …

…

Though when you left, a ray of truth

Broke onto this stage through the crevice

You departed through …

Death experience (Rilke 1907) (my translation)

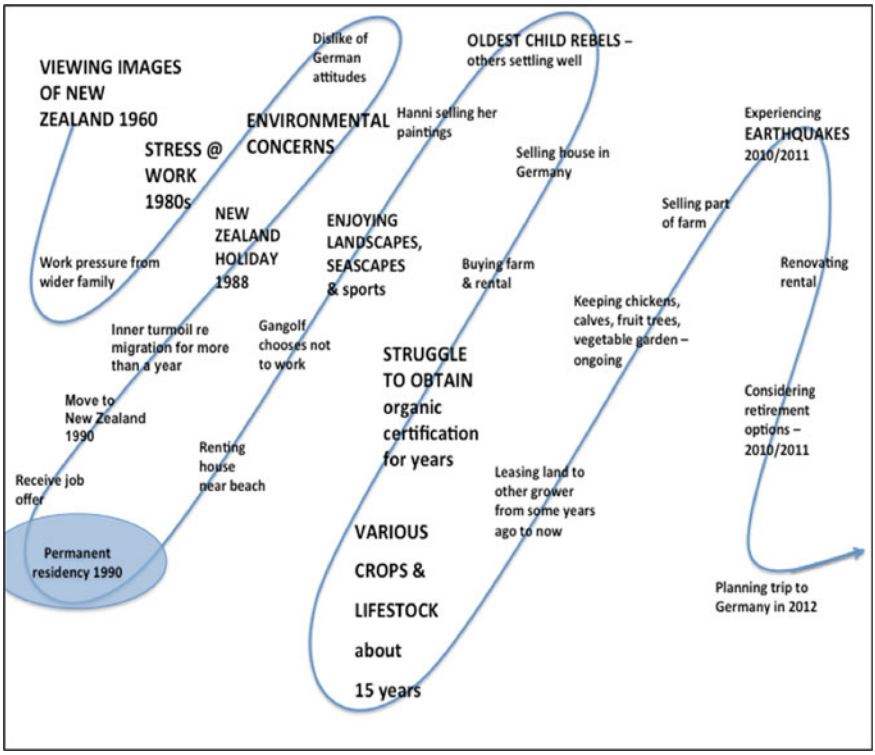


**Fig. 4.4** Time scales for migration processes and consequences

### *4.3.2 Gangolf and Hanni—The Nexuses*

Figure 4.4 maps the related timescales reflecting Gangolf and Hanni's discursive construction of actions and nexuses. The timescales span more than half a century from Gangolf's chance viewing of New Zealand images at high school to their present life in New Zealand. The curves intend to reflect the swings and roundabouts of the material-physical and psychological cycles in Gangolf and Hanni's discourses. Mediated actions, practices, and nexuses of practice they emphasized are in bigger font size and capital letters.

**Mediated actions and intersecting cycles leading to immigration**

Mediated actions, the units of analysis in this study, always link into social practices and wider discourses or nexuses of practice, and create and recreate social identities (Scollon and Scollon 2004). Table 4.1 lists the specific mediated actions from Gangolf and Hanni's narrative accounts along the time cycles leading to their migration.

**Table 4.1** Mediated actions in couple's discourse in lead-up to migration

| Action | Practice linked into | Identities created/recreated |
|---|---|---|
| Watching New Zealand images | Multimedia learning; having dreams; travel planning | Attentive student; romantic dreamer |
| Completing university education | Farming families' oldest son inherits farm | Not heir of farm; obedient son; educational achiever |
| Working—electricity company | Working long hours as loyal employee; having little family time | German live-to-work; good provider; absent father |
| Working—with hop | Helping family; horticulture; beer brewing; farmers' pesticide use | Dutiful family member; farm worker; pesticide victim |
| Working—own house | DIY; maintaining house and garden | Middle class; home owner; handyman; pursuing improvements |
| Visiting New Zealand | Air travel; annual leave | Long-distance tourist; well off middle class |
| Considering emigration | Disapproval of status quo; concerns about politics and environment; networking | Adventurer; disaffected; Greenie; disillusioned by old while having illusions of new; good at networking |
| Immigration to New Zealand | Patchwork biography; living one's dream; gaining distance from wider family | Dropout; dreamer; good at networking; deciding own life course; parental decision-maker |

### *Watching images of New Zealand*

For Gangolf and his family, his early impressions of New Zealand images as seeds for their migration were far-reaching indeed. As cultural tools to teach adolescents about distant places, these pictures might have linked into the idealized discourses of a natural, untouched South Pacific. These memories were resemiotisized into Gangolf and Hanni's dream of the 'good life'.

### *Completing university education*

The complex action of completing a university degree links into a number of practices that can be seen as conducive to their migration. For Gangolf, a farmer's son, one is the Bavarian practice that the oldest son inherits the farm. Not being the oldest can therefore result in partial detachment from *Heimat*. Gangolf's field of study, electrical engineering, was on New Zealand's skills shortage list and his qualification allowed the family to immigrate, demonstrating the differential aspects of agency that Scollon (2005) emphasizes.

### *Working for electricity-supply company*

Gangolf's work for an electricity supplier involved repeated actions over many years that turned into a rut and limited Gangolf's agency. But work created the identity of a conscientious worker and his extensive work experience also created the identity of a specialist in his professional field, which reinforced the desirable immigrant identity from New Zealand's Immigration point of view. It is ironic that

the qualification and skills that brought him into the country were not applied where the need had been identified through his lifestyle choice.

***Working with hop***

Hanni emphasized the repeated action of working with hops and related discourses as affecting her and her family's health. Pesticide use was her greatest concern not only because she reacted with health problems, but because there was no escape as '*allwei warn die Sprays in der Luft*' [the sprays were always in the air]. In the region where Gangolf and Hanni lived, intensive hop production supplies the Bavarian beer industry. Beer is checked for residual *Pflanzenschutzmittel* [plant-protection medium], a euphemism that turns harmful pesticides into beneficial plant protection. Bavarian beer is proudly advertised as pure, clean, and as upholding the *Reinheitsgebot* [purity decree] of anno 1516 (Bayrischer Brauerbund n/d). However, official food controls in 2008 found high total pesticide residues in hop far exceeding permissible levels, even though such residues had declined over the years (Jezussek 2008). This indicates preceding excessive pesticide use on hop plants and validates Hanni's concerns about pesticide effects on their health.

***Other environmental concerns***

Hanni expanded the circumference of environmental discourses from the effects of pesticides, linking their wish to emigrate to the Chernobyl nuclear fallout and a generally polluted environment: '*und dazu no des mit Tschernobyl und des olls*' [and adding that with Chernobyl and all that]. Using the expression, '*und des olls*' [and all that] assumes that the listener shares knowledge of what "all that" refers to. Probing questions revealed that "all that" included their unease about the escalating armament race and Germany's position between the military power blocs. Other worries were low-altitude flights impacts, and timber preservatives applied in their house and later found to be highly toxic to humans. Such concerns were common at the time and were justified (cf. Erlinger et al. 2008; Leuschner n/d; Schöndorf 1998; 'Tiefflieger: Beinahe wie im Krieg' 1984; Tomic 2008). For Gangolf and Hanni, their dismay with environmental issues also flowed into their initial understanding of New Zealand as desirable in terms of being clean, green, and idyllic as well as nuclear free.

***Working on their own house and garden***

The practice of working on their house started with close involvement in their home creation in Germany and can be considered as tying Gangolf and Hanni to their *Heimat* and potentially working against their wish to emigrate. In Germany, where it is not unusual that generation after generation live in the same house, home ownership is generally connected with being autochthonous and staying for life. Owning one's own house creates a desirable homeownership identity because most people rent (Mulder 1998). Mulder also mentions the conservative lending attitudes of German banks, which require a substantial deposit usually achieved through long-term saving. Such budgeting skills helped Gangolf and Hanni manage their fluctuating farm income in New Zealand.

### *Holidaying in New Zealand*

Gangolf's long-held dream was resemiotisized into a five-week holiday in New Zealand. This complex action linked into the practice of networking with German-speaking immigrants. Touring the whole country, Gangolf and Hanni found their dream images of a clean green New Zealand confirmed. This supports Bell and Lyall's claim of tourists collecting the "delightful view from the window, [which] obliterates other concerns" (2002: 155). Gangolf and Hanni's holiday created a temporary independent and free traveler identity unburdened by work routines and stimulated their desire to move to New Zealand.

### *Considering emigration*

The circumference of this complex action included the couple's children, their house, work and wider family, who were strongly opposed to their proposed move. Expressing dissent with attitudes, escalating chemical pollution and armament placed Gangolf and Hanni in opposition with certain mainstream attitudes and practices. They were well aware of the huge step and challenges that required courage and consideration of their children's future and feelings. Indeed, Gangolf's pauses in narrating and his concerned facial expression emphasized the severity of the verbally expressed inner turmoil: '*do KÄMPFST. länger wia a Johr kämpfst do. SOLLD mer des wogn? oder solld mer des NET mochn?*' [there you BATTLE. for more than a year you battle. SHOULD we dare? or should we NOT do it?].

### *Migration to New Zealand*

The mediated action of migration includes consideration of emigration from the place of departure, decisions about the destination to immigrate to, permits enabling the immigration, physical and material preparation, and the move itself, as well as settlement after arrival. Gangolf and Hanni's decision to lock up their house rather than selling it at the time was influenced by a lull in the German housing market but perhaps more so by ongoing indecision regarding migration. Gangolf and Hanni's move therefore can be seen as embedded in the practice of expressing disapproval with a situation by leaving but also insuring for potential return migration. The process of uprooting from the old proved very complex indeed. The receiving country's conditions of entry also had to be fulfilled.

Gangolf and Hanni's immigration is an example of patchwork biographies. In leaving the rat race, which their families considered as undesirable and ungrateful, Gangolf created an *Aussteiger* [dropout] identity. On the other hand, their immigration defined Gangolf and Hanni as people who had the courage to realize their dreams. This realization of dreams is one of the major themes found in Bürgelt's (2010) study of the migration processes of German migrants to Australia and New Zealand.

### *Heimat* and migration nexus—Gangolf and Hanni

The mediated actions reported above were Gangolf and Hanni's discursive construction of trajectories leading to their immigration to New Zealand. Figure 4.5 maps the nexuses of practice of these charted trajectories.

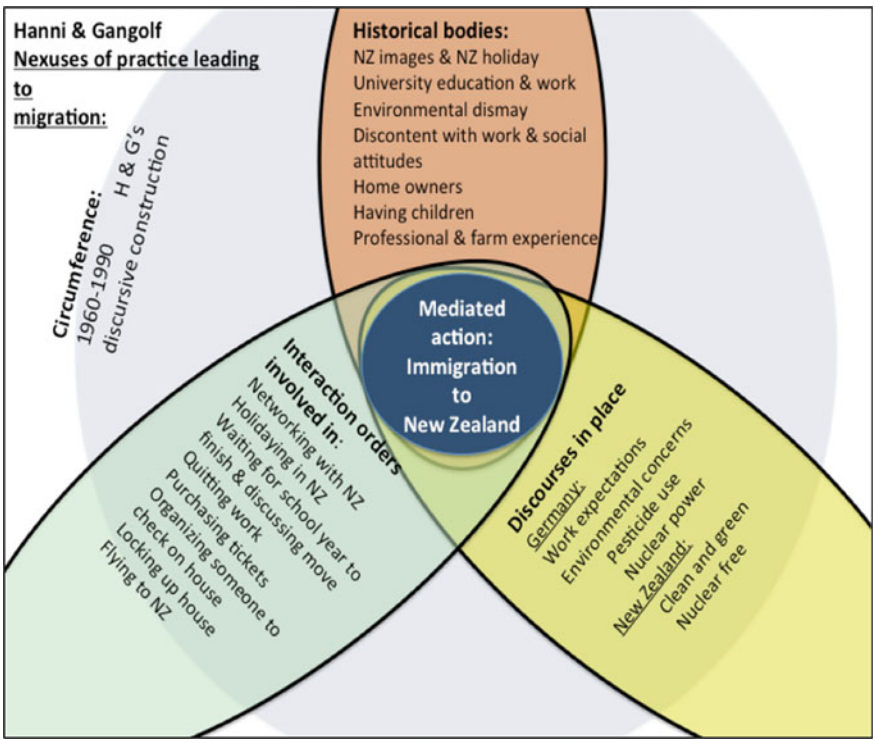


**Fig. 4.5** Semiotic cycles leading to migration

This figure spans the time from 1960 to 1990, the year they migrated, and depicts the nexuses of practice prior to and intersecting in the mediated action of immigration. It integrates their historical bodies, the discourses in place at the time of their move, and interaction orders in the processes of their emigration, and represents participants' anticipations in some ways.

### *Attachment to place*

Detachment from place related to the participants' disturbed sense of security in their country of origin. Negative environmental discourses and social tensions contributed strongly to this detachment, which included leaving their primarily self-built home. The timescale between emigration and finally selling this asset indicates the deep embedding of their own home as a cultural tool in their historical bodies. Yet, this detachment could be seen as incomplete. The contents of their house were stored in Germany for over twenty years, suggesting ambivalence regarding material aspects of *Heimat*. They chose to settle in an area that Gangolf described as reminiscent of Upper Bavaria. This similarity allowed them familiar uses, in particular working the fertile land and skiing. Their current ideas of spending some time in Bavaria each year indicate that their place detachment was

not fully completed, although these plans may link more into their youngest son's recent return migration and to people attachment, not an incomplete place detachment at the time of migration.

New Zealand promises awe-inspiring and seemingly unpolluted landscapes. The country promotes "sublime landscapes as sites of national achievement and as signifiers of national identity" (Bell and Lyall 2002: 179). Duly, when Gangolf and Hanni immigrated they only saw beauty. A New Zealand contact recalled Hanni's frequent expression of awe, '*mei is des sche*' [oh my is that beautiful] even in dense traffic on the northern motorway approach to Auckland. Hanni excluded rush hour traffic to focus on Auckland's morning-sun-enhanced harbor and cityscape, confirming Bell and Lyall's explanation of a restricted tourist gaze and extending it to new immigrants. Coupled with New Zealand's isolation, its antinuclear stance offered apparent security from nuclear disasters. On the other hand, New Zealand's political structures offered European familiarity, especially once MMP—a voting system modeled on the German system[9]—was introduced in 1996. All these aspects fed into an attachment to the place strong enough to facilitate settlement.

***Attachment to people***

Gangolf and Hanni's discourse suggests that detachment from certain people in their country of origin was liberating because spatial distance lessened emotional pressure and removed demands from wider family and work. Gangolf and Hanni's initial networking with other German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand to secure employment during the process of their migration can be seen as a means to an end to achieve a good start to their New Zealand life. However, their friendly openness laid the basis for later friendships, perhaps not least because they also followed norms of reciprocity in exchange interactions (cf. Tischler 2011). For instance, Hanni gave some of her paintings to the contacts who had helped them with their immigration procedures. Over time, Gangolf and Hanni have kept loosely in touch with family and friends through phone calls and two visits from Germany. Their youngest son's return migration created a reattachment to Bavaria, which might increase over time as he now has a child.

***Attachment to culture***

Gangolf and Hanni have not distanced themselves from their culture. They still speak the dialect that is typical for the area where they used to live. When they speak standard German, their origin is detectable in their articulation of vowels, word contractions, and blends as well as endings. It is also evident in their English, for instance, 'st' sounding like 'shd', leading to the neighbor's joke, 'just tell them

[9]Mixed-Member-Proportional voting system *[personalisierte Verhältniswahl]*. Cf: http://www.elections.org.nz/voting-system/mmp-voting-system, http://www.bundestagswahl-bw.de/wahlsystem1.html?&tx_vgetagcloud_pi2%5Bpages%5D=1825%20&tx_vgetagcloud_pi2%5Bkeyword%5D=Wahlsystem.

I did not quite UNDERSHDAND'. In Bavaria, dialect is commonly spoken in informal situations, for example, with family and friends (and in this study with the insider researcher), while standard German is usually reserved for formal situations or people who would not understand local dialect. Gangolf and Hanni spoke dialect to me, for instance, while they modified their pronunciation toward standard German when speaking to German speakers who would not understand "the vowel-gulping Bavarian dialect" (Markham 1985: 14). As outlined below, they also maintained other cultural practices.

***Summary***

From the above consideration of *Heimat* aspects, it is clear that migration is at the intersection of losing the old *Heimat* and not yet having established a new *Heimat*. Next, I will follow the trajectories involved in Gangolf and Hanni's processes of creating their new *Heimat*.

**Consequences of Gangolf and Hanni's immigration—actions and links**

Gangolf and Hanni engaged with me as a researcher and as a friend. This signals the value of me being part of the in-group because as a researcher I understood their background. Talking about experiences of life in New Zealand over dinner, comparing memories of German social practices with those in New Zealand can be seen as a typical practice amongst immigrants (cf. Bönisch-Brednich 2002). Table 4.2 gives an overview of the mediated actions pertinent as consequences of immigration in Gangolf and Hanni's discourse, the cultural tools used in these actions, the social practices the actions relate to, and the identities they created.

The timescales between Gangolf and Hanni's move to New Zealand and this study span more than twenty years. This might mean that many of the not so salient experiences have been forgotten. On the other hand, Gangolf and Hanni's selection of narrated mediated actions might indicate the weight they have carried for them. After the couple read their story, Hanni called me to say that they should have talked about more positive aspects and told me more about their different farming activities, emphasizing that although income fluctuated due to the weather, they always made a good living from their farm. From these immigrants' perspectives, their immigration story needed to include successes rather than merely the struggles in creating a new *Heimat*.

***Sojourn or permanent immigration***

Consideration of sojourn or staying permanently is part of Gangolf and Hanni's settlement process. Their main reason for swaying between temporary and permanent immigration was their oldest son's rebellion against their migration because he met with discrimination (e.g., 'you Nazi') rather than a welcoming social reception at school. As Hanni recalled, in fighting against being in New Zealand their oldest became hostile and inflicted intense psychological pressure on them. The complex and lengthy mediated action of considering whether to stay or to leave involved the conceptual cultural tools of parental responsibilities competing with those of living

**Table 4.2** Consequences of the couple's migration

| Action | Cultural tools | Practice | Identity created/recreated |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sojourn versus permanence consideration | Concepts: 'good life'; parent and children rights and responsibilities | Patchwork biographies; overseas experience | Hesitater; being troubled |
| Selling house | German real estate agency | Asset liquidation | Decision-maker; having purchasing power |
| Buying farm and rental | Financial assets; experience of small holding; climate concepts; rental investment | Owning land and rental property; small holding; emotive buying; income creation; own business | Achiever having own farm; landlord |
| Raising live stock in certified organic way | Assets, financial and animals; approved fertilizer; water; tools for fencing etc. | Organic certification; having a house cow; raising organic calves and chickens; self-employment | Farming experience from a different place; Greenie pursuing organic and sustainable farming; stubborn hard workers expecting children to help on farm; smart budget managers |
| Growing organically pure and sustainable produce | Holistic permaculture principles and asset management; networking; subcontractors; chicken cages and river stones | Bureaucratic approval; working own land; old-fashioned farming; putting down roots; determination; self-employment | Newcomer struggling due to assumptions about soil and climate; outsider; organic and sustainable farmer; obstinate regarding bureaucratic impositions; determined, stubborn hard workers expecting children to help on farm like in their German families; inventive Kiwi; smart budget managers |
| Making own Sauerkraut | Cabbage; cabbage shredder; fermenting crock pot; salt | Processing own products rather than purchasing imports | Bavarian old-fashioned farmer and homemaker conscious of food miles |
| Celebrating Advent and Xmas | Pinus radiata branches; German Christmas decorations; candles; music | Northern hemisphere Xmas tradition combining with New Zealand practices; managing plant growth | Pragmatist; maintaining tradition and accepting New Zealand practices |
| Supporting children's education | Bavarian language at home; New Zealand schools; networks; financial assets | Modifying life for children, bilingual home | Supportive and educated parent |
| Evaluating New Zealand life | German language; memory; network; taking part in research | Sharing and comparing experiences with friends; reflecting on actions; planning for future | German well settled in NZ, keeping and blending cultures; parental concerns; organic farmer; taking on challenges and persisting; achiever; retiree |

the 'good life'. [10] Gangolf and Hanni's solution was to seek permanent New Zealand residency for the whole family, but also to allow their oldest to return to Germany twice, the second time to enroll in an apprenticeship. He did not complete it and eventually settled in New Zealand. Gangolf and Hanni explained the disruptive effects of his migration processes as sadly still reverberating in his feelings of failure in the light of his brothers' professional successes.

***Selling house***

The sale of their house in Germany marked their decision to settle permanently in New Zealand. Their home ownership and the achieved sale price reflect Frick and Grabka's assertion that in Germany home ownership is indicative of wealth (2009). The advantageous German property market, the roughly 1:1 DM to NZ$ exchange rate, and the buyer's market for New Zealand farmland at the time (cf. Gouin et al. 1994) gave them the means to purchase New Zealand properties of their choice. In NA terms, this mediated action involved the resemiotisation from the semiotic cycle of home ownership and wealth discourses into the discourses of exchange rates and immigrants contributing to New Zealand's wealth. Yet, in light of other immigrants' experiences described in the main study, international currency fluctuations and countries' economies at different times do not always impact on immigrants favorably.

***Buying rental property and farm***

Gangolf and Hanni bought rental property, which they renovated and tenanted, and a Canterbury farm block they worked for many years, with a modest house they lived in. The action of buying these properties resemiotisized financial means into farm ownership and landlord identities. The cycles emanating from buying rental property include the discourses of regular rent income and a financial security net.

Gangolf and Hanni bought their block of land because it bordered a river and gave them the right to draw irrigation water. Other reasons given for the farm purchase were the big idyllic pond in front of the house and that the land had not been subjected to chemical sprays for years because the seller could not afford them. This absence of certain agricultural chemicals in the soil improved their chances of gaining organic certification. It appears that they did not question why the seller did not make more money from the land. They also did not seem to know that the eastern parts of the South Island are susceptible to droughts. While endowing them with the identity of farm owners, their land purchase could be seen as more emotion-based than reflecting due diligence. Their emotional connection to the landscape is evident also in their expressed sadness about losing the sparkling waters of their artesian-spring-fed pond and the associated wildlife. The recent

[10] I take this phrase from the British comedy series "The Good Life" (1975–1978 and available on UKTV), created by John Esmonde and Bob Larbey, in which Tom Good decides on his 40th birthday to drop out of the rat race and create a natural alternative, i.e. a self-sufficient farm in their suburban garden.

earthquakes resulted in a water level drop exceeding 1.5 m and cut off the spring, leaving only a small stagnant pond and exposed stone banks.

***Growing organically pure and sustainable produce***

Supporting the reputation of many Germans in New Zealand as ecologically minded and environmentally active immigrants (cf. Bade 2012), Gangolf and Hanni envisaged creating their holistic sustainable organic haven drawing on biodynamic principles (biodynamic principles cf. Turinek et al. 2009) and permaculture principles (cf. Mollison 1991). Rather than being one mediated action, achieving organic certification and growing organically pure produce in a sustainable way and in harmony with nature consists of series of many repeated actions and practices. Gangolf and Hanni's organically certified agribusiness activities started with the purchase of their farm and ended with the sale of much their land and a neighbor leasing most of the rest. While Gangolf and Hanni's increasing age and their children's disinterest in continuing their farming enterprise played a role in their rationale, the main cause was the non-renewal of their water rights by the local Council. The practice of paid water right cycles and the Council's apparently misdirected agency in refusing them renewal[11] effectively terminated Gangolf and Hanni's commercial organic produce farming. This and details below illustrate that as a consequence of their LM, Gangolf and Hanni struggled to achieve agency through their lifestyle choices. As explained below, their great achievements came at great cost to dreams of a pure *Heimat*. That is, as a consequence of their migration they had to come to terms with negative local practices, which they had hoped to leave behind in Europe.

Trade and general consumer acceptance of produce as organically pure requires certification. Gangolf and Hanni's narrative accounts demonstrate that in the process of gaining organic certification, New Zealand confronted them with bureaucratic and environmental situations reminiscent of the social and environmental push factors that brought them to New Zealand. The multi-tilling condition they reported as imposed by New Zealand bureaucrats conflicted with their understanding of holistic farming. Considering the climatic conditions in Canterbury, their reasoning for the requirement's unsuitability was well founded. Their neighbors and contractors agreed with them and supported them with advice on how to sidestep the rigid bureaucratic conditions. Given their push factors regarding poisons in the environment and expectations of New Zealand, the couple was absolutely shocked about their neighbor's aerial application of agricultural chemicals. In a complete loss of agency, the application during the organic certifiers' visit to their farm shattered their organic certification plans. This glimpse into the reality of New Zealand environmental practices destroyed their illusion of a pure New Zealand. Yet, rather than reacting by leaving, Gangolf and Hanni adapted their practices to

[11]Water rights are allocated yearly on a 'first-come-first-served' basis. See, e.g., http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/water-resources/page-6.

cope with the bureaucracy and persevered in their endeavor to create a sustainable haven. Persisting for several years finally resulted in achieving organic certification.

This certification allowed them to carry out their holistic permaculture farm plan. They planted thousands of trees, those with more water requirements closer to the river and so on. Everyone in the family worked together, initially using buckets to water the newly planted trees. This may illustrate a 'good-life' approach to farming involving intense labor. Compared to their neighbors' irrigation practices, the bucket watering was an amateurish approach and created an outsider identity ('crazy Germans' Hanni). The involvement of the whole family in farm work continued their German family practices. In revealing a sizeable carbon sink, Google images of their property (Fig. 4.6) confirm the success of their tree planting along the braided river. Illustrating their considerable impact on local practices and neighbors also using their riverbank planting practices, such planting now continues for many kilometers in both directions and on both banks, but mainly down river.

Such planting and the creation of an "edible landscape"[12] (Dunmall 2009: 64) around their house links into public discourses about finding environmentally sound local solutions for the planet's precarious situation. The stone-filled chicken cages Gangolf and Hanni used to protect their land from flood erosion were not part of their historical bodies at the time but resourceful new cultural tools, fitting into the Kiwi 'number-8-wire' practice.[13] In their view, their riverbank work not only links into local political structures, but also into national ones. Hanni said that while they once supported the New Zealand Green Party, they no longer do because of the party's hands-off attitude to such sensible river regulation and the party's opposition to any water catchment options. Regarding water catchment and use, Gangolf suggested that the topography of the eastern South Island upper river regions would support the construction of several water reservoirs to regulate the rivers' flows without major impact on populations. These structures could be used for power generation and irrigation instead of letting all of the river water from rain over the Alps disappear into the sea loaded with fertile soil while the eastern plains suffer drought conditions. Such schemes have been subject to ongoing public debate for years, especially with increasing conversion to dairy farming, and partially have been consented (cf. Kerr 2009).

### *Raising livestock*

Gangolf and Hanni's determination in raising several kinds of domestic animals creates identities of hard-working environmentalists with a stubborn streak. Their relationship to their animals appears more caring compared to commercial New Zealand dairy farming. It is the norm on dairy farms to take calves away from the

[12]An edible landscape contains only plants that provide food.

[13]No 8 wire is a fencing wire gauge widely used in New Zealand and the no. 8 wire tradition has it that New Zealanders can create great things using a piece of this fencing wire, i.e., with very few ordinary resources. Cf. http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/inventions-patents-and-trademarks/1.

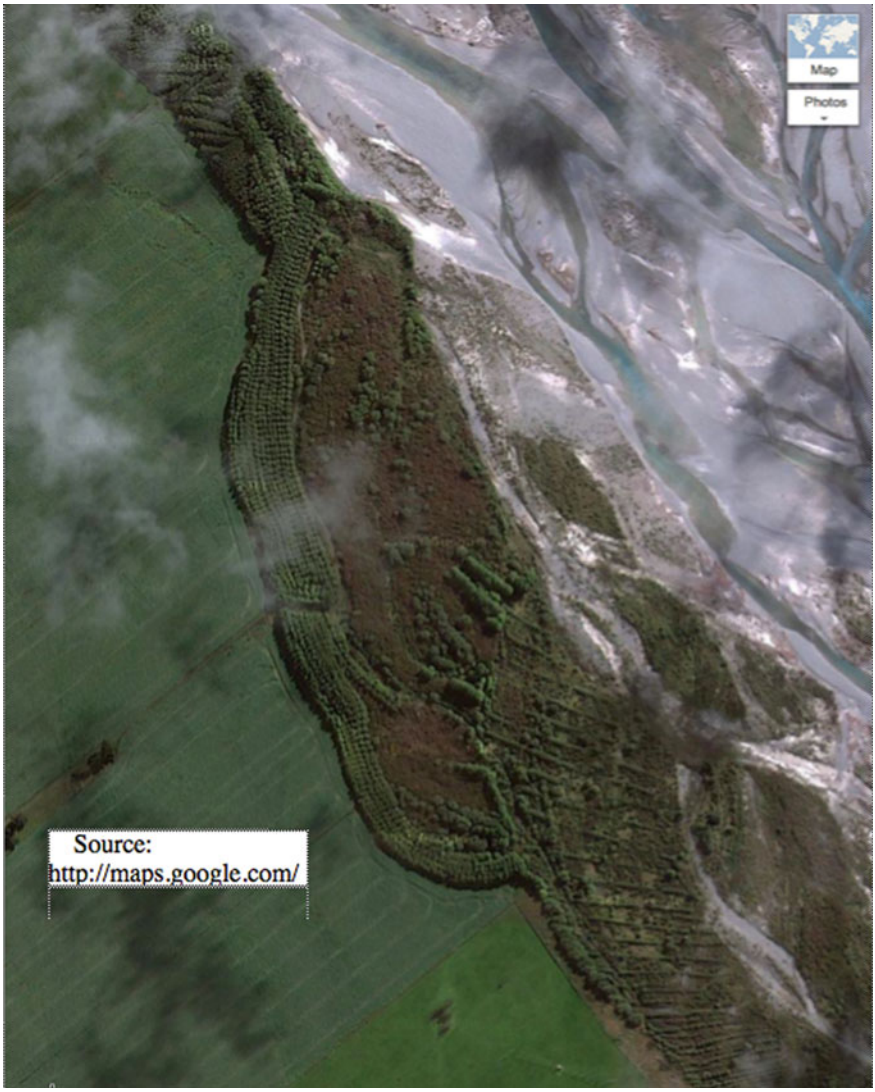


**Fig. 4.6** Gangolf and Hanni's tree planting along river

cows almost immediately after birth to secure colostrum sales and milk income. While they purchased such calves to raise for slaughter or dairy heifers, Gangolf and Hanni's own cows keep their calves while giving hand-milked supply for the household. The species that was a match for their persistence was the New Zealand hawk that discovered their free-running chickens as a reliable food source.

### *German food traditions*

Imported sauerkraut is available in supermarkets throughout New Zealand, yet Gangolf and Hanni made their own. Like their practices of churning butter, producing yogurt and quark, and baking bread, this practice is part of the self-sufficient lifestyle they chose. The European cultural tools used, i.e., a big manual cabbage shredder and a crockery fermenting pot, are available in New Zealand,[14] which indicates the presence of other such self-sufficient lifestylers. This traditional processing of own foods rather than purchasing imported products suggests identities of traditional farmers and homemakers. It links into the current public discourses about avoidance of food miles, which however concerns New Zealand mainly in terms of food exports (cf. Stancu and Smith 2006). Traditional German sausages and bread proudly served to other German immigrants as a special treat foreground the food's symbolic value in signaling German identity.

### *Traditional celebrations*

The site of engagement that enabled much of this view into Gangolf and Hanni's story was a dinner they had with their friends one Advent Sunday. Once the dinner conversation turned to the date and how fast Christmas was approaching, talk revolved around German and Austrian Advent traditions such as Advent songs, an Advent calendar for the children and an Advent wreath with four candles, one for each Sunday in Advent. Gangolf and Hanni had not continued these traditions for some years. As their children are adults and Gangolf and Hanni have been busy working on their farm, it is not clear if this discontinuation of northern Advent traditions truly is a consequence of having lived in New Zealand for a long time or rather is a consequence of no longer having children in the home. This conversation also involved comparisons of the contemplative German and Austrian mid-winter celebrations with the lighthearted New Zealand mid-summer Christmas celebrations, which Hanni likes and takes part in. This change of practice is a consequence of immigration.

## Gangolf and Hanni's New Zealand *Heimat* nexus

Gangolf and Hanni's reflective evaluation strongly suggests that New Zealand has become their new *Heimat* while they have stayed attached to their old *Heimat* in a number of ways. Creating this new *Heimat* was simultaneously a fulfilling journey that gave them everything they ever wanted and a prolonged struggle marred by psychological disappointments, physical battles with nature, and bureaucratic challenges.

*Heimat* includes Scannell and Gifford's (2010) dimensions of place attachment, that is, the people and the values and meanings they assign to a place; affective and cognitive processes in relation to the place; the nature of the place and actions

[14]See e.g. http://www.goldenfields.co.nz/sauerkraut_pot.php.

taken there. Gangolf and Hanni's narrative accounts foregrounded their connection to place, specifically their farm, which has connected them to the land over the past two decades. Positive connections to their family, friends, acquaintances, and neighbors seemed more backgrounded in their narratives and at times needed prompting. Based on my observations of positive connections with these people, I would argue that these relationships were seen as the norm and therefore not as interesting enough to be mentioned in their narratives. Experiences that infringed on their view of New Zealand as desirable and as *Heimat* appeared to carry more weight. *Heimat*, of course, is not a static concept and its complexities evolve and change over a lifetime. While Gangolf and Hanni integrated in their daily lives, certain aspects of the culture that surrounds them in New Zealand such as the English language, their Bavarian culture and passion for a sustainable lifestyle has remained dominant. Their initial naïve and illusory admiration of pure clean green New Zealand waned and their feelings of safety were somewhat dented recently by ongoing tectonic tremors. Nevertheless, Gangolf and Hanni clearly identify New Zealand as *Heimat.*

The cycles in Fig. 4.7 form the semiotic ecosystem, to use Scollon and Scollon's (2004) term, evolving from Gangolf and Hanni's immigration. It could serve as a

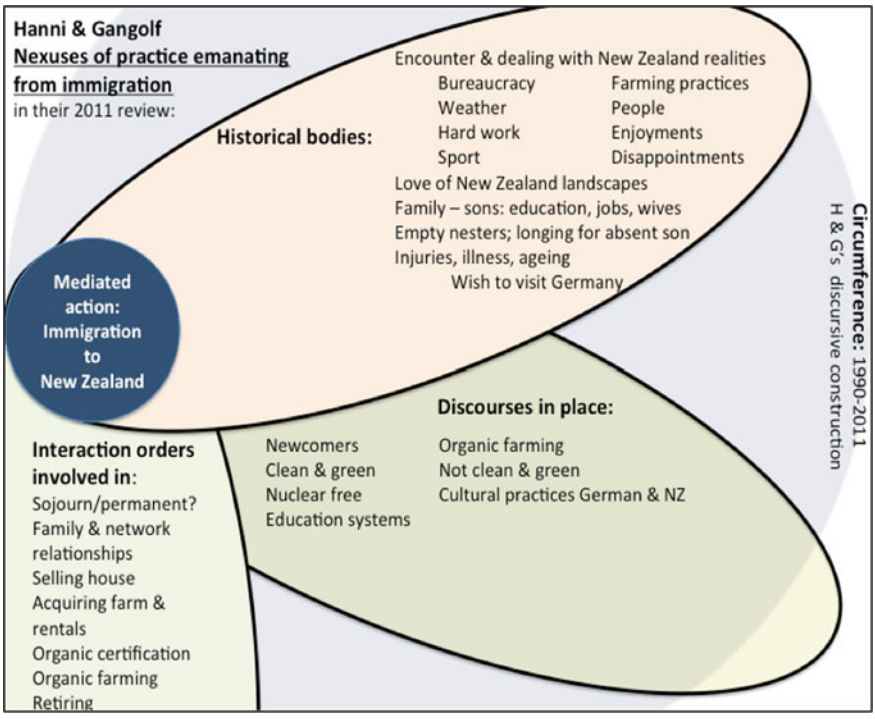


**Fig. 4.7** Mapping a couple's semiotic ecosystem emanating from immigration

summary of their New Zealand *Heimat* creation, and therefore of the consequences of their immigration. It is not possible to unreservedly attribute all their discursively constructed actions and cultural tools to consequences of their immigration apart from the fact that they took place and were used in New Zealand. Some, like their hesitation about retirement choices may be due to personal characteristics irrespective of immigration.

Immigration is a turning point that changes lives. For this reason, Bönisch-Brednich (2002) claims that stories about migration are often repeated and possibly reinvented, becoming 'ready-mades' that emphasize the positive, with negatives or failures unlikely to be told. Stories may be reinvented in this sense, but I did not find a positive spin reinvention of immigration stories substantiated in my pilot investigation. In contrast to Bönisch-Brednich's assertion, Gangolf and Hanni at first overemphasized the struggles and negative consequences of immigration. Once they saw their story written down, they supplemented and balanced it. Bönisch-Brednich's different perception might be due to her outsider position, the "*gegenseitige Fremdheit*" (Bönisch-Brednich 2002: 418), i.e., the mutual strangeness, between researcher and the researched, which means, as she points out, that certain things are not talked about.

### *4.3.3 Pilot Study—Comparison of Immigration Consequences*

**Similarities**

There are a number of similarities in participants' stories but with variations. One similarity was the use of social networks to ease migration and settlement processes. Experiencing New Zealand landscapes played a magnetic role for all three participants. Claudia as well as Gangolf reported an influence of New Zealand images early in their lives. While Gangolf remembered actual photos seen in high school, Claudia imagined idyllic New Zealand scenes from a book by Mary Scott she said she read in her youth. The earliest translation of *Breakfast at six*, *i.e., Frühstück um sechs. Ich und Paul und 1000 Schafe [I and Paul and 1000 sheep]* was published by Goldmann, Munich in 1957 when Claudia was in her early thirties. This indicates a distortion of calendar time or a different understanding of youth when reflecting from old age. The German success of these romantic novels seems to relate to the desire for living simple lives in harmony with nature and to the German fascination with the South Pacific. In the realization of their dream, this caring connection between humans, animals, plants, and the earth materialized in Gangolf and Hanni's organic farming in New Zealand. For Claudia, the dream of an independent life in picturesque landscapes eventually turned into a partially fictitious *Wolkenkuckucksheim*. At times,

both female participants seemed to find it difficult to background the negative consequences of their immigration to New Zealand.

Economic independence from others was another aspect common for the participants. This allowed the fulfillment of their dreams, although the financial situations differed. Gangolf and Hanni brought substantial capital during settlement, enabling them to generate income in New Zealand from self-employment on their own farm. Claudia brought generous ongoing retirement income accrued through her and her husband's contributions.

Intergenerational tension is another similarity, albeit with variations. For Gangolf and Hanni, the conflict with their oldest son about their move and the resulting psychological pressure for all involved clearly was a consequence of their immigration. Their youngest son's return migration stressed the parents but eventually was accepted as a natural generational process. In Claudia's case, tension may be one-sided as Claudia's family may well not have been aware of her feelings; and perhaps rather than tension it was sadness about lack of contact with her descendants. This deficit may be due to different generational interests and commitments rather than being a consequence of immigration. It was not possible to involve the families in this study.

**Differences**

The differences in the pilot participants' stories are partly due to their different stages in life. For example, Claudia could have not immigrated had her son as the center of her family and as sponsor not already lived in New Zealand. Gangolf and his family, on the other hand, could have gained entry solely based on his qualifications, experience, and financial means.

Independence was a common factor, but participants' realization of independence differed. Rather than continuing a dependent employee situation related to Gangolf's qualification, Gangolf and Hanni used their family farming experience and chose independence living the 'good life'. While the Canterbury earthquakes starting in 2010 impacted their lives, they coped like other Cantabrians. Gangolf and Hanni struggled at first to establish the basis for ongoing farming income, but over time fully integrated into New Zealand society while keeping much of their culture. Their current independence for future actions is primarily related to aging and retirement from farming rather than to immigration consequences. Claudia, on the other hand, started her New Zealand life on a high note, fulfilling her dream of independence. Yet with one exception, she was not able to overcome intercultural problems to form friendships with New Zealanders. Speaking and understanding English is a necessity for integration into New Zealand mainstream society. English communication was more challenging for Claudia as she started learning English only after immigrating to New Zealand at age 69. In contrast, Gangolf and Hanni had a working knowledge of English before their arrival, even though during settlement they found communication at times difficult, which they attribute mainly to the characteristic New Zealand accents and native speakers' speech pace.

## 4.4 Reflection and Implications for Main Study

The journey to pilot study completion was an interesting learning process from conception of the research idea through topic refinement, consideration of methodology including worldviews and choice of research method, applying for ethics approval, and analytical trials to writing these reflections.

Separating research and private roles, gaining and maintaining the necessary distance for analysis have been problematic indeed. Most of all, witnessing and documenting Claudia's demise in her final stages of life was sad and challenging. For research, it created ethical dilemmas beyond institutional concerns because of a dying person's increasing vulnerability and dependency. Great care was taken to overcome these challenges.

The narrative accounts of the effects of immigration on Gangolf and Hanni's sons emphasized the need for looking at subsequent generations when investigating consequences of immigration. Therefore, I decided to explore the impact of migration decisions in my qualitative main study not just on the first immigrant generation, but across three genealogical generations. I elected to work with three families to investigate the consequences of immigration over time and generations, and compare the experiences across families. Because the data gathered was anticipated to be substantial, it was however not considered practical to present as many details as in this section. The next section presents the family stories, followed by generational analyses that include survey responses.

# Chapter 5
# G1—Lifestyle Migrants

The overwhelming majority of all first-migrant-generation participants in the pilot study, the main qualitative study, and in the survey were lifestyle migrants. This chapter tells the stories of these lifestyle migrants. The motives for moving to New Zealand were remarkably similar for the participants in the qualitative study and in the survey. Apart from the 20 participants overall who moved to New Zealand to live with the person they had fallen in love with rather than for the lifestyle, more than 90% of the 214 immigrants in the first familial generation (G1) stated that they moved to New Zealand for lifestyle reasons. Discourses intersecting in their post-migration experiences exemplified the differences between their expectations and New Zealand realities. The narrated experiences of the main study combine in this chapter with the survey responses into the story of migration for G1, their positive and negative experiences of New Zealand life as well as this generation's long-term ties to the country and people.

## 5.1 Motives and Keys to Long-Term Residence

As the pre-migration push and pull factors within the discourses in place and in the pilot study indicate, motives are central for migration decision-making. Motives involve push factors at the place of origin that induce the move and the pull factors of the destination that magnetize. The first-generation migrant participants' push and pull factors linked into historical paths and places, ideas and objects, and interconnected with the participants' historical body to facilitate their migration decisions. Their push and pull factors indicated that G1 participants expected to find in New Zealand the positive opposites of aspects they had considered wanting in Europe.



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### 5.1.1 Motives—Push Factors

Push factors are reasons for dissatisfaction with life situations at the original place, and pull factors are the appealing qualities of the destination, with geographical distance acting as a deterrent according to Dorigo and Tobler (1983). Yet, considering recent migration numbers, geographical distance does not seem to discourage the extreme distance LM from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand.

LM in my study evolved from individual decision-making; and personal factors played considerable roles. For example, frequently reported personal push factors were feelings of being somewhat uprooted and distanced from places and social spaces of origin. These feelings were recalled as evolving from external factors. For example, some participants had grown more distant from family because of disagreements and/or because they felt unduly under pressure to help or conform. Work stress, and midlife reassessments of life also played a role especially for those who migrated with their children during midlife. Others had a history of prior sojourns for study and/or work purposes.

In contrast to the argument that LM clearly does not include political factors (Torkington 2012), motives for LM from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand in my study do reflect political events and discourses. In the aftermath of WWII in the 1950s, for example, longing for a safe lifestyle was a strong motive for German speakers moving to New Zealand. Key driver for a considerable number of such migrants from the 1960s to the 1980s was the desire for a safer life away from the nuclear arms race of the Cold War, which was particularly recognizable in Germany. Ironically, there seemed to have been no perception of the Pacific region being contaminated by the nuclear explosions of Britain, the USA, and France testing nuclear weapons. The wish for life in a cleaner environment arose from the increasing pollution that became an added public and political concern in the 1970s and early 1980s. The fallout from the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster also led to an increase in migration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand. Indeed, this increase was so remarkable that the new influx became "post-Chernobyl immigrants" in public discourse. This fallout was also the major push factor for a couple in the qualitative part of this study, whose home region was one of the most affected. With German reunification, rationalizations for immigration from former GDR regions included, for instance: '*nichts wie weg—so weit wie möglich*' [just get away—as far as possible] and '*die DDR hörte auf zu existieren und die BRD war nicht meine Heimat*' [the GDR ceased to exist and the FRG was not my *Heimat*]. The first comment indicates that the newfound freedom of movement (harsh travel restrictions applied in the GDR) was met with concerns about its permanence; the latter points to issues such as the submersion of eastern political, economic, and social systems into the western ideologies of the united Germany (cf. Meyen 2013). All these were political factors nudging participants into LM to New Zealand.

### 5.1.2 Migration Motives—Pull Factors

Pull factors toward "*das schönste Ende der Welt*" [the most beautiful world's end][1] had generally been instigated by media, mainly films and TV programs and more recently the Internet.[2] New Zealand's image frequently had been nurtured for a long time and reinforced by the country's branding for the international market ('*in der Schule haben sie einen Film gezeigt über Neuseeland*' [at school they showed a film about New Zealand]; '*es kommt viel im Fernsehen über Neuseeland*' [there's a lot about New Zealand on TV]). Images of seemingly untouched natural landscapes as well as adventurous and relaxing leisure pursuits combined with euphoric and persuasive language dominate in these sources, which commonly are at least influenced by if not created for promotional purposes. Predictably, migrant stories shown in these sources report positive experiences, success and dream fulfillment. But then, who would actually be prepared to admit failure as a migrant on television in their country of origin?

The success of these sources is reflected in the highest ranked pull factors for most participants, namely New Zealand landscapes and a relaxed New Zealand lifestyle, followed by the temperate climate and New Zealand's nuclear-free status, which was eventually written into law despite US sanctions (cf. Anti-Nuke in der Südsee 1985; A nuclear free Pacific 1988). Almost all participants had holidayed in New Zealand before deciding on a longer or permanent stay. Yet, escapism lies at the core of tourism and destination descriptions are intended to fulfill consumer fantasies, which are then satisfied through superficial discoveries and memories of what the consumers wanted to see (Bell and Lyall 2002).

For those immigrating from the 1980s onwards, fulfilling a dream moved into the foreground of New Zealand pull factors. Strong motives for the young singles and couples were the desire to travel the world and experience other cultures. Many had been to Australia but preferred New Zealand because of the landscapes and temperate climate, and a perceived absence of poisonous animals ('*no snakes or poisonous spiders*'[3]). These travel dreams generally were realized soon after completion of the professional education. This tendency is also documented in the main age group of visitors, that is, 25–34 years (see Chap. 1).

The desire to be in the country of one's dreams does not always translate into permission to stay, however. To remain for longer legally, immigration rules for permanent residency must be met. Participants' keys to residence in New Zealand are explained next.

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[1]Cf. http://www.theglobetrotter.de/neuseeland/reisebericht/. Accessed Feb 2016.

[2]See e.g., http://www.newzealand.com/de/; http://www.newzealand.com; http://www.neuseeland-news.com; https://www.erlebe-neuseeland.de. A January 2016 Google search for *Neuseeland* yielded about 43.5 million results.

[3]There are a few poisonous spiders though; see http://www.health.govt.nz/your-health/conditions-and-treatments/accidents-and-injuries/bites-and-stings/spider-bites. Accessed Jan 2016.

### 5.1.3 *Keys to Staying in New Zealand*

New Zealand encourages immigration of highly skilled professionals and investors[4] and professional qualifications were a key to permanent residence under the skilled migrant category for most participants. Some gained residency under the investment category or did so through marriage. The immigrants who arrived late in life received permanent residence permits through family sponsorship and their European retirement income. The majority of immigrants in my study were permanent residents in New Zealand, whereas some had New Zealand citizenship (Germans with New Zealand citizenship had generally given up their German nationality but most participating Austrians had dual citizenships).

A considerable number of the younger immigrants did not initially intend to stay in New Zealand permanently even though they qualified under the immigration rules. Their original intentions included a sojourn as career step or to gain work experience in an Anglophone environment. Some came originally on a student exchange program and later returned to New Zealand. Others arrived for working holidays, that is, to earn enough or to volunteer on organic farms[5] in brief work interludes and have long holiday periods. Nationals from a range of countries can obtain a 12-month working holiday visa once in their life if they fulfill certain conditions, for instance, they are between 18–30 years old, have a return ticket and a certain amount of money as well as valid health insurance. Others initially obtained a work visa and time limits apply for this as well.

## 5.2 Settlement

> Und jedem Anfang wohnt ein Zauber inne
> Der uns beschützt und der uns hilft zu leben
>
> And magic dwells in each beginning
> Protecting us and helping us to live
>
> Hermann Hesse (1943/2012: 675, my translation)

A main study participant quoted this excerpt from Hermann Hesse's life stages poem *Stufen* [steps][6] when talking about the elation on arrival in New Zealand. The poem relates to stepping over thresholds and to new beginnings. It encapsulates G1

[4] http://www.immigration.govt.nz.

[5] See http://www.wwoof.co.nz.

[6] See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_LaACP5GMUg. Accessed Nov 2012. Hesse's poem suggests that life is an ongoing process of transcendence, detachments and new beginnings. Suggesting that this is one of the most widely known German poems, I discovered that Bürgelt also happened to use (her translation of) the whole poem in the preface to her 2010 Ph.D. thesis as expression of "the journey towards actualizing one's authentic self" (Bürgelt 2010, 10).

participants' reported euphoric feelings of wonder at arrival in the country whose landscapes, friendly people and political steadfastness had captured their hearts during earlier visits. Inclusion expressed by a hospitable border control officer, 'So you're new Kiwis. Welcome to New Zealand!' exemplified and strengthened these heartwarming feelings. This welcome also punctuates consequences of migration, namely leaving the original *Heimat*, and the need to create a new sense of belonging.

Migration processes are not completed of course when people arrive at their destination. Cultural balancing and socialization processes (Geisen 2012), or acculturation processes (Berry 1997) involve all aspects of life for immigrants and their families, and institutional and individual members of the receiving society. Crosscultural adaptation is considered an immigrant's personal journey toward "intercultural personhood," an identity development that matures through challenges and inner crises and stretches the individual to achieve personal growth, intercultural empathy and competencies (Kim 2001: 194–195). This also emphasizes the transitory nature of adapting to life in a new country.

Descriptions and definitions of immigrants' psychological and sociocultural stages of settlement vary in the literature. Yet, there is agreement that settlement is an often difficult learning process that consists of several phases, which move from immigrants' euphoria at arrival through stressful periods and—in successful settlement—to practical and psychological acculturation to the receiving society over time. In other words, settlement is "a process of complex renegotiation" (Burnett 1998: 1), during which immigrants "must come to terms with already existing schemes of understanding and of power relations" (Bottomley 1992: 39). The term renegotiation suggests involvement of and concessions from all parties, thus involving not only the immigrants, but also the receiving society and its systems. Immigrants might therefore expect structural and social cooperation from institutions and the public, especially in recipient countries that actively try to attract immigrants as New Zealand does. Yet, renegotiation also signals that not all pre-migration expectations will be fulfilled.

Successful settlement may not translate into fulfillment of all expectations but it results in a pragmatic and emotional (re)creation of a new *Heimat*. Indeed, the concept of *Heimat* stood out as a theme in the retrospective narrative accounts in the interviews in this study and also featured prominently in survey responses. *Heimat* relates to ongoing processes in social space and place and functioned as benchmark for participants' sense of belonging, satisfaction, and security. *Heimat* incorporates Scannell and Gifford's (2010) three dimensions of place attachment: one, the people at a place and the values and meanings they assign to a place; two, affective and cognitive processes in relation to the place; and three, the nature of the place and actions taken there. When G1 participants in the main study recalled their experiences for this study and reflected on their *Heimat* creation in New Zealand, they narrated this as if it had been completed. The recounted experiences had become embodied as part of their historical bodies. Figure 5.1 uses *Heimat* creation as heuristic social action although it involves ongoing complex interactions and continues in complex affective and cognitive processes throughout life.

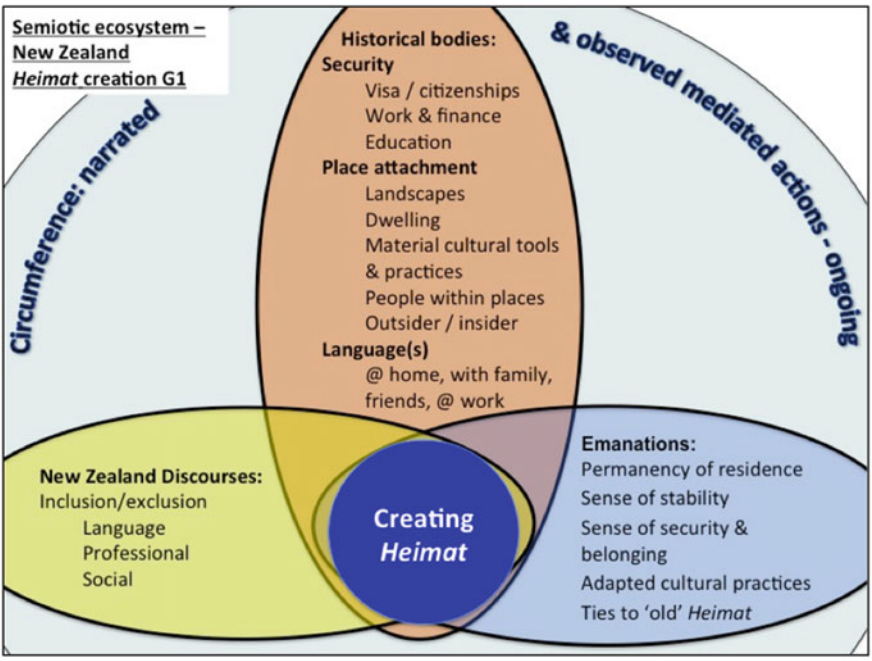


**Fig. 5.1** Mapping G1's semiotic ecosystem of initial New Zealand *Heimat* creation

Findings showed that for the first familial generation of immigrants in all study parts achieving a real sense of *Heimat* in New Zealand generally proved more challenging than originally thought. This was partly due to unrealistic expectations about New Zealand as dreamland, but also because of experiences with local societal systems. The next section reviews some of these experiences with reference to dreams, lifestyles, use of human capital in terms of qualifications and employment, with social connections and related senses of belonging.

### *5.2.1 Settlement Experiences—Dreams and Realities*

During settlement, immigrants' prior assumptions and expectations meet with the realities of the receiving society. The Viennese sociologist Schütz (1976: 97)[7]

[7]1899–1959. During the National Socialist regime, Schütz went into exile to France because of his Jewish ancestry; he then migrated to the USA.

In this reference, the author's name appears as Schutz. This is because Anglophone writers have the tendency to forget about the *Umlaut*, i.e. the two dots or parallel lines above a vowel that replace the 'e' following the first vowel. This omission may change the meaning of a term (e.g., Schütz can be translated as marksman/Sagittarius, but Schutz means protection).

likens immigrants' first entering into social relations within the receiving society as "jumping from the stalls to the stage." In this transition from bystander to involved actor, culture shock results from prior assumptions and patterns of cultural knowledge conflicting with assumptions and systems encountered in the new situation. Although the cultures of Europe's German-speaking areas are generally considered quite similar to those of the British-oriented mainstream New Zealand, many participants in this study underestimated the challenges of jumping onto the New Zealand stage.

Questions regarding fulfillment of dreams drew immigrants' widest range of evaluations from the most positive ('I think it could not be much better than this') to very negative expressions of disillusionment even though over 90% of this immigrant generation reported that New Zealand still was their dreamland at least in some ways. For most, New Zealand landscapes and nature stayed in the dreamland category: '*lediglich in Bezug auf Landschaft, Strände, Natur*!' [only in terms of landscapes, beaches, nature] whereas others were completely disillusioned by reality: '*Es war einmal ein Traum, der sich durch die Realität ziemlich schnell in Luft aufgelöst hat*' [it once was a dream that quickly dissolved into thin air through reality].

The nature of the place played considerable roles in choosing where to live and the main study participants all opted to live near the ocean. After moving to the country of their dreams, the immigrants began testing whether or not these dreams could be realized. One main study participant's comment 'since we're already in New Zealand then we should also live by the sea' sums up the ocean's importance in the cognitive choices of residence and landscape. Yet, they then moved inland. This was a decision that involved sentimental attachment to the rolling hills of their original *Heimat* and cognitive aspects about privacy: 'we're country people because we're used to it' and neighbors not being as close as at the beach, where they competed for sea views. Within weeks of arriving in New Zealand, one couple bought property at the coast that combined their wishes for ocean and trees. Nearly three decades later, they still lived in this environment close to a safe swimming beach. The three other G1 couples moved at least once during their first years in New Zealand. Pointing to emotional processes involved in their choice of location, one couple moved from their inland property to the coast after seeing a beachscape during a trip: '*wie ich in der Frühe den Vorhang aufgemacht hab da war das Meer. Da hab ich gesagt da will ich wohnen*' [when I opened the curtain in the morning there was the sea. I said then I want to live here]. They still lived there almost three decades later.

If LM is a quest for utopia as O'Reilly (2009) suggests, then fulfillment of all dreams and expectations is of course unlikely. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority reported their New Zealand lifestyle as being excellent, good, relaxed, or a combination of these factors. Those who stayed kept valuing New Zealand's landscapes and climate, its democratic political structure, friendly people and new career opportunities. Yet, all G1 participants also discovered that their initial tourist gazes had concealed flaws. One aspect that changed from positive to negative after migrating was New Zealand's remoteness, which made seeing family and friends in

Europe problematic not only in monetary terms but also more difficult with increasing age and deteriorating health.

The quest for achieving security in New Zealand was a prominent immigration consequence in G1 participants' narrations and points to the inherent vulnerabilities that the mediated action of migration exposes people to. G1's initial security priorities related to visas for the family as legal guarantees for their New Zealand *Heimat* creation and continuation. Having to find work to secure a living and monetary independence was another important issue. Participants' economic situations were an important theme in the findings even though participants' LM was not for economic gain. Some indicated that they were aware of the likelihood of negative monetary consequences before leaving Germany, for instance: 'hey we didn't come here to make money. We knew that the (material) standard of living would be much higher if we had stayed in Germany'.

Nevertheless, disappointment with their New Zealand experiences relating to economic realities was evident in many comments. Indeed, economic vulnerability was explicitly expressed as the move to New Zealand had negative financial consequences for the majority of G1 participants: '*es ist hart in diesem Land auf einen grünen Zweig zu kommen*' [it is hard to become successful in this country]. There were also unexpected immigration consequences through currency fluctuation and conversion ('New Zealand dollar was massively devalued just after we changed all our money') and investment misfortune ('*verloren die Hälfte unseres Geldes*' [lost half of our money]). Another consequence was that settling costs including bridging initial no-work or low-income periods diminished resources brought into the country ('*ich war das erste Jahr ohne job*' [I was without a job for the first year]; 'income too low—cost our savings'). Indeed, income inequality is higher in New Zealand than in German-speaking Europe, for example, and incomes generally are much lower in comparison (Keeley 2015).

Becoming self-employed, i.e., starting their own businesses was a solution to earn a living for nearly half of the G1 participants. Yet, not all were successful and —laying bare economic problems—business failure was another reason for serious money worries. In one example, import of German consumables and other goods did not go to plan. It had been taken for granted to find a big enough ready customer base for the goods that these immigrants liked. Failure resulted from a lack of market research, insufficient marketing techniques and lack of turnover coupled with limited shelf life of imported products. These participants commented on the substantial financial loss they had suffered: '*da ist schnell eine Million weg*' [a million disappears quickly].

Confirming that many lifestyle migrants are relatively wealthy, the qualitative study G1 participants had sold property in Austria and Germany within one year of immigration to finance their New Zealand *Heimat* creation in the 1980s and 1990s. They all purchased their own home in New Zealand and some also invested in other real estate to secure financial independence. Yet, survey comments indicated that those who arrived more recently and at a younger age were not as financially secure and experienced higher costs (e.g., '*hohe Miet- und Lebenshaltungskosten*' [high rent and living costs]) and more income reduction than earlier arrivals. This added

vulnerability may well be due to New Zealand wages seriously falling behind rising costs in recent years. Memory of settlement difficulties fading over time might have also played a role in the long-term residents' recount of perceptions.

In comparison with Europe, New Zealand housing and living costs are high indeed and this is now acknowledged to a certain extent by information websites. Yet, some of the costs given there are at the lower end of a realistic range, whereas quoted incomes appear generous.[8] For instance, Auckland's median rent of $550[9] looks cheaper at first glance than rents in Munich, which has the highest housing costs of German cities and where the median rent is EUR13.80 per square meter.[10] However, rents in New Zealand are quoted per week, whilst in Germany rent costs are quoted per month. This means that Auckland rents are now as high as in the most expensive housing market of Germany. Also, house prices in the greater Auckland region have risen excessively. Over the past three years alone, they have risen by 52% (Kendall 2016) and continue to rise on the expectation of future gains (cf. Gibson 2015). The phenomenon has been attributed to rapidly increasing property investment mainly from China (cf. e.g., Gibson 2016). From a previous peak in house prices in 2007, prices grew 85.5% to over one million dollars for the average Auckland house in August 2016 (RNZ). Indeed, there is a lack of effective foreign investment control and New Zealand still has no effective capital gains tax. As a consequence, for most young New Zealanders and for many immigrants achieving home ownership has moved beyond reach.

Other unexpected realities related to 'clean green New Zealand' and '100% pure New Zealand'. These brands underpin the notion of the nation state as a natural creation that "offers the world a unified version of place" and a feeling devoid of any environmental, social and political issues (Bell 2005/2006: 15ff). Yet, pollution and nuclear risks, which featured prominently in migrants' reasons for moving to New Zealand, were not resolved by distance. Doubts about and disagreement with being far enough away from nuclear risks were expressed: 'fallout from Fukushima has already arrived'; '*es fahren regelmässig Schiffe mit Atommüll in der* Tasman Sea *rum*!!!' [ships with nuclear waste travel regularly through the Tasman Sea!!!]. The responses indicated that the immigrants were skeptical and dismissive about the absence of pollution suggested by New Zealand's marketing: '*Es dauert halt eine Weile bis man entdeckt dass das 100% pure Image eine ?gute? Werbestrategie ist*' [it takes a while until one realizes that the 100% pure image is a ?good? marketing strategy] and 'I'm shocked about the pollution here.' Interestingly, New Zealand advertising discourses shifted over the course of my study. Instead of driving the increasingly controversial 'clean and green' national identity frame (cf. Egoz 2000; O'Brien 2012; Tucker 2011), film advertising started framing New

[8]See e.g., https://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/living-in-nz/money-tax/comparable-living-costs. http://www.mercer.com/newsroom/cost-of-living-survey.html.

[9]https://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/living-in-nz/housing/renting-a-property. Accessed February 2016.

[10]http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-04-18/munich-caps-rent-increases-becoming-first-city-to-act-on-new-law. Accessed February 2016.

Zealand as a destination "where unspoiled islands are never far away," and suggests environmental protection by "guardians of the land."[11]

In conclusion for most G1 immigrants, prior assumptions, dreams and expectations clashed with the realities of daily life in New Zealand. Some had found their dream, or perhaps the initial euphoric stage of settlement was not yet over. Financial hardship and losses were sobering realities for a considerable number of immigrants. Others reflected on their New Zealand experiences as character building but signaled future return migration as part of self-discovery and patchwork lifestyles ('*Ich betrachte es als intensive Lebenserfahrung und ich weiß nun, was ich will bzw. nicht will und wo ich hingehöre*' [I look at it as intensive life experience and know now what I want or don't want respectively and where I belong]). Whilst some were completely disillusioned ('looking forward to moving back to Europe'), most were more conciliatory and adjusted to the realities of New Zealand life. This majority reported satisfaction with their lifestyle, which indicates that they settled successfully. However, leaving this without reservation would deny the complexities of the immigrants' settlement experiences and their pragmatic integration efforts, which are outlined next.

### 5.2.2 *Settlement Experiences—Human and Social Capital*

The transformation of human capital into social capital as mutually beneficial contributions to society is a main goal of immigrant recruitment. Broadly defined, human capital as investment increases the market or nonmarket productivity of human beings (Bedi 2001). In this study, seeking a different lifestyle was the motive for migration yet their human capital was most participants' key to long-term entry into New Zealand because the country seeks skilled immigrants. Human capital refers to "acquired skills, knowledge, or experience workers possess [and] … can exchange for income in open markets" (McNamee and Miller 2004: 39). This income-earning potential of their human capital was important for participants.

The immigrants participating in this study possessed substantial human capital. They were highly qualified, with about two-thirds reporting university qualifications whilst the others reported having (higher) trade qualifications. University qualifications were from their countries of origin or from New Zealand or both (in a range of fields including but not restricted to: agriculture, computing, economics, engineering, law, mathematics, medicine/health, pedagogy, translation), whereas the vocational or advanced vocational qualifications were gained in the countries of origin.

[11] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MCY1BfM868, e.g., Lord of the Rings; The Hobbit. Accessed November 2013.

Participants' doctoral degrees were generally accepted and a number of participants worked in academic positions at tertiary institutions. This suggests bounded solidarity within a globe-spanning network of academia. Yet, for many others who received their permanent residence permits under the skilled immigration category and expected to work to their professional capacities to earn a living, considerable culture shock resulted from their encounter with the different systems of education and professional accreditation. They reported an interesting mélange of bounded solidarity and enforceable trust that included and excluded. That is, the very qualifications that gave them permanent residency in New Zealand made the G1 participants extremely vulnerable as the New Zealand Qualification Authority (NZQA), which assesses non-New Zealand qualifications, undervalued their qualifications and professional associations did not accept them.

NZQA evaluation outcomes as forms of enforceable trust were considered unpredictable: 'I was lucky. My NZQA assessor was Dutch and understood my German qualifications (incl. the teacher quals.) perfectly'. This comment indicates that the Dutch were considered to be aware of the quality of their German neighbors' education system while New Zealanders were not aware of it. Pointing to inconsistencies, the comments about disappointing experiences with evaluation of overseas qualifications generally expressed distress and occasionally outrage: 'Decisions are made in a very subjective way by incompetent NZQA people'. A teacher commented, 'My German *Zweites Staatsexamen* [Second Ministerial Examination] was recognized as a BA'. This statement signals strong disapproval—yet only to someone familiar with the German system—because prerequisites to the second *Staatsexamen* are usually ten semesters university study with a successful first *Staatsexamen*, plus completion of a postgraduate program. The postgraduate program includes written work equivalent to a Master's dissertation and 2 years supervised teaching (*Referendariat*). State-appointed examiners assess both in the second *Staatsexamen*.

Professional associations did not fare better in immigrants' minds, with hurdles to professional registration seen as bounded solidarity in closed-door policies and patch protection. 'I gained residency due to my qualifications but they were not accepted'; '*Registrierung als Diätassistentin wurde von vornherein abgelehnt* (*Beruf ist auf der* long-term shortage list!)' [Registration as dietician was declined from the outset (profession is on the long-term shortage list!)]; 'Radiographers, so needed, but my training not accepted: Bizarre!'; '*Ich bin Diplom Ingenieur und* IPENZ [Institution of Professional Engineers in New Zealand] *erkannte die deutsche Ausbildung nicht an*' [I am *Diplomingenieur* and IPENZ did not accept the German training].[12] This comment signals strong disagreement with skewed assessment by the New Zealand professional organization because German technical universities and industry consider the applied university engineering

[12]The problem seems to be based on a lack of content comparison and on a translational problem because in New Zealand a diploma (literal translation of *Diplom*) is a one-year qualification below a first degree. Yet, only doctoral qualifications are at a higher level than *Diplomingenieur*.

qualification *Diplomingenieur* at least equivalent to a Master's degree in Engineering,[13] and as world-renowned proof of quality.[14] To be fair, even European countries' mutual acceptance of qualifications is still a work in progress (cf. ZAB n/d). This is reflected in New Zealand, which in many ways remains very much oriented toward Britain. At least Immigration New Zealand now lists German academic qualifications accepted in New Zealand on its website,[15] so comparisons can be made prior to immigration. The problem with this is, however, that the New Zealand qualification levels (on a scale from 1 to 10, with 10 for doctoral qualifications) may not be transparent to potential immigrants.

Discrimination was reported as specifically directed against German qualifications: 'My US qualification was accepted. German qualifications *Magister* [Master] and *Diplomingenieur* were not'; '*mein französischer Abschluss ja, der deutsche nur teilweise*' [my French qualification yes, the German only partially]; '*glücklicherweise habe ich mein* BA (Hons) *und meine Lehrerausbildung in London absolviert. Deshalb wurden meine Ausbildungen ohne Problem akzeptiert*' [luckily I completed my BA (Hons) and my teaching qualification in London. That's why my education was accepted without problems]. These comments explicitly and implicitly express discontent about unfair treatment of German qualifications. Austrian qualifications also created problems, however. For instance, a fully qualified physiotherapist who had his own physiotherapy practice in Austria was only allowed to work under supervision and was paid much less than a New Zealand-qualified physiotherapist. He considered this arrogant and stupid, and planned return migration. There is evidence from other research that nonacceptance of qualifications is a problem also for immigrants from other societies (e.g., Maydel and Diego-Mendoza 2014). Figure 5.2 illustrates the clear connection found in the survey between qualification acceptance and increased chances of easily finding satisfying work, and between qualifications not being accepted and declining chances of easily finding satisfying work.

Comments associated with the survey responses to the questions about acceptance of qualifications and finding satisfying work helped interpret responses. Networking and luck were considered part of a successful job search: '*hatte aber viel Glück*!' [but had lots of luck]; 'I was absolutely lucky because people we knew before we came helped us'. Indeed, most respondents considered networking a necessity for finding employment ('connections from Australian employment finally got me a job'; 'knowing people from my course and talking to them made it easier'; 'networking is really important in New Zealand') and for career/business advancement ('I moved up via relationships as I was being known in my job, so most of my jobs were obtained mainly thanks to previous work experience in New Zealand. My foreign qualifications didn't seem as encouraging'). However, several

[13]MEng is not necessarily seen as the same high standard as Diplomingenieur (see http://www.spiegel.de/unispiegel/studium/diplom-ingenieur-ein-markenzeichen-verschwindet-a-678009.html).

[14]See http://www.tu9.de/studies/3626.php.

[15]http://www.immigration.govt.nz/opsmanual/46248.htm.

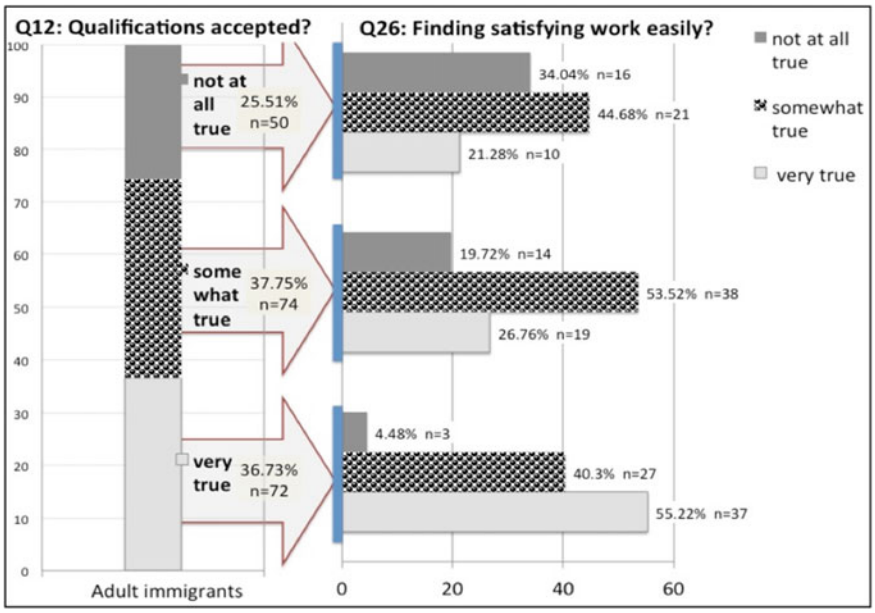


**Fig. 5.2** Qualification acceptance and finding satisfying work

participants branded the practice as cronyism ('it's not what you know but who you know') and such answers corroborated the findings in the main study.

Many comments pointed to the need for perseverance, flexibility and compromises toward adequately integrating into the workforce: 'used our savings to bridge the income gap'; 'worked for 2 years below my qualification'; 'embarked on new career after studying at local university'; 'at the beginning not at all, after 15 years went into my own business and now it is VERY satisfying'; '*es war einfach Arbeit zu finden, aber nicht einfach qualifizierte Arbeit zu finden, die einen stimuliert und ausfüllt*' [it was easy to find work but not qualified work that stimulates and fulfills]; 'a long path to success'; 'takes a while to establish a New Zealand clientele'. Compromises were evident in pragmatic insights and conclusions that indicated that not all components were considered consequences of immigration ('*man muss viel arbeiten um was zu erreichen—ist wohl anderswo auch nicht anders*' [one has to work a lot to achieve something—it's probably not different elsewhere]). Yet, others gave up their endeavor to find work completely: '6 months to find first job. Gave up looking for a second job after 8 months'; 'haven't been able to get employed in my field (graphic design) for 6 years. I've done volunteering and odd jobs. Now I'm staying at home.' The latter comments appear to come from participants with income-earning investments or partners. Because people who give up trying to find work but do not draw a benefit are not counted in unemployment and benefit statistics, such cases are not usually recognized in quantitative immigration research.

Other New Zealand research has found that "immigrants may initially be penalized by the imperfect transferability of qualifications or other disadvantages" (Maani et al. 2015: 106) and "it would take the average immigrant a decade and a half to progress to a higher occupational category." (ibid: 109). Two points are problematic, however, despite their large survey (over 37,900 respondents). That is, all their respondents were employed males. Another flaw is that Europeans—who according to the study fare best of all immigrant groups in occupational attainment and earnings—are lumped into one category but as Braund (1997) points out, in New Zealand European usually means British. My study has shown that highly skilled immigrants from German-speaking Europe face considerable and unjustifiable qualification transferability problems. Enticing highly qualified immigrants into the country and then punishing them through faulty qualification assessments and unemployment or underemployment is highly counterproductive to efficient immigration management.

This section has outlined findings of the hurdles and solutions to integration into the systems of the New Zealand labor market and economic realities, showing migrants' vulnerabilities. Surprisingly, qualifications of those who considered finding satisfying work very easy and those who found it not at all easy were comparable and in the same fields (incl. engineering; health; informatics). Because all qualified G1 immigrants reported having 'enough' to 'excellent' English at the time of immigration, other factors, not necessarily evident in the survey responses, may also have played a role in finding satisfying work. This problem would need to be investigated through comparing immigrants' views with frank comments of employers who accepted or rejected them, which was beyond the scope of my study. Some of the problems with finding satisfying work can be attributed to immigrants' search for the lifestyle they had dreamt of. For instance, an electrical engineer, who had migrated with family during a period of reassessment of life's priorities commonly seen as midlife crisis, preferred growing organic food crops instead of the engineering work he was offered.

Considering the educational qualifications that facilitated access to New Zealand, survey respondents disgruntled about the difficulties finding satisfying work might have justifiably linked this to bias. Such issues link into MDS principle three, that is, issues arising from multiple and conflicting discourses resulting from histories. Specifically, these conflicting discourses arise from different histories of practice in the different educational systems, lack of familiarity in New Zealand with the education system in the German-speaking countries, or might reflect different political histories.

Social acceptance might also have played a role in (not) finding the new dream environment immigrants had expected. To explore the latter, questions probed participants' feelings of acceptance and belonging as well as the related question about experiences of social discrimination. These findings are explained next.

### 5.2.3 *Settlement Experiences—Social Acceptance and Integration*

Apart from settling into the labor market and/or other economic systems of the receiving society to secure a living, social integration is vital for immigrants' *Heimat* creation, that is, for their emotional wellbeing and belonging to the social spaces in their new place. Of course, successful social integration is also extremely important for the receiving society in order to create and maintain social cohesion. This section presents the G1 participants' social experiences and social strategies during settlement as reported in interviews and survey responses.

A frequently heard evaluation and widely promoted notion is that New Zealanders are very friendly and welcoming.[16] Narratives in the main study and responses to survey questions showed similar assessments of New Zealanders' friendliness. Yet, there are considerable differences between friendliness as part of interpersonal and communication skills in hospitality and other services during a visit, and making friends as and with a new immigrant. Therefore, a number of questions probed participants' feelings of belonging and their feelings of acceptance by New Zealanders. I sought answers regarding ease of making friends with New Zealanders; asked about perception of the extent to which New Zealanders see German-speaking immigrants as outsiders; and probed participants' experiences of discrimination. Because *Heimat* stood out as theme in the main study, the survey asked if respondents considered New Zealand *Heimat*. These findings are described next.

**Making friends**

The G1 participants in the main study found it relatively easy to befriend New Zealanders. More than a third of the G1 survey respondents found it easy to make friends with New Zealanders, with an additional 50% reporting that easily making friends with New Zealanders was 'somewhat true'. Comments pointed to age playing a role in tying new social bonds: 'finding new friends gets more difficult the older one gets' and there were 'difficulties finding ways into existing friendship circles'.

Problems with creating positive social connections in the receiving society are concerning because such connections are important for individuals' subjective wellbeing, which in turn has beneficial effects on health, longevity and social relationships (Diener 2012; Huxhold et al. 2013). The participants' active endeavors toward social inclusion and friendship involved joining church communities and/or clubs, finding friends among other immigrants, and community integration through operational engagement and patience.

Echoing impressions by main study participants, survey responses also pointed to culturally different interpretations of friendship: 'depends how friend is understood. New Zealanders are superficially friendly but [it is] more difficult to find real

[16]See e.g., http://www.newzealand.com/int/feature/new-zealand-people/; https://www.boppoly.ac.nz/go/international/new-zealand-customs-culture.

reliable friends'; 'New Zealanders are very friendly but that is only façade'; 'In NZ, one can have a drink and a chat with basically everyone. However, finding true friends in NZ has been/is very hard!' These comments indicate that the understanding of a friend was someone in a personal social support network providing sustenance in situations of need. Indeed, it appears that many Anglophone speakers tend to apply the term friend more loosely than German speakers. That is, in English the term friends often includes acquaintances whereas German speakers generally tend to differentiate between the two.

In comparison with their places of origin, participants noticed greater mobility within the New Zealand population and they suggested that this tends to promote temporary and more superficial connections as 'a lot of people are coming and going.' Indeed, census figures confirm that around 50% of residents regularly move from the address in the preceding five-yearly census.[17] In my view, one of the reasons for people moving more frequently in New Zealand than in German-speaking Europe is the absence of an effective capital gains tax in New Zealand. As a consequence, there is a tendency to build or buy a house, live in it for a short while, then sell it for tax-free profits.

**Discrimination**

Participants reported positive discrimination and prejudice directed at their background and origin: 'I get credit for being German. People presume that I'm hard working, deliver on time and am honest'; 'being teased about good German qualities in a friendly way'. These comments reflect the conundrum between renowned generalized German qualities and qualification (non)acceptance. However, negative discriminatory social experiences were not uncommon.

Being targeted as German speakers by negative prejudice that was unfounded at an individual level was an unexpected consequence of migration to New Zealand. Bade asserts that German speakers in New Zealand have come "Out of the shadows of war" (1998, book title). However, Gumbel (2015) notes that in the case of Germans and Germany, the usual political correctness does not apply in many settings, where rather virulent attacks are mounted. This was also the case for many participants in my study.

Findings indicated that discourse cycles intersecting in immigrants' experiences included distortions of comprehension occurring through diverging historical discourses. That is, even seven decades after the end of WWII and the Third Reich Nazi dictatorship the "Ugly German" stereotype (Braund 1997) lingered for my participants. Over a hundred G1 participants reported experiencing social discrimination through 'that typical Nazi rubbish': '*Menschen verbinden Deutschland oft sofort mit Hitler. Das ist schade*' [people often connect Germany immediately with Hitler. That's a pity]; 'workmate asked if I had had my gasburger lately'; 'For a 'who-am-I' party game they stuck a paper saying 'Hitler' to my head!! So

[17]A comprehensive report on internal migration in New Zealand can be found at: http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/Migration/internal-migration.aspx (Accessed 11 May 2014).

disrespectful! I left. Not even my parents were alive at that time!!'.[18] Such withdrawal may well link into Bönisch-Brednich's (2005) observation that German immigrants keep a low profile. The assigned National Socialist identities illustrate mediated discourses as materializing from persistent misconstrued connections with fragments of history. Although the participants understood that the Nazi comments were irrational ('*sowas von blöd*' [just utterly stupid]), it was clear that the targets of discrimination felt aggrieved.

For instance, a response referred to a workplace complaint at a university that displayed ignorance unbecoming such a purported hub of knowledge: 'I showed a documentary I made in India depicting a swastika (a Hindu religious symbol). The complaint stated that I would propagate Nazi material … .' Indeed, the swastika, a symbol of good wishes, protection, wellbeing and peace has been used worldwide in many cultures for thousands of years (cf. Campion 2014[19]). The National Socialists' adaptation of the swastika has been associated with the atrocities they committed and this tarnishes understanding of the original symbol for the uninitiated.

The comment by a recent young immigrant from East Germany shows her bewilderment about recurrent war references and her reaction: 'One question I heard frequently—'what do you think about the war?'—strange!—my answer —'which one? Korean, Vietnam, Boer'?' Her answer lists some wars New Zealand was involved in and shows consternation about ongoing New Zealand public discourse fixation on WWI and WWII. Her bewilderment probably relates also to the different ways in which East German and West German public discourses have dealt with the National Socialist and war past, which over more than half a century has been a strong topic of reflective public discourses in West Germany but not in East Germany, where it generally was not dealt with ('*das war überhaupt kein Thema*' [that wasn't a topic at all]).

Study participants blamed discrimination through association of German speakers with National Socialists on 'Fawlty Towers education'[20] which also indicates that the humor in this television series does not necessarily translate well (cf. Hogan 2015). Perhaps the history curriculum and its delivery in high school really is flawed in some respects as participants suspected. For instance, Taylor and Sheehan argue (2011: 156) that the history curriculum "seldom required students to prioritise … historical context, a respect for evidence, argument and historical significance". All or some of the above aspects might have contributed to the Nazi-related discrimination in the current study. Other, interconnected worries were also evident in survey responses: 'I'm rather concerned about growing anti-Semitism in New Zealand'; 'that idiot—she told me to go back to Germany

[18]My translation.

[19]See e.g., http://www.proswastika.org/page.php?2; http://reclaimtheswastika.com/photos/.

[20]Fawlty Tower(s) is a highly praised 1970s British TV comedy series (repeatedly shown in New Zealand) with John Cleese, who plays Basil Fawlty with his displays of stereotypical racial attitudes against German guests. A Google Search 'fawlty towers' brings up over 600,000 results (February 2016).

and burn Jews! Our family has Jewish ancestors!!' These comments provoke the question if ongoing public discourses referring to the Third Reich era might interlink with worrying Neo-Nazism developments in New Zealand (see van Leeuwen 2008).

## 5.3 Beyond Settlement—New Zealand *Heimat*

Social reception is inextricably linked to immigrants' feelings of belonging and only successful settlement led to feelings of belonging and truly permanent residency. A wide range of time frames was reported for achieving a deeper feeling of belonging to New Zealand society, from one extreme with feeling completely at home 'the moment I stepped off the plane' to '20 years' and 'maybe a life time!' Like the majority of survey respondents, most main study G1 participants reported their settlement stages ranging from one to five years until they felt completely at home. By the end of my study many had already lived in New Zealand for three decades and more. Considering this, fulfillment of expectations, successful settlement and successful social integration are articulated best by the extent to which G1 participants came to regard New Zealand as *Heimat*. This does not necessarily translate into critique-free acceptance of all societal aspects though.

### *5.3.1* Heimat *New Zealand—Ties to Land and People*

The concept of *Heimat* evolved as an important theme from participants' narrative accounts and survey responses. This German term cannot be translated adequately literally into English as it includes more far-reaching meanings than its common translations home, hometown, home region, homeland, mother- or fatherland. Blickle (2002) links the concept of *Heimat* to Romanticism. This aspect of his opinion is valid in that most of my participants shared a romantic view of nature and sought to find its beauty and power in New Zealand. However, I disagree with Blickle's view of *Heimat* as a backward-looking worldview merging Romanticism with anti-Enlightenment in an attempt to reconstruct traditional paternalistic orders. Rather, I see *Heimat* as a useful social construct. That is, I agree that *Heimat* as perception of life and space offering safety and belonging has to be created, as Mitzscherlich asserts (1997). *Heimat* is not a static concept and its complexities evolve and change. Participants' comments also showed that they understood *Heimat* creation as active engagement (e.g., '*wir haben uns unsere Heimat hier aufgebaut*' [we have built our *Heimat* here]. *Heimat* relates to place and culture, to the individual and the community. It takes into account everyday needs of social relations and security, and "conveys the struggles inherent in the creation of home, community and a sense of belonging" (Huber and O'Reilly 2004: 330). Considering this last point is particularly useful for immigrants' settlement in

another country and culture. Findings clearly indicated that only those who could overcome the challenges of settlement in a pragmatic and conciliatory way had a chance of (re)creating their *Heimat* in New Zealand.

Social ties and group membership that helped create a sense of local belonging and of *Heimat* ran deep. In the qualitative part of my study, all G1 participants reported feeling that New Zealand had become their *Heimat* in a deeper way than the countries they had left several decades ago. Even though they maintained ties with families and friends in their countries of origin through visits or electronic communication, their shared judgment was that they were glad to be in New Zealand and had not regretted their move. This perception appeared heartfelt and firm. Yet, *Heimat* remained fragmented, for instance, for the two participating elderly mothers, who are part of a 'follower generation' rather than G1 because they had followed their migrating sons. They had trouble finding deeper social connections and grew more distant from their sons' families over time, resulting in growing social isolation. Yet, this is not necessarily a consequence of migration as the problem of loneliness amongst older people is a concern common in modern societies that have largely abandoned traditional extended family living (cf. Hagan et al. 2014).

Of the 214 G1 survey respondents who answered the question if New Zealand had become their *Heimat*, 102 felt that New Zealand as *Heimat* was 'very true'; and a further 82 said it was 'somewhat true' that New Zealand had become their *Heimat*. For 30, the country was not their *Heimat* at all. Variations mainly appear related to the different timeframes for which the survey respondents had lived in New Zealand and if their settlement process had been completed or not. Generally, those who had lived in New Zealand for a long time considered New Zealand *Heimat*. However, some survey respondents who had lived in New Zealand for decades differentiated between New Zealand as their home and Germany and Austria as their *Heimat*. Others considered New Zealand their second *Heimat*. These two responses indicate that their countries of origin remained *Heimat* in a more fundamental sense. However, one cannot choose the region and social network one is born into whereas the participants chose to live in New Zealand, which might give more weight to the feelings of belonging to New Zealand. Indicating the complexities of people's place attachments, some participants expressed that changes in the country of their youth no longer gave them a feeling of *Heimat* there.

The importance of close social connections and family for feelings of belonging in their new *Heimat* was commented on numerous times. Indeed, creating *Heimat* in New Zealand changed participants' understanding of family, with new strong bonds tied and maintained as a consequence of immigration. For example, '*eine Familie muss nicht unbedingt Verwandtschaft sein. Ihr seid auch Familie und eure Kinder. Das war damals einfach Familie und ist noch immer*' [a family does not necessarily just have to be relatives. You and your children are also family. That simply was back then and still is]. Narrative accounts also indicated that participants supported each other through difficult life phases. In another example of strong emanations from social bonding, a G1 couple had made reciprocal arrangements with New Zealand friends in case their children needed to be cared for.

Yet participants' immediate family, their center of family gravity played a bigger role in place attachment and feelings of *Heimat* than the expanded family: '*Kinder und Enkel sind dafür mehr Grund als das Land*' [children and grandchildren are more reasons for this [New Zealand being *Heimat*] than the country]; '*dass unsere Kinder und Enkelkinder unmittelbar in the Nähe sind. Also das allein bindet uns auch schon hier, also dass wir hier bleiben und gar nicht dran denken irgendwo anders hin*' [that our children and grandchildren are in the immediate vicinity. well that alone also binds us here. well that we stay and don't even think about somewhere else]. Whilst not excluding other important ties, this indicates the strength and significance of strong family ties in place attachment and therefore in *Heimat* creation. This importance of family ties was also evident in one couple's assurance when at one stage during the study their daughter was looking for work further afield: '*Falls unsere Tochter nach Australien geht gehn wir mit. Das ist klar*' [if our daughter goes to Australia we'll go with her. That is clear]. Apart from pointing to the close relationships between New Zealand and Australia—where about 650,000 New Zealanders live (Royal Society of New Zealand 2014a)—this confirms *Heimat* creation as ongoing process in people's lives and the strength of family ties in the adage that home is where the heart is.

In common with Eich-Krohm's (2008) findings of German professionals in the United States, all G1 participants primarily identified with their original national group. This was the case even if they had lost their original citizenship through acquiring New Zealand citizenship ('I just have a Kiwi passport'). The Austrian G1 participants who held dual citizenships identified with both nationalities. However, motives to use citizenship as a cultural tool to strengthen their *Heimat* foundation arose from the desire for security and flexibility, not predominantly from feelings of belonging to New Zealand: '*mit einem Kiwi Pass könnten wir auch in Australien leben*' [with the Kiwi passport we could also live in Australia]. Yet, participants also specified their ethnic group more distinctly referring to regions, for instance, as Styrian, East-Prussian or Bavarian, which reflects Pauwels (1988) distinction of speech communities. Arguably, one therefore could see a continuing consequence of immigration in a certain psychological isolation resulting from the physical separation from their cultural milieu while retaining a sense of identity with it.

### *5.3.2* Heimat *New Zealand—G1 Languages*

Language use was a prominent theme in participants' *Heimat* creation. With very few exceptions, the German-speaking G1 participants arrived in New Zealand with the embodied cultural tools of fluent English language skills. Their narrated social actions indicated that they used these cultural tools extensively to create new social bonds even though adapting to New Zealand English and developing confidence took time: '*ich hab also etwa zwei bis drei Monate gebraucht bis ich mich unterhalten hab können mit jemand. praktisch eine Art Hemmschwelle überhaupt für mich zu sprechen*' [it took me about two to three months before I could have a

conversation with anyone. practically a general kind of inhibition for me to talk]. Transformational steps toward a sense of inclusion and belonging included getting used to the local language variety as '*das Problem eigentlich war am Anfang den Akzent zu verstehe. sich einzuhören*' [the problem at the beginning was to understand the accent. getting used to it]. These examples are indicative of participants' recounted initial language experiences irrespective of their English language proficiency at arrival.

Over time, the nexus of practice involving languages and social bonds became complex. As Scollon and Scollon (2004) emphasize, it is important to understand the semiotic cycles leading to a social action to understand the situation of the action. Figure 5.3 shows G1 language use observed during the study. Next, I interpret the cycles leading to G1's language use in the different situations in the family homes.

The patterns of observed language use suggest that language choice was habitual social practice determined by situational changes and those present. Clear, abrupt changes from speaking German with other German speakers to speaking English were a case in point. These changes occurred as soon as English speakers who were considered group members in the situation came within earshot. This differs slightly from Kuiper's (2005) 'earshot rule', which relates to his study of Dutch in

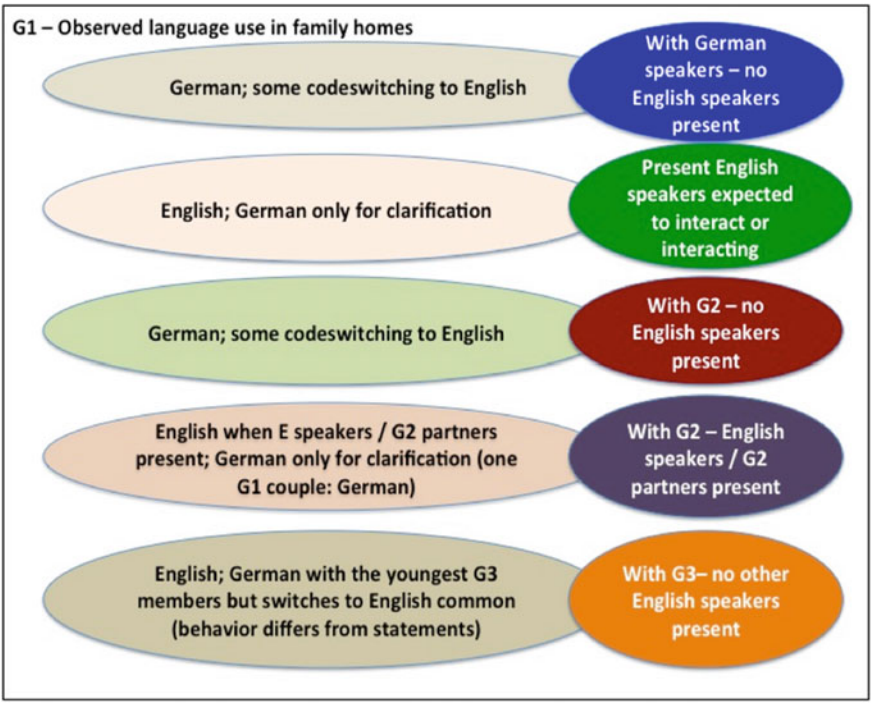


**Fig. 5.3** G1—observed language use

New Zealand only speaking Dutch when they could not be overheard by English speakers. In contrast, participants in my study kept speaking German with German speakers in public places no matter who could overhear them. This suggests that they felt confident of social acceptance but also reflects the growing cultural diversity in New Zealand, where hearing other languages in public has become common not only because of growing tourist numbers.

Yet, in situations when an English speaker approached who was considered monolingual *and* joining the situation, participants would switch to English. Exceptions to these norms occurred when a German speaker asked another in German for clarification of what had been said either because they had not heard clearly or they had not grasped the meaning of what had been said in English. These switches from German to English as soon as non-German speakers joined the situation can be considered politeness strategies to avoid someone's exclusion, a strategy that Crezee (2008) also found in her study of Dutch in New Zealand. Indeed, all G1 participants confirmed that it was impolite to speak a language that someone in the group did not understand. In line with this, speaking German to another German speaker in the presence of English speakers tended to be preceded by an apology to the English speakers. These language strategies were similar in people's homes and the folk culture hubs that some of the participants attended, for instance, the Austrian Club, German Club or Swiss Club. In these clubs, the cultural mix of people meant that English was spoken more often than not.

Examples of such switches between languages occurred for instance also during a dinner I attended. The first arrivals were a couple of participants' German-speaking friends and only German was spoken. Then a New Zealander with her French husband arrived. English immediately became lingua franca among all present. As the evening progressed, however, pairs or smaller groups interacted in separate conversations in German, in English, or in French. Whilst these in part louder and more intense conversations appeared to emerge from lowered self-monitoring through alcohol consumption, they came across as normal and accepted part of participants' multilingual practices in the friendship nexus of practice.

Switches from German to English described above also applied to situations when G1 spoke with G2. As long as G1 and their bilingual children as well as other German speakers were present, they spoke German. As soon as G2 partners without German language skills were present, everyone spoke English. There were two exceptions to this. In one household, in which G1 lived with their divorced daughter and her children, all adult German speakers spoke English as soon as the grandchildren were part of language exchanges even though G1 said they spoke German to their grandchildren and all the adults assured that these children had good German language skills. Yet in another household, G1 tended to speak German rather than English especially when addressing one of their daughters or the family in general. In this case, the G1 participants reasoned that this son-in-law had lived with them for several years and they did not switch the family language to English because of this. He had shown during this time in their home that he understood German quite well (he demonstrated through responsive actions, and acknowledged that he understood enough to follow conversations but that he could not speak German). This G1 couple

also said that partners in exogamous marriages should learn each other's language, which indicates an expectation of bilingualism being continued across generations. Yet, this G1 couple also tended to speak English with individual grandchildren, explaining that they gave up speaking German to them once the children started kindergarten or school because 'we don't see them often enough' and the grandchildren did not understand German. This points to the need for frequent language exposure and use in order to learn and maintain the language.

In interactions within G1 and between G1 and G2, codeswitching from German to English was observed when no English speakers were present. Indicating changes in their language use over time, participants commented that they started codeswitching from German to English about two decades after arriving in New Zealand and that in these two decades they had used English at work on a daily basis. The term codeswitch(ing) is used here for any kind of switches between participants' languages (codes). At times the switch was corrected after some consideration as indicated by filler and hesitation devices such as '*ah also*' [ah well], backtracking and here the repetition of '*praktisch*' [practically]: '*praktisch des* word of mouth *die ah also praktisch die Mundwerbung*'. This hesitation points to a passing lexical retrieval problem, with 'word of mouth' used as substitution perhaps because the English term was used more frequently than the German term. At other times English single word switches were not corrected in G1's interactions: '*aber nicht den ganzen* commercial *Kram rundherum*' [but not the whole commercial stuff around]; '*die gehn in die* daycare' [they go to daycare]; '*der Lachs ist im* smoker' [the salmon is in the smoker]; '*nein das war a* pine' [no that was a pine]; '*da schmeissens den* rubbish *einfach aus dem Autofenster*' [they throw the rubbish simply out of the car window]; '*die* arms *sind kaputt*' [the arms are broken].

These switches of key words can be attributed to what Grosjean calls bilingual mode. That is, in bilingual mode one base language (in these examples German) is selected and the other mode (English in these examples) is activated along a "situational continuum" through choices "which language to use and how much of the other language is needed—from not at all to a lot" (Grosjean 2008: 38). I would not use the term 'needed' for the above codeswitching examples. That is, despite the 'tip of the tongue' phenomena displayed occasionally when G1 participants would ask for the German expression, frequency of use or habit might explain these switches because at other times, they demonstrated command of the relevant vocabulary in German. Other codeswitching and codemixing—which refers to mixing two languages in one word—was rationalized with need: '*da gibt's kein deutsches Wort dafür*' [there's no German word for it]: '*tust mir den Link forwarden*' [do forward me the link]. Granted that the term Link has become a loanword in German for the connection to a website, yet the term 'forwarden' exemplifies codemixing in the added German ending, instead of using a German phrase such as '*schick mir ...weiter' [send ... on to me]*.

When G1 spoke with G3, a split between German language use with the youngest grandchildren (aged up to about 4 years) and English with the older grandchildren was evident. All G1 participants behaved in the same way irrespective of their English skills and irrespective of frequency of their interaction with the grandchildren. The grandmothers in particular reported that they spoke German

with the grandchildren or at least tried to mainly speak German with them. Yet, I observed predominant English use with little codeswitching to German. When I put these observations to G1, they commented that their grandchildren did not understand German which was regrettable (‘*ja mei wenn’s mich nicht verstehn*’ [well if they don’t understand me]. Indicated by frequent G1 requests for clarification (‘was sagt er? Ich brauch einen Dolmetscher’ [what does he say? I need an interpreter], this lack of understanding seemed reciprocal especially in interactions between G1 and younger G3 participants and more pronounced during phone conversations when compared with face-to-face interactions. Other cultural maintenance and/or changes over time are outlined next.

### *5.3.3* Heimat *New Zealand—G1 Cultural Practices*

G1 maintained and prioritized their original ethnic self-identification (‘*ich fühl mich wohl hier zuhause aber bin trotzdem eine Deutsche in Neuseeland*’ [I feel at home here but I’m nevertheless a German in New Zealand]; ‘*wir sind Österreicher und Neuseeländer*’ [we are Austrians and New Zealanders]). Like their German language, their other original cultural practices dominated although they blended cultural practices.

Preparing traditional foods was an important way in which they preserved their original culture and showed their original identities. Traditional German sausages and bread, or traditional dishes proudly offered to guests emphasized the symbolic value of food in signaling original identity. Knowledge about where to source traditional German bread and sausages was shared with new immigrants and interested others alike. Such goods were prepared and consumed in every G1 household in the main study and confirmed in many survey comments. These mentioned traditional food as evidence of cultural retention (‘*deutsche Küche*’ [German cuisine]; ‘cook Swiss meals’; ‘like our German bread and beer’; ‘baking and cooking’). G1’s negative assessment of certain local foods (‘*das lappige Brot da kannst ja nicht essen*’ [you can’t eat that limp bread here]; ‘Kiwi bangers *sind ja furchtbar*’ [Kiwi bangers[21] are terrible]) and their preference for specific kinds of traditional food such as sourdough rye bread, sausages and cold cuts tie in with Bönisch-Brednich’s (2002) findings.

Cooking in habitual ways created a sense of continuity (‘*ich koch halt so wie wirs gewohnt sind*’ [I cook the way we are accustomed to] Sophie). Examples of traditional dishes were *Wiener Schnitzel* [Viennese cutlets][22] with potato salad, or oven-roasted pork with *Klösse* [dumplings formed from raw grated, or mixing raw

[21]New Zealand sausages.

[22]Traditionally, thin veal cutlets (but increasingly, cheaper pork cutlets) dipped in egg, crumbed and fried, served with a lemon wedge and potato salad. Showing immigrant influences in New Zealand, cuts for these Vienna cutlets are sold as *Wiener schnitzel* or misspelled *Weiner schnitzel* in local supermarkets.

grated plus boiled potato into a dough] and *Blaukraut/Rotkraut* [red cabbage], *Fritatensuppe* or *Flädlesuppe* [Austrian and Swabian respectively for the same: thin cold pancakes cut into fine strips and served in clear beef broth with chopped chives] to name but a few. Foods and beverages as cultural tools played considerable roles in maintaining and strengthening social bonds. Frequent informal dinners in the homes of qualitative study participants, for example, involved German speakers and friends from various cultural backgrounds, with traditional Austrian and/or Bavarian and other dishes served.

In general, traditional cooking was amalgamated with other food practices in a process of hybridization. In a combination of old and new practices, European and New Zealand foods and beverages were consumed. Yet, the common New Zealand 'bring-a-plate' practice, that is, everyone brings a plate with food when invited, was not a cultural practice that participants adopted. G1 participants assured me that not all their shared dinners were lavish but the first-course example depicted in Fig. 5.4 indicated generous hospitality. Hot-smoked New Zealand salmon with horseradish and local salads were the first course; veal prepared in Swabian style with white wine and lemon juice served with *Spätzle* [homemade egg noodles] followed as mains, with a dessert of apple strudel and Irish coffee. In a common New Zealand practice, the farmed New Zealand salmon was smoked on the deck. Participants had sourced the horseradish cream (left oval) at a delicatessen selling German foods.

Part of the global trade cycle, some drank beer imported from Austria and Germany (Fig. 5.4, right oval) bought at the local supermarket. Others drank New Zealand wine ('die machen jetzt recht guten Wein' [they now make quite good wine]) in Austrian glasses praised for their exquisite quality revealed in the European ritual of clinking glasses before drinking to wellbeing ('*also. auf euer Wohl! die klingen so schön und do schmeckt der Wein viel besser*' [well. to your health! they sound so nice and the wine tastes much better]). Tying in with Bönisch-Brednich's (2002) findings in her study of German immigrants in New Zealand, food and drink were compared and discussed at length, and addresses of and commentaries on shops carrying European specialties were exchanged. Discussions during the main course favored European veal from milk-fed calves over the darker New Zealand veal. To produce original *Spätzle*, participants had *Spätzlehobel* [literally: spaetzle slicer], in which dough (made of wheat flour, eggs, water and salt) is moved back and forth over holes in the base to form droplet-like egg noodles that fall into boiling salt water.

The terms strudel, schnitzel, pretzel and spaetzle are common loanwords in English[23] (although schnitzel in English is pronounced/snitsəl/, ignoring the 'sh' sound that 'sch' resembles and pretzel usually means dry snacks). These loanwords are consequences of German-speaking migrants taking their recipes abroad, where the food was accepted by the wider population. Indicating the importance of food and its traditional preparation in G1 participants' sense of *Heimat*, strudel also became a discussion topic, as the apple strudel had been prepared with original

[23]See, e.g., http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2013-01-30/features/sc-food-0125-prep-spaetzle-20130130_1_spaetzle-wheat-flour-batter.

**Fig. 5.4** Maintaining social bonds through eating together

strudel dough, not with filo pastry as is common in New Zealand bakeries. Although Irish coffee using Scottish whisky is paradoxical, such blends of cultural elements were common practice for the G1 participants. Like the food and discussions surrounding it, shared tasks (including preparation, serving, clearing the table and tidying the kitchen) confirmed the friendship aspects of place attachment.

Expanding place attachment beyond home and the community to the country, the range of food on offer in New Zealand played a role in G1 participants' *Heimat* construction, with recent assortment changes supporting familiarity. That is, changes in the range of foods offered over recent decades in New Zealand also signal influences of increasing trade globalization and immigrant contributions to New Zealand food production and distribution: '*damals hat's drei Arten Käse geben. mild, Colby und tasty*' [back then there were three kinds of cheese. mild, Colby and tasty]; '*aber jetzt kriegst ja alles überall*' [but now you get everything everywhere]. Rather than buying traditional continental European foods, which now are available throughout New Zealand, some G1 invested time in traditional practices such as making their own sauerkraut, for instance. The traditional European cultural tools used, i.e., a big manual cabbage slicer and fermenting pot, are available in New Zealand,[24] which indicates wider interest in such cultural traditions.

Survey responses showed that other cultural practices included music and passing traditions on to the next generation: 'traditional *Musik*'; '*Ostereier bemalen, Lieder singen*' [paint Easter eggs, sing songs]; 'Adventskalendar'; 'play group with other German-speaking families to promote German language and customs'. Yet, G1 participants also commented on the incongruity of celebrating Easter in autumn, and Christmas at summer solstice rather than at winter solstice ('Christmas in summer and Easter in autumn make things complicated'). Although not all G1

[24]See e.g., http://www.goldenfields.co.nz/sauerkraut_pot.php.


**Fig. 5.5** Traditions—Mayfest and folk dancing

participants were keen on traditional folklore, some traditional cultural practices were involved in the creation and maintenance of social ties, connecting the participants with people of all ages from New Zealand and around the globe. For example, one Austrian couple was active in bringing people together in customary celebrations such as Mayfest on the Sunday closest to the 1st of May, which is a public holiday in Europe[25] (Fig. 5.5).

Documenting the transfer of some traditional social practices from one generation to the next, the top photo in Fig. 5.5 shows G1 and G2 participants celebrating the task completion of felling and carving the pine destined as a maypole. The father initiated the action but, sharing agency, the son joined in. He also debarked

[25]http://www.britannica.com/topic/May-Day-European-seasonal-holiday.

the pine in parts and carved the decorations in the rest of the bark. The middle photo shows the men who, acting on rhythmic commands, raised the maypole with poles tied together in twos, while it was being secured in a hole in the ground. Raising the pole by hand is common practice for Austrian and Bavarian May celebrations[26] in rural communities. Participants' narrative accounts suggested that for lasting transfer of such traditions into another society an enthusiastic leader is necessary and one G1 participant filled that role for a number of years.

Some of the men and members of the Austrian Dancers looking on in the middle photo wear traditional costumes, as is custom at special occasions. The last photo in Fig. 5.5 shows the Auckland Austrian Dancers practicing for their part in showcasing multicultural New Zealand at a major sports event in 1990. The traditional costumes display Austrian identities. However, such identity displays can be deceiving since some dance group members were actually New Zealanders and other nationals who had an Austrian partner. In this case the signaling of an adopted identity became an example of cultural transfer to the receiving society as a migration consequence. These specific social practices were an essential part of *Heimat* recreation for some G1 participants. Disconnecting from folk dancing traditions, the next generation was not interested and this dance group no longer exists.

Another consequence of immigration was the search for similar cultural concepts and practices. Some G1 participants' original religious orientations were similar to existing New Zealand ones and one couple in particular joined a local church early on. He explained their motives as a means to an end, as cultural tools for creating their place within the community and the district: '*weil wir uns überhaupt nicht gut ausgekannt haben in der ganzen Gegend*' [because we were not at all familiar with the whole area]. His wife was quick to soften this utilitarian aspect by defining the church visits as traditional cultural practice: '*wir sind immer in die Kirche gegangen*' [we've always gone to church] yet both agreed that joining this congregation opened an excellent social network: '*und das war, hat sich rausgestellt. dass das a sehr guter Weg war. viele Leute kennenzulernen*' [and it turned out that it was a good way to get to know many people]. Another of their examples of combining New Zealand cultural practices with networking practice involved transforming the New Zealand concept of a working bee, i.e., a voluntary group doing work for charity or the community. In a cheeky twist, this couple's working bee became gorse removing and tree planting on their own land with fellow churchgoers and other willing workers: '*das ist doch auch für die* community' [that's also for the community].

One theme in traditional cultural practices was organic crop growing and sustainable farming, which three qualitative study participants turned into income-producing ventures (Wohlfart 2014, 118–134, 2015, 160–163). One couple had to overcome their neighbors' conventional farming practices impacting on their

[26]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vU9O2c1UPQ4; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3oyrQ3oJNAE; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RAvnqSAKZZs.

land before they eventually achieved organic certification for their crops. Proofing their resilience to difficult conditions in an area of marginal precipitation with emergency water rights to the adjacent river, they worked hard to earn a living from their land. Now retired, they reflect on their hardworking life in New Zealand, which showed that LM does not eliminate stress: '*ob all der Stress es wert ist um ein Einkommen zu haben*?' [if all the stress is worth it to create an income?]. Demonstrating codeswitching, which they considered 'natural', they also declared independence from state welfare as part of their historical body: '*aber das ist halt Teil* of who we are, you don't want to be dependent on any welfare system' [but that is just part of who…].

### *5.3.4* Heimat *New Zealand—Material Cultural Tools*

As a result of immigration, material goods acted as cultural tools in building G1 participants' own place in two ways. First, financial assets brought to and generated in New Zealand allowed transformation or resemiotisation of money into a material base of *Heimat* through purchasing land and developing real estate for the G1 participants in the main study. Home ownership was central for them as it reestablished permanence of place. Second, material goods brought to New Zealand and those developed in New Zealand from traditional concepts reproduced a familiar environment that carried semiotic meaning beyond everyday usage. About 60% of G1 participants in all parts of the study had brought material goods to New Zealand and kept them in their homes ('decorate my home in European style', survey response). For example, the Styrian cupboard (Fig. 5.6, left) had belonged to a main-study participant's grandmother. It carried symbolic meaning as a family heirloom and expressed the family's Styrian identity. Traditional costumes were also cultural tools brought in with chattels. Wearing traditional costume also expresses identity. In this case from the main study, shortly after arriving in New Zealand G1 wished G2 to express this identity, whereas the G2 participant in the photo later never wore such costumes. Furniture shipped (Fig. 5.6, right) including 'that cupboard. I bought that especially. I wanted to have something Bavarian. … It's made of recycled roof trusses from the Regensburg Cathedral'. This cupboard was used as a means of place and identity reconstruction. The action of purchasing and shipping was allocated a double symbolic meaning in these narrative decades later: Not only was it 'something Bavarian', which means that the place-related identity-carrying meaning of the chattel was foregrounded, but the cupboard was given additional semiotic value because it incorporated history of its place of origin.

The importance of symbolic cultural tools was also evident in one participant's anger about not having brought furniture because someone had told them that they could not store a container until they found a place to live. They found this to be unfounded when they arrived in New Zealand, having sold or given away all their furniture in Austria.


**Fig. 5.6** Cultural artifacts

### 5.3.5 *Concepts Transformed into Cultural Tools and Practices*

As a consequence of immigration, concepts and meanings as cultural tools crossed the border. G1's concepts of preserving and cultivating their biosphere collided at times with concepts of New Zealand homeowners. Whilst all G1 participants planted trees, one main-study participant summarized G1 impressions of New Zealand neighbors: '*kaum wechselt der Besitzer geht schon die Kettensäge*' [the chainsaw starts running as soon as the owner changes]. Other main-study participants concurred: '*do spritzens and spritzens statt dass sie das gorse raushauen und mulchen*' [they spray and spray instead of slashing and mulching the gorse]. Most main-study G1 participants foregrounded a caring treatment of the environment that probably linked to their environmental push- and pull factors. Perhaps because the imagined pristine New Zealand environment had been such a great pull factor, a consequence of immigration was the highlighting of clashes with this imagined ideal.

Cultural concepts were also transformed into practical objects that expressed participants' original identity. One example was a traditional Austrian wine cellar with a vaulted roof covered in earth (Fig. 5.7) as transformation of a concept into bricks and mortar and integrated into the utility area of main-study participants' lifestyle block:

**Fig. 5.7** The cultural concept of a wine cellar resemiotisized in brick and mortar

*wir haben uns vor einigen Jahren an richtigen Weinkeller gebaut. Mostkeller unter der Erde mit Ziegelgewölbe. und wir machen unsern eigenen Most. also des is eine Besonderheit. eine Art wie man traditionell in Österreich macht und es gefällt hier jedem. auch Kiwis jedem gefällt die Art*

[some years ago we built a real wine cellar. an underground cider cellar with brick vault. and we make our own cider. well that is a special feature. a way one traditionally makes it in Austria and everyone likes it here. Kiwis too everyone likes this way]

It is not immediately clear if '*eine Besonderheit*' refers to the cellar or the cider. Since the participants talked about their cellar whilst showing photos of the brick vault being constructed and tested with a four-wheel drive vehicle parked on it (top photo, Fig. 5.7), it clearly relates to the wine cellar and the brick vault in particular (middle photo). The English translation, 'a special feature' makes this clearer. The cellar's symbolic value as an Austrian cultural tool in the participants' *Heimat* recreation is emphasized in several ways: first, through confirmation of its authenticity ('a real wine cellar'), i.e., the genuine article; second, it was created using traditional plans ('a way one traditionally makes'); third, it is Austrian; fourth, its attractiveness for everyone ('Kiwis too'). With this inclusion, the participant expressed a social consequence of immigration, that is, he distanced himself from New Zealanders and identified as Austrian although he has dual nationality. At the same time, he identified as a handyman and a person who has contributed an asset to his adopted country.

Another immigration consequence was the interlinking of tools and practices from participants' old and new *Heimat*. The concrete water tank (last photo in Fig. 5.7, left with downpipe) is a common New Zealand solution for water collection from roofs in rural areas. Native groundcovers and climbers were later planted over the earth-covered cellar roof and water tank. Embracing the social aspects of place attachment, the cellar occasionally served as a space for social wine or cider tastings as well as for wine storage.

Also, more than 76% of the G1 survey respondents declared that they maintained their original culture and responses also showed that material cultural items were valued. Indeed, 60% of respondents brought furniture and other items with symbolic meaning. Yet, there were differences. Few single men arriving in earlier decades and few singles arriving more recently brought furniture or other items that represented a sense of attachment to their European origins, whereas families and most single women immigrants did. Material cultural goods with symbolic value varied in kind and number, from 'small things that could be packed in a suitcase'; 'musical instruments'; '*alte Truhe vom Urgrossvater*' [great-grandfather's old chest] to 'furniture to make the house look similar to the one in Germany' and 'multiple containers over the years'. With some exceptions ('furniture but I don't care'), these material cultural tools carried strong symbolic values in families: 'things made in Europe are treasured and are imbued with a greater sense of workmanship'; 'great to have reminders for my mother of her *Oma* and childhood'.

### *5.3.6* Heimat *New Zealand—Paradise?*

By and large, G1 participants in the main study explained that New Zealand had truly become their *Heimat* once they had settled, yet that their New Zealand *Heimat* was '*ein Paradies mit kleinen Fehlern*' [a paradise with minor defects]. Not all their complaints were minor though as significant intercultural challenges surfaced here and there. G1 participants confirmed that they continued to love the land- and

seascapes, the country's unique flora and fauna and that they had integrated well into the New Zealand society both in terms of their work and social lives. Yet, from observations, interviews and survey responses it became clear that the G1 participants distanced themselves from New Zealanders at times. This separation from the New Zealand Other, between 'them' and 'us' typically occurred in situations of frustration and/or stress.

As detailed below, common irritants were shortcomings in environmental care, and of fair treatment by the New Zealand Government institutions dealing with qualification acceptance and overseas pensions. In such situations, participants typically generalized and grouped New Zealanders and government into one 'Kiwi' category even though their concerns also were and continue to be shared by many New Zealanders.

**New Zealand—green, clean, pure and natural?**

G1 participants in the main study in particular were incensed by severe environmental transgressions in New Zealand. At times, they sarcastically referred to the now contested public discourses about 100% pure and clean green New Zealand. For example, New Zealand conventional farming sees green and clean as neat and tidy production areas ordered through mechanistic trimming and chemicals, whereas the organic farming movement evolving in the 1980s adopted clean, green but messy practices without harmful chemicals, with the 1990s corporate move into organic farming adding yet another ideology of green clean agriculture (Egoz 2000). Others have condemned the green, clean, and pure New Zealand notions as fantasy marketing myths (Coyle and Fairweather 2005; Seymour 2013) in the face of increasing environmental problems[27] (e.g., Dew 1999). Confronted with these discourses, the New Zealand Tourism Board changed its 1980s 'clean green New Zealand' and the later 'New Zealand 100% Pure' slogans to an ambiguous 'Pure New Zealand', and 'New Zealand 100% Pure You', which focuses on the visitor whilst advertising the country's landscapes and tourist activities (Pure New Zealand 2011). Such linguistic stratagems eliminate potential false-advertising claims.

New Zealand's agronomy and settlement turned the country from "a land of forests and shade" into "a land of open pastures and towns" (Ministry for the Environment 1997: 10.2). Now proudly "the world's biggest farm" (AA Tourism 2012), New Zealand processes over 14 billion liters of milk and 1.2 billion kilograms of milk solids and exports 95% of production (FRENZ n/d). Still, the 'clean green' and '100% Pure New Zealand' labels used to promote food exports and other industries (cf. Clemens and Babcock 2004) are suggestive of untouched nature. Attracted to New Zealand by its seemingly unspoiled environment, some G1 immigrants in particular endeavored to work their land in harmony with nature (see Wohlfart 2014: 104ff, 2015: 160ff).

[27]cf. http://www.niwa.co.nz/publications/wa/water-atmosphere-7-june-2013/qa-is-new-zealand-really-clean-and-green. Accessed November 2013.

As G1 participants pointed out, increasingly intensive industrialized farming practices and industrial toxins damage land and waterways (cf. Green Party 2011; Greenpeace New Zealand n/d; Szabo 1993) and beyond a superficial glance, New Zealand's nature is anything but untouched. Aerial pesticide application on crops, as experienced by one G1 couple, are common in New Zealand[28] and, as participants living in the Auckland area pointed out, not limited to rural areas but have also been carried out over the city ('*da finden sie ein paar Motten und sprayen ganze suburbs vom Flugzeug. Unglaublich*!' [they find a few moths and spray whole suburbs from an airplane. Unbelievable!]) (cf. 'Anderton rejects watchdog's aerial spray advice' 2007; Gregory 2007).

New Zealand's environmental problems are manifold and come to public attention through media (e.g. Bennett 2011), New Zealand's conservation movement, protests and scientific research (e.g. Cornelison et al. 2011) as well as private initiatives (e.g. Winters 2009). An example of the latter is the Graf brothers' video (Graf and Graf 2009),[29] brought to me by participants shocked by its content. It deals with the widespread aerial poison drops for possum, rodent, and mustelid control. The video shows the agonizing impact of the 1080 compound (sodium fluoroacetate) on nontarget species including rare native birds and domestic animals (Easton 2008). New Zealand government bodies import and use approximately 80% of the world's 1080 compound production, that is, 2300 kilograms a year (DOC n/d) "to protect native species from the impacts of introduced pests" (Eason et al. 2011: 13). Despite 1080's dubious efficiency in light of relatively stable pest numbers, and despite widespread objections and demonstrations about the continued use of 1080, a 1080 manufacturing plant has been approved for Rolleston near Christchurch, New Zealand (Sherwood 2015) and the West Coast Regional Council has invested in the business (Mills 2014), which raises questions about potential conflicts of interest between business interests and environmental care delegated to government institutions by the people.

Qualitative study G1 participants agreed with each other that instead of the continued widespread aerial 1080 poison applications, targeted training and incentives could make trapping part of a conservation job training package that would benefit the environment (cf. New Zealand Possum Busters 2009; Puketi Forest Trust 2010) as well as New Zealand's 18.8% unemployed youth (Hannan 2011; 'Jobs fault line' 2011). Instead, the Department of Conservation cut jobs (Cooke 2011). Not much has changed, with 20% or around 23,000 of Auckland's youth unemployed in 2015 (Etheridge 2015). Interestingly, pointing to unrelenting pressure on the economy and environment from pests—which should long have subsided if 1080 was as effective as claimed—and to shortcomings in cooperation between agencies, the Royal Society of New Zealand (2014b) has called for intense research into fundamental biological understanding of pest life cycles and

[28]See http://www.gw.govt.nz/rule-2-aerial-agrichemical-spray-and-powder-application/.

[29]http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mtprJRaSHN8.

population processes, refinement of control methods, and for more trained staff to improve pest management efficacy.

Ministry for the Environment reports (1997, 2001, 2007) focus on aspects of the environment under pressure and requiring urgent attention. The 2007 report includes: from a New Zealand population of then approximately 4 million, an estimated 1100 people die prematurely due to air pollution each year; $PM_{10}$ particulates[30] due to home heating has decreased in recent years, but traffic is a major culprit with $PM_{10}$ particulates concentrations in cities made worse by the prevalence of old and poorly tuned vehicles. This often very visible pollution concerned all adult participants in the main study. A report also found: whilst greenhouse gas emissions are small in comparison with other countries, per capita New Zealand ranks 12th, with about 50% of these emissions from agriculture; soil erosion is a serious problem due to deforestation and marginal land use for pastoral farming; of 1238 voluntarily reported sites contaminated with toxic chemicals, 545 have been cleaned up and 301 are 'actively managed' (Ministry of the Environment 2007: 249). One of these treated sites near Nelson "was heavily contaminated by a range of toxic pesticides such as DDT, aldrin, lindane, and dieldrin" (Ministry of the Environment 2007: 250). Contamination is not limited to such sites. In New Zealand, where wood construction is preferred for residential buildings, timber treated with numerous wood preservatives, for instance, soaked in copper, chrome and arsenic solutions (CCA treated timber) or is used for buildings, retaining walls, fences, but also for playground equipment.

One G1 participant, whose push factors included misinformation resulting in severe health impact of wood preservatives on members of her family (see Tomic 2008[31]) recalled complaining to her children's primary school principal after noticing that such treated timber was extensively used unsealed in the new school playground. Timber treated with such preservatives is not permitted in playgrounds in Germany (Industrievertretung Thielsch n/d). She explained being shocked that children played on this equipment whilst eating their lunches and that this neither worried the school nor other parents in the least ('*diese unglaubliche Gleichgültigkeit und Nichtwissen*' [this incredible indifference and lack of knowledge]). This concern was an expression of a frustrating lack of agency and of environmental expectations not met. Her apprehension is understandable given that arsenic is a carcinogen (Waalkes et al. 2003) and research has shown high water-soluble arsenic on children's hands on playgrounds with CCA treated timber (Kwon et al. 2004).

Participants described New Zealand environmental issues as evidence of New Zealanders' naivety and disinterest in their natural environment. Whilst they had left Europe partly because of pollution, as time progressed they discovered similar, at times even worse New Zealand realities even though local mass media appear to

[30] $PM_{10}$ particulates are solid or liquid particles or particulate matter of 10 micrometers or less in size. These minute particles in the air cause major health concerns ('Airtrends Summary' 1995).

[31] cf. http://www.la-umwelt.de/ihgev/.

avoid publication of less palatable facts. Participants said they realized, discussed and condemned New Zealand's environmental problems, for instance, in signing campaigns, supporting the Green Party and/or Greenpeace. However, as they came to terms with challenging realities of New Zealand life, ongoing provision for family and later for retirement became more imperative concerns. They also pointed to the depressing bleakness of keeping focused on environmental transgressions ('*das reibt einen auf*' [that wears you down]. This signals resignation that might also be related to G1 participants' ages and life stages at the time of my study.

**New Zealand government treatment of overseas pensions**

For G1 participants at or nearing retirement age, the most infuriating irritant was the controversial dollar-for-dollar deduction of overseas government pensions from the so-called universal New Zealand Superannuation (NZS). By the end of this study, all G1 participants in the qualitative part had reached retirement age and since they all had contributed to German or Austrian pension schemes but also had been paying taxes for about three decades in New Zealand, the conflicting discourses and consequences of migration on retirement provisions were discussed extensively. Their expressed angry feelings were corroborated by survey responses. Indeed, 151 of the 182 G1 respondents who answered the question about fairness of overseas government pension deductions said this was unfair. Comments included: "*ich hab gedacht dass ich alt werd in Neusseland aber nicht alt und arm*!" [I thought I'd get old in New Zealand but not old and poor!]; "especially as contributions to the pension are specific, i.e. like a private one. And why should the NZ state take a slice of that???" Formatting (capital letters), word choices and emoticons illustrated anger also in families about New Zealand deducting overseas pensions accumulated through employer and employee contributions: '*das REGT MEINE ELTERN IMMER NOCH AUF*:' [that STILL UPSETS MY PARENTS]; 'that sucks for mum, it's a right royal pain in the arse'. Respondents questioned the 'strange' allocation of the 'universal' New Zealand Superannuation to certain immigrants and New Zealanders who 'never' or 'only minimally' contributed to society through working, and its denial to those who had worked and paid taxes in New Zealand for many years ('my taxes pay Super for three bludgers but I'll get nothing'; 'NZ Super has been touted as universal. We paid taxes all these years and counted on it but we get nothing'). Their anger was directed at losing out on up to $22,400 per year, which they had counted on for their retirement because NZS was declared 'universal'.

The legislation regarding NZS, its interpretation and its implementation by the New Zealand Ministry of Social Development (MSD) are indeed contradictory and the resulting treatment of overseas pensions has been contested (e.g., Collins 2008; cf. Dale and St John 2012). The New Zealand Superannuation Act 2001 stipulates that "every person is entitled to receive New Zealand Superannuation who attains the age of 65 years" (Part 1,7,1) provided these residence requirements are met: resident in New Zealand for at least 10 years since age 20, with at least five of these years over the age of 50, and resident at date of application for NZS (Part 1,8). The "universal entitlement" for this group was confirmed in a MSD review (MSD 2008a: 3).

Considering the generally accepted meaning of 'universal', full NZS payments should apply to all in this specified group of people.

Interestingly, New Zealand government discourses have changed over the course of this study amidst countrywide protests against overseas pension deductions from the universal NZS. That is, the term 'universal' started disappearing from official publications a few years back following strong public disapproval of the dollar-for-dollar deduction of all overseas government pensions.[32] Instead, government websites now inform, for instance, "If you're aged 65 years or older you *may be able* to get New Zealand Superannuation payments…" (my emphasis)[33] The G1 immigrants in this study are part of the 10% of New Zealand superannuitants affected by the direct deduction policy (DDP) of foreign government pensions set out in section 70 of the Social Security Act 1964 (MSD 2008a). This Act, which at the time was directed at similar British pensions, has been rigorously implemented for all overseas pensions administered by any government from the early 1990s. This legislation authorizes dollar-for-dollar abatement of NZS against overseas government pensions if that overseas payment is, "in the opinion of the [MSD] chief executive" "in the nature" of NZS payments (Section 70,1b Social Security Act 1964, cited in MSD 2008a). However, the chief executive's opinion is either not based on solid understanding of varying configurations of government pensions in different systems, or, if such understanding is present, the dollar-for-dollar deduction has been fraudulent in the many cases of overseas pensions that are different from the nature of NZS. Whilst participants condemned it, they acknowledged the power and longevity of the unfair dollar-for-doolar deduction system and their own lack of agency and power: '*die nehmen sich was sie wollen und du kannst gar nichts machen. Dieses unfaire System überlebt uns alle*' [they take what they want and you can't do anything about it. This unfair system survives us all].

The main difference between the German and Austrian retirement annuity systems and the NZS system is that the former are Bismarck systems[34] but the latter has a Beveridge orientation. Yet, the participants had dollar for dollar of their *Rentenversichung* [literally: pension insurance] deducted from entitlement to the NZS. Whilst Germany and Austria also have a Beveridge-oriented system (see Sozialgesetzbuch XII, paragraph 41; e.g. Steiermärkisches[35] Sozialhilfegesetz), this system did not apply for the participants. Their pension insurance was part of the

[32](See, e.g., http://www.nzpensionprotest.com/Home/the-fight/nz-pension-abuse-website; http://docs.business.auckland.ac.nz/Doc/PR-OS-Pensions-24May-2012.pdf; http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/8898559/Net-widens-on-double-dip-pensioners) although some government units still use it (e.g., Treasury Working Papers described as 'current': http://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/research-policy/wp/2005/05-09. Accessed 11/08/2013).

[33]http://www.workandincome.govt.nz/individuals/65-years-or-older/superannuation/superanuation-overview.html. Accessed March 2016.

[34]Named after Otto von Bismarck: In 1889, the German government under chancellor Bismarck introduced this compulsory old age pension system, for which employer and employee each pay half of the ongoing contributions.

[35]In Austria, each state has its own version of this minimum social security law.

Bismarck system, which functions as insurance in that the community of the insured assures the financing of payments[36] (Deutsche Rentenversicherung 2010), whilst a Beveridge system is built on the idea that everyone is entitled to social services paid through general taxation (Ribhegge 2002). The problems with bringing together such fundamentally incompatible systems are acknowledged by MSD (Lazonby 2007) but not solved.

A 2008 MSD review admits that the NZS system "contrasts with the contributory systems operating in most other Western countries" (MSD 2008a, 3), where individual workers and employers pay toward individual pensions. The review also concedes that pension "decisions made by MSD officials are highly contestable" (MSD 2008a, 8). Nevertheless, the review also concluded that the treatment of overseas pensions policy is fundamentally sound and equitable although it discriminates against one out of ten pensioners. MSD's 'fundamentally sound and equitable' conclusion was based on the principle that only one pension should be available for one contribution. Regarding this "double-dipping" argument, participants emphasized that they had contributed to NZS through work and taxes for decades beyond the basic requirements, in contrast to certain NZS recipients who never contributed to New Zealand society through work but still receive NZS because they never contributed to a pension system similar to their overseas schemes. They also agreed with this warning: '*wart nur bis sie dir an deinen Kiwi Saver gehn*' [just wait until they take your Kiwi Saver].

Kiwi Saver is a recently introduced New Zealand retirement savings system. It is similar to the Bismarck system in that employer and employee pay into it like into an insurance. However, it differs from the Bismarck system in that the New Zealand government subsidizes contributions (although these subsidies have recently been halved or removed) and that the Kiwi Saver savings can eventually be withdrawn as a lump sum. Other points of difference are that the government does not guarantee the investment should the Kiwi Saver investment company fail; and so far, payouts do not affect NZS.

Social science researchers suggested urgent changes and reform options for overseas pensions in relation to NZS (e.g. Dale et al. 2009) and in 2008, the then Labor government accepted certain changes: "Removing from the scope of section 70 of the Social Security Act 1964 foreign state pensions built up by voluntary contributions" and "discontinuing the policy of deducting a person's overseas pension from partner's NZS entitlement." However, the proviso that these changes would take effect "when funding is secured" (MSD 2008b, 1–2) led to failure of the proposal because funding was not secured (Goodhew 2013[37]). Whilst the spouse excess clause continues to apply, the first recommendation was implemented in 2013 in response to pensioner complaints to the Social Security Appeal Authority. For some G1 participants, this decision translated into a small financial benefit

[36]Only ultimately bailed out by the state should the system fail.

[37]Personal communication: Letter from Hon Jo Goodhew, Minister for Senior Citizens, dated 19 February 2013, to me, answering my request for clarification.

because parts of their contributions to the European pension scheme had been voluntary. Yet, the explanation that "the Ministry can … *defer* the deduction of the portion of the pension funded from voluntary contributions" (ibid, italics added) does not assure permanence due to the ambiguity of 'defer'.

Not knowing about these New Zealand regulations and their options with their German pension in advance was a gripe that German G1 participants held. One participant, for example, lost 30% of his German pension because he took on New Zealand citizenship. The other 70% continue to be deducted dollar for dollar from the NZS and he therefore receives no NZS. Because couples are considered together for NZS, and 70% of his German pension is more than one person's NZS, the portion higher than the NZS is deducted from his wife's NZS entitlement. Had he applied in time, the German authorities would have paid out his own contributions (not those of his employers though) as a lump sum ('*damit hätte ich ein neues Auto kaufen können*' [I could have bought a new car with that']). In this case, he would have received the full NZS amount because the lump sum payout would have terminated his entitlement to his overseas pension.

## 5.4 Summary of G1 Stories

Lifestyle was the key motivation for G1 participants' migration to New Zealand. They were enticed to New Zealand's landscapes by media and generally toured the country on holidays before making long-term migration decisions. The dreams that their superficial impressions had created met with New Zealand realities during settlement. For some, dreams became reality, yet during settlement New Zealand realities presented major challenges and disappointments for most. Most G1 participants discovered that their initial gazes had concealed flaws. One aspect that changed from positive to negative after moving was New Zealand's remoteness, which made seeing family and friends in/from Europe problematic. Other experienced imperfections can be categorized into those relating to people's impact on landscapes and indirectly impacting on participants, and into experiences with people and institutions more directly challenging participants. Their settlement experiences bore testament to the vulnerabilities and tensions that the action of migration into another cultural societal system exposes the migrants to.

Settlement challenges included flawed institutional assessments and lack of acceptance of the very qualifications that New Zealand was seeking and therefore had been the key to long-term and permanent residence for most G1 participants. Whilst economic improvement did not play a role in G1's migration decisions, ensuring ongoing sustenance through employment or business was important once they lived in New Zealand for all but the very wealthy and financially secured retirees. For many G1 participants, lack of professional acceptance, lower remuneration and high living costs as well as fairly widespread social discrimination led to discontent and reassessment of their New Zealand adventure. They could not deal with these unexpected realities in the long term and therefore did not settle

successfully but rather planned return migration to Europe. In combination with intended sojourns of limited duration in New Zealand's Anglophone environment and with unrelated personal decisions, these settlement obstacles add to explanations of the high return migration rates of German speakers.

For those who persevered, the creation of their New Zealand *Heimat* took considerable time. Beyond settlement, they generally realized parts of their initial dreams and adapted to New Zealand realities through flexibility and resilience. G1 kept valuing New Zealand's landscapes and climate, its democratic political structure, friendly people and new career opportunities. The well-settled G1 immigrants reported a feeling of belonging to New Zealand even though their retirement life stage meant that anger persisted in particular about New Zealand's treatment of their European pensions. Also, resignation had crept into relieve ongoing stress about the cracks in participants' 'paradise'.

In stressful situations for which they considered New Zealanders or New Zealand governmental institutions responsible, the G1 participants distanced themselves from the New Zealand Other. If they acquired New Zealand nationality, it was mainly for security, convenience and flexibility rather than due to nationalistic feelings toward New Zealand. Overall, however, these established settlers had integrated successfully into the New Zealand society and apart from the issues with government institutions mentioned above they were mostly contented in their lifestyle.

G1 New Zealand *Heimat* creation involved a blend of cultural practices even though these participants identified mainly with their original culture. Unsurprisingly, G1's languages had undergone some changes after nearly three decades. When they arrived in New Zealand, the G1 participants were bilingual or multilingual although their English skills varied. Generally, German remained their stronger language. They maintained it well, even though after about two decades in the country codeswitching became fairly common in the presence of other bilinguals.

# Chapter 6
# G2—The Lifestyle Migrants' Children

This chapter presents the stories of the lifestyle migrants' children, the second familial generation in this study (G2). In the qualitative part of the study, all seven G2 participants were born overseas. Their ages at migration ranged from 5 to 28 years. In contrast to G1, most had not visited New Zealand before migrating. Of the 85 G2 survey respondents, 55 were born overseas and most arrived as young children. Thirty were born in New Zealand. As the survey tested the qualitative-study findings in the wider community and responses corroborated these to a great extent, this section primarily focuses on G2 in the main study but adds relevant survey responses. The commonalities and differences of their situations and New Zealand experiences evident from interviews and observations as well as from survey responses are explained below.

## 6.1 Migration Experiences—G2 Born Overseas

The G2 participants in the main study narrated their migration experiences approximately three decades after their migration. Two G2 members of one family made their own migration decisions when came to New Zealand aged 21(f) and 28 (m) years. The woman recalled first meeting her New Zealand husband while on a student exchange and when he was injured in an accident, she accompanied him to New Zealand. Her older brother followed the family some years later. These two siblings had motives for moving and agency in their migration decisions even though their agency was controlled by immigration requirements. With the exception of this 21-year-old woman, G2 immigration was a direct consequence of G1's immigration as they would not have moved to New Zealand, had their immediate family not done so.

Arguably, the younger G2 participants had neither motives nor agency in the migration decisions. The brother of the two adult G2 participants was 16 years old when he migrated with his parents. Like the two women who were 12 and 14 years



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old at the time of arrival in New Zealand, he recalled how utterly resentful he was at the prospect of moving away and leaving his friends in Europe. The then 12-year old, who had previously lived in several expatriate communities where she had her own horse, remembered that her parents promised to get a dog, cat, and horse in New Zealand. The 14-year old tried to assert her agency in the moving process by insisting that she would get a horse in New Zealand and that she would return to Austria as soon as she turned 18 and could make her own decisions. Her brother, who was 13 years old at the time, recounted that he saw the family migration to New Zealand as a summer holiday on an exotic island with palms and a jungle full of monkeys. The youngest could not remember much about the move itself apart from visiting a crocodile farm during a stopover in Singapore. As well as indicating the common tendency for girls' interest in horses, the participants' reflections showed that the 12–16-year-old G2 migrants strongly resented migrating. The younger ones had no or very limited understanding of the destination or of long-term migration. Strictly speaking, they also had no agency in the migration decision-making. However, family harmony was either sought through parents' bribery or giving into teenage pressure, which could be seen as affirming G2 agency as the horse-loving girls indeed had their wish/demand for their own horse fulfilled once in New Zealand.

## 6.2 Heimat Creation—Overseas-Born G2

By the time of this study, three main themes evident in the data had become part of G2 participants' embodied experiences or historical bodies and featured prominently as a consequence of immigration in their transformative *Heimat* creation steps. The G2 participants in the main study placed emphasis on different aspects of the themes security, place attachment, and language use than G1 (Fig. 6.1).

While G1 was first concerned about gaining security through permanent residence permits, finding satisfying work and establishing a home, G2 framed security in their *Heimat* (re)creation first and foremost as integration into social spaces. Feelings and (lack of) agency experienced in migration processes as well as perceived reception by New Zealanders played a primary role for adolescent G2 participants during initial settlement in New Zealand. Over the course of more than 25 years, G2 had almost completely assimilated into the New Zealand mainstream. All G2 participants in the main study entered into intercultural relationships. Time, institutional, and social environments as well as their intercultural marriages played crucial roles, for instance, in English becoming their dominant language. Given their ages at the time of this study (33–45 years), their *Heimat* creation must be seen as an ongoing process. Seven G2 survey respondents, who felt New Zealand was their *Heimat*, commented about their migration along the lines of 'too young to remember' and 'I was a baby'. However, some G2 respondents did not feel completely at home within 5 years. Two G2 respondents who arrived 20 years ago (ages at immigration: 6–10 years and 5 years) commented that they still did not feel

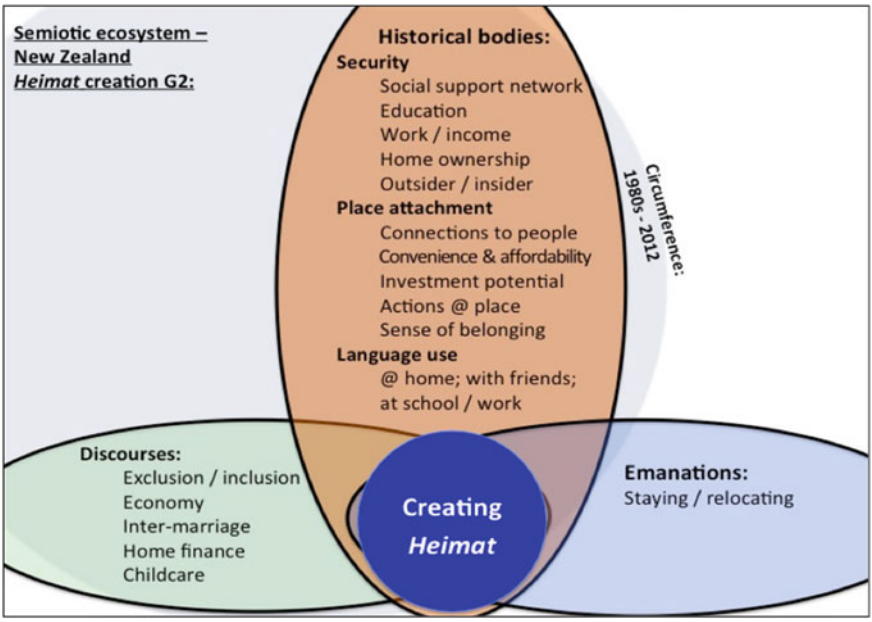


**Fig. 6.1** Semiotic ecosystem of G2 *Heimat* creation

entirely at home. Like for the G2 participant in the main study who was very young at immigration, survey responses and ages at immigration suggest that most respondents who were very young when their parents brought them to New Zealand had no difficulties making New Zealand their home. For the older children and adolescents, it was difficult and took more time to gain a sense of belonging and *Heimat*. This reflects the main study findings of difficulties with a sense of belonging for G2 participants who were teens and tweens at immigration. Some survey comments also suggested potential return migration.

### Security—G2

For most G2 participants, the perceived security of their 'old' *Heimat* was disrupted by migration to New Zealand. Narrated actions indicated that the different age groups within G2 had different priorities with regard to (re)building security in their new place of abode. For the adolescents (12–16 years old at immigration), this meant first and foremost the formation of a peer network. As they matured, cultural tools in the action of creating security included education and work affording ongoing income and home finance. For those who arrived as adults, visa, education, and work were essential tools in recreating security by permitting them to stay and earn a living, much like for G1. Consideration of security in terms of ongoing stability yields a slightly different picture. For some G2 participants, potential future relocations render their New Zealand *Heimat* creation confused or incomplete.

### 6.2.1 G2 Adolescents' Settlement

During settlement, establishing social bonds provided G2 adolescents with security within peer groups and changed their status from outsiders to insiders. The action of social bonding in the nexus depicted in Fig. 6.2 below should be seen as many separate social actions, each at a specific real time and in its specific physical place and social space.

**Interaction order**

Interaction order refers to the constraints and empowerments of people through people in the particular moment in time an action is taken (Scollon and Scollon 2004). Because most G2 adolescents found integrating into their new social environment difficult, interaction order is of particular interest. These participants considered building a peer network crucial during settlement. Biological and psychosocial explanations help understand why: Mammalian neurochemical systems stimulate humans to seek and maintain social contact (Kendrick 2004) and "friendship ranks as one of the highest human values" (Jones 2001: 131). Also, adolescents' changes such as puberty, school transitions and social role redefinitions in growing more autonomous can be problematic (Eccles et al. 1993) and moving into another country and culture adds stressors (Smith and Khawaja 2011). Finally, parents had deprived the adolescents of agency in this migration process.

In my view, all these factors were contributory reasons for G2 adolescents' search for *Geborgenheit*, which is best translated as safety and security in terms of being embraced within a strong social support network. Social support network

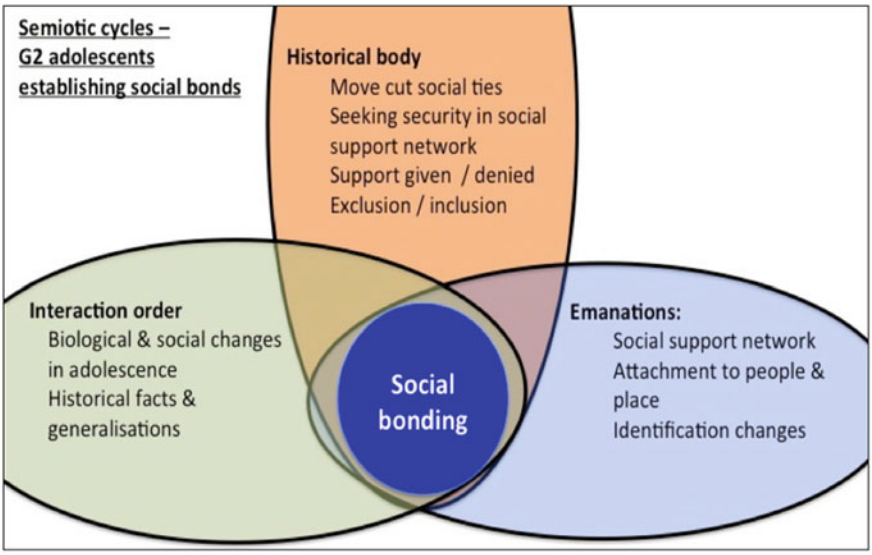


**Fig. 6.2** Semiotic cycles in G2 adolescent settlement

refers to a personal social network that is restricted to the direct contacts providing sustenance in situations of need (cf. O'Reilly 1988). The families and G1 parents in particular provided such support for the G2 adolescents. However, considering relationships were strained through G2 adolescents' lack of agency in the migration process, and common changes in child–parent relationships during adolescence (see Fuligni 1998), as a consequence of migration the tweens and teenagers had an increased need to regain agency and find *Geborgenheit* within a peer group. Also as a consequence of migration these peer groups had to be formed anew.

**Historical body**

Historical bodies are accumulated in social spaces (Blommaert and Huang 2009) and are subject to interaction order. This helps explain why the 12-year old (age at immigration) 'absolutely hated' her first years in New Zealand. Immersion schooling is said to enhance social bonding (cf. Rothstein 1998) but such bonding has to be mutual as rejection and discrimination negatively affect adolescents' health (Crengle et al. 2012; Harris et al. 2006). As the only German speaker at high school before two others arrived a year later, this girl experienced psychosocial difficulties as her German surname and background were identity markers that led to ongoing harassment at school: '*dass die mich immer Nazi geheissen haben hat mir schon schwer zu schaffen gmacht*' [that they always called me Nazi was very difficult for me]. Her mother recalled: 'she came home from school asking what a Nazi was. I was born after the war and I was stunned. Once I explained she wanted another passport because she did not want to be German'. At a confusing life stage when adolescents are vulnerable (Eccles et al. 1993), the girl's dissociation from her national descent documented the added burden inflicted on her by peer behavior. Only when the 14-year-old immigrant girl arrived in her class, did the younger's social isolation in school end. The girls' friendship gave her a sense of security, belonging and confidence because she '*konnt mit ihr über alles reden*' [could talk with her about everything]. It reflects that being friends with a girl from the same language background combined with the influence of that girl's relative maturity allowed the younger girl to move on in a positive way.

Despite being assigned one or two companions by the school to help them settle, the other G2 teenagers shared such experiences of problems with finding security in the sense of *Geborgenheit* in peer networks during settlement. As the then 13-year-old man remembered, "*es war schwer Freunde zu finden*" [it was difficult to find friends]. Perhaps illustrating both the time it took to form deeper friendships and persisting commonalities, he added that he and his two school buddies still were friends. With the exception of the 16-year old participant in the main qualitative study, G2 adolescents reported being harassed by other students due to their German language functioning as identity markers ('*die sind immer bei uns vorbeimarschiert mit nem Hitlergruss*' [they always marched past us with a Hitler salute]. When eventually two other German speakers of similar ages arrived at the school, '*das hat geholfen*' [that helped], suggesting that G2 adolescents dealt with discrimination and struggles of being respected during settlement through safety in numbers. The couple participating in the pilot study, who arrived several years later than the participants in the main

qualitative study, also originally lived in the same area and they reported that their oldest could not cope with the discrimination he met. This creates the impression of an intolerant community.

The 16-year old who went to high school in a different town and had played in the Austrian national ice hockey team reported no problems with forming social bonds. Tying in with the argument that sport strongly encourages friendship (Jones 2001) and that athletic skills promote popularity for boys (Daniels and Leaper 2006), his outstanding sport skills fostered integration as they helped by quickly tying social bonds:

> *ich hab gleich angefangen Eishockey zu spielen. das war gut. da und in der Schule hab ich Freunde gefunden. es hat dann etwa zwei Monate gedauert dann wollte ich nicht mehr zurück*
>
> [I started playing ice-hockey immediately. that was good. there and in school I found friends. it took me about two months then I didn't want to go back].

The findings show that establishing social bonds enabled the G2 adolescents to accept migration transitions, with friendships becoming crucial empowerment aspects for their settlement.

### *6.2.2 G2 Adults' Settlement*

Different from adolescent participants' priorities, for the young adults in G2 establishing social bonds did not primarily relate to creating a sense of security mainly because their move to New Zealand had not cut existing social bonds. To the contrary, for the young woman the move intensified newly formed social bonds. She already was on a sojourn away from family and friends when she befriended her future husband. Coming to New Zealand on his invitation with the intention of a yearlong study sojourn, she settled quickly in a whirlwind romance: '*ja und fünf Monate später waren wir verheiratet*' [yes and five months later we were married]. Her relationship placed her into a social support network that facilitated her settlement. For her older brother, moving to New Zealand meant reconnecting with his immediate family, who had already settled in New Zealand. As outlined in language use below, the young G2 adults had sufficient language skills for comfortably settling into English-speaking New Zealand society. In sum, the young adults among G2 participants had no trouble finding security through establishing social bonds during settlement.

**Building security through education and work**

Education and work were important in terms of building security in socioeconomic terms and not least to finance home ownership. With one exception, G2 participants in the main study owned or co-owned their residence at the time of this study. G2 participants who arrived as young adults had to deal with education and work, and obtain the required visas. Illustrating intersections of a nexus, the 28-year-old man, a trained chef, found an employer who also became a long-term friend. His sister

received her permanent residency permit just in time to study at university with domestic fees rather than paying higher international student fees. Changing her study focus from translation and interpreting to general business management was a consequence of immigration inspired by her mother-in-law's occupation. The change also can be seen as integration into New Zealand society. Demonstrating adaptation to market conditions that normalize insecurity of work and earning (see Beck 1999; Spoonley 2006) but also indicating aptitude, she had a temporary job in a fruit processing company during her studies. This led to her first management position.

For G2 participants who arrived as teenagers, financial security through education and work only gained importance as they matured. With the exception of the younger boy, who found studying in English difficult ('it was hard but to be honest I was really lazy') and eventually gave up studies for earning priorities ('I just wanted to have spending money because I had a girlfriend'), they completed tertiary education. The man who arrived at age 16 studied computing and gained a master's degree in business administration. One woman became a dispensing optician and eventually took over her parents' business. The two youngest women earned an agricultural science and food science degree respectively, which signals professional integration into New Zealand, where primary industries generate two thirds of goods export earnings (MPI 2013). Higher education clearly was important for G2; and two thirds of G2 survey respondents also reported having university education.

Higher education was not necessarily guarantee for continuous earning though. With the exception of one woman who had four children and was considering options of returning to employment when all children would be attending school, at the time of this study the qualitative-study G2 were employed, had taken over the family business, or were self-employed. Yet, the MBA holders had been unemployed at some stage, but work security was also not guaranteed for the self-employed builder. This might have contributed to some instability of G2's *Heimat* perception. The statements below illustrate the nexus of practice linking G2 participants' cognitive and affective processes to the economic conditions of places they had connections with. This nexus illustrates the continuing nature of *Heimat* creation within people's life cycles. The hockey player eventually moved to Australia for employment reasons and married there. He explained,

> *ich hab immer ein Auge auf Österreich gehabt. wir schliessen das nach wie vor nicht aus. wenn es beruflich funktionieren würde. Österreich oder Süddeutschland wäre für uns eine Möglichkeit*
>
> [I have always had an eye on Austria. we still do not exclude that. if it would work professionally. Austria or southern Germany would be a possibility for us].

This suggests uncertainty about staying downunder permanently ('have always had an eye on Austria'), suggesting that future career potential ('if it would work professionally') could attract him and his family to Austria or southern Germany, where he and his wife had family connections. His sister in New Zealand also considered Australia a viable option for work because of New Zealand's small economy ('*ja weil in Neuseeland is der Markt schon sehr begrenzt*' [yes because in New Zealand the market is very limited]). A subdued housing market during this

study caused financial security problems for the self-employed builder, which might have contributed to doubts about his *Heimat* and his place in it: '*es ist schon schwer im Moment weil nicht viel los ist mit* building. I've often asked myself what would be if I had not come to New Zealand. would I be a builder? or would I be a bum?' [it is difficult at the moment because not much is happening in building…] Lack of this security impacted on home financing, for which this participant compensated by trading down to a smaller property. This shows that economic factors somewhat destabilized *Heimat* creation for some G2 participants.

### *6.2.3 G2—Place Attachment*

Connections with people sustained and reinforced G2 participants' place attachment as social space within the process dimension of place attachment, which includes emotional, cognitive, and behavioral manifestations (Scannell and Gifford 2010). Creating this social space entailed changing identifications and social connections and adoption of cultural practices. The other dimensions of place attachment identified by Scannell and Gifford, i.e., the meanings that G2 participants assigned to place, and the social and physical aspects of their objects of attachment such as dwellings and neighborhood also played vital roles in G2 participants' *Heimat* creation and perception.

**Social action—Building own social space**

For the woman who was 12 at immigration, social connections eventually moved her from an outsider position to that of an insider as her growing confidence helped her forge friendships with English speakers. By the time she formed mature relationships, she had created her own social space, with social bonds in her age group being predominantly with English speakers. At the time of this study, she was embedded in a well-developed social network that included a solid personal support network. Her parents' support aside, her mutual support network developed through study, work, and socializing as well as through her marriage, and reinforcement through common experiences. Such networks were mirrored in the experiences of other G2 participants.

As a significant consequence of immigration and social integration, and with far-reaching emanations, all G2 participants entered into long-term intercultural personal relationships, which strengthened their sense of belonging to place and social space. Their partners identified as: English ($n = 1$); Pākehā New Zealander ($n = 2$); Pākehā and Māori ($n = 1$); Māori ($n = 1$); of German and Indian descent ($n = 1$); and Filipina ($n = 1$). These relationships were all de facto at first. A de facto relationship is a "relationship between two persons who live together as a couple who are not married to each other" (Cabinet Policy Committee 2003). With the exception of the oldest G2 participant in the main study, G2 participants then married their partner in secular ceremonies. Most G2 participants were Catholics through baptism ($n = 5$)—which is linked to their places of origin where

Catholicism was the prevailing religion—but did not usually go to church. The others had not been inaugurated into any religious assembly ($n$ = 2). G2 narrative accounts suggested that religion did not play a role in partner choice, which was emotion-guided and facilitated by social aspects of New Zealand society. That is, intercultural marriages and de facto relationships are very common in New Zealand (Callister 2003; Woodfield et al. 1986). At the time of this study, five of the participants were married, one was divorced, and one was separated. One of these had custody over the children but the other did not. Two of the four university-educated G2 participants had a university-educated spouse.

One interesting measure of social inclusion was the extent to which immigrants and their descendants had married into cultures and ethnicities other than their own. A total of 279 out of 317 respondents answered the question about the presence of ethnic groups, other than own, in their families. Almost half (48%) reported other ethnicities in their family. Just over 56% ($n$ = 134) of the immigrant respondents and 26% ($n$ = 11) of the New Zealand-born respondents did not list another ethnic group in their families. This might reflect immigration of families from the same background and that the New Zealand-born intermarried more readily. Yet, findings cannot be completely separated for the different generations because the question asked about ethnic groups *in the family*.

Some ethnicities in Table 6.1 were options given in the survey; others were added as comments. These ethnicities were self-defined, commonly using area/country of origin but also the New Zealand expression Pākehā for New

**Table 6.1** Survey—ethnicities (other than own) in families

| Ethnicity given | By number of survey respondents | Ethnicity given | By number of survey respondents |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brazilian | 1 | Japanese | 2 |
| Chinese | 2 | Korean | 1 |
| Columbian | 3 | Māori | 20 |
| Cook Islander | 1 | Mauritian | 1 |
| Czech | 2 | Mexican | 1 |
| Danish | 1 | Norwegian | 1 |
| Dutch | 7 | Pacific Islander (not further specified) | 1 |
| English | 45 | Pākehā | 67 |
| Fijian | 2 | Polish | 4 |
| Filipino | 6 | Russian | 2 |
| Finnish | 1 | Scottish | 1 |
| French | 1 | South African | 2 |
| Hungarian | 2 | Spanish | 1 |
| Indian | 2 | Thai | 1 |
| Irish | 4 | Welsh | 1 |
| Italian | 2 | Yugoslav | 1 |

Zealanders of European descend. Several respondents reported more than one of the listed ethnicities in their families. Table 6.1 indicates that other ethnicities in respondents' families were mainly Pākehā, followed by English. Intercultural marriages with Māori were also common. The readiness to enter intercultural marriages evident in the survey corroborates findings for G2 in the main study.

Exemplifying tensions embedded in the concept of ethnicity, G2 participants' emotional and cognitive place attachment and commitment to social spaces changed over time as expressed through their self-identifications. For example, having discarded cultural identifiers such as their surname and despite holding German passports, the two younger women in the main study no longer claimed German identity. '*Ich sag niemand dass ich Deutsche bin. Ich sag höchstens meine Eltern sind Deutsche*' [I tell no-one that I am German. at best I say my parents are German]. For her, this distancing is connected to her experience of exclusion: '*Deutsche sind hier Aussenseiter*' [Germans are outsiders here]. The Austrians, on the other hand, identified as Austrians *and* as New Zealanders although their concepts of *Heimat* differed. Apart from cooking traditional food at times, two distanced themselves from Austrian cultural practices: '*der ganze östereichische Scheiss kann mir gestohlen bleiben*' [to hell with all that Austrian shit]. For this man, this included his Austrian passport, which he relinquished for New Zealand citizenship.

The man who migrated at the age of 13 presented conflicted affinities. He identified so strongly as Austrian that he had the Austrian eagle emblem tattooed on his arm. He has dual citizenship and felt he 'definitely' was also a New Zealander, getting annoyed at "Born Here" T-shirts, which he was tempted to counter with a 'Moved Here' label. Yet, he explained: 'I miss a lot of things. I miss the mountains and the snow and the culture and the way people interact you know. Everything. Beerfest and the FOOD. Mushroom picking and things like that. Things you can't do here.' By saying 'you know' he defined me, the researcher, as insider who understands what he means. Here, he expressed his longing for Austrian landscapes and social interactions with people whose culture he identifies with, and cultural practices that are directly connected with landscapes and seasons (mushroom picking), as well as traditions (beerfest) and food. It is interesting that—apart perhaps from 'the way people interact'—all he missed could also be found and practiced in New Zealand. Specific favorite foods seemed the most retained connection to their original culture for all G2 participants. In sum, G2 identifications changed over time, with some identifications showing strong emotional components that can be seen as conflicting place attachments.

This study also illustrated the complexities of ancestry interwoven with ethnic classifications, as well as the problematics of culture, culturalist discourses, and biculturalism. In contemporary political discourses, the Treaty of Waitangi, a historical contract between Pākehā and Māori, is considered a Bill of Rights for both Māori and Pākehā and New Zealand's founding document (e.g., MCH 2011). This understanding of the Treaty is central to New Zealand's official biculturalism, i.e., one nation, two peoples, and their partnership. The Treaty is seen as protecting the rights of Māori, who are discursively constructed as indigenous guardians of the land (Munford and Walsh-Tapiata 2006), and as protecting the rights of Pākehā

(Barrett and Strongman 2013). Yet, the usage of the Māori term Pākehā remains controversial in the light of intermarriages between Māori and later arrivals since the eighteenth century (King 2003).

This study included participants who could claim Māori, German and Irish ancestry but in their cultural orientation conformed to the New Zealand English mainstream. Others, whose cultural orientation was similar, had Māori, Austrian and British ancestry, with details of the latter not known, whereas others had a German and an English parent with Scottish ancestry but no Scottish cultural practices. In the families with Māori ancestry, Māori cultural practices were reserved for Māori family events such as tangi (farewell and funeral) and Māori ethnicity was claimed only when seen as advantageous.

### Social action—G2 building own place

G2 individuals assigned meanings to place, their processes related to place, and the physical and social aspects of their place. These intersect in G2's complex social action of building their place. Although G2 participants appreciated New Zealand's landscapes and most chose to live on outskirts of a town or city or in rural-residential areas, these land- and seascapes appeared to be taken for granted and did not evoke the strong admiration as in G1 participants. The semiotic cycles intersecting in G2's complex social action of building their own place as part of their *Heimat* creation are outlined in Fig. 6.3.

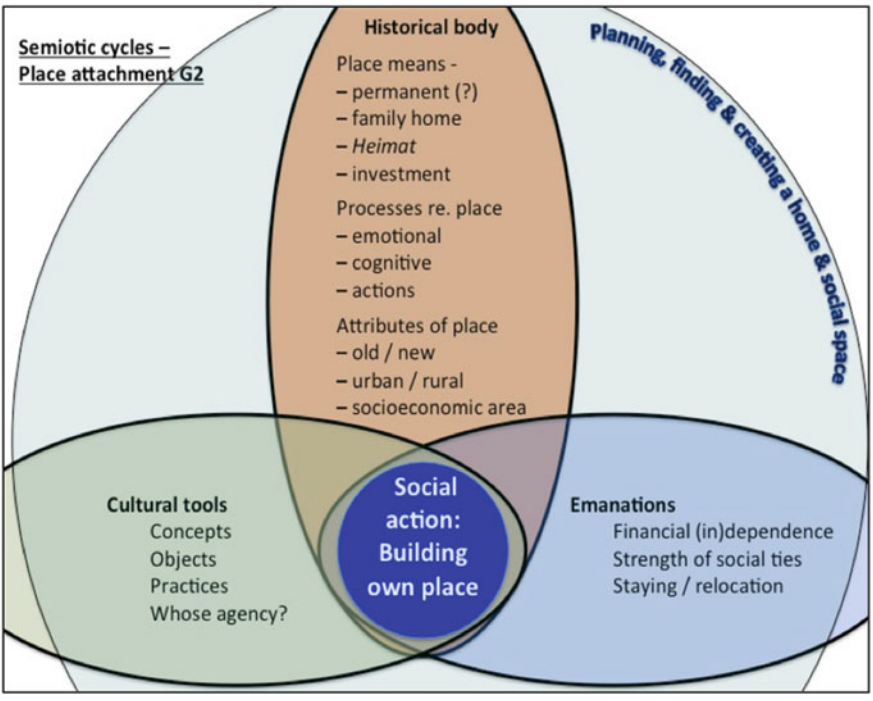


**Fig. 6.3** Semiotic cycles of creating own place

Figure 6.3 indicates the difficulties of separating semiotic cycles intersecting in social actions that Scollon and Scollon (2004) point out. The spatial dimensions of participants' own place increased from the dwelling and the land it was built on, to the neighborhood and to the wider urban or rural area. While this is not a consequence of migration per se but rather relates to generally finding a home, the particular location with its specific material and social environment was. For instance, on G2 participant and her husband first bought an old bungalow on a big section next to an Auckland seaside park with the intention of making it their permanent home. They renovated the building and redesigned the garden. Yet, the neighborhood chosen for its physical landscapes turned out to have unpleasant social aspects, which tied in with Pearson et al. (2012) statement that neighborhood social conditions can escalate stress. Not only did these conditions impact on sleep patterns (drunks in the park), finances (theft: tyres stolen with their car left standing on its wheel rims), and general well-being through increased stress, but also on considerations of neighborhood suitability for their children. They eventually sold and relocated to a different suburb. This can be considered a consequence of living in New Zealand because in comparison, house purchases in Germany are much more long-term and therefore perhaps more considered. This long-term ownership applies not least because capital gains tax is due if one sells within ten years. New Zealand does not have any effective capital gains tax and many owners sell real estate for tax-free gains.

With one exception, G2 had built or bought at least two different dwellings with their partners over the years. Because urban boundaries are stricter in Europe than they are in New Zealand, greenbelt lifestyle-block choices can be considered as consequences of migration. Lifestyle blocks of usually 5–10 acres are created through farm subdivisions for low-density rural living. All G2 participants, with the exception of one couple who preferred the city, lived in greenbelts, or at the outskirts of cities or towns. One G2 participant and her husband had moved from their first home into their newly built home on 5 acres subdivided from her parents' block. Reminiscent of European dwelling practices, G2 particpants considered their current home permanent and a core component of their *Heimat. One said*, '*nein, ich zieh nicht mehr um'* [no I won't move again]; *another said they would stay 'mindestens für die nächsten zehn oder fünfzehn Jahre*' [at least for the next 10 or 15 years].

Yet, the diverging attributes of one G2 participant's place as family home and investment conflicted. This participant felt at home in the Christchurch region but having lived on three different lifestyle blocks in the same area over the past 12 years, she said they would probably move again within the next three years because her husband was '*halt a* developer'. The term '*halt*' here has the meaning of 'that's just the way it is' and, coupled with her tone of voice, expressed resignation about this focus on property development, which was encouraged by the absence of capital gains tax. Nevertheless, this participant and her husband designed each of their dwellings around their growing family's needs but her resignation related to starting again every time they built anew, which was a consequence of New Zealand tax laws and therefore a consequence of migration.

For the participant who immigrated as a young woman, one consequence of her and her parents' immigration was the possibility to pool resources with her parents for their family home. Investment also played a role, as did closeness to school and the ocean. The section overlooking a marina can perhaps be subdivided in the future and the participant and her parents expected to clear their mortgage from selling the subdivided portion of the section. I formed the impression that for her the advantages of living with her parents, such as the parents looking after her children while she worked and her mother doing most household chores, were not only paid for in financial terms through her servicing the mortgage on their shared home but also by a loss of her individual space. Any male friends, for example, underwent intense scrutiny by her mother in particular. Yet she remains committed to living with parents and children.

**Social action—Having children**

As every parent would agree, having children involves myriads of individual social actions, so 'having children' as one complex social action is a particularly simplified heuristic. By the end of this study, the seven G2 participants in the main study had 19 children aged 2–15 years and predictably, all agreed that having children had fundamentally changed their lives. Arguably, having children increases happiness and life satisfaction (Angeles 2010). Having children in New Zealand (and Australia) clearly was a consequence of immigration and can be seen as societal integration like the intercultural marriages. Yet, bringing up children in intercultural relationships might be fraught with difficulties due to culturally different understandings of childrearing (Cools 2006; Schäfer 2010). Participants reported no such difficulties and none could be observed that could be categorized as problems of intercultural relationships. Rather, my observations detected no other challenges of parenthood than those I have experienced or observed in other, intra-cultural relationships. This might indicate cultural closeness through earlier G2 adaptation processes, leading to the partners' shared educational concepts and practices. And while G2 parents differed in tolerance to certain child behaviors, observation of the participants' interactions with their children and partners did not show dissimilar childrearing practices from those I was familiar with in Europe. One migration consequence resulting from an intercultural relationship breakup was that for an extended time during this study, two children left New Zealand for Australia with their mother, which left their father in New Zealand only with Skype video contact to his children for over a year. This was a consequence of migration and family status in that in this de facto marriage the mother had custody as well as New Zealand citizenship, which allowed her to take the children to Australia. While such international moves have been well documented as problematic in case an intercultural relationship fails (Hegar and Greif 1994), participants whose relationship was intact or the divorced woman who had sole custody did not consider this a problem.

Clearly, Fig. 6.4 is not a complete reflection of the semiotic ecosystem involved in having children of course. It just reflects points raised in narrative accounts and evident in observations. G2 participants noted that having children in intercultural relationships probably brought similar problems to those in same-culture

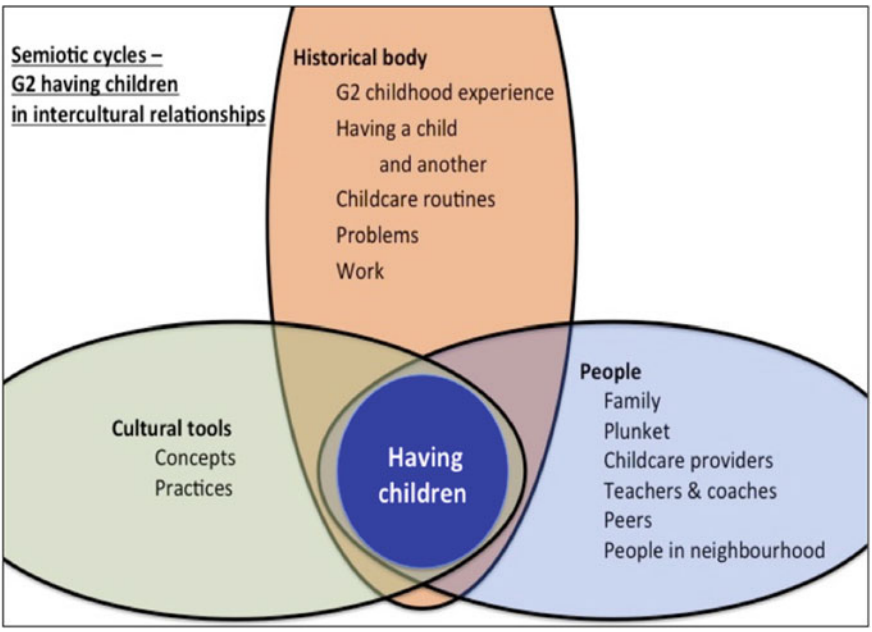


**Fig. 6.4** Semiotic cycles involved in rearing children

relationships. Their narrative accounts suggested that they and their partners shared responsibilities and applied similar cultural tools in childrearing. In parental practices, G2 participants' own childhood experiences were disregarded at times reflecting general changes from generation to generation rather than problems with intercultural marriages ('*das war damals. wir machen das anders*' [that was then. we do that differently]; '*ja mei so machen's halt die Mama und der Papa*' [oh well that's how Mama and Papa do it]. With the exception of one mother, male and female G2 participants were working fulltime when data was collected. One partner was a stay-at-home mother since their twins were born, and another partner worked part-time. Such arrangements impact child contact times, which are important when considering language transference, for example. This is considered separately below.

### People involved in childrearing

Consequences of immigration included G2 nurturing their children in a social environment that differed from the social environment of G1 and G2's own childhood experiences. Giving birth in New Zealand meant social and institutional inclusion into the New Zealand society for their children from birth. Plunket,[1] an organization looking after children from birth to age five, is one example of integration assistance. For the woman who had found it difficult to create her own

[1]See http://www.plunket.org.nz.

social network when she arrived in New Zealand at the age of 12, coffee groups organized by Plunket helped her find friends among other mothers. The reduced income during maternity leave resulted in most mothers returning to work six months after giving birth. The dispensing optician returned to paid work even earlier, although for different reasons as she was employed by her parents and shared childcare and business tasks with her mother. Others sent their children to daycare from the age of six months so the mothers could return to paid work. Different from her sister but like their mother, one G2 participant stayed at home with her children, working at first from home and giving up paid employment with her fourth child. All couples sent their 3–5-year olds to kindergarten. As this German loanword indicates, kindergarten originated in German-speaking Europe. This overlap of cultures and the resulting familiarity with New Zealand pre-school options could be seen as a positive consequence of migration.

Two couples sent their children to private schools, which can be seen as consequence of their immigration. That is, they had moved to the same area, knew and could confer with each other about these choices for their children. Rather than on religious considerations, their choices of a private Christian school were based on judgments of hearsay education quality and social class as they considered education there superior to state schools. Once they had made the choice to send their children to the same private primary school, they were conditioned to continue with private high schools, even though the children went on to different private high schools. This was made possible because there were several private schools in the vicinity where they lived. This is different to Austria and Germany, where private schools are marginal phenomena. What strikes me as a typical (English) New Zealand attitude that seems especially evident in Christchurch is that the school one goes to is important and leads to 'old boys' networks. Sending children to private schools can therefore be considered deliberate assimilation into a specific section of New Zealand middle class.

G1 participants were involved with G2 participants' children, which could suggest continuation of original cultural practices across the generations. One G1 couple was most involved as they lived under one roof and cared for their daughter's children every day while she worked. Others had their grandchildren at many occasions stay for the day and over night. For example, they would pick up children from school and ferry them to leisure activities but this became less frequent with the children's increasing age and independence. Or they were called upon to care for the grandchildren one day a week or when the children became sick. Occasional observations over approximately two years showed that certain cultural practices were passed on whereas other practices might have been too similar to distinguish. One small yet visible example of an original cultural practice being passed on by one grandmother, for instance, was the European 'continental' method of knitting, which differs from the English knitting practice common in New Zealand.[2]

[2]See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Iu_6gxt7t0 for differences between continental and English methods.

When looking at the cycle indicating all the people involved in the complex action of rearing children (Fig. 6.4), different perspectives do not come as a surprise. For example, some G1 participants did not agree with childrearing practices leading to G3 behavior. Subjective perceptions of cross-cultural differences might have deepened intergenerational disagreements ('*ganz wie der Vater immer bloss am Computer. Typisch Kiwi*' [just like the father always only at the computer. Typically Kiwi]. This points to the complexities and tensions involved when grandparents are contributing to childcare, especially when the parents are divorced: '*beim* daddy *da dürfen's das natürlich*' [they are allowed to do that at daddy's of course]. Despite the generalizing national attribution of behavior, which indicates G1 otherness positioning, these different perspectives can be seen as generational rather than intercultural. Nevertheless, subjective perceptions of cultural differences arguably are consequences of immigration. Objectively, changes in G2 language usage were the most clearly obvious consequence of migration.

## 6.3 Language—G2

Scollon (1998, 1999) categorizes the relationships between language, people, objects and space as mediated discourse; and social interaction in the sense of discourse as co-constructed language use is a core focus of NA. Language use informs not only about a linguistic community of practice and the actors' social belonging and identification, but also about society's expectations. Immigration from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand involves moving from one linguistic community of practice into another. Therefore, language use predictably stood out as a major theme in G2 participants' narrative accounts as well as in observations.

### *6.3.1 G2—German and English Language—Settlement*

For the overseas-born G2 participants, language use and language attitudes as consequences of their immigration evolved from their family background and their language skills acquired before arrival, from their settlement and education experiences, and from their professional and social involvement in New Zealand society. The G2 participants in the main study had German-speaking parents and during settlement, the home language of the dependent G2 remained German. Survey responses differed, reflecting the family and societal environment of G2's childhood. That is, for 42 of the G2 survey respondents born overseas (55 responses), German was home language during childhood; for three it was English; seven had English and German; and three had another language as their childhood home language.

English is a compulsory school subject in Austrian and German[3] schools, starting from age 9–10. Therefore, at the time of their immigration to New Zealand, all but the youngest G2 participants in the qualitative part of the study were bilingual in German and English, even though their skill levels depended on their ages and attitudes to English, and perhaps on their agency and resulting attitudes to migration. Some were multilingual by choice (female aged 21: German, English, Arabic) or through the circumstances of their living environments (female aged 12: German, English, French). The exception was the 5-year old, whose English production was limited to some words although she understood simple exchanges. The G2 participants aged 16 and over at immigration had extended compulsory and in the 21-year-old woman's case further optional English language training (translation and interpreting studies) prior to immigration. They reported no language problems in their new English-speaking environment.

As a consequence of immigration, however, language became a problem for the younger G2 participants in several respects. As noted above, their German language functioned as a marker of exclusion leading to discrimination during settlement. Also, their English skills and attitudes at arrival varied and in the first years they had to work hard to adapt to English as the only language of instruction. The two Austrian siblings (aged 13 and 14 years) had 'hated' English as a subject in Austria resulting in bad grades. Such attitude and skill levels in combination with being forced into an English linguistic community probably did not help their adaptation to English as language of instruction. Their failure to express themselves satisfactorily in English kept impeding their schoolwork: '*Ich konnte mich zwar vorstellen wie ich heisse und so aber wie sollte ich DAS denn schreiben?*' [I could introduce myself say my name and so but how should I write THAT?]. The frustration was still evident in the tone of voice when narrating this experience with English composition for school.

Interestingly, only in New Zealand was the 12-year-old girl made aware of monolingualism and the outsider position this put her in: '*das war das ERSTE Mal dass mir bewusst wurde dass alle NUR englisch sprechen*' [that was the FIRST time that I realized that everyone ONLY speaks English]. One could consider this consequence of migration her realization of a more narrow world perspective. She found understanding teachers and academic texts '*anfangs UNHEIMLICH schwer. ich musst ANDAUERND im Wörterbuch nachschaun*' [INCREDIBLY difficult at first. I ALWAYS had to check in the dictionary] even though English had been a normal part of her life in the multilingual communities she had lived in for 12 years. The 14-year-old girl was able to rely for interpretation on the 12-year-old girl, who had already been in New Zealand for two years, so she could at least understand what was required of her in school. The youngest, who entered school almost immediately after arriving in New Zealand aged 5 years, could not recall

[3]This applies to the former Federal Republic of Germany and to today's united Germany, whereas Russian was compulsory in the former German Democratic Republic.

language problems but her sister and mother reported that they were called on to assist in stressful situations of communication breakdown.

**New Zealand-born**

In contrast to the overseas-born G2, for whom German was the home language, English was by far the more prevalent childhood home language for the New Zealand-born. That is, of the 29 responses, only 5 reported German as their childhood home language; 5 had English and German; but 19 reported English as their only childhood home language. The radical shift of family language during childhood between G2 immigrants and New Zealand-born G2 can partially be explained by having parents from different cultures and parental language input and attitudes to bilingualism: 'my father never taught me German'.

### *6.3.2 G2—Language Attitudes, Use, and Identifications Over Time*

Almost three decades after immigration, G2 participants in the main study had completely assimilated into the English-speaking environment. German was not considered as important in New Zealand and, based on settlement experiences with their German language marking them as outsiders and drawing discrimination, even considered undesirable by those with such unpleasant memories: "only my close friends know that I'm German." Yet, all voiced a positive attitude to English and all but the man who immigrated as a 13-year old reported feeling fully comfortable and competent speaking English with anyone in any situation. This participant said that even though he felt confident when speaking English with people close to him, after more than 25 years he still felt too self-conscious to *fully* contribute his views in conversations. He felt that it still took him too much time to think about what people were actually saying and these problems escalated when he felt tired. The participant's self-concept differed from his language performance observed in various interactions and at different occasions including late-night sessions, which did not yield evidence of hesitations or lack of contributions to conversations.

More or less strong accents were evident in G2 English speech. Austrian accents were prominent in the pronunciation of the four older Austrians, who had immigrated between the ages of 14 and 28 years. One woman linked her strong Austrian accent to not having a musical ear, but she was not concerned about it. Her brother (13 at immigration), on the other hand, displayed only the slightest hint of English not being his first language. That is, over several hours, I noticed only twice that he confused the sounds of "th"/θ/with "z"/z/. Other than that, he sounded like an educated Aucklander (cf. Hay et al. 2008), which proved that his increased effort ('I tried really hard') to acquire the local accent was successful. The youngest woman's accent was not discernible from an educated Aucklander's English, but her elder sister spoke 'BBC English' (Roach 2004) like her English partner of 18 years. In sum, I observed accents remaining at various degrees in those who had

immigrated at the age of 14 years and older. Yet, the G2 participants who immigrated aged 13 and under did not display or minimally display accents that pointed to their regions of origin.

G2 participants in the main study all grew up with German as home language and they kept communicating with their parents in German. Yet, by the time of this study, English had become the most used language of daily life for all G2 participants both in- and outside their own homes.

There were consequences of immigration for G2's German language, especially for those who had immigrated at a young age. One was uneasiness about language competence. German language weaknesses were the youngest woman's reason for avoidance of identification as German: '*weil wenn ich sag ich bin deutsch und red mit Deutschen und mach Fehler das ist so* embarrassing' [because if I say I'm German and speak with Germans and make mistakes that is so embarrassing]. G2 participants who were under 16 at the time of immigration also commented about their lack of German language development since that age (e.g., '*ich hab ja mein Deutsch nicht mehr weiter entwickelt*' [I haven't developed my German any further]; 'I missed a whole section of language between 13 and now'; '*mir fehlen die Wörter*' [I lack the words]). This stance seemed justified by indicators that English had become the stronger language. One is the lack of key terms as indicated in codeswitching (embarrassing) when it could not be replaced with a German term when asked. The other is grammatical, for instance, the use of the adjective '*deutsch*' instead of the noun '*Deutsche*' (noun, female form) above. Weaknesses included indications of predominant English thought processes. Examples were literal but inappropriate German translations while using the correct German syllable order as in '*einschlafen*' [which means fall asleep] for the intended meaning '*ausschlafen*' [sleep in]: '*können wir das ein anderes Mal machen weil ich mal einschlafen möcht*' [can we do this another time because for once I'd like to sleep in]. The youngest man's German, on the other hand, flowed effortlessly in casual conversation. It rarely was interspersed with English terms. He came across as a native German and as a native-like English speaker. Yet, feeling that he had not fully developed his German and feeling deficient as a member of an English-speaking group left him in a psychological quandary.

G2 reports and observation during the course of this study demonstrate that English had become G2's dominant language. They read German only occasionally and rarely wrote German (only in mail/email to parents, or to family in Europe). Figure 6.5 illustrates their use of oral English and German as observed during this study.

G2 learned very adaptive ways of language processing as a consequence of early bilingualism and of migration. These acquired communication flexibility processes relate to complex neurolinguistic joint activations of the two languages for bilinguals (Bialystok 2011) that appeared to diminish for some over the decades in New Zealand. For example, G2 reported speaking German without codeswitching ('*jedenfalls probier ich's*' [at least I try it]) with monolingual German-speaking visitors; and observation during such occasions showed searching for German terms (e.g., '*wie sagt man das gleich wieder auf deutsch*?' [how does one say that again in

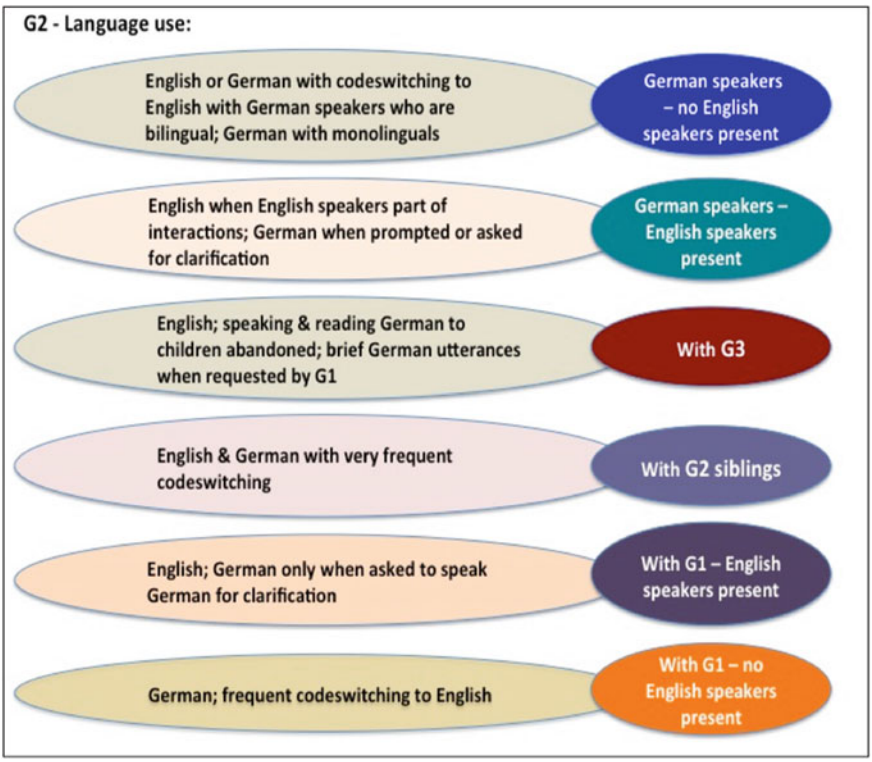


**Fig. 6.5** Observed language use—G2

German?]). When speaking with G1, G2 participants would speak German but frequently insert English key words (e.g., '*sollen's ihre* scooters *mitbringen?*' [should they bring their scooters?], '*und dann hast du keine* uniformity. *Weisst wie's ausschaut in den* stores' [and then you have no uniformity. You know what it looks like in the stores]; '*aber es war auch nicht mehr* priority' [but it no longer was a priority], '*dass wir* messages *und so schreiben*' [that we write messages and so]) or modify English words with German suffixes ('*hast du's schon* geordert*?*' [have you ordered it yet?]. Here, the English verb 'order' replaces the German 'bestellt', but is completed with the common German past participle affixes *ge-* and *-t* (as in *ge*tön*t* from *tönen* [color hair with semi-permanent dye]).

While speaking principally German with G1, all G2 participants in the main study would use English frequently with their siblings ('*wenn ich die text dann nur in englisch*' [when I text them then only in English]). Like the adjective '*gestresst*' in point 7 of the extract below, '*text*' as a verb has become common in German (base form: *texten*). One could argue that G2's habit of speaking English with their siblings and their frequent mixing of languages dissolved the boundaries between their languages as in the extract from the German sisters' interactions (Sarah and

Connie), during which their mother (M) phones and Connie's husband (H) enter the room:

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Connie (to Sarah) | do we have to get Coke? they [the kids] won't sleep |
| (2) Sarah (to Connie) | no we can choose what to get |
| (3) Connie | so can we get Sprite? that's just sugar (laughs) |
| (4) H(phone rings) | is that your mother's phone? |
| (5) Sarah (to H) | *ich glaub schon ich weiss nich. wo issn das Telefon*? [I think so I don't know. where's the phone?] |
| (6) Sarah (answers phone) | hello? *oh hallo.. ja.. wir sin grad beim Pizza ordern.. ja aber es hat n bisschen lang gedauert* [hello? oh hello.. yes.. we're just ordering pizza.. yes but it took a little long] |
| (7) Sarah (speaking on the phone to M) | ne ich mein des facial hat n bisschen lang gedauert ja. ne es war gut aber es die Frau war alleine und war n bisschen gestresst.. ja ja aber es war ok<br>[(to M on the phone) no I mean the facial took a bit long yes. no it was good but the woman was alone and was a bit stressed.. yes yes but it was ok] |
| (8) Connie | *krieg ein garlic* [get a garlic] |
| (9) Sarah (to M) | *mh ja. ach ne ganz gut. hat Spass gemacht. war sehr* relaxing *bis auf den* aftershock gell?<br>(laughs) [mh yes. no quite good. was fun. was very relaxing except for the aftershock wasn't it?] |
| (10) Connie (to Sarah) | *des war eigentlich sehr ruhig* (laughs) [actually that was very quiet] |
| (11) Sarah (to M) | *aber es war sehr ruhig. war nur ein kleiner Roller* (laughs)<br>[but it was very quiet. was only a small roller] |

In utterances 1–3 of this extract, the sisters speak English with each other as they consider what takeaway food to order for their families. Then, in 5, Sarah answers H in German. H understands but does not speak German. Perhaps Sarah's switch from English to German was triggered by the distinctive ring tone of her mother's phone call or by H mentioning her mother, who Sarah tends to speak German with. When asked, she could not determine the reason for her codeswitching. On the phone, Sarah first answers with English 'hello' followed by German '*hallo*' when

realizing she is talking to her mother. She then speaks German interspersed with English key terms that are either modified with a German ending (underlined in 6 above), or are left unchanged (underlined in 7, 9 and 11). In 11, her pronunciation of '*Roller*' is German/rɔlə/, not English/rolə/. This German term, however, generally translates as 'scooter' or—much less common—'rolling breaker'. Though Sarah said she used the English term, the German term could be used for a rolling earth tremor although then '*ein Rollen*' would be more likely. In utterances 10 and 11, a certain 'infectiousness' of terms is indicated as Sarah repeats '*ruhig*' used by Connie while in German one would probably rather use '*schwach*' or '*klein*' [slight or small] instead of '*ruhig*' [quiet] to describe the weak aftershock. Connie also mixes languages (underlined in 8). Speaking English with each other and using English key terms in German indicate that English had become the sisters' dominant language, with German terms that were not always optimal.

**G2—Reported language skills**

Survey respondents were asked to report on their German language skills. There was a considerable difference between the skills reported by the G2 respondents born overseas (37 responses to the question) and those born in New Zealand (19 responses). Twenty-two (69.46%) of the overseas-born reported excellent German skills but only five (26.32%) of the New Zealand-born. Enough German for everyday conversations was reported by twelve (32.43%) of those born overseas and by ten (52.63%) of the New Zealand-born. Three of the overseas-born (8.11%) and three of the New Zealand-born (15.79%) indicated that their German was "not that good" and one (5.26%) in the latter group reported 'some German words only'. Multicultural families could explain the decline of excellent German language skills from the immigrant G2 cohort to those born in New Zealand by the concurrent percentage rise of German assessed as 'enough for everyday conversation'. It appears that learning German required other means than immediate family for these New Zealand-born G2 respondents ('I participated in a student exchange to Switzerland when I was 16 and learnt it then'; 'went to school in Germany for 18 months'). The G2 immigrants and New Zealand-born responding to the survey were very confident about their English skills. With only two exceptions in the former group and one in the latter, they all reported excellent English skills. That is, all G2 participants in both the main study and in the survey reported English as their strongest language. Many indicated that they spoke languages other than German and English[4] (Table 6.2).

These other languages may reflect school learning, or suggest regions of origin or previous migration. In comparison with Table 6.1, the languages also suggest a willingness to learn the other language(s) in multicultural families.

[4]Some listed Alsatian, Austrian, Luxembourgish, Swiss German or "dialect" as languages whereas others did not, so I included them in German. I did this probably also because having grown up in a Aleman/Swabian dialect region in Bavaria I understand their peculiarities as German dialects rather than different languages.

**Table 6.2** Survey—multilinguals' other languages

| Reported languages other than German and English | Number of responses | Reported multilingualism: languages other than German and English | Number of responses |
|---|---|---|---|
| Afrikaans | 2 | Japanese | 6 |
| Arabic | 2 | Latin | 4 |
| Dutch | 7 | Māori | 4 |
| Farsi | 1 | New Zealand Sign Language | 1 |
| Finnish | 1 | Polish | 3 |
| French | 64 | Portuguese | 2 |
| Hebrew | 1 | Russian | 8 |
| Hindi | 1 | Serbo-Croatian | 2 |
| Hungarian | 1 | Spanish | 33 |
| Italian | 12 | Swedish | 3 |

### G2—Language use in their family home

One consequence of migration for G2 was that German language transmission to G3 was generally abandoned. G2 had spoken only English with their partners and continued to do so when the children were born. This time together before G2 had children, with English as the couples' only language, played a significant role in the awkwardness that G2 felt in speaking German with their children: '*ch hab's versucht aber es war irgendwie wie schizophren mit den Kindern eine Sprache und mit meinem Mann eine andere*' [I've tried but it was somehow like schizophrenic one language with the children and another with my husband]); '*irgendwie komm ich mir auch blöd vor und mit deutsch da must ein Disziplinregime haben*' [somehow I also feel stupid and with German you must have a discipline regime]). This points to management and consistency problems and the effort involved in maintaining bilingualism for the children in intercultural relationships in which one partner was a monolingual English speaker. The Austrian man, who had moved to Australia and was married to a G2 German/Indian who had very good German skills but spoke only English to the children, reported consistency with a one-parent, one-language policy. Although I observed this policy in action in Skype interactions between the generations, I could not confirm long-term consistency through observation.

Institutional environments in society also played a role in G2 family language choice. That is, when the oldest children went to kindergarten and answered in English, the mothers gave up speaking German to them. German children's books were still on bookshelves in some G1 and G2 households, but since the younger children asked to have them read in English instead of German, the books 'really just gather dust'.

## 6.4 Summary—G2 Stories

Generally, the G2 participants who were brought to New Zealand by their parents resented the move and had no or very little agency in the migration decisions. The younger G2 participants had to overcome challenges of settlement such as their German language functioning as outsider marker and English immersion schooling being a problem. G2's New Zealand *Heimat* creation foremost meant cultural assimilation into the mainstream of the receiving society. The G2 participants in the main study were highly educated, yet economic realities proved difficult at times for some despite their high education levels and therefore some did not exclude future migration. For the G2 participants who settled successfully, their social and institutional environments including their intercultural marriages played a major role in their assimilation to the New Zealand mainstream. Because they experienced discrimination related to their German language background, they did not value German language highly. This led to rapid assimilation into the Anglophone mainstream. As part of this acculturative shift, English became G2's dominant language and for most was the only language they used in their own homes, which impacted on their children. In the next chapter, I explain the consequences of their families' migration on G3.

# Chapter 7
# G3—The Lifestyle Migrants' Grandchildren

This chapter tells the stories of the third familial generation in the main study, that is, the immigrants' grandchildren. The chapter maps the semiotic ecosystem of their *Heimat* creation. As a consequence of immigration and their parents' resultant social networks and intercultural marriages, G3 members were born into cultural domains different from those of their elders' childhoods. Here, domains refer to institutional spheres, such as family, home, school, and neighborhood (Clyne 2003). A corollary of the social-action principle in MDS is that social actors claim identities in interactions by positioning themselves in relation to others. This generation's positioning in relation to their grandparents and parents is an especially poignant consequence of immigration. That is, the grandchildren were aware of their German or Austrian heritage, but did not see this as part of their own identity as shown in the following.

## 7.1 Historical Bodies

The most prominent nexus during observations was that English had become the dominant or only home language for G3 participants. Home language refers to the language that parents and/or caregivers speak with the children from birth. Growing up with the same language as those in the mainstream of the society they were born into positioned G3 participants as insiders. And those who were old enough in the main study to be able to position themselves in relation to others identified as New Zealanders[1] (Fig. 7.1).

[1]During the time of data collection, the three Australian G3 participants appeared too young to demonstrate understanding.



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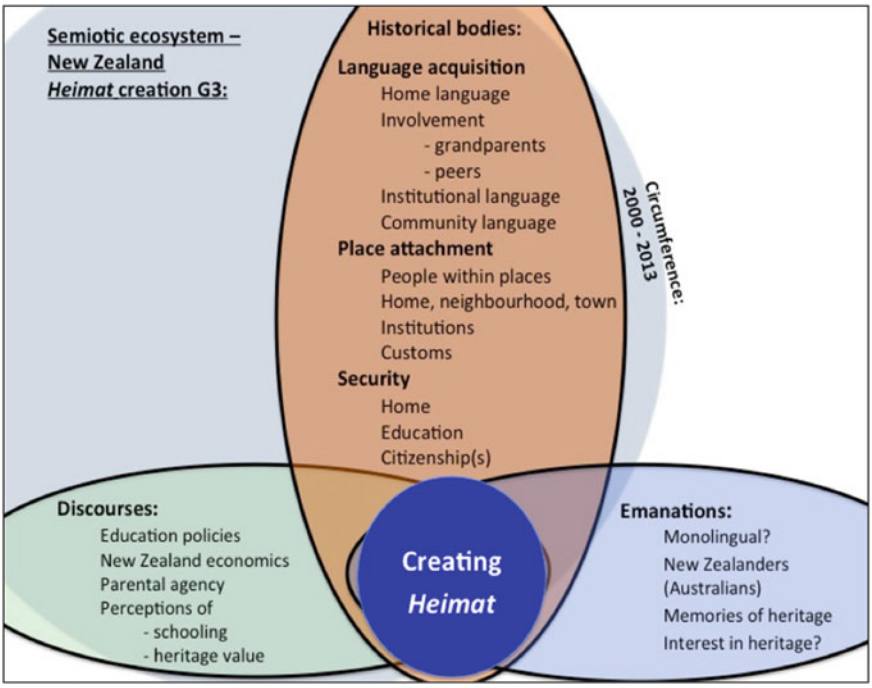


**Fig. 7.1** Mapping G3's semiotic ecosystem of New Zealand *Heimat* creation

### *7.1.1 Language—Learning and Usage*

Language is central in children's social lives, with acquisition resulting from social interactions, which convey conventions, attitudes, and worldviews. These cultural fundamentals involved in the nexus of language learning and usage indicate the importance of G3 participants' ages, life stages, and social domains in analyzing language in their *Heimat* creation. G3 participants in the main study had not experienced living in a German-speaking society and with few exceptions they had not visited German-speaking Europe. As outlined in Table 7.1, during the four-year course of this study four G3 participants were born and four started talking. The three youngest G3 members stayed at home with their mothers, who spoke English with them. The other children were in daycare and kindergarten (Ryan, fulltime from 6 months; Leon, Tristan, Tina, all part-time) and school (Monday–Friday, 9 am–3 pm). Ages given with examples refer to the child's age when the particular observations took place. Names are fictitious.

**Table 7.1** G3 life stages during this study

| G2 parent (Family A, B, C) | G3 born during this study | G3 started talking during study | G3 daycare or kindergarten | G3 primary school | G3 started intermediate/high school | G3 (approx. age at end of data collection) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lisa (A) | | | | | Christian Maya | Christian (~ 15)<br>Maya (12) |
| Matthias (A) | Harry | Harry | Leon<br>Tristan | | | Leon (4)<br>Tristan (3)<br>Harry (2) |
| Heinz (B) | | | | Alfons<br>Konrad | | Alfons (6)<br>Konrad (6) |
| Anna (B) | | | | | Andreas Natalie | Andreas (15)<br>Natalie (11) |
| Robert (B) | Thomas<br>Georg | Thomas | | Angela | | Angela (5)<br>Thomas (2)<br>Georg (2) |
| Sarah (C) | | Tina | Tina | Julian<br>Ben | Felix | Felix (11)<br>Julian (9)<br>Ben (7)<br>Tina (4½) |
| Connie (C) | Ryan | Ryan | Ryan | David<br>Bella | | David (8)<br>Bella (6)<br>Ryan (2½) |

### *7.1.2 G3—Language and Interaction Domains*

For G3 participants, English was the medium of communication in daycare, kindergarten, and school, although Māori language and cultural performances are also included in New Zealand school curricula. Two G3 participants had started learning German as a school subject at high school (Christian, 14,[2] correspondence course) and in private primary school (Angela, 5). By completion of my data collection, Christian had just received his first lesson. English was the medium of communication in the children's after-school activities such as sports or music. Privately organized German playgroups were not utilized due to parents' work commitments and distances from home, lack of interest, or G3 resistance: 'I am not going back there. It is like school but I do not even understand what they were saying' (David, 7). In contrast to his mother who had no choice but to cope with English immersion schooling at age five and had no negative memories of it, David got his way and did not go back. English was the language of communication in the neighborhoods in which G2 and G3 lived, although other German-speaking immigrants lived in close proximity to Connie's family, for instance. I observed G3 participants speaking only English with playmates and peers including with peers who were bilingual in English and German (Fig. 7.2).

[2]The numbers indicate participants' age at the time of the relevant recordings/observations.

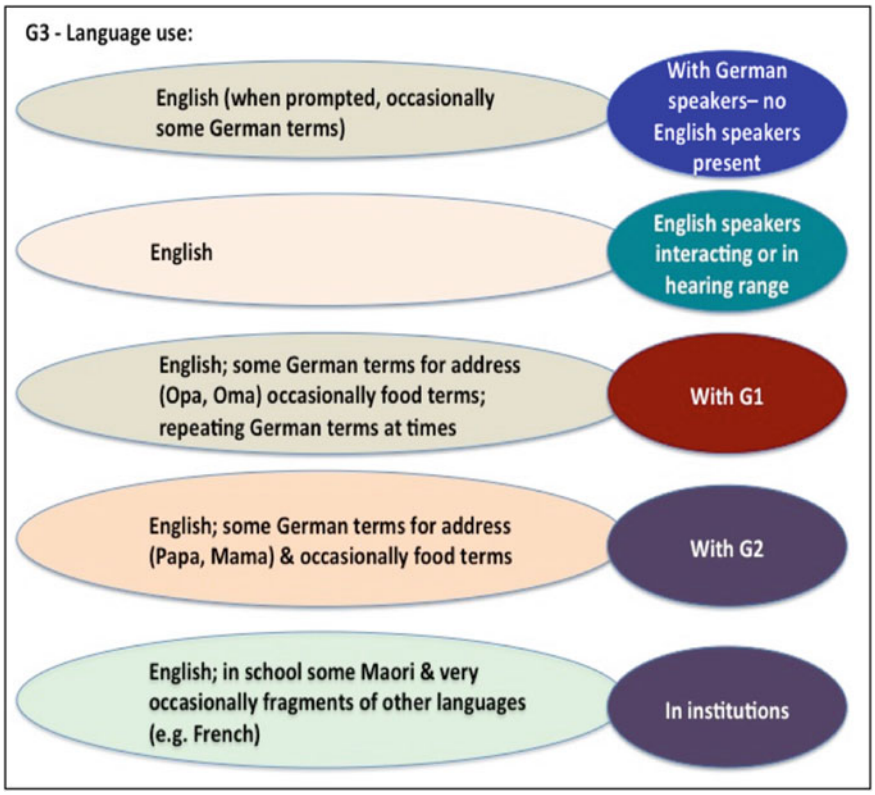


**Fig. 7.2** G3—observed language production

With the exception of food items, address terms, and certain cultural aspects passed on by their elders, G3 participants were fully immersed in a New Zealand cultural environment. One consequence of G1 immigration was G3's ongoing interaction with G1 participants, who made some efforts to teach German to G3. G2 made more ambivalent and fleeting efforts to teach German to G3 to keep them connected to their heritage.

During several observations spanning several years, there was no unprompted G3 German language production apart from addressing parents and grandparents, key food terms, and occasional song fragments ('*oh Tannenbaum oh Tannenbaum*' [oh Christmas tree] David, 6½ and 8). This song in particular demonstrated a change from German cultural tools to—in this case—American cultural tools over the 2½ years. That is, in the earlier observation, David sang parts of this Christmas song in German with the help of a CD ('*oh Tannenbaum oh Tannenbaum wie grün sind deine Blätter*' [oh Christmas tree how green are your leaves][3]). The song

[3]https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bPvONIP9_io.

carries a message of dependability and loyalty. In the later observation it became the 'Snoopy versus the Red Baron' song.[4] The Snoopy song on another CD was preceded by sounds of exploding bombs and included the message that WWI fighting was stopped for Christmas. It was proudly performed for the researcher including the explosion sounds. It did not seem that at the age of eight the message of war between his ancestors (of which he had heard) affected the boy's excitement about and performance of explosion sounds and dance rhythms to the song. Although there were exceptions (Christian's recital of numbers, below), G3's sound representation of German terms was that of native speakers, including their (grand) parents' dialect peculiarities. For example:

> I love Apfelstrudl [apple strudel] actually all Kuchn [cakes] and I like Fritatnsuppe [pancake soup: thinly cut pancake in clear broth] and Schnitzel and Frankfurter (Andreas, 13½)
>
> Oma could I have a Butterbrezn [buttered pretzel] (Maya, 9)
>
> Mama can we have Käsespätzle [cheese spaetzle/noodles] for dinner please? (Felix, 11).

Apart from yielding platitudes such as, '*Oma* always says *Hände waschen nicht vergessen*' [don't forget washing hands] (Maya, 10) and 'she also says, *Butterbrot macht Wangen rot*' [literally: buttered bread makes cheeks red; i.e., it is wholesome and healthy] (Christian, 13), my attempts of eliciting German were unsuccessful: 'I understand but I don't like speaking it' (Andreas, 13½). This might reflect that children do not want to be different from their peers. And, 'when *Opa* and *Oma* talk in German I understand a bit. but I can't express myself in German' (Christian, 14). Other G3 children also understood as 2-year-old Harry signals with his English response:

Grandmother: *hast du gut geschlafen?* [did you sleep well?]
Harry: yes

Some German language production emerged as younger children reproduced terms they heard. Here is an interaction between Bella (5), Ryan (2) and their grandmother at the zoo. Child interlanguage sounds representing words/expressions are in phonetic symbols:

1. Grandmother: *wartet auf Oma*
   [wait for nana] (both children stop and wait)
2. *guckt mal da ist die Giraffe. guck* Ryan*! die Giraffe*
   [look there's the giraffe. look Ryan! the giraffe]
3. Bella: *guck* Ryan! *die Giraffe* [look Ryan! the giraffe]
4. Ryan: /rafə/oh/i:/*Oma* (excitedly pointing)
5. Grandmother: *ja. schau die blaue Zunge an. wie lang die is. guck Ryan eine lange blaue Zunge*
   [look at the blue tongue. how long it is. look Ryan a long blue tongue]

[4] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sh-J4GSPgAM. Red Baron = Manfred von Richthofen, WWI German imperial fighter pilot (see http://history1900s.about.com/od/1910s/a/redbaron.htm).

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. Bella: | *guck* Ryan *lange blaue Zunge*<br>[look Ryan long blue tongue] |
| 7. Grandmother: | *was macht denn die Giraffe da?*<br>[what is the giraffe doing there?] |
| 8. Bella: | she's eating leaves |
| 9. Ryan: | *Oma/*ʁɑfə/! eat dinner! bottle sit eat dinner (searching for his water bottle; then climbing into his pram) |
| 10. Grandmother: | OK *magst a Sandwich*?<br>[would you like a sandwich?] |
| 11. Ryan: | sandwich pease ('l' in please not articulated; nodding, stretching out his hand to take his sandwich) |
| 12. Bella: | me too please |
| 13. Grandmother: | (to Bella) *setzen wir uns da vorn hin* [let's sit there at the front] |
| 14. Bella: | OK (walking ahead toward tables and chairs) |

Here, the grandmother's call (line 1) achieved the desired result as the children stopped and waited for her, so it can be assumed that they understood at least the combination of words and tone of voice in relation to the increasing distance from their grandmother. In utterance 3, Bella slowly and carefully repeats the German utterance, addressing her brother. Arguably, the fairly similar sounds in *guck* and look, *Giraffe* and giraffe in combination with the grandmother's pointing gesture and the presence of the animal helped comprehension and production. In comparison, the utterance in line 6 was more difficult, showing Bella's ability and willingness to acquire German, as did Ryan's utterance 4, which repeated part of the word/girafə/in combination of excitement sounds (oh/i:/) and gesture. In answering, Bella showed that she understood the German utterance (lines 8 and 14). Although the grandmother reported looking after Bella and Ryan one day a week and both children occasionally parroted some German words immediately after hearing them, they did not reproduce German terms spontaneously during other observations with few exceptions, for example:

| | |
|---|---|
| Grandmother: | (to Ryan, 2½, eating) *gell das ist lecker*<br>[that's delicious isn't it] |
| Ryan: | *ja* [yes] (nodding and licking his fingers) |
| Ryan's father: | yes |
| Ryan: | yes |

Ryan's father confirmed my assumption that he corrected the boy because he wanted him to use yes instead of yeah. This indicates a confusing language situation and might also point to differences in opinion about monolingual or bilingual upbringing. Ryan's readiness to learn from his father's modeling also shows the importance of continuing language input at this early age.

My observations and these G2 and G1 comments indicate that with progressing G3 ages, English displaced German language input as well as the occasional German G3 language production:

so viel wie die Mama denkt verstehen's net [they don't understand as much as mum thinks] (Lisa)
i red' englisch mit eane weil's mi ja sonst net verstehn [I speak English with them because otherwise they don't understand me] (Matthias)
da hat sich der David umdreht und hat gelacht und sagt 'I have no idea what you just said'. mei. dann red' ich halt englisch [then David turned around and laughed and says 'I have no idea … said'. well. then I simply speak English] (grandmother)
antworten tun's allweil in englisch [they always answer in English] (Andreas' grandfather)

These conversations indicate the different roles of G1 and G2 in the change of languages. G1 expressed resignation in the light of G3's change to being monolingual English speakers despite the German language input they offered. In contrast, Anna reported that her children understood German well, offering the evidence of Andreas laughing about a joke made in German. The next extract exemplifies that Andreas (at age 14) understood indeed. It also confirms his grandfather's comment (above) about G3 answering in English and seems to underpin Andreas' earlier comment about his language preferences:

| | |
|---|---|
| Researcher: | (to Andreas and Christian sitting side-by-side with a laptop each) *was spielt ihr denn da*? [what are you playing there?] |
| Andreas: | it is called Minecraft |
| Researcher: | *spielt ihr miteinander oder gegeneinander*? [do you play with or against one another?] |
| Andreas | with each other because you have to cooperate to complete the task |

Asked by his grandmother to demonstrate his German language skills to the researcher, Christian recited numbers he had just learned in his German course. His pronunciation was that of an English speaker learning German (e.g., *zwei*/tsvai/ [two] pronounced as/zwai/). The following excerpt reflects attempts to elicit natural German from G3. The next excerpt is from a conversation at the dinner table in the home of G1, where the grandchildren stayed for some days.

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Researcher: | (Maya sits at the table with her head in her hands) hast du Kopfweh Maya? [do you have a headache?] |
| (2) Maya: | what? |
| (3) Researcher: | d'you have a headache? |
| (4) Maya: | no I'm tired … |
| (5) Grandmother: | und heute? was hast heute gemacht? [and today? what did you do today?] |
| (6) Maya: | I went to the stables |
| (7) Researcher: | und bist auch geritten? [and did you (go for a) ride too?] |
| (8) Maya: | pardon? |
| (9) Researcher: | warst auch reiten? [did you go for a ride too?] |
| (10) Maya: | yes |
| (11) Grandmother: | was hast du gemacht Christian? [what did you do?] |

(12) Christian: long-boarding and basketball training
(13) Researcher: long-boarding? was ist denn das?
[what's that?]
(14) Christian: it is like a long board with wheels and stuff and you go down steep hills on it
(15) Grandmother: grünen Salat? Maya?
[green salad]
(16) Maya: nein danke
[no thank you] …
(17) Grandmother: Christian Nachspeise. komm
[Christian. dessert. come]
(18) Christian: what?
(19) Grandmother: na komm her es gibt Nachspeise
[do come here there's dessert]
(20) Christian: oh I didn't realize. danke
[thanks]
(21) Researcher: und Sahne?
[and cream?]
(22) Maya: ja bitte
[yes please]
(23) Christian: nein danke
[no thanks]
(24) Grandmother: (she suffers some hearing loss) magst auch Creme Christian?
[would you also like cream?]
(25) Christian: nein danke
[no thanks]
(26) Grandmother: (about one extra portion of pudding) tut's euch teilen. ihr könnt es aufteilen
[do share it. you can share it]
(27) Maya: mhm (proceeds to carefully divide the chocolate pud ding into two portions)

Line 3 shows that like other interlocuters I switched language as soon as Maya signaled lack of understanding rather than persisting by rephrasing my German question. There were a number of cues other than language (e.g., food on the table and offered to G3) to help understanding (lines 15; 19; 21; 24, and 26) demonstrated by responses (lines 16; 20; 22; 23; 25 and 27). Nevertheless, other familiar phrases were also understood (lines 5; 11 and 13). On the other hand, Maya indicated not understanding key words such as *Kopfweh* [headache] and *geritten* (past participle of *reiten* [ride]) (lines 2 and 8) which she had perhaps heard less frequently as she had taken up riding just some months prior, for example. When the base form *reiten* was used in rephrasing the question (line 9), Maya understood. This probably was due to the similar pronunciation of *reiten* (/rɑɪtn/) and *riding* (/rɑɪdɪŋ/). Christian and

Maya's German language production was restricted to politeness phrases *ja bitte* [yes please], *danke* [thanks] and *nein danke* [no thanks]. They do not always apply these formulaic expressions correctly:

(1) Grandmother: *Christian es is Zeit heimgehn*
[Christian it's time to go home]
(2) Christian: *nein danke*
[no thank you]

Since Christian had started learning German at school to prepare for his trip to Austria with his G2 mother, I was interested in seeing if his German understanding would improve. When he traveled to Europe, he had had about twenty German lessons. After he returned, he did not reenrol in German class for the subsequent school year. His reasoning was that learning German was not useful for his purpose, i.e., understanding family in Austria, because 'they don't even speak real German in Austria'. His grandparents and his mother speak German with the strong Austrian dialect of that region, so his lack of understanding indicates lack of language input at home. Also, learning standard language through a correspondence course is different from natural interactions and clearly his very basic German skill level did not equip him sufficiently to cope with natural interactions let alone dialect deviations.

**The exception?**

G2 participants reported that their family language with G3 was English. There were two exceptions in family B. Anna lived with her parents and her children. Their family language was a mix of German and English, with Anna speaking German with her parents and English with her children. During several observations, her parents mainly spoke English with their grandchildren even though they claimed mainly speaking German with them. Anna's brother Robert declared he exclusively spoke German with his children whilst his wife spoke English with them, and that he encouraged German friends and their children to speak German with his children. Because Robert and his family lived in Melbourne, I only observed one long face-to-face interaction when they were in New Zealand, as well as some family Skype interactions. Typical language uses were, for example, '*Sag der Oma wie deine Brille gebrochen ist. Was is passiert*?' [tell *Oma* how your glasses broke. what happened?] (Robert). Showing comprehension of the German question as well as her evolving English grammar system, Angela (nearly 4 at the time) responded: 'I felled over from the car on the tiles'.

During another Skype interaction, the 20-months-old twins ate porridge. Answering Robert's repeated, '*Was esst ihr zum Frühstück? Was habt ihr da?*' [what are you eating for breakfast? what have you got there?], which was coordinated with illustrating gestures to their bowls, Thomas eventually uttered/po:wi, approximating the pronunciation of porridge. German terms for porridge (*Haferbrei, Brei* or *Müsli*) differ, suggesting that Thomas understood the combination of gesture and German but answered with an evolving English one-word utterance. By the end of this study, I had not been able to observe if Robert's children consistently received one language input from their father and another

from their mother or if they could produce any German. Because Robert worked fulltime, it can be assumed that their mother's language input dominated, which could relate to the English language production illustrated here. At the end of data collection and as a consequence of migration that shows the wish to continue German as a heritage language, Angela started attending a private bilingual (German and English) school. While beyond the time limits of this study, it would be interesting to see if this will change the patterns of home language.

**Survey—G3 heritage culture and language retention**

A clear cultural shift was evident in third-generation responses to the question of cultural maintenance. Whilst a high percentage of G1 (76%) and G2 (70%) reported maintaining their original culture, the majority of G3 respondents (73%) said that they did not maintain their grandparents' culture. Comments corroborated the findings of the main study that food ('grandma's recipes') was the main cultural component retained across the generations.

Language shift appeared complete in G3 as 100% G3 respondents reported that their home language always had been English. However, some G3 respondents commented: 'English with a tiny smattering of German'; 'English; *täglich ein bisschen deutsch*' [daily a bit of German]; 'grandparents and mother would speak German'. This last comment points to a similar language transfer switch between G2 and G3 as in the main study. One G3 respondent reported, 'My Oma immigrated to New Zealand from Berlin in 1938, as a direct consequence of Kristallnacht'. The retention of the German address *Oma* [grandma] illustrates the descendant's affectionate relationship with her grandmother whilst using the German term *Kristallnacht* [Night of Broken Glass][5] poignantly relates the conflicting relationships between German roots and this wave of violent National Socialist pogroms against Jews. The German key words in this comment were not marked in any way. This suggests that they were fully integrated into the respondent's usual English vocabulary. The switch of family language to English for G3 and the use of some German key words of address and other relevant meanings incorporated into English corroborated findings in the main study.

Survey respondents were asked to assess their German and English language skills since bilinguals' self-assessment of language skills has been found to be fairly accurate (Crezee et al. 1999; Gollan et al. 2012). Figure 7.3 illustrates the reported decline of German language skills across the generations.

The radical shift away from the German language in the New Zealand-born cohorts is clearly evident in Fig. 7.3. For those in G3 interested in the language, German introduced through the family required additional effort: 'grandmother, private tutors, correspondence school and now university'. Other G3 respondents who said they did not speak German seemed to have forgotten what they had

[5]Devastating Nazi rampage against Jews in Germany and Austria; see http://history1900s.about.com/od/holocaust/a/Kristallnacht.htm.

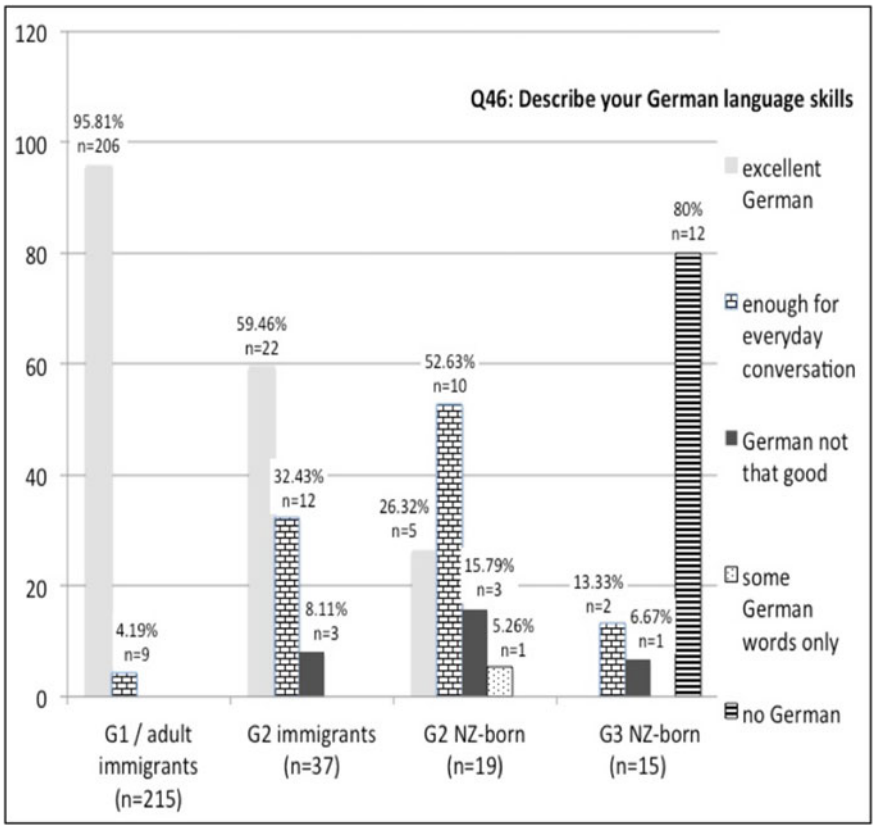


**Fig. 7.3** German language skills reported in the survey

learned ('learnt German at school and university') although not maintaining the language might have been due to other reasons not evident in the survey.

### *7.1.3 Place Attachment*

The second category in the cycle of G3 participants' lived experiences or historical bodies within the semiotic ecosystem of their New Zealand *Heimat* creation was place attachment (see Fig. 7.1). Next, I explore the meanings that G3 participants assigned to their places, procedural manifestations of their attachment, and the physical and social aspects of their places. Again, I draw on Scannell and Gifford's (2010) three dimensions of place attachment, namely the people in a place, the values and meanings they assign to the place; the affective and cognitive processes in relation to the place; and the nature of the place and actions taken there.

**Dimension one: social actors involved, meanings, and values assigned to place**

As a consequence of migration, G3 understood identity somewhat differently from their peers who had no recent immigrants in the family. For G3, the 'who are you and who am I' questions offer multiple possibilities as illustrated in the G3 response below. Here is where G2 identity construction plays a role in supporting G3's place attachment. G3's New Zealand *Heimat* creation started from birth. They never experienced being an outsider in their New Zealand communities. The older children were aware of their grandparents being immigrants but did not categorize their immigrant parent as such, as David's (at age 7½) considerations of identities exemplifies:

| | |
|---|---|
| David (to grandfather): | you're German and *Oma* is German |
| Grandfather: | your *Mama* is too |
| David: | no (laughs) *Mama* isn't German |
| Grandfather: | so what's *Mama*? |
| David: | she's a Kiwi |
| Grandfather: | and you? you're a Kiwi AND you're German |
| David: | no I'm a Kiwi and I'm Māori cause *Papa* is Māori |
| Grandfather: | aha (laughs) |

David's allocation of German identity to his grandparents whilst considering his mother being a New Zealander and assigning himself the Māori category illustrates awareness of his dual heritage and a shift in meanings assigned to places. This shift is typical for G3 participants' expressions of belonging. All children old enough to understand their heritage assigned Austrian or German identity to their grandparents. In contrast, they saw themselves and their parents as New Zealanders. Even though most G3 participants continued to use German address terms, their European roots faded into the background, with New Zealand considered their parents' and their own *Heimat*. This and their accent firmly identified them as mainstream society insiders. David's grandfather commented that the grandchildren's rejection of being part-German was saddening and sometimes even hurtful, yet inevitable. These sentiments were shared by other G1 participants.

**Place attachment dimension two: processes, affect, cognition, and behavior**

Scannell and Gifford's (2010) dimensions of place attachment overlap. For example, David's explicit identity claims (conversation above) not only assign the meanings and values of *Heimat* to New Zealand (dimension one), but also are cognitive processes relating to place (dimension two).

David and his mother Connie expressed explicit understanding of New Zealand bicultural/multicultural forces. David's Kiwi and Māori identity claims mirror common bicultural New Zealand representations. Support for the foregrounding of Māori identity also was evident, for example, in David's soccer registration, in which Connie answered 'Māori' to the ethnicity question (cf. Kukutai 2007). Her argument, 'being German is not useful,' echoes G2 avoidance of German identity declarations and underpins the change to G3 local identity claims. It also illustrates

the use of cultural identity as a cultural tool in interaction when considered advantageous.

New Zealand identities based on British cultural influences were observable in G3 participants' actions and practices in a number of ways. For example, school uniforms are rare in Austria and Germany but compulsory in most New Zealand schools. Although these school identities are enforced, wearing the uniforms also displays and claims New Zealand identities. Also, G3 claimed New Zealand identities in school sports. For example, physical education includes rugby although young children play it as noncontact sport or touch rugby. Cricket is another case in point. Clearly expressing New Zealand rather than Austrian or German identities, all school-age G3 children could explain cricket rules to me and at the age of two, Ryan already knew how to set up the wickets. Demonstrating internalization of New Zealand practices through observational learning, he hit his ball into his plastic wickets with his mini cricket bat, taking his play as seriously as the older children in their teams on the cricket grounds around him. All G3 participants also claimed New Zealand identities in cheering for their local team during international sports competitions. G3 extracurricular activities, such as basketball, playing the drums, guitar and piano, or karate, soccer, and skiing do not claim distinct New Zealand identities in my view, as these are also common activities in German-speaking Europe.

Indeed, continuations of original cultural practices into G3 were exceptions. These included that for special events Anna, Robert and Matthias clothed their children in traditional costumes such as *Dirndl* and *Lederhosen*. Matthias' oldest described Lederhosen as 'cool shorts'. On the other hand, attempts to clothe David and Bella in *Lederhosen* and *Dirndl* for Culture Day at school failed as they opted for New Zealand All Blacks and Māori garments instead.

Education was a priority for G3 and all G2 parents expressed plans for their children to study at university or learn a trade that would secure their professional future. The school children saw going to school as normal as parents going to work although enthusiasm seemed to wax and wane with age ('school is cool' Bella 5½; 'well I would not say that I particularly LIKE school. My math teacher is terrible' Felix, 10½; 'it's a private school and it's good but I don't always like school' Christian, 12; 'it's OK' Andreas, 13) and they preferred certain subjects over others ('I really like math and sciences but I don't like languages that much' Andreas, 13½). Although likes and dislikes seemed reflected in performance through grades and comments received, G3 generally obtained favorable school reports.

**Dimension three: physical and social aspects of place**

For G3, the physical and social place aspects of *Heimat* extended outwards from the spatial and social core of the home they lived in with their parents. As awareness grew of spaces beyond their immediate neighborhood, G3 participants became aware of their extended place connection to New Zealand but only the tweens and teenagers among G3 realized that aspects of *Heimat*, such as citizenship also extended to the countries of origin of their parents and grandparents.

Ryan (2½): (to his grandfather as he leaves his grandparents' home) Opa come. Sleep in my room.

Maya (10): (asking if she could leave for her parents' house next door) Oma can I go home now?

David (7): (to a classmate at the end of a school day) Are you coming to my house?

Whilst invited to share this spatial center, grandparents, and friends were seen as not entirely belonging into this space, but rather into an extension that could be called neighborhood domain. Linking G3's identity expressions evident in conversations as well as school and sport with identity allocations given to parents and grandparents, spatial dimensions of G3's *Heimat* perceptions can be categorized as in Fig. 7.4.

Figure 7.4 indicates that the grandparents' countries of origin were not included in G3's consideration of *Heimat*. Similar to their G2 parents, G3 participants identified as New Zealanders. Their grandparents' countries of origin were given the status of a holiday destination made easy through extended family connections. Christian's mother Lisa talked about taking the children to Austria around Christmas for sentimental reasons ('*Ich möcht schno nochmal noch Österreich mit den Kindern bevor sie zu alt sind mit uns zu fahren weil weisse Weihnachten das ist schon was besonders*' [I'd like to go to Austria again with the children before they are too old to travel with us because white Christmas that's something special]. By the end of data collection Christian was nearly 15 and Lisa had firm plans to travel

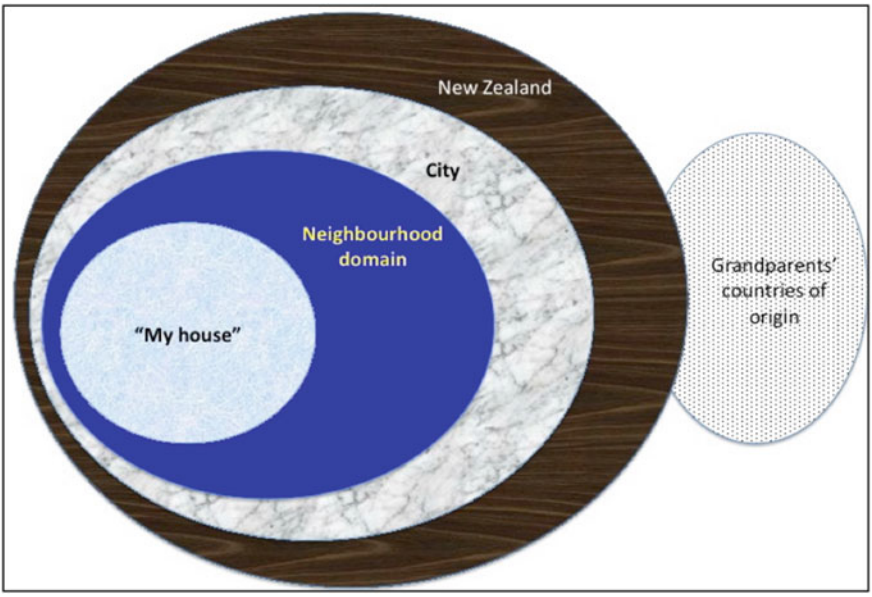


**Fig. 7.4** Spatial dimensions of G3 *Heimat*

with him to Austria '*weil jetz isser so old wie I wor wemmer nach Neuseeland kommen sind*' [because now he is as old as I was when we came to New Zealand]. This rationale suggests a wish for her son to gain insights into liminal cultural experiences somewhat similar to her own youth, albeit in reverse. Yet, Christian appeared to see this opportunity to see his mother's country of origin purely in terms of landscape and climate suitable for holiday. As Christian and Andreas were friends, this might indicate that Andreas' descriptions of his Austrian skiing trip inspired Christian's wish. Asked later why he decided to learn German, Christian reasoned, 'so I can talk with the people when we go to Austria'. This suggests that for this G3 participant, the planned reconnection with G1 and G2's country of origin triggered the choice of German as a second language. It would be interesting to see if his trip has a lasting impact on his further German language development and motivation but this is outside the time frame of this study.

### *7.1.4 Security*

Due to the young ages of G3, their parents provided security for them. G1 and G2 considered security for G3 in terms of having a safe environment and good future prospects. These aspects included G1 financial support for G2 choices of living and purchasing property in safe neighborhoods. Securing future prospects for G3 is evident in G2 sending G3 to schools that were perceived as providing excellent education and future networking opportunities. Also, most G3 participants had dual citizenships. G1 and G2 participants regarded having dual citizenships for G3 as an aspect of providing future flexibility and security because having both New Zealand and European citizenships allows living in and returning to those regions without restrictions ('*wir wissen ja jetzt noch nicht was die mal machen wollen und die Enkel können's auch noch nicht wissen*' [we don't know yet what they want to do eventually and the grandchildren cannot know yet either]).

## 7.2 Societal Discourses impacting G3 Heimat creation

Citizenship discourses are important for the third familial generation as transnational bonds through heritage also demand compliance with citizenship regulations. For example, a German/British couple's children had New Zealand and British citizenship, but no German passports. When the family planned to travel to Germany, they learned that the children—who had German citizenship through birth—had to travel into Germany with German passports because their mother was a German citizen. Non-compliance could be fined with 5,000 Euros per person.

In New Zealand, education policies that do not foster early heritage and/or second language learning augment the difficulties of intergenerational heritage language transfer in families where one parent speaks only English. A number of

G2 and G3 participants did not see the German language to be of value in the New Zealand society. Indicating the influence of parental agency on their children's learning, this resulted in indifference or rejection of the language.

## 7.3 Summary

This chapter introduced the participants of the third familial generation, documenting their Heimat creation and understanding of their identity. G3 participants were aware of their European family roots. Yet, probably due to their young age they did not necessarily relate this ancestry directly to themselves but only to their grandparents. The findings indicate that—should the participants' attitudes towards the German language persist—the third familial generation will grow up to become monolingual English speakers in all language domains with the exception of retaining a few German expressions for food and address. Survey responses by older G3 participants support this prediction. Learning and maintaining a heritage language was considered too difficult as well as lacking value in the society.

# Chapter 8
# Synthesis Across the Generations

The navigation through mapping the nexuses of practice in the study revealed consequences of immigration for German-speaking immigrant families in New Zealand over time and across three generations. I had hypothesized that by the third generation (G3) the families' change from the immigrants' original language and culture to the mainstream New Zealand Pākehā culture would be complete. Analysis confirmed my hypotheses in most respects, with the most decisive cultural turns taking place in the second generation. That is, New Zealand Pākehā culture dominated the culture of their parents and their childhood. What I had not expected was that discrimination during settlement due to German language acting as outsider marker contributed substantially to the second generation's (G2) submersion into the Anglophone mainstream and diminished the value of the German language in their eyes. While G3 were aware of their European heritage and engaged in limited respects with the cultural and linguistic aspects of their immigrant grandparents (G1), they completely identified as New Zealanders. Narrative accounts and numerous observations spanning several years showed also that over time changes occurred in every generation as well as across the generations.

It is useful here to refer back to the distinctions between systemic and social integration (Esser 2001; Geissler 2004; Spencer 2011). G1 achieved full social integration. This social integration included institutional integration such as church membership for some. However, they did not achieve full systemic integration in the sense of equal participation as their overseas qualifications were not fully accepted and the declared universality of the New Zealand Superannuation system was not applied to them. As noted earlier, this system was changed during the course of this study, with the term 'universal' now completely removed. G2, on the other hand, achieved full systemic integration but social integration met with hurdles during settlement for all but one of the main study G2 participants, and in the survey for 54% of G2 immigrants and 34% of New Zealand-born G2. That is, discrimination experienced by G1 and G2 impacted much more severely on G2 adolescents during a vulnerable time in their lives. While increased emotional stress found in a comparative study of over 53,000 G1 and G2 immigrant adolescents in



I.K. Wohlfart, *Intergenerational Consequences of Lifestyle Migration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3260-8_8

ten nations by Stevens et al. (2015) was also present in my study, the increased level of adolescent immigrant behavioral problems that these researchers report was absent. Here the stress of being discriminated against rather resulted generally in increased assimilation efforts in order to get included. If one considers absorption the receiving society's goal of immigration and the gentler form of assimilation (Castles and Miller 2003), then this goal was achieved in G3.

This chapter first presents the consequences of migration within each generation of the main study, then brings this together to show the changes across the generations in this part of the study, and finally briefly summarizes the findings of the survey.

## 8.1 Consequences of Migration Over Time Within G1

Over time, G1 participants created their new *Heimat* in New Zealand. Producing patchwork biographies through globespanning intercontinental LM, G1 left Europe either alone or with their children because of environmental concerns, for health reasons and due to midlife crises. They arrived in New Zealand with dreams of finding the images of an unspoiled environment they had gained as tourists confirmed. Yet, over time they discovered discrepancies between dreams and realities. In their settlement, G1 prioritized finding the landscape most matching their dreams and achieving security for themselves and their families. However, over time they pushed the environmental problems they noticed in New Zealand into the background. G1 participants had to overcome professional barriers imposed and closed-door policies by professional associations. As a consequence of this lack of recognition of their professional skills many could not find satisfying employment and therefore established their own businesses. Choosing from original and newly acquired cultural tools to suit, G1 participants adapted through selective assimilation into societal role expectations. They also realized symbolic meanings of their original culture through using original cultural tools in social actions in the places and social spaces of family, work, and leisure. Such symbolic meanings arose from acknowledged European quality work, and from using material objects and concepts brought to New Zealand. Legal integration varied although all G1 participants had permanent residence permits. Austrians achieved dual citizenship, but the Germans either did not change their German citizenship or lost it through taking on New Zealand citizenship.

Over time, language changes occurred within G1. These included improvement in English understanding and articulation. While accents still identified all G1 participants as non-New Zealanders after almost three decades in the New Zealand English-speaking environment, there were indications of codes witching and occasional searching for German key terms when speaking German. German remained the home language with G2 unless monolingual English speakers were present. German remained the dominant language for G1.

## 8.2 Key Consequences of Migration Over Time Within G2

Over time, the most significant cultural changes took place within G2. In contrast to G1 who retained their language and most of their original culture in their private spheres, G2 did not. Settlement experiences and later intercultural relationships were the main reasons for G2 submergence into the mainstream culture of their new *Heimat*. In the main study, settlement experiences differed for G2 children and adolescents, and for the adults among G2 participants. Children and adolescents lacked agency in the migration process and most resented the move to New Zealand. With one exception, G2 participants who migrated aged 12–16 experienced social exclusion and discrimination at a vulnerable time of their development. Their initial resentment evolved into increased efforts to assimilate and become invisible in the New Zealand mainstream culture. The youngest (aged 5 at immigration) remembered inclusion into peer groups and acquiring mainstream culture as normal aspects of childhood, rather than as efforts of acculturation. The two adult G2 participants moved into existing support networks, which eased their integration. All G2 participants gained New Zealand qualifications and three of seven were employed in New Zealand-typical primary industries.

Self-identifications, legal transnational connections, and cultural practices changed. Signaling conflicted intersections of self-identity and insinuations in identity assigned by others, the German G2 participants hid their German identity but retained their citizenship. They would have acquired dual citizenship if possible but assigned dissimilar importance to this. Austrian G2 participants identified as Austrians and as New Zealanders although three Austrians had dual citizenship while two gave up their Austrian passport through receiving New Zealand citizenship. While encultured into their parents' original culture in their childhood homes, G2 participants increasingly adopted New Zealand cultural practices in their own homes. Over the course of nearly three decades, New Zealand cultural practices replaced most of their original cultural practices. Retained and modified original practices were part of cuisine and family festivity traditions.

For all G2 participants, social connections within the wider New Zealand society developed into intercultural relationships, in which English was the language of communication. English in education, at work, and at home meant it became the dominant language for those who immigrated as children and adolescents. They felt that they lacked opportunities to develop their German but they hardly ever read German. They kept speaking German to their parents and used both languages with their siblings. At the time of this study, English key terms frequently replaced German terms in such interactions. With one exception, G2 participants soon gave up or never started speaking German to their children. These findings show an ongoing query process around the appropriateness of using German language as a consequence of migration. G2's investment in assimilation and interactions with their families created a tense language situation for G2, who as a consequence both resisted and complied. They were very conscious of G1's hope for German

language retention in G3 but the study revealed that G2 found this transfer of language too difficult a task.

## 8.3 Key Consequences of Grandparents' Migration Within G3 Over Time

Since G3 participants in the main study were all still children during this study (up to nearly 15 years of age at the end of the study) and were born in New Zealand or Australia, their experience of belonging extended from their home to daycare, kindergarten, or school to their immediate community. Only the older children were able to understand wider connections. School-aged children were aware of their parents' origins. Yet, all G2 participants are old enough to understand assigned their parents New Zealand[1] identities and considered themselves New Zealanders rather than Austrians or Germans. Invited by grandparents and/or parents, some G3 participants joined in occasional heritage culture events.

With one exception, English was G3's only enduring home language, even though G1 coaxed, encouraged, praised, or even forced awareness of German language onto G3. Yet, the (grand-) parents ambivalent attempts of instilling German as another first language achieved no or very limited understanding and did not result in observable substantial language production. Consequently, G3 were English monolinguals with the exception of certain address- and food-related German terms. By the time this study ended, however, two of the nineteen G3 participants had started learning German in a formal way, including the (almost) 15-year-old boy who was preparing to travel to Austria with his G2 mother. Yet, his excursion into the heritage language only lasted for one school semester because gratification for his learning was not instant. However, a definite consequence of migration for G3 was an awareness of German language and its value for G1 brought about by G1's practice of working with G3 to produce German language. A related consequence for G3 was the older children's recognition of ambivalences between G1 and G2 regarding the appropriateness and relevance of German language use.

## 8.4 Migration Consequences: Key Changes Across Three Generations

Each generation considered New Zealand their *Heimat*, yet *Heimat* creation changed across the generations. G1 pragmatically integrated into social roles of the Anglophone society, but also kept dealing with contestations in the interstice of cultures. Their *Heimat* (re)creation included symbolic recreation of original *Heimat*

[1]The Australian G3 participants could not give this information due to their young age.

aspects through social actions mediated with original material and conceptual cultural tools and newly acquired cultural competencies. In the qualitative part of the study, *Heimat* creation in G2 resulted in almost complete assimilation for five of the seven G2 participants, as New Zealand became their unquestioned *Heimat*. The two others had ambiguous feelings of belonging. G3, whose ages translated into early stages of *Heimat* creation, had no doubts about entirely belonging to Anglophone New Zealand.

Cultural aspects changed markedly across the generations. G1, the decision-making German-speaking immigrants, had bilingual and other bicultural competencies, whereas their deepest cultural understandings and practices remained those of their original culture. They identified as Austrian and German although most also had New Zealand citizenship. Most G2 participants had negligible agency in their parents' migration decision-making, yet moved from initial resentment to integration and eventually to deliberate sociocultural assimilation. For the adolescents, this assimilation process was driven by settlement experiences of discrimination. Over time, most G2 participants adopted New Zealand mainstream cultural practices also in their private lives, moving most of their original cultural practices into the background. Austrian G2 identified as Austrian New Zealanders and as New Zealanders but Germans avoided identification as German. G3 participants showed evidence only of remnants of the original immigrants' cultural practices. These were mainly related to food. Fully submerged into the mainstream society, G3 fully identified with New Zealand even though most had dual/multiple citizenships. Languages showed the most obvious evidence of cultural changes. All but the oldest participants in the main study arrived in New Zealand with sufficient to excellent bilingual competencies. Yet, German remained the dominant language for G1. This changed in G2, for whom English became the dominant language over time. Intercultural marriages led to G2 passing on English as home language to their children, with one exception where one-parent—one-language was reported practice but English remained dominant. As a consequence, G3 participants were practically monolingual English speakers. Although some understood some German they did not freely produce German language apart from some address and food key words. These generational changes are comparable to Gordon's (1964) observations of assimilation into mainstream society across three generations. The graphic summary of findings in Fig. 8.1 illustrates the metamorphoses.

### *8.4.1 Survey—Changes Across Three Generations*

The data collected from 317 German-speaking immigrants and their descendants in New Zealand allowed for some quantitative expression of findings in the in-depth qualitative research. While the online survey cannot claim to have produced results that represent the German-speaking population of New Zealand, it was clear from the survey that it provides reinforcement for many of the conclusions drawn from the qualitative research. Lifestyle choices were the main reasons for moving to

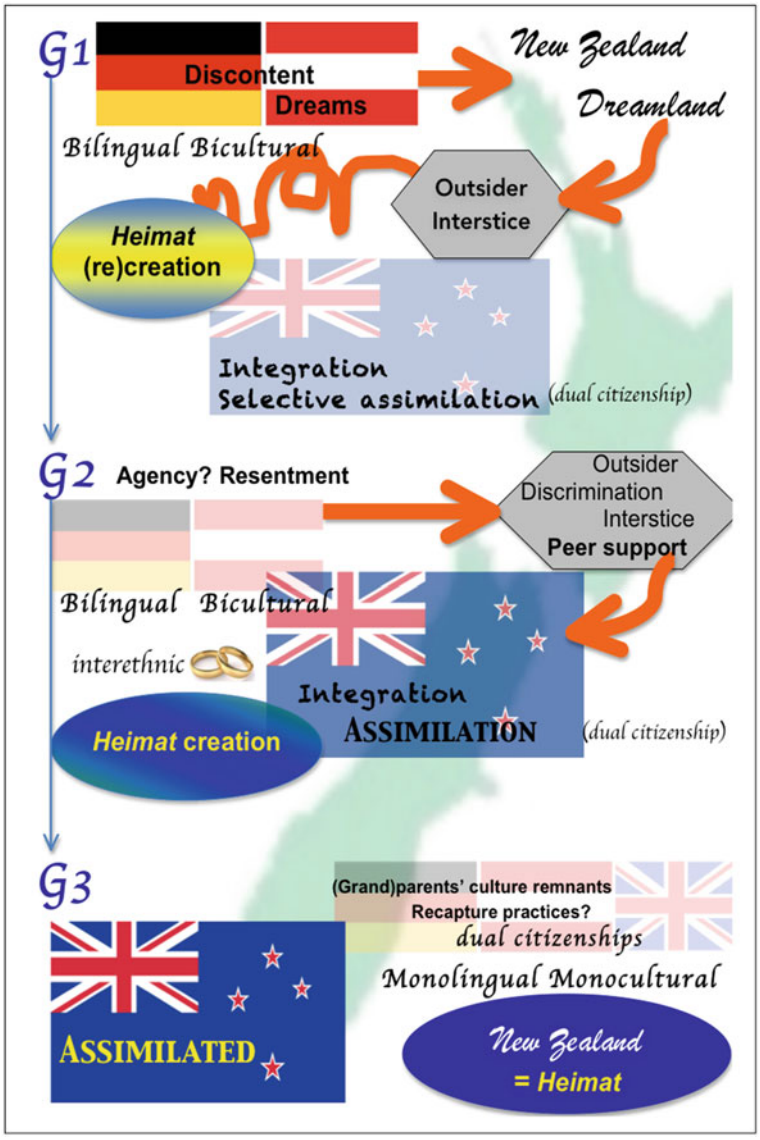


**Fig. 8.1** Consequences of migration—key changes across the generations

New Zealand. A point of difference was that some of the G1 survey respondents had been in New Zealand only for relatively short periods of time and perhaps for this reason quite a significant number of G1 respondents were not well settled, with some indicating future return migration. Similar to the main study, some G2 responses also indicated a conflicted sense of belonging. Professional barriers for

G1 were as prevalent in the survey responses as they were in the main study and fairly common experiences of social discrimination were also confirmed. Nevertheless, most survey respondents were happy with their New Zealand lifestyle. Intercultural marriages were also very common. The radical shift from the German to the English language and from the original culture to almost complete cultural assimilation into the New Zealand mainstream across the generations was similar to the main study. Indeed, expanding the circumference of the study through the survey has performed a very useful service not only in validating the qualitative findings but also by confirming my reasonable researcher objectivity despite my insider status. The final stage of the research is to draw the findings from these navigations together and to articulate briefly how the nexus of practice changes or may change.

**Summary: Key Changes Across Three Generations as Explained Above**

- Sense of belonging widened in G1 to include two *Heimaten*; most of G2 detached from original *Heimat* and identified as belonging to receiving society; G3 identified as New Zealanders.
- Changing agency, cultural tools, strategies, and identifications from sociocultural role adaptation to sociocultural submergence.
- Languages: bilingualism; changing dominant language; to almost exclusive English monolingualism.

In the following, I discuss key findings and conclusions in relation to the literature and discourses in place. I then consider contributions that study makes, its strengths and limitations, and make some suggestions for future research.

# Chapter 9
# Discussion of Findings

The processes of migration evident in the current study did not align neatly with any of the common migration theories. Rather, specific aspects of several theories described in the literature review section were reflected in the participants' migration and settlement processes. The major drivers of this maximum-distance intercontinental LM of the highly skilled and experienced professionals were accumulated unease and environmental concerns in Europe, and imaginations of and gazes on New Zealand perceived as a perfect idyll delivering contentment and safety for the family. Qualifications and experience were keys to entry into New Zealand under the skilled-immigration category while family in New Zealand enabled permanent residence for other participants. Settlement included overcoming institutional and social adversities in adaptation and integration processes. The relevant theoretical ideas that help explain this very long-distance LM are

- Push and pull factors (from classical migration process theory)
- Lifestyle decisions (lifestyle and amenity migration theories)
- Human and social capital (economic and skilled migration theories)
- Social networks (migration network theory)
- Transnational connections (transnational theory)
- Adaptation, integration, assimilation (settlement theories)

I review each of these below with reference to my findings.

## 9.1 Discussion of Push and Pull Factors

Push and pull factors in the current study differed from the classical push–pull framework, which relates to work supply and demand and economic cost–benefit calculations (Massey et al. 1998). Push factors in the qualitative part of the study evolved from accumulating dissatisfaction with negative environmental impacts on participants' quality of life. Aufenvenne and Felgentreff (2013) argument that



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negative environmental aspects as driving factors in migration are subjective linguistically and symbolically transmitted realities rather than actual physical–material reality is not supported. The environmental dismay factors particularly impacted two of the quality-of-life dimensions listed by Veenhoven (2000), namely livability of the environment and life appreciation.

Push factors in the current study resulted in a sense of lost agency. These push factors resembled those of British lifestyle migrants moving to France (Benson 2010), and those of other German-speaking immigrants who migrated to New Zealand from the 1980s (Bönisch-Brednich 2005; Bürgelt 2010; Gruber and Kraft 1991). In contrast, Schellenberger (2011) did not identify any push factors for Germans migrating to New Zealand during the same period. Schellenberger's observation might be due to his definition of push factors as *forcing* amelioration of life situations since he does note discontent. It could be argued that without push factors, that is, if every aspect of life and environment were perfect in a place and social space, people would not leave. Even the desire to see other places or experience other cultures possibly evolves from specific facets perceived as lacking in the place of origin or at the least from pull factors associated with the exotic in the destination.

In common with other studies of German speakers in New Zealand (Bönisch-Brednich 2005; Bürgelt 2003; Schellenberger 2011), pull factors in the current study emerged from gazes at New Zealand landscapes perceived as untouched and beautiful. Such landscape images have frequently been publicized in German language media (cf. Bell 2005/2006; Fawcett 1989). As Bürgelt (2010) noted, these pull factors fed into migration motivation and realization of dreams. This also applied in the current study; with participants seeking an environmentally cleaner and safer home to regain the agency that they had lost in their perceived exposure to negative environmental factors in Europe.

## 9.2 Discussion of Participants' Perceptions of New Zealand Realities

Eventually, participants recognized that environmental reality differed from their dreams and the superficial impressions they gained while visiting (cf. Bell and Lyall 2002), which also reflects Bönisch-Brednich's (2005) findings. However, landscape pull factors remained strong over the decades. Considering commodification of landscapes and resulting environmental transformations by agriculture and long-distance mass tourism, which are two of New Zealand's biggest industries, frictions between originally perceived natural purity and environmental realities are hardly surprising. For the qualitative-study participants, it seems that demands of everyday life and perhaps negative-focus fatigue resulted in backgrounding G1's concerns about New Zealand's environmental deterioration over time. Considering their push factors, these attitudinal changes were considerable and perhaps need to

be seen in the context of G1 participants' advancing ages and preoccupation with their growing New Zealand families.

It also appears that New Zealand media discourses, which tend to focus more on economic possibilities than on environmental concerns, influenced participant attitudes. While official warnings based on environment assessments have aimed at stimulating New Zealanders' conservation awareness (Ministry for the Environment 2007; Taylor et al. 1997), such expert publications seem to be noted by environmental activists but appear neglected by mainstream media. Other political environmental concerns raised in discussions by qualitative-study participants linked them to current public discourse concerns, for example, regarding deep-sea oil exploration (e.g., Maetzig 2011; Weir 2013), or government spying powers (e.g., Bennett 2012; Davison 2013). With respect to the latter, they expressed frustration, referring to discourses indicating that surveillance was probably not different from German-speaking Europe: '*da dreh ich die Hand nicht um*' [it's all the same][1] (see Fuchs et al. 2013).

In comparison with the long-term-resident qualitative-study participants, survey respondents who arrived more recently voiced stronger criticisms of New Zealand's environmental situations, with numerous comments pointing especially to German society applying more improved environmental awareness and care. Survey respondents' comments also suggested that New Zealand's overstatement of its purity and green principles, and problems gaining satisfying employment because German qualifications were not accepted played a role in considering future return migration. The relatively new two-stage immigration system (Bedford et al. 2010) and the flexibility of patchwork lifestyles in combination with disappointment voiced in the survey might help explain the relatively high return migration rate of Germans.

Findings and intersecting discourses support these arguments: The momentum of quality-of-life reevaluation to facilitate intercontinental LM at critical moments in participants' lives was fed by public discourses, superficial tourist gazes, and strong intentions to seek agency for life matters. At the destination, environmental quality-of-life discourses in place raised G1 participants' discontent and led, in some cases, to individual protest or political commitment. Overall, G2 participants were perhaps less concerned about environmental issues than G1 although one G2 participant took the children to a protest against deep-sea oil drilling off New Zealand,[2] for which prospecting has recently been authorized.

[1]E.g., participants pointed me to http://www.sueddeutsche.de/thema/Internet-Überwachung; http://derstandard.at/1392685440112/Buergerforum-zu-Sicherheit-und-Ueberwachung-in-Wien.

[2]Cf. http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/9435423/Thousands-protest-deep-sea-oil-drilling. Accessed December 2013.

## 9.3 Findings and International Lifestyle Migration of the Highly Skilled

A mix of ideas from the lifestyle and amenity migration literature and aspects from literature on the migration of the highly skilled theory provides the best theoretical explanation for the current study. In contrast to LM across open borders in Europe, access to New Zealand is restricted and involves geographical separation from Europe. Participants' realization of intercontinental LM was only possible because their human capital, which is central to mobility theories of the highly skilled, was the key to permanent entry. That is, New Zealand invites immigrants whose skills are needed and principal applicants gained entry for themselves and their families through qualifications, work experience, and English-speaking skills.[3]

In my view, the high qualifications of the majority of the migrants in the main study and the survey respondents are not only of interest to New Zealand but also to those interested in emigration from German-speaking Europe. That is, the trend for German emigration has been increasing, with those with above-average educational levels in their late twenties and early thirties most prepared to leave. They move predominantly to the United States of America and to Australia (Übelmesser 2005), with the marked increase mainly due to temporary career migration (Diehl and Dixon 2005b).

New Zealand does not feature in reports on German out-migration. Yet, these movements and the underlying motives should be of interest there for a number of reasons: Germany is New Zealand's second-largest visitor market in Europe after Britain, with German visitor numbers up 14.5% in the year ending March 2014, with the well educated and financially prosperous especially from southern Germany most likely to travel to New Zealand (Tourism New Zealand 2014). Linking into this, the current study has shown that New Zealand holiday impressions were significant factors in migration decisions. Also, well over 132,000 work permits were issued to Germans between July 1997 and December 2015 (see p. 22) and the current study has shown that work permits were important steps to permanent immigration even before New Zealand's move to the two-stage system of first issuing temporary work visas and granting permanent residence permits later (see Bedford et al. 2010). Migration of the highly skilled to New Zealand should also be of interest in Germany because of the negative fiscal effects of such emigration on Germany, accumulating from publicly funded education and lost tax and social contributions to public funds (Holzner et al. 2009).

The motives for the increasing numbers of highly skilled, upper middle-class Germans migrating to New Zealand (Bade 2012) should be of interest to those concerned with quality of life in Europe. This is because the current study showed

[3]Cf. http://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/new-zealand-visa/work-visa/skilled-migrant-visas. Accessed December 2013.

that the New Zealand environment promoted as pristine, and lifestyle choices were dominant reasons for immigration to New Zealand, which was possible because of qualifications. In contrast to the common socioeconomic explanations of migration, which understand migrants as seeking higher economic returns at their destination (Massey et al. 1998), German speakers participating in the main study moved from a more affluent Europe to a geographically isolated, less prosperous antipodean society (see OECD 2015) because of environmental concerns. Contradicting Dorigo and Tobler's (1983) assumption that geographical distance has a negative impact on moving, more than 18,000 km did not dissuade these lifestyle migrants but in fact was initially considered a positive factor.

Prior to migration, they imagined the destination mainly as a bucolic idyll offering a less hectic lifestyle far removed from environmental pollution. The participants' migration was based on quality-of-life reassessment and on attraction through tourist gazes at scenic amenities rather than on career advancement. In this respect, their moves reflect reasons for Germans moving from urban to rural Australia during the same time period (Hatoss 2006) and correspond with the quality-of-life decision-making in LM (cf. Benson 2010; O'Reilly and Benson 2009), which foregrounds the importance of natural amenities (Partridge 2010; Rodríguez-Pose and Ketterer 2012) and backgrounds economic factors (cf. Graves 1976; Hoey 2005, 2008). Such LM of the relatively affluent is based particularly on the favorable material conditions and reflexivity typical for postmodernity in the developed world as well as on a more general ease of movement (Benson and O'Reilly 2009). In the current study, a critical determinant of these lifestyle decisions was a financial basis that allowed family relocation from Europe to New Zealand and some economic bridging of lean times at the destination. While G1 participants in the main study brought capital from the sales of their homes in Europe, not all their New Zealand homes were mortgage-free for various reasons and all these participants had to work for a living. Some did so for financial reasons well into their late 60s and 70s, while others were able to retire early.

The migration-decision-making participants in the main study, who migrated with their children and settled permanently in New Zealand, differed from young professionals who move in search of professional opportunities (Marcu 2011) and from "commuter migrants" whose transnational lifestyles included moving each year between Europe and New Zealand (see Bönisch-Brednich 2005: 143; Schellenberger 2011: 13). Bönisch-Brednich and Schellenberger report that these residential tourists (Huete and Mantecón 2012) extended the European practice of routine sojourning between two households in transnational residential tourism in north-south lifestyle mobility (Benson and O'Reilly 2009; Gustafson 2001, 2002; King et al. 1998; McWatters 2009; Torkington 2012) into globe-spanning routine lifestyle sojourns. Yet, such ongoing intercontinental sojourns depend on life stages and are unlikely to be sustained perpetually.

In contrast, G1 participants in the current study made the decision to move permanently with their children. By the end of this study the families had lived in

New Zealand for somewhere between 25 and 28 years. All G1 and G2 participants had traveled back to Europe, some G1 participants very frequently. As Germans travel more often and for longer abroad than any other national group (Oppermann and Chon 1995), one could assume that this frequent travel was culture-specific for the Germans among the G1 participants. Yet in this study, the frequent as well as very sporadic travelers were both from Germany and Austria.

Considering that New Zealand landscapes, lifestyles, perceived environmental safety, and climate were by far the most prominent pull factors also for the more recent arrivals among the survey respondents, LM from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand could be considered a growing phenomenon. Yet as explained, permanent immigration is difficult to quantify because of the ways immigration is framed in government statistics, and because permits issued do not necessarily equate with actual lasting residence. Perhaps, languages spoken in New Zealand give some indication of migration growth despite the issues around census categories and immigration statistics. Even though census figures and other statistics might not give a completely accurate picture of migration and settlement, they show a rising trend of arrivals from German-speaking Europe to New Zealand. Perhaps, the findings in the current study of working holidays and work permits leading to permanent residency reflect a growing trend to intercontinental LM.

Arguably, the current study indicates certain ironies regarding global LM decisions and quality of life. Integral to financial ability and immigration policies, agency played a considerable role in the migration decisions but was not equally shared. While three of the four G1 couples included safety of their children's future in their decisions, the migrating dependents had no agency in these resolutions and the older ones expressed resentment. It is also somewhat ironic that the decision-makers were seeking an unpolluted world to improve their quality of life but by and large their environmental concerns seemed to dissipate over time despite the realization that New Zealand had its own serious environmental problems. This raises the question to what extent public and media discourses in their places of origin and destination influenced their thoughts about the environment. Also, the impacts of frequent air-travel contribute to diminishing livability of the global environment but that did not constitute a problem for the travelers despite their other environmental concerns.

## 9.4 Intercontinental Lifestyle Migration—Consequences Across Generations

This section discusses the consequences of the long-distance LM across the three familial generations in this study in relation to the literature. Unsurprisingly, consequences of immigration differed across these familial generations as discussed next.

### 9.4.1 Human and Social Capital Devaluation

Human capital is a central aspect in immigration of the highly skilled (Brückner et al. 2012), and skilled immigration was the New Zealand immigration category that allowed G1 participants into the country. New Zealand research indicates conflicting discourses relating to immigrants' human and social capital. In these discourses, the 'all-is-well' front suggests that immigrants are immediately well integrated into the labor market (e.g., Masgoret et al. 2012; Merwood 2010) even though there are warnings that the real situation for immigrants is not quite as positive as statistics suggest (Benmayor and Skotnes 2005). Struggles in the current study to regain agency in professional fields confirmed this and mirrored other findings of skilled immigrants' human capital not translating easily into social capital (e.g., Coates and Carr 2005; Daldy et al. 2013).

The situations found in the current study did not always align with prevailing New Zealand "all-is-well" discourses. "Skeptics" see mismatches between the country's needs and immigrants' skills (e.g., Benson-Rea and Rawlinson 2003). Others see "immigrant problems" of a lack of language and transferable skills, and inferior or misleading credentials preventing employment integration (Winkelmann and Winkelmann 1998). In such discourses, language is synonymous with English while immigrants' other languages are not considered assets despite New Zealand's attempts to expand international trade. In the current study, immigrants' skills and qualifications met similar reservations despite undergoing immigration scrutiny for professional qualifications, experience, and English language. An unexpected consequence of migration was that participants' qualifications deemed adequate by immigration authorities were rejected by professional associations. Such experiences of frustration were also reported by more recent immigrant survey respondents, who entered after the 2003 immigration policy amendments to a two-stage system (first temporary work visa, then permanent residence visa) to achieve better quality settlement outcomes (Bedford et al. 2010). This may well provide some explanation for the high return rate of German-speaking immigrants. Since immigrants invited into New Zealand under this system generally have undergone such screening, persisting difficulties with translating their institutionalized human capital, i.e., cultural competencies accepted through institutional sanction, into social capital through labor market integration should be considered a systemic New Zealand problem rather than an immigrant problem as outlined here.

The findings in the current study about the lack of acceptance of German professional qualifications align with Bauder's assertion that "the regulation of educational and professional credentials excludes many skilled foreign-trained immigrants from high-status occupations" (Bauder 2003: 700). While Bauder talks about immigrants from "non-traditional," i.e., non-European regions having restricted occupational access in Canada, the current study illustrated that this exclusion applied also to credentials from Germany and Austria in New Zealand. Participants concluded that their occupational exclusion was "patch protection."

Such "*soziale Schliessung*" [social closing] to protect against outsiders (Weber 1922: 23–25) has been considered "occupational apartheid" (Mpofu 2007: 95).

These points seem supported by Bauder's observation that certification systems imposed by professional organizations favor individuals who have come through the local education system to the detriment of immigrants (Bauder 2003). Indeed, the professional social barriers or closure participants experienced linked to divergent educational and professional discourses disregarded the very human capital for which the participants were accepted into New Zealand. This caused immense frustration and considerably contributed to the struggles of *Heimat* creation for G1 during settlement. Arguably, these barriers are relics of immigration policies preferring British immigrants and might point to insular mindsets due to the country's isolation or, as suggested by participants, to ignorance or even incompetence in certifying authorities. In disregard of New Zealand's explicit need for immigrant skills, this bounded and therefore excluding professional solidarity is negative social capital (cf. Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993) and disallowed immigrants' human capital to be translated into beneficial social capital. One could reason that New Zealand applied fewer restrictions for skilled German-speaking immigrants before the World Wars (see e.g., Fisher 1993; Kermode 1993; Mansfield Thomson 1993). Arguably, the contemporary opening of borders for skilled immigrants from non-British origins has neither been sufficiently coordinated with educational pathways in the countries of recruitment nor with New Zealand professional associations and industry. Survey responses suggest that the problems persist, although doctoral qualifications for academic positions at tertiary institutions were accepted. With the recent two-tier changes to permanent residency, one could assume that recent lifestyle migrants only move to New Zealand if they have satisfactory jobs arranged at arrival. Yet, the survey illustrated that this was not necessarily the case. Further studies into the rates of and reasons for return for non-British cultural groups could prove to be enlightening.

### *9.4.2 Social Networks*

Two G1 participants in the main study supported the migration of others, easing their settlement as described in migration networks theory (cf. Castles and Miller 2009), but these networks did not amount to "herd and network effects" between the countries (Epstein 2008: 567) in the sense that many more immigrants would follow. The social networks that participants developed concentrate on their new *Heimat* creation and within it on the structural and social integration into the receiving society. G1 networking strategies showed similarities with G2 engagement in common interest groups within the New Zealand mainstream. Initial networking goals differed, however, with G1 using their networks primarily to gain financial security through work, with social aspects secondary, whereas social connections were the main focus for G2. Over time, G1 social networks extended to include New Zealanders as well as other immigrants in personal social support networks.

For those G2 participants who were aged 12–15 years at immigration, first social networks established with other German-speaking immigrants became a coping resource in overcoming initial social exclusion by New Zealand peers based on language as an otherness marker. These same-language networks provided emotional stability in their struggles of *Heimat* creation during distressing settlement phases. Thus one consequence of migration for G2 was the formation of a bridging network that temporarily conveyed an outsider identity but ultimately assisted in developing an insider identity. As G2 adolescents developed bicultural competencies and expanded their social networks (cf. Castles and Miller 2009), these networks and cultural capabilities enabled friendships within the wider New Zealand society. In contrast to Beck, Corak and Tienda's (2012) assertion that juvenile immigrants from a non-English-speaking country are likely to enter into endogamous marriages, exogamous marriages in the current study (100% in G2, with none attempting to find a partner from their original cultural group) even surpassed German speakers' very high rate of intercultural marriages found in Australia (cf. Clyne 2003). Such intercultural partner choices are considered successful social integration (Haug 2003) and confirm Portes' (1994) assertion that integration questions are decided in G2.

Once they had finished high school, G2 participants had the choice of moving out of their parents' home, for instance, to study in a different city, or staying with parents or moving back in. Yet, giving opportunities to and supporting G2 in venturing out on their own in late adolescence or early adulthood does not mean that the participants did not embrace the notion of keeping family together, which Nayar (2009) sees as part of Indian collective culture but not of western individualistic cultures. Despite their cultural notion of keeping family together, G1 accepted G2 participants' need to move for study or work, and their choice to move with their partner. Different life stages meant that most G2 participants moved, some next door, or within the city, to another city or to Australia, and some returned to live with their parents either temporarily or permanently. Indeed, all adult children lived with their parents at some stage, with members of both generations remaining essential members of each other's social support network.

### *9.4.3 Transnational Connections*

Transnational theory focuses on migrants' connections with their countries of origin. By contrast with the perpetual wanderers in Schellenberger's (2011) study, participants' place attachment and social connections to New Zealand were stronger than to German-speaking Europe by the time the current study was conducted. The center of gravity of their lives had shifted to New Zealand over time.

Nevertheless, they maintained a range of transnational connections. These differed between individuals, for individuals over time, and between the generations. For example, using email, Skype, and social-networking sites, which did not exist

when participants immigrated, became their habitual practices to connect with family and friends in Europe and Australia for G1 and most G2 participants. Face-to-face transnational ties were aided, for example, by reduction of flight duration between New Zealand and Europe to approximately 26 h, yet visits were reduced after the deaths of European relatives. These ties were also regulated by affordability, health conditions, and willingness to travel. Social transnational ties therefore depended on participants' and European family members' life stages as well as on family and friendship ties prior to migration. Yet, without exception, G1 and G2 participants traveling to Europe expressed being glad about coming "back home" to New Zealand. Reasons included their strong family and friendship networks as part of their New Zealand *Heimat* creation as a consequence of their migration.

Other continuing transnational ties for G1 were of a financial nature, for instance, through pension payments from Europe, which ties political institutions together (cf. Bauböck 2010). This transnational connection impacted G1 participants' entitlement to New Zealand retirement payments (NZS) and led to anger similar to that found by Crezee (2008) in her study of elderly Dutch in New Zealand. Considering the changing official information discourses, it can be assumed that protests against such impacts will cease with the increasing ages and deaths of the 10% of pensioners currently affected by the deduction of overseas pensions from their NZS entitlement. Legal transnational ties continued also through dual citizenship for individuals and their children, placing them in transnational territorial relationships (cf. Glick-Schiller 2010) and enabling potential future long-term residence in either country. Such transnational connections can be maintained over successive generations provided political links between the countries remain amicable.

### *9.4.4* Heimat *Creation and Change*

*Heimat* aspects differed across the generations. Having lived in New Zealand for between 25 and 30 years meant that the immigrant participants in the main study felt they had established their *Heimat* in New Zealand. Most G1 participants and especially the elderly participants in the pilot study ***re***created their *Heimat* in the sense that their home and surroundings contained considerable material evidence of their original culture, in part brought from Europe and partially produced locally using original cultural concepts and methods. They also identified either exclusively or primarily with their original culture even though they had acquired New Zealand cultural competencies and/or passports. This implies that G1 participants were not alienated from their cultural roots but were reacting to push and pull factors such as a lifestyle in nature perceived as relatively untouched. G1 did not seek to create a strikingly different *Heimat* but a better version of *Heimat* in a safer, environmentally purer land.

Even though the German G2 participants had spent a considerable part of their childhood in various third countries, they neither reported 'cultural homelessness' said to evolve from growing up in multicultural situations (Navarette Vivero and Jenkins 1999) nor did they show a lack of inclination to settle down as suggested for such 'third-culture kids' (Selmer and Lam 2004). G2 participants' yearning for *Heimat* (cf. Bota et al. 2012) translated—partially in response to discrimination—into quick assimilation. That is, they created their New Zealand *Heimat* within New Zealand's mainstream, which is firmly rooted in British culture, and with very few cultural heritage aspects. The G2 participant who moved to Australia also appeared to create his *Heimat* there despite considering potentially moving back to German-speaking Europe with his family should the professional opportunity arise. This can be understood as indicating the dynamic nature of *Heimat* creation, which is not completed or static until final life stages preclude further changes.

For G3, New Zealand was *Heimat* without question although those old enough to understand knew of their ancestral origins. For the G3 participants who also had Māori ancestry, New Zealand mainstream culture dominated in their *Heimat* creation even though Māori culture was included through schools offering participation in Kapa Haka, which is a choreographed blend of traditional and modern popular Māori culture performances as a means of instilling Māori cultural identity (Mazer 2011). Several more recent arrivals' comments in the survey suggested potential return migration, some commenting about problematic economic circumstances. This indicates that their New Zealand *Heimat* creation did not succeed, resonating a current trend of return migration for economic reasons (Wisdorff 2013), or because migrants could not feel at home at their destination (von Borstel 2012), missed their heritage culture, or to be with older family members (Nöth 2013).

### *Adaptation, integration, assimilation, and cultural tools*

The current study reflected Bönisch-Brednich's findings of German-speaking immigrants "keeping a low profile" (2002: title page) in New Zealand. Adaptation, integration and assimilation aspects from settlement theories applied in different ways to the three generations who participated in the current study. Overall, processes aligned with Latcheva and Herzog-Punzenberger's (2011) explanations that these dynamics are linked to specific times and circumstances depend on various individual and societal aspects and differ for each generation. For most G1 participants, keeping a low-profile attitude was related to systemic and social integration as defined by Esser (2001). Their adaptation to the New Zealand sociocultural environment presented challenges that could not be mastered by choosing just one of Berry's (1997) acculturation strategies. Like in other studies (Nayar 2009; Schütze 2003; Jamarani 2012), Berry's (1997) system in which settlement follows a particular acculturation strategy (assimilation, integration separation, or marginalization) did not sufficiently explain how participants adapted to and were accommodated in the receiving society. Countering common assumptions of European and New Zealand cultural closeness and reflecting Bönisch-Brednich's

(2010) account of differences between German and New Zealand cultures and immigrants' wish to become invisible within the mainstream, the current study indicated turbulent phases during adaptation and societal integration into new sociocultural situations.

The study illustrated how other people's actions impacted immigrants' well-being and how participants reacted to facilitate acceptance in the wider society. Integration is a mutual process between immigrants and members of the local society. Immigrant participants encountered a mixed reception, with discrimination affecting all but one of the G2 participants in the main study and over a third of survey respondents. Integration in the sense of inclusion and equal participation was offered into church and educational institutions, although the latter required adequate English language skills. Also, voting rights are given to permanent residents after one year in New Zealand, and acquiring citizenship was possible after three years (this changed to five years in 2007). However, considering the professional hurdles encountered by G1 participants in the main study, and reported by more recent immigrants in the survey, systemic integration in the sense of equal professional participation and prestige (cf. Esser 2001) remains deficient.

Institutional integration was also perceived as lacking as participants in the main study and survey respondents felt dispossessed of their entitlement to New Zealand retirement provision despite fulfilling the conditions. Related changing political discourses over the course of this study were justifications of and amendments to intensely debated government decisions. These findings contrast with Esser's (2001) assertion of systemic integration normally preceding social integration. While systemic integration lagged behind and remained wanting in certain aspects, G1 participants built on their bicultural competencies to quickly create social networks within the wider society. These networks facilitated their professional and social establishment in the receiving culture even though distance remained in certain domains. Such distance was manifested in identification as German or Austrian, for instance, despite New Zealand passports. G2 participants who arrived as adults acted in similar ways, although G1 goals differed as they primarily aimed at creating a home and providing for dependent family members. G2 participants who arrived as children and teenagers were placed immediately into the school system. Arguably the system did not quite offer equal participation as—in contrast to current practice in response to a more recent large influx of Asian school children—no English language support was offered at the time. Yet, for G2 participants in this study, schools did offer social support by assigning a buddy to each new arrival. Different from G1's experiences, but similar to Esser's claim, social integration lagged behind G2 adolescents' systemic integration as all but one initially found building social networks difficult, in part due to discrimination and despite the school-buddy system. Yet, over time G2 identified very strongly with New Zealand and its society and expressed that indisputably New Zealand was their *Heimat*.

As Nayar et al. (2007) point out, occupation—in terms of people's actions in their daily lives—impacts well-being, which is particularly relevant given that participants in the current study migrated to New Zealand based on quality-of-life

reassessment. Supporting Nayar's (2009) theory of navigating cultural spaces, G1 and G2 participants in the current study moved in and out of their cultural domains in daily actions to adapt to various New Zealand sociocultural requirements. Their choices of cultural tools depended on role expectations and circumstances, but also on their cultural competencies and on societal responses. The current study showed differences in such competencies and the use of cultural tools over time within and across generations.

### *9.4.5 Language as a Cultural Tool*

During the course of the study, language was the cultural tool that stood out most through its dramatic changes across the generations, with heritage language loss practically complete in G3. Language expresses and symbolizes cultural realities and identities, as it is an integral, embodied part of us, permeating our thought processes and worldviews (Kramsch 1998). Therefore, languages can be considered as highly instrumental forces in forming people's cultural perceptions and expressions. As the current study has illustrated and as discussed below, social influences also form language use and changes across the generations.

Interviews with G1 were mainly in German. With one exception, G1 participants reported that their German skills were excellent. They kept German as the home language for their children and spoke German unless English speakers were involved in the interactions and/or professional role expectations required English. Supporting the idea that language expresses cultural identities, they also foremost identified with their original culture and nationality.

G1 reported increasing codeswitching over the decades and displayed codeswitching to English for certain key terms at times. Such codeswitches could still be replaced by the German equivalents even though at times hesitations were evident: '*und im Krankenhaus hat der Vater an* stroke *ghabt. an an Schlaganfall*' [and in hospital father had a stroke. a a stroke]. G1 and G2 used codeswitching in both directions. That is, at times German was the matrix language and English the embedded language as in this example. At other times, English was the matrix language and German the embedded language (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006). While the first was the case more often for G1, the latter occurred more in G2 than in G1. In my view this reflects a change from German as the stronger language in G1 to English becoming the stronger language for G2.

In general, the participants did not hesitate when codeswitching in conversation with other bilinguals and they did not see their codeswitching as a problem. Despite occasional searches for key terms, overall the data suggested that language attrition, i.e., gradual skills deterioration in an individual's first language over time (cf. Crezee 2008), did not play an obvious role for G1. Generally, German remained the dominant language and a core value of their identities for G1 (cf. Clyne 1988). Yet, because of the subsequent generations' progressive shift to English, and either lack of frequent enough contact with the grandchildren or their own lack of persistence

of speaking German with G3, communication between G1 and G3 shifted to English, as the grandchildren grew older.

While all G2 participants were bilingual, they did not consider the German language one of their cultural core values (cf. Clyne 1988). The young immigrants' experiences of German language-related discrimination during their high school years impacted considerably on this later viewpoint. As G2 participants' suggested and just as Hinton (1999) found for Asian children and adolescents in the United States, such social discourses influenced language switches. In the current study, the earlier experiences of discrimination and ridicule led to linguistic assimilation in order to be accepted: 'I tried really hard not to sound any different from them'. Related to these findings is that G1 and G2 primarily relegated the use of German to private settings. This reflects societal influences although, as Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) rightly assert, such influences do not directly *determine* language choices, as individuals make these choices.

G2 intermarriages were other reasons given for English becoming the home language for G3 (with one exception). Over the decades English became G2's dominant language not only in their professional occupations (cf. Paradis 2010) but also at home. This home language switch to English in exogamous marriages reflects Australian findings (e.g., Clyne and Kipp 1997). The increasing English language dominance explains prevalent codeswitching from German to English in communicating with G1, as most G2 participants did no longer have specific key terms available in German. English became also the most used language between G2 siblings although languages were often switched in such interactions. Different from the assumption of dominant language grammar (here English) being applied, however, grammar in codeswitches varied, with German grammatical word endings applied in some cases and English endings applied in others.

G3 participants could only produce some German key terms for food and address, but otherwise spoke English (e.g., '*Oma* someone on the phone for you!'). This was also the case for the family in which three generations lived under the same roof. The youngest G3 participants who started speaking during the study showed understanding of German and beginnings of German production in interactions with grandparents, but further developing language production was only in English due to lack of frequent enough German language input. These findings corroborate Alba et al. (2002) findings of descendants of German speakers having English as mother tongue in G3 and align with Eich-Krohm's (2008) findings of accelerated assimilation of German child immigrants in the United States.

As Kohnert (2008) points out, means, opportunity, and motive are the interacting factors in language learning, with means as learner-internal resources. G2 and G3 participants demonstrated that they had the means to learn languages. Yet, opportunities to speak German diminished for G2 as they moved away from their parental home and German-speaking school friends into English-speaking workplaces, English-speaking friendship circles, and marriages either with monolingual English speakers or where English functioned as lingua franca (cf. Stevens 1985). Although G2 grew up bilingually or with more than two languages, the discriminatory social discourses they were exposed to during settlement and their resulting

desire to blend in contributed to their later viewpoint that German was not useful in New Zealand. The motive to pass on their heritage language all but vanished.

G3 had scant opportunities to learn German within the family as contacts with grandparents either were not frequent enough, or parents and grandparents had given up speaking German with them. This resonates Fishman's (1991) argument of the close link between language maintenance and intergenerational transmission. An additional factor was G2's difficulties of maintaining bilingual discipline in the home, and their lack of motivation to pass on German to their children despite their own bilingual skills (cf. Döpke 1988). This lack of motivation might partly be due to New Zealand society not valuing bilingualism enough, because of the scattering of German speakers, and in part a result of their experiences of exclusion due to their mother tongue. The shift indicates that German language was not seen as a cultural core value to be preserved (cf. Smolicz et al. 2001) and that German speakers are too dispersed (cf. Holt 1999) to form significant speaker communities. One could also argue that since the time G2 participants were excluded from the migration decisions their parents made for them, agency had shifted to G2, who chose English as home language for their children. G1 participants saw the lack of German language transmission and resulting English monolingualism with sadness and as loss, a point also made by Crezee (2012) based on her study of Dutch immigrants in New Zealand.

German language maintenance—or in this case perhaps language revival since the preschool children involved did not show German language production during the study—could be expected in specific cases such as through the chosen private Australian bilingual school from age 5 in conjunction with the reported maintenance of German home language by one parent and ongoing German language group interaction. In New Zealand, the curriculum framework had languages added as a new learning area (Ministry of Education 2007). The framework asserts its inclusiveness, with languages to be affirmed and language learning needs to be addressed. This looks encouraging, yet with rare privately initiated exceptions[4] New Zealand schools start offering second language learning too late as explained below, with current study results suggesting that levels offered were not suitable for those who started with a working knowledge of the language. For this reason the G2 participants who took German as a high school subject were bored, which does not encourage learning. Findings indicate also that the experiences of their heritage language marking the youngsters as targets for discrimination influenced their cultural competencies developing in favor of New Zealand mainstream culture and English language to blend in. Therefore, discrimination experiences linked to the German language, G2 intercultural marriages, their view of German not being advantageousin New Zealand (cf. Resch 2008), and their difficulties in maintaining a disciplined approach to remaining bilingual influenced their choice of English as the only home language for their children. Whether these G3 children will become

[4]See, e.g., http://www.bilingualkids.co.nz/aboutus.aspx; http://www.en.frenzschool.org.nz.

interested enough in their heritage language to learn it eventually to significant communicative-competence levels remains an unanswered question in the current study.

As is the situation in other countries, immigrants' heritage language maintenance during the most important language learning age is effectively left to immigrants' abilities to offer private learning opportunities and how much they see language as a cultural core value. This indicates a clear institutional lack of appreciation of a wealth of resources as one would think that those who design national language curricula are aware of language learning research. Yet, either this is not the case or research insights are not acted on in New Zealand. Apart from Māori education,which is available as immersion from pre-school to university, the education system does not offer education in languages other than English (LOTE) during the most crucial language learning age (see Clyne 1972; Paradis 2004) but leaves it rather too late. That is, potentially starting to offer LOTE only from school year 7 (when pupils are about 11–12 years old) neglects maturational insights into language learning (see Komarova and Nowak 2001; Nadel 2005). This late starting age does not take advantage of community languages but rather offers LOTE (including German) as foreign languages[5] from beginner level, and at many high schools only as correspondence courses. Not offering languages from a much younger age cannot be defended with logistics and cost arguments in the era of effective software design, the interactive Internet, and virtual classrooms.

The late offering of LOTE operates as indirect assimilation pressure into the Anglophone mainstream. A consequence is that long-term Anglophone assimilation is practically guaranteed if immigrant language groups are not large, wealthy, concentrated, and determined enough to provide ongoing heritage language support opportunities for subsequent generations. Given that over 180 languages are spoken in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2013), avoidance of early second language teaching may save taxpayer money. Yet, it wastes precious social capital, which could increase educational achievements and could be useful for international trade (Royal Society 2013). One could argue, however, that it does not affect trade with German-speaking Europe because second language learning from an early age is compulsory there, with English the most taught second language. Arguably, Anglophone lack of action supports global English language and related cultural domination but closes the door to other rich cultural funds of knowledge.

### *9.4.6 Ethnic Identities*

Ethnic self-identification as the subjective and socially constructed sense of belonging to an ethnic or cultural group (Phinney 1990) differed between generations and individuals, and between Austrians and Germans. In common with

[5]In New Zealand, the terms are generally understood this way: community language is considered the language spoken by an immigrant group (immigrant community), while foreign language refers to teaching/learning a language not in community use in the country where it is taught.

Eich-Krohm's (2008) findings of German professionals in the United States, all G1 participants primarily identified with their original national group. This was the case even if they had lost their original citizenship through acquiring New Zealand citizenship. They also specified their ethnic group more distinctly referring to regions, for instance, as Styrian, East-Prussian or Bavarian, which seemed to reflect Pauwels (1988) distinction of speech communities but also reflects cultural distinctions. The Austrian G1 participants who held dual citizenships identified with both nationalities. However, in many ways New Zealanders stayed the cultural Other for all G1 participants in a 'we'/'they' separation, especially when a social practice was found wanting and was criticized.[6] Arguably, for these participants one therefore could see a continuing consequence of immigration in a certain psychological isolation resulting from the physical separation from their cultural milieu while retaining a sense of identity with it.

Ethnic self-identification shifted in G2. Rather than rejecting identification with the receiving society because of experienced discrimination as research in Finland suggests (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2009), G2 participants aimed to blend into the New Zealand mainstream. These findings align with Phinney et al. (2001: 494) suggestion that some immigrants may either downplay or reject their ethnic identity because they experienced hostility, and that

> Ethnic and national identities and their role in adaptation can best be understood in terms of an interaction between the attitudes and characteristics of immigrants and the responses of the receiving society, moderated by the particular circumstances of the immigrant group within the new society (ibid.)

Such complex integral connections of attitudes, characteristics, and responses were found in the current study. For example, the German participants did not identify as German unless they had to for institutional purposes. Imperfect first-language competency and birth in a third country contributed to self-justification: '*eigentlich bin ich bin ja nicht wirklich von Deutschland und ich bin ja in Neuseeland aufgewachsen*' [actually I'm not really from Germany and I grew up in New Zealand] (Connie). Apart from corroborating Portes and Rivas' (2011) claim that child immigrants tend to identify with the receiving society, this ethnicity-evading comment provides insight into a subcategory of the G2 dilemma, that is, not having an identity perfectly aligned with either a New Zealand or a German birthplace. It also points to issues in using immigrants' birthplaces for population characteristics and identification of origins (e.g., cf. Statistics New Zealand 2002).

School experience of discrimination through assigned association of German speakers with the National Socialists of the '*Third Reich*' was also a strong reason

[6]The "we" category also depended on situation, place, and time. For instance, participating Austrians did not necessarily include Germans in the "we" group, Styrians not Viennese, Bavarians not Prussians or Austrians, etc. and exclusion was not always entirely jocular in these circumstances.

for not identifying as German. This shows a long-lasting effect of stigmatization of their first language, which is not unique to New Zealand (see e.g., Messer et al. 2012). All but one of the G2 children immigrants in the main study reported experiencing such discrimination, which was also commented on in many survey responses. Yet, the Austrian teenagers in the main study dismissed the assigned *Nazi* labelling outright ('*die waren sowas von blöd*' [they were such idiots] Lisa) and it did not affect their self-identification as Austrian. A reason for this might be found in how the families dealt with these experiences. In contrast to the Germans, the Austrian families reported that they never talked about National Socialism. It appears that this in turn linked into divergent post-WWII public discourses in the two countries. In relation to the countries' common National Socialist past, political and public discourses in (West)Germany revolved around collective shame and guilt as well as restitution (Dierkes 2010; Doosje et al. 1998; Imhoff et al. 2013; Ludi 2006). In contrast, Austrian post-WWII politics and public discourses included "Austria's vital lie" in proclaiming innocence in the National Socialist dictatorship's barbarism, while pretending to have been the first victim of the National Socialist regime and consenting to restitution only for reasons of benevolence (Schwarz 2004: 178; cf. Knight 2000; Rabinbach 1988; Timmerman 2002). Such discourses remain controversial although Austrian historians now suggest that two-thirds of the Austrian population agreed to and/or applauded Austria's unification with Nazi Germany and, like in Germany, there were the guilty, the innocent, the victims, and rescuers of the innocent (Müllner n/d).

The G3 children who were born in Australia could not yet express which culture they identified with but the older G3 children were aware of their Austrian and German heritage. However, those aged between 12 and 14 years considered the countries just quaint, distant places, where old relatives lived who did not speak English, and where one could spend a nice skiing holiday. Others (4–8 years old) saw the areas on the world map and, not quite understanding the European country puzzle, as places that grandparents would fly to and return with 'cool' gifts, '*Oma* could you bring me a Barcelona goalkeeper T-shirt?' (David) and brothers happily donning a selection of European club wear from across the continent. The G3 children who were born in New Zealand and were old enough to see themselves in terms of ethnicity fully identified as New Zealanders. Explanations for this can be found in their European parent's assimilation into New Zealand's mainstream community and intercultural marriages; English as the resultant home language; and their own institutional preschooling and schooling. These findings resonate also in comments by older G3 respondents to the survey.

English was the language in the two homes with a Māori and a part-Māori parent, who informed that they were monolingual even though both had some active Māori language and one also demonstrated considerable passive German language knowledge. English monolingualism among Māori can be traced back to assimilationist pressures in previous generations when Māori language was suppressed in many ways (Ka'ai-Mahuta 2011; Wohlfart 2007). Because the families lived in the wider Auckland district away from original Māori tribal areas, the

children were not introduced to marae traditions. In one of the families, traces of Māori sometimes surfaced in a trilingual mix: '*Mama* look at my puku [belly]!' or in occasionally presenting fashionable haka[7] performances learned at school. G3 children's Māori ethnic identification included skin color as a distinguishing but unwanted feature ('I'd rather be white like *Mama*'). This points to racial discrimination discourses in New Zealand society (e.g., Cormack 2010; Harris et al. 2012; Harris et al. 2006).

### The Treaty of Waitangi and the Current Study

The Treaty of Waitangi is relevant for any research undertaken in New Zealand and therefore also for this study.[8] Researcher commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi is included in AUTEC's social and cultural sensitivity principle.[9] AUTEC rationalizes the ethical research principles of participation, protection, and partnership as arising from the Treaty. While I applied these ethics principles in this research, rather than being based on Treaty facts, this linkage of research ethics to the Treaty appears to be one of the "highly-charged social theorizations" of the Treaty that Ip (2005: 1) refers to.

Contemporary New Zealand governments have validated the Treaty of Waitangi as permeating all aspects of life in New Zealand, and as being relevant for immigrants because it allows them access to the country (INZ n/d). Yet, main study participants did not see themselves as directly affected by Treaty aspects. Rather, they saw the Treaty as a colonial annexation document used by representatives of the British Crown to dupe Māori into accepting British governance while promising them retention of power over their country. Participants considered the Treaty becoming a partnership agreement between the New Zealand government and Māori only because of massive Māori protests in the second half of the twentieth century. Participants acknowledged that colonization had inflicted injustices on Māori and welcomed that governments agreed to reparation. With regard to their multiethnic families, however, participants agreed that culturalist discourses with ethnic divisions for political ends were potentially dangerous and they expressed their hope that this would not become commonplace in New Zealand. Arguably, this stance evolved for the German participants in particular partially from a sense of collective guilt about German historical events but also can be considered a positive consequence of immigration to New Zealand.

[7]Haka is derived from traditional Māori warrior challenges; see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tdMCAV6Yd0Y. Accessed December 2013.

[8]See http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics/guidelines-and-procedures/social-and-cultural-sensitivity-including-commitment-to-the-principles-of-the-treaty-of-waitangi-2.5. Accessed December 2013.

[9]For AUT ethical principles see http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics/guidelines-and-procedures/list-of-ethical-principles-2. Accessed December 2013.

## 9.5 Reflections on the Study

### *9.5.1 Potential Weaknesses of the Study*

Potential weaknesses lie in the snowball system of participant recruitment and the survey. Arguably, since the main study participants knew each other, the study did not cover a representative population sample. Also, the very strength of looking for resonance of the qualitative-study findings in the wider community might be seen as a weakness by some critics, who might argue that the questions shaped by the qualitative-study findings were not adequate. Comment boxes aimed to ameliorate this.[10] Indeed, questions could have been presented in many different ways. Whether different questions and changed question placement would have stimulated completion is uncertain, however, because survey participation is based on momentary factors (Haunberger 2011). On greater reflection, language-related questions could have been placed towards the beginning of the survey.

The survey itself could also be seen as including weaknesses. For instance, an online survey is self-administered, time-delayed interaction with the researcher. It therefore lacks the opportunity for further explanations (Fuchs 2003), which are possible in conversational surveys and are considered to improve data quality (Schober and Conrad 1997). Perhaps related to the lack of researcher–participant communication in the survey were 47 'window-shopper' replies to the newspaper invitation for the survey. Thirty-eight of these only answered Q1 and Q3. This enabled to view the other questions, which some described as 'silly' and old-fashioned ('like 50 years ago').[11] Nine of the 47 indicated they were descendants of German-speaking immigrants and were born in New Zealand. Their nonparticipation was unfortunate because German language maintenance or loss across generation was of great interest. These 47 replies were not included in the response count because they did not yield data for analysis.

A general problem with surveys is that the widespread assumption of a stable and comprehensible reality and truth underlying survey answers might just be a theoretical construction (Wikman 2006). Mistakes might have been a factor. For example, one respondent gave age at immigration and presently as 71–80, with year of immigration four decades ago. I excluded another highly incongruous response because I considered it to be a prank. This indicates that survey responses need to be considered with some caution. Acknowledging this, my survey analysis reflects experiences, feelings, realities, and truths reported by the respondents.

[10]See appendices.

[11]One personal email message expressing that a group of Germans felt this way.

### 9.5.2 *Strengths of the Study*

The methodological guidelines of mediated discourse studies (MDS) and its analytical tool NA facilitated rigorous, credible in-depth inquiry into the discourses entailed in participants' mediated actions and the larger discourses intersecting in these actions. A strength of the study lies in the diverse data, which included participants' narrative accounts of their experiences and their reflexive evaluations, documents, and material cultural manifestations, as well as my observations of participants' natural interactions at intervals over a long period of time. This combination ensured rich data and the possibility to crosscheck between different kinds of data. Also, NA is participatory inquiry, i.e., participants are considered co-researchers and the researcher a participant and my insider position meant that I understood our shared language and other shared background. These aspects make the study strong. It gained strength, thanks to participants not only allowing me to access into their lives but also patiently giving me feedback on transcripts and interpretations of their data. Indeed, participants offered me much more time than I had asked for, which shows their intense engagement in this project.

Discussions with other academics ensured that I distinguished my assumptions from participants' data and that I detailed and clarified my interpretations and reasoning. University internal and conference presentation feedback confirmed the strength of the research and wide interest in the findings (Wohlfart 2009, 2011, 2013). In addition to returning to the research participants with information from the in-depth main study, the main findings were also confirmed in an online survey yielding 317 completed responses. The survey was distributed not only through emailing contacts with the request to distribute further, but also through a column in a New Zealand newspaper (in print and electronic media).

# Chapter 10
# Changing the Nexus of Practice

In the spirit of MDS and NA as social activism (Scollon and Scollon 2004), I hope that the findings from this study trigger positive changes in the nexuses of practice involved. In addition to the contributions this study makes, the potentials for such changes are outlined in this section.

## 10.1 Contributions the Study Makes

This study contributes to migration research and community knowledge in several ways. Within the broad category of migration consequences over three generations within families, the study contributes to a number of specific migration theories discussed in the literature review.

My participants, primarily G1, maintained close transnational ties and this study adds to the arguments in transnational theory that migrants' identities are affected through transnational ties and that their incorporation processes impact their receiving country.

The multitudes of factors that contribute to international lifestyle migration (LM) are not fully understood at this point. The study explains motives for intercontinental lifestyle and amenity migration from the northern to the southern hemisphere and addresses the consequences and impacts of permanent LM across generations. This study also adds to the explication of highly skilled migrants' permanent moves due to environmental concerns and migrants' attraction to New Zealand by expectations of untainted natural amenities. The study is therefore relevant to theories describing LM as an escape and a search for life-fulfilling conditions. This relates to participants' agency, which is an important aspect of mediated discourse studies. Bürgelt's (2010) comments on the research gap relating to migrants from affluent countries searching for nonfinancial lifestyle improvements are also addressed in this study.



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Theories of acculturation and assimilation processes diverge. This study adds to the arguments that adaptations and integration might be better understood at an individual engagement level and that concepts of homogeneity among immigrants commonly considered a group may not always be helpful. The study contributes to discussions regarding immigrants' systemic versus social integration processes as some of the findings support Esser's (2001) argument that social assimilation lags behind systemic assimilation. Further, findings support arguments for a "bumpy-line" integration (Gans 1997) and selective assimilation (Portes 2003b) in G1. The study supports Gans' assertion that G3 becomes fully assimilated and may only use their grandparents' ethnic tools when convenient. My study found some individual use of nostalgic ethnic tools in G2 and G3, with G3 demonstrating complete assimilation with scarce remnants of the immigrants' original culture. Due to the young age of G3, the study left the question open if G3 would eventually exert their agency to revive their migrating grandparents' original culture as suggested by the Hansen–Herzberg theory (Herberg 1955/1960).

The study increases the understanding of agency in LM. In the context of Berry (1997), Nayar (2009), and Codde's (2003) theories of strategies and tools, participants in this study exerted agency at many levels as part of meeting and coping with consequences of migration. Agency has been identified as important from the time participants dealt with push–pull factors up to the present time as the processes of retirement for G1, career and family for G2, and growth and development for G3 continue.

My study is important for New Zealand migration research as it relates detailed qualitative information about the adaptation processes of German-speaking immigrants *and* their descendants into New Zealand's Anglophone society. The study adds insights into attitudes, adaptation, social integration, and assimilation processes including intercultural marriage behavior, and offers acuities into work and educational achievements and community enrichments by contemporary German-speaking immigrants and their descendants. It also presents the institutional and societal reception of these immigrants and their children in New Zealand and the effects these have had on them.

Through detailed explanation of intersecting discourses, the study has the potential to enlighten policy decision-makers who influence or even shape people's livelihoods and life satisfaction. The study complements previous research into the return migration rate of German speakers from New Zealand (Bürgelt et al. 2008). Survey responses suggest that unmet expectations, lack of qualification acceptance, and cultural prejudice are among the reasons for the high return rate. The findings from my study can inform immigration decision-makers and professional associations about the necessity to coordinate their policies, and the effect of the lack of such cooperation on individuals and on social capital in the receiving society.

The study complements previous research conducted with German-speaking immigrants in New Zealand by including successive generations in in-depth qualitative inquiry and quantitative corroboration of findings. The study's insider information about their experienced consequences of migration across three

generations also enables monolingual New Zealanders to get acquainted with the contemporary "Unknown Germans" (Braund 1997) in their midst.

As far as European migration research is concerned, the results add information about skilled German speakers' emigration reasons and wider societal discourses intersecting in their migration decisions. This is relevant in the light of acknowledged problems with falling birth rates coupled with migration deficits, i.e., higher out-migration of highly skilled Germans than replacement by immigrants (Bonstein et al. 2006; Verwiebe et al. 2010). Given that English is a main school subject in German-speaking Europe and bilingualism is the norm, this text potentially widens the premigration knowledge base for German speakers considering moving to New Zealand.

The study confirms the usefulness of NA for research into language shift and identity construction (see Lane 2009, 2010) by applying the approach to detailed research into migration decision-making and consequences. A novel contribution to research methodology is that I explicitly link MDS and NA with social constructionism because the essentials in these approaches align with each other.

## 10.2 Suggestions Arising from the Findings

Because I suspect that the "follower" participant's experiences represent those of many late-in-life immigrants, one suggestion from the pilot study is for further research into the experiences and integration of the elderly follower generation, that is, parents who migrate late in life to be with their adult immigrant children. Policy changes and political debates in New Zealand have focused on this immigrant generation (Bedford and Liu 2013; Trevett 2012[1]) but very few studies have investigated this generational group (e.g., Park and Kim 2013—Korean; Selvarajah 2004—Chinese) and no other study has looked at this generation of German-speaking immigrants.

Because of the recent massive increases in temporary and permanent immigration of German speakers to New Zealand, these latest arrivals' reasons and consequences of migration and the wider discourses in place of origin and New Zealand intersecting in their migration and settlement should be further investigated. Given the overarching push and pull factors of environmental dismay and idealization of the New Zealand environment found in the current study, further study to elucidate similar or differing push and pull factors for more recent German-speaking immigrants should prove valuable.

Suggestions for further research include a survey specifically targeting second- and third-generation descendants of German-speaking immigrants to investigate their links to their heritage culture and language. Comparative studies could identify

[1]TV1 News, 17 June 2012. http://tvnz.co.nz/politics-news/peters-blames-older-immigrants-threat-super-4933122. Accessed January 2014.

similarities and differences for descendants of immigrants from various language backgrounds. Other comparative studies could investigate similarities and differences between immigrants' experiences in New Zealand and Europe.

The current study showed that immigrants, including recent arrivals, found official comparisons between their overseas and New Zealand qualifications wanting and the demand for additional examinations patronizing and unjustifiably excluding, denying them the respect they deserve as professionals. Given that immigrating professionals are enticed to New Zealand industry, there is room for improvement in professional associations' attitudes to other scientifically and educationally advanced societies' qualifications. There should be improvement in professional associations' cooperation with Immigration New Zealand. It also seems that the New Zealand Qualifications Authority would benefit from increasing their knowledge about the education systems and qualifications of German-speaking countries, and improving translations[2] thereof.

Some aspects of LM to New Zealand should be further investigated as New Zealand government and other institutions use landscapes, lifestyle, and quality of life persuasively to attract highly skilled immigrants and affluent investors. This advertising seems to be working not only for German speakers as lifestyle and natural amenities were the most common pull factors in a survey of over 7000 new immigrants in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2008). Findings in the current study suggest that LM involved a liberating detachment from emotional pressure and demands by wider family and work. There is anecdotal indication that this is also the case for immigrants from countries where filial duty is paramount. Its rejection and the consequences could be explored.

Another aspect is that the emotion-evoking charm of local amenities that attracts people may be considerably altered through ecological and economic changes brought about by in-migration (see Loeffler and Steinicke 2007; Partridge 2010). Benson and O'Reilly (2009), for instance, urge further research into the massive implications of lifestyle immigration such as escalating property prices and shift in capital and power due to the increasing numbers of lifestyle migrants. Although they refer to Spain, their counsel seems timely for New Zealand as escalating property prices are mostly due to increased demand, resulting in fast decreasing first-home affordability for New Zealanders (Pope 2013), while at the same time there are debates about intensifying immigration for economic reasons ("Time to open New Zealand migration doors wider" 2013) versus tighter immigration control to curb rising interest rates and house prices (Kirk 2014).

Some participants in each generation expressed regret about losing the German language. Not only are some of the communication channels between the generations lost with the language but also specific understanding of the world. Therefore, suggestions are given in the spirit of NA's goal to instigate positive changes. Given

[2]For instance, a *Diplom* is a much higher educational achievement level than a diploma even if this "false friend" suggests so to the uninitiated, and to a culturally inexperienced translator.

the proven advantages of bilingualism (see e.g., Bialystok 2011; Bialystok and Barac 2012) and the richness of the German language and literature, I urge German-speaking immigrants to maintain their language and to pass it on to their children and grandchildren from earliest childhood and to keep encouraging German language development. Bilingualism forms brains in positive ways from an earliest age (Petitto et al. 2012). Yet, "To survive, languages must be seen to be relevant. They must be valued and their use encouraged, particularly among children" (Lateu 2014: 15). For the youngest this can be through more German playgroups formed by immigrants in New Zealand. For the older children this can be achieved through reading materials actively integrated into their daily lives, through the Internet, through films, and so on. For example, Pasfield-Neofitou (2016) and Pihkala-Post (2015) suggest that online gaming provides excellent opportunities for second language learning.

There has been a shift in New Zealand language policies in recent decades. For example, Māori, the once suppressed language of New Zealand's indigenous population, is now offered at all education levels and in immersion schooling. However, in New Zealand promotion of languages rises and falls with trade considerations; and German trading partners speak English. Currently, the Ministry of Education offers a contestable fund to promote Asian languages in support of growing trade (MOE 2016). Yet, second/foreign languages are not in the general curriculum early enough to help maintain heritage languages. In general school curricula, second/foreign languages are only offered from secondary school level when children enter/have entered puberty. As this study has shown, children do not want to be different during this vulnerable age but they rather want to blend completely into the mainstream language and culture. Also, at this age immigrants' own heritage language may well have withered away, perhaps not least due to societal attitudes. That is, while the majority of people in the world learn more than one language (Klein et al. 2014), the percentage of second language learners in New Zealand schools is the lowest since 1933 (Tan 2015).

I suggest that the Ministry of Education support early second language learning and inclusion into New Zealand curricula for heritage languages, and not just those that serve trade aspirations. Given the solid research insights into second language acquisition and its close links to brain development (see e.g., Klein et al. 2014; Kuhl 2010; Kuniyoshi 2005; Paradis 2004, 2010), second language learning must be included in curricula as early as possible. This move would not only assist community language maintenance but it could also boost the population's cognitive abilities because bi-/multilingualism enhances learning, multitasking, and problem-solving and delays dementia (see e.g., Bialystok et al. 2012; Blom et al. 2014; Keijzer and Schmid 2016; Spitzer 2016). The second-language-learning curriculum can take advantage of interactive online learning to translate into

financial efficacy. For example, online German language learning is sponsored and promoted by the German government and other providers.[3]

I would like to end with Heike van den Berg's (2013) reflections:

In welcher Sprache,
In welchem Gefühl spreche ich 'fremd'?
Bin ich mir Fremde?
Ich verstumme:
Lausche in mein Inneres.
Höre zu
Den Menschen um mich herum.
Der Stimme in mir.
Sie antwortet:
Deine Muttersprache des Herzens
Ist die Liebe.
Deine Fremdsprache der Seele
Sind Hass, Neid und Gier und Angst.
Und die Sehnsucht deines Geistes
Sind:
Alle Sprachen in Frieden zugleich!
Alle Sprachen und Gefühle
Sind Heimat,
nichts und keine sind dir fremd.
Dann bist du in dir
Und in der Welt
Zuhause.

Aus: 'Fremd-SprecherIn'

In which language,
In which feeling do I speak 'foreign'?
Am I foreigner to me?
I fall silent:
Listen inwardly.
Pay attention
To the people around me.
The voice in me.
It answers:
Your heart's mother tongue
Is love.
Your soul's foreign languages
Are hate, envy and greed and fear.
And the longings of your spirit
Are:
All languages in peace at once!
All languages and feelings
Are Heimat,

[3]See, e.g., www.goethe.de; www.busuu.com; www.de.de/deutsch-lernen and e.g. Pihkala-Posti (2015).

And none are strange to you.
Then you are in yourself
And in the world
At home.

From: “Foreign Speaker” (my translation).

# Appendix

## Survey

The coversheet gave information about the study and pointed out that answering the survey questions equated to consenting to participation. Only answering the first three questions was compulsory to (self)select respondents.

The questions reflected previous findings in the study. Apart from the first three questions, every question had a comment section added. Also, where suitable, a Likert scale was added (e.g., not at all true/*stimmt überhaupt nicht* … very true/*stimmt vollkommen*).

1. I want to participate in this research./Ich will an dieser Forschung teilnehmen.
2. What is your gender?/Ihr Geschlecht?
3. I live in New Zealand and am a German-speaking immigrant or have German-speaking parent(s) or grandparent(s)./Ich lebe in Neuseeland und bin entweder deutschsprachige(r) ImmigrantIn oder habe eine deutschsprachige Mutter und/oder Vater oder deutschsprachige Grossmutter und/oder Grossvater
4. Where are you from? If you were born in New Zealand, were did your parents/grandparents come from?/Aus welchem Land stammen Sie/Ihre Eltern/Ihre Grosseltern?
5. Were you born in New Zealand? Sind sie in Neuseeland geboren? [if this was answered with Yes, the next visible question was Q15]
6. Where were you born?/Wo sind Sie geboren?
7. How old were you when you immigrated to New Zealand? Wie alt waren Sie als Sie nach Neuseeland eingewandert sind? [age groups: 5 years or younger, in 5-year stages up to 20 years; then in 10-year stages]
8. Did you make the decision to immigrate to New Zealand?/Haben Sie die Entscheidung getroffen nach Neuseeland einzuwandern?
9. At the time of your immigration, were you happy about moving to New Zealand? If not, why not?/Als Sie eingewandert sind, waren Sie froh nach Neuseeland zu ziehen? Falls nein, warum nicht?
10. It was easy to make friends with New Zealanders./Es war einfach neuseeländische Freunde zu finden.



I.K. Wohlfart, *Intergenerational Consequences of Lifestyle Migration*,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3260-8

11. To feel completely at home in New Zealand, it took me-/Um mich vollkommen zuhause in Neuseeland zu fühlen, hat es … gedauert [about 3/6 months; about 1/2/3/5 years]
12. My Austrian/German/Swiss qualifications were accepted in New Zealand without any problems./Meine österreichischen, deutschen, schweizer Qualifikationen wurden in Neuseeland ohne Probleme akzeptiert. [Likert scale]
13. New Zealand has cost us a lot of money./Neuseeland hat uns viel Geld gekosted. [Likert scale]
14. I have less income in New Zealand than I had overseas./Ich habe weniger Einkommen in Neuseeland als ich anderswo hatte. [Likert scale]
15. Citizenship and/or permanent resident (PR)/Staatsbürgerschaft und/oder Daueraufenthaltsgenehmigung. [NZ citizen/PR/Other (please specify)]
16. How old are you now?/Wie alt sind Sie jetzt? [age brackets: 16–20; then 10-year age groups]
17. Do you own your home?/Sind Sie Haus-/WohnungsbesitzerIn?
18. Do you live-/Wohnen Sie—[in the city/in der Stadt; at the ocean/am Meer; in a town/in einer Kleinstadt; outskirts of town/am Stadtrand; on a lifestyle block/auf einem Lifestyle-Grundstück; on a farm/ auf einer Farm]
19. Who in your family immigrated to New Zealand and when? Wer in Ihrer Familie ist nach Neuseeland eingewandert und wann?
20. Year of immigration to New Zealand? Jahr der Immigration nach Neuseeland?
21. Apart from Austrian/German/Swiss, we have these ethnic groups in our family:/ Ausser österreichisch/deutsch/schweizer haben wir diese ethnischen Gruppen in unserer Familie:
22. What were the main reasons for emigrating?/Was waren die Hauptgründe für die Auswanderung?
23. Who else in your wider family lives in New Zealand? Wer von Ihrer Familie/Grossfamilie lebt in Neuseeland ausser Ihnen?
24. Do you keep in contact with Austria/Germany/Switzerland/Europe?/Bleiben Sie in Kontakt mit Österreich/Deutschland/Schweiz/Europa? [Likert scale & by phone/Skype/Visits to Europe/Visits from Europe]
25. My qualifications:/Meine Qualifikationen: [multiple choice: school certificate/Schulabschluss; university entrance/Abitur; apprenticeship/Lehre; university degree/Universitätsabschluss; please specify field]
26. Finding satisfying work in New Zealand was easy./Es war einfach zufriedenstellende Arbeit in Neuseeland zu finden. [Likert scale]
27. I/We have (had) my/our own business in New Zealand./ Ich/wir habe(n)/hatte (n) mein/unser eigenes Geschäft in Neuseeland.
28. It is unfair that overseas pensions are deducted from New Zealand Superannuation./Es ist unfair dass Renten aus andern Ländern von der New Zealand Superannuation abgezogen werden.
29. I am proud of my Austrian/German/Swiss background. Ich bin stolz auf meine össterreichische/deutsche/schweizer Herkunft. [Likert scale]
30. Kiwis treat Germans/Austrians/Swiss as outsiders./Kiwis behandeln Deutsche/ Österreicher/Schweizer als Aussenseiter. [Likert scale]

31. I miss my family in Europe./Ich vermisse meine Familie in Europe. [Likert scale]
32. New Zealand is my dreamland./Neuseeland ist mein Traumland. [Likert scale]
33. New Zealand is my *Heimat*. Neuseeland ist meine Heimat. [Likert scale]
34. I am glad that I am far away from pollution./Ich bin froh dass ich weit weg bin von Umweltverschmutzung. [Likert scale]
35. I am glad that I am far away from nuclear power and nuclear weapons./Ich bin froh dass ich weit weg bin von Atomkraft und Atomwaffen. [Likert scale]
36. I need lots of green space around my house./Ich brauche jede Menge Grünraum um mein Heim. [Likert scale]
37. I do not like neighbors close by./Ich mag Nachbarn nicht so nah da haben. [Likert scale]
38. My lifestyle is-/Mein Lebensstil ist—[excellent/ausgezeichnet; relaxed/entspannt; good/gut; could be more balanced/könnte mehr ausgewogen sein; hectic/hektisch]
39. Did you/your family bring possessions like furniture, household items, or other things that provided you with a sense of attachment to your European culture?/Haben Sie/Ihre Familie persönlich Effekten, z.B. Möbel, Haushaltsgegenstände oder anderes, mitgebracht welche Ihnen/Ihrer Familie ein Gefühl der Bindung an Ihre europäische Kulture gibt/gab? Please explain:
40. Have you ever faced any prejudice or discrimination because of your German-speaking background/name tec.?/Haben Sie je Vorurteile oder Diskriminierung wegen Ihrer deutschsprachigen Herkunft/Ihres deutschen Namens/deutschen Sprache usw. erfahren? What happened?
41. Do you maintain your original culture/the culture of your parents or grandparents?/Pflegen Sie Ihre ursprüngliche Kulture oder die Ihrer Eltern oder Grosseltern? Please explain what you do or why not.
42. Have you learnt German/Austrian/Swiss German?/Haben Sie Deutsch/Östserreichisch/Schwyzerdütsch gelernt?
43. In your childhood, which language was the family language?/Welche Sprache war Ihre Familiensprache in Ihrer Kindheit?
44. If you learnt German/Austrian/Swiss German, how did you learn it?/Falls Sie Deutsch/Östserreichisch/Schwyzerdütsch gelernt haben, wie haben sie es gelernt?
45. Do you speak German?/Sprechen Sie deutsch?
46. How would you describe your German language skills?/Wie würden Sie Ihre Deutschkenntnisse beschreiben? [Likert scale: excellent/enough for everyday conversations/not that good/some words only]
47. How often do you speak German?/Wie oft sprechen Sie deutsch? [Likert scale: rarely .. every day]
48. Who do you speak German with? Mit wem sprechen Sie deutsch?
49. Do you read German?/Lesen Sie deutsch? [Likert scale]
50. I was terrified of making mistakes in English./ Ich hatte richtig Angst Fehler im Englischen zu machen. [Likert scale]

51. Do you have trouble understanding English-speaking members of your family?/ Haben Sie Schwierigkeiten englisch-sprechende Familienmitglieder zu verstehen?
52. Do you have trouble understanding German speakers in your wider family?/ Haben Sie Probleme deutschsprechende Familienmitglieder zu verstehen?
53. How would you describe your English skills at the time of immigration?/Wie würden Sie Ihre Englischkenntnisse zur Zeit Ihrer Immigration beschreiben? [Likert scale + N/A]
54. How would you describe your current English skills?/Wie würden Sie Ihre jetzigen Englischkenntnisse beschreiben? [Likert scale]
55. Which is your strongest language?/Welches ist Ihre stärkste Sprache? [please rank from 1 = strongest to weakest/bitte sortieren Sie von 1 = stärkste bis schwächste Sprache]
56. Do you mix languages when speaking with your family and friends?/ Vermischen Sie Sprachen wenn Sie mit Ihrer Famlie oder mit Freunden sprechen? [never/sometimes/often/all the time].

# Glossary

## Terms Related to Language, Migration, and Settlement

**Assimilation** complete submergence into mainstream target culture

**Codeswitching** code means language; codeswitching refers to using terms from another language within an utterance; or changing the language used in an interaction; or changing back and forth between languages in an interaction

**Codemixing** refers to changing a word to fit grammatical structures of the other language, e.g., adding a German prefix or suffix to an English word

**Dominant language** the language in which the speaker is most proficient

**Home language** the language that parents speak to their children in the home

**Integration** On the part of the receiving society, integration offers equal participation; on the part of an immigrant, integration means adaptation to institutional and social role requirements to achieve inclusion

**Language transmission** Process of teaching language to the next generation

**Migration, emigration, immigration** **Migration** is the process of moving from one place to another. **Emigration** is the out-migration from a country. **Immigration** is the in-migration into a country. Therefore, a **migrant** is someone who moves from one place to another; an **emigrant** is someone who moves out of a country; and **immigrant** describes a person who moves/has moved into a country

**Morphology** Study of linguistic meaning units such as morphemes, the smallest meaning units (e.g., word roots or affixes)

**Mother tongue** As this study shows, mother tongue as the language that the mother speaks to the child from earliest childhood can be problematic as people may not pass on their own first language to their children. Rather than mother tongue, I therefore use L1, which stands for first language learned. A child learning two languages at once from earliest childhood has two L1s



I.K. Wohlfart, *Intergenerational Consequences of Lifestyle Migration*,
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**Phonology** Study of speech sounds

**Prosody** Relates to language rhythm and speech style

**Syntax** Is about the combination of words into phrases and sentences

## German Terms

***Bretzel*** (plural *Bretzeln*) also known as *Breze* (plural *Brezen*), or *Pretzel*. Most common is the *Laugenbretzel*: The dough is made of wheat flour, yeast, water, and salt, and rested, then formed into a specific looped form twisted onto itself. After another proving, *Bretzeln* are quickly dipped into a NaOH solution, sprinkled with coarse salt and baked. *Laugenbretzeln/Laugenbrezen* are eaten fresh. *Butterbretzen* are spread with butter. See also http://bar.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brezn

***Dirndl*** (singular and plural, the latter also *Dirndln*) The word is a Bavarian dialect term for *Mädchen* [girl]. The term is also used for traditional girls and women's dresses, which nowadays are worn mainly in the gastronomy and tourist industries, but also in rural areas. Each area has a slightly different *Dirndl* style. Exquisite handcrafted *Dirndln* are worn at festive events. The dress consists of a blouse, a fitting bodice and full skirt with an apron, and traditionally is accessorized with shawl and necklace. See also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dirndl

***Fernweh*** literally "ache for the distance/far-away places." The term expresses a more intense longing for distant places than *Wanderlust* (pleasure in/joy in *wandern*, i.e., hiking), which is a German loan word commonly used to translate *Fernweh* into English. Antonym: *Heimweh* [homesickness]

***Frankfurter*** smoked pork sausages known as *Frankfurter* (i.e., from Frankfurt) in Austria are also known as *Wiener* (that is, Viennese/from Vienna) in Germany although opinions vary on exact sizes and quality. Eaten hot, often with mustard, and fresh bread rolls. See also http://www.heck.co.nz/p_sausages.html

***Fritatensuppe*** Austrian term for pancake soup (standard German: *Pfannkuchensuppe*) or *Flädlesuppe* (Swabian), that is, clear beef broth with thin cold pancakes finely sliced and served with chopped chives

***Geborgenheit*** is best explained as being/feeling cradled by safety, security and care in terms of place and social space, i.e., embraced within a strong social support network

***Heimat*** I use *Heimat* as relating to the ongoing processes in social space and place. That is, *Heimat* relates to the individual and the community, a place and the people within that place, whom an individual feels strongly emotionally connected with and has a strong sense of belonging to, as well as a sense of emotional security and community

***Lederhose*** (singular is used in German for a pair of trousers, i.e., *Hose*); plural: *Lederhosen.* Deer or goat leather breeches with legs that traditionally are short or end just below the knee; they have a drop-front flap, pockets, including a small pocket on the side for a (hunting) knife, and are worn with suspenders. Traditionally worn for outdoor work and leisure by boys and men, they are part of *Tracht (*plural *Trachten)*, i.e., traditional costumes, and are now mainly worn at special occasions such as folk festivals. See http://www.lederhosen-aigner.de/html/lederhosen.html & http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tracht

***Oma*** granny; nana

***Opa*** granddad; poppa

***Optiker/Optikermeister*** *Optiker* translates as optician, and *Optikermeister* as master optician. In the German language, however, *Optikermeister* is synonymous with *Optometrist*. An *Optikermeister* has undergone a 3-year apprenticeship; after its completion has at least 5 years practical work experience and has passed another 2-year *Meister* [master] course at a *Fachhochschule* [University of Applied Sciences]. Due to the different systems in Austria/Germany and New Zealand, unlike an optician the *Optikermeister* not only fits lenses and glasses, but also conducts eye examinations to detect vision problems or signs of abnormal conditions, for which the client is referred to an ophthalmologist. So, the profession *Optikermeister* covers the scope of two different professions in New Zealand, namely dispensing optician and optometrist

***Sauerkraut*** also used as loan word in English: shredded, salted, and fermented white cabbage that usually is consumed hot with pork belly or *Frankfurter*, potatoes or noodles, but can also be served cold as salad

***Schwaben, n. schwäbisch adj.*** (plural: Schwaben) The English term Swabian (also ancient way Sueve/Sueves) is a translation of the German term *Schwaben* (which is also a Bavarian province). The term refers to Swabian (or Aleman) people and their cultures within a historical geographic area and a common ancient migration history and closely related dialects. This historic area now includes Bayrisch Schwaben/Bavarian Swabia, Baden-Württemberg, French Alsace, Luxembourg, German-speaking Switzerland, and the Austrian Province of Vorarlberg. Swabian dialects are Aleman dialects

***Spätzle*** Swabian egg noodles in droplet form, usually homemade, complementing vegetable and meat dishes. *Leberspätzle* include ground liver and are served in clear beef broth sprinkled with finely cut chives

***Verarbeitungsdiskurs*** is discourse about overcoming and coping processes. According to Dittmar and Bredel (1999), *Verarbeitungsdiskurs* typically has in commonComing-to-terms with individual, social, and/or professional upheaval experiences;Belonging to the same social group;Participants' common knowledge about such situations and their affective impact;Agreement regarding social norms, communicative practice, and sites/spaces of experience.

***Wiener Schnitzel*** used as loan word in English; translated: Viennese cutlet. Traditionally, thin boneless cutlets from the upper section of veal leg or shoulder, dusted with flour, dipped in beaten eggs, then covered in bread crumbs, and (deep)fried in vegetable oil mixed with lard or clarified butter until golden, and served with lemon slices and potato salad or parsley potatoes and green salad. Pork, while not traditional, is also used because it is cheaper

## Māori Terms

**Aotearoa** Land of the Long White Cloud; Māori name for New Zealand

**Māori** The term generally refers to the first people to settle in New Zealand (see The Māori—New Zealand in history http://history-nz.org/Māori.html). Modern Māori Dictionary. definitions: native, indigenous, belonging to Aotearoa/New Zealand; aboriginal inhabitant, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Moorfield 2011)

**Marae** The area in front of a Māori meeting/community house as well as this meeting house, and the whole complex with the meeting house

**Pākehā** Definitions and explanations for the term "Pākehā" vary from "not Māori," "European" (Ryan 1989); to "New Zealander of British or European descent" and "exotic—introduced from or originating in a foreign country" (Moorfield 2011). It might even be transliteration of "bugger ya (you)" (Wohlfart 2009). In modern everyday use, Pākehā refers to New Zealanders of British ancestry or to New Zealanders of any European descent, but is also used for anyone who is not Māori. See also http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Pākehā

**Tangata whenua** People of the land. The term is used as synonym for all Māori as indigenous people of New Zealand; or for a group of Māori who have ancestral ties to a specific geographic zone; or for a group of Māori who hold customary rights over such a specific area, although this aspect of authoritarian rights is controversial (Magellanes 2011)

**Tangi** Traditional Māori funeral/wake rites held on a marae, usually lasting 3 days (with interment on the 3rd day)

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