THE JAPANESE MIGRANT COMMUNITY IN CHRISTCHURCH: THE QUEST FOR NEW VALUES AND IDENTITY

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Abstract

Until the 1980s, there was no Japanese community in Christchurch, but only a small number of individuals living mainly amongst European New Zealanders. However, from the mid-1980s changes in New Zealand's immigration policies and the introduction of a working holiday scheme between Japan and New Zealand, led to the growth of a distinctive Japanese community. Its distinctiveness lays in a fact that unlike the classic 'New' immigrant communities of Japanese in Auckland and some other countries, it consisted largely of permanent residents rather than business expatriates. By the 1990s, the community had become large enough to support formal organisational structures, such as the Japanese Society of Canterbury, established in 1991 and the Japanese Supplementary School of Canterbury, opened in 1999. These organisations were founded by the permanent residents, not business sojourners. They fostered a sense of community and were expressions of Japanese identity, but they also promoted links with the host society. In this respect, they were representative of attitudes prevalent amongst the Christchurch's Japanese permanent residents. A survey conducted as a part of the research for this thesis reveals that Japanese in Christchurch retain a strong *ethnic* identification with Japan. However, it as well shows that they also have a strong *civic* identification with Christchurch and with New Zealand because they are glad that they live there; and it shows that most of them socialise extensively with European New Zealanders, support Canterbury and the All Blacks, and adopt aspects of 'Kiwi culture'. They have a dual loyalty to the land of their birth and the place where they live.

Introduction

In the last 15 years of the twentieth century, New Zealand experienced a dramatic growth in Asian immigration. The new immigrants came from many lands, including Japan. According to Statistics New Zealand, the Japanese population of New Zealand increased 3.4 times between 1991 and 2001, from 2,970 people to 10,000. This made the Japanese the fifth largest Asian ethnic group in New Zealand.[1] In this thesis, I will examine the growth of the Japanese community in Christchurch, its forms of community organization, its links to the host society, and its varying forms of identity.

Literature on Japanese migrant communities outside New Zealand

The modern Japanese diaspora began in the second half of the nineteenth century as a consequence of the end of the policy of National Seclusion imposed by the Japanese government under the rule of the Shoguns. Japanese nationals had been forbidden to travel abroad or return home from overseas for more than 200 years after the Edo Shogunate issued an edict on the Prohibition of Foreign Voyages in 1635. However, following the opening of the main Japanese ports to foreign countries in the 1850s and 1860s, Japanese nationals were allowed to travel overseas from 1866 through the introduction of passports. Numbers of Japanese nationals went to the United States, Brazil or Canada before the beginning of World War II. Ordinary Japanese nationals were limited on traveling overseas during the war except those going to the Japanese

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[1] New Zealand Statistics, *Census of population and dwellings,* 1991 and 2001.

colonies, such as China, Southeast Asia, or Micronesia. Though the Japanese government continued to restrict its nationals from traveling overseas in the postwar period, the government began an assisted emigration programme to send its Japanese nationals to South America until the 1960s. The government at last began to relax the prohibition on Japanese nationals traveling overseas slowly from 1964, and increasing numbers of Japanese have since traveled overseas for study, employment or purposes of emigration. By 2004, 961,307 Japanese nationals were living overseas, 68.6 per cent of them temporary residents in the host country, and 31.4 per cent of them permanent residents who retained Japanese nationality.[2] These residents have been examined in the international scholarly literature, which has paid attention to the process of settlement, to the development of Japanese communities, to the relationship of those communities to the host societies, and to questions of acculturation and national identity. That literature has also made an important distinction between 'Old immigrant communities' and 'New immigrant communities'.

'Old immigrant communities' exist in places like Hawaii, Los Angeles, Brazil and Peru, where about 776,000 Japanese nationals moved as contract workers through arrangements between Japan and receiving countries from the late nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century. After the Japanese government's seclusion policy ended, a small number of Japanese traveled overseas as students, entertainers, and employees of foreigners. However, large numbers of Japanese did not leave until the early 1880s when the government began to encourage its people to work as contract labour as a solution for unemployment. In 1883, the government approved the

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[2] The Foreign Ministry of Japan, *The Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas*, Tokyo, 2005.

emigration of 40 contract workers hired by an English businessman as pearl divers in northern Australia. In 1885, an inter-government agreement approved the emigration of 2,000 people to Hawaii on three year labour contracts in the sugar cane industry. This arrangement lasted until 1894, and a total of 30,000 people moved to Hawaii. In 1894, the Japanese government introduced the Emigrant Protection Ordinance in order to encourage private companies to play a role in the emigration of Japanese nationals as contract workers.

When entry of Japanese into the United States, Australia and Canada was restricted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Japanese government and private companies added Mexico, Peru and Brazil as destinations for Japanese contract workers. The Japanese government introduced an assisted emigration programme in order to solve high unemployment in the post war period and numbers of Japanese nationals moved to Brazil, Paraguay, or Argentina from 1952 to 1960. These contract workers gradually developed overseas communities, with some returning to Japan after the completion of their contracts and others remaining permanently, along with their descendants.[3]

New immigrant communities, on the other hand, developed only after World War II, especially from the 1960s when the Japanese economy grew fast and Japanese companies sought to extend their operations overseas. The companies transferred their employees to other countries as company representatives for terms of two to six years, and in many

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[3] Toshihiko Konno and Yasuo Fujisaki (eds.), *Iminshi* (History of emigration and immigration), Tokyo, Shinsensha, 1984-1986. Yasuo Sakata, 'Taiheiyo wo matagu kitaamerika heno iju (Japanese emigration to North America)', in Harumi Befu (ed.), *Nikkei Amerika Jin no Ayumi to genzai* (The Japanese Americans: from the past to the present)', Kyoto, Jinbun Shoin, 2002. Takashi Maeyama, *Esunishiti to Burajiru Nikkeijin* (Ethnicity and the Japanese Brazilian), Tokyo, Otyanomizu Shobo, 1996. Stewart Lone, *The Japanese Community in Brazil, 1908-1940: Between Samurai and Carnival*, New York, Palgrave, 2001.

cases moved their families with them. The employees worked in company offices and factories in cities like New York, Los Angeles, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Bangkok, London and Singapore, where few Japanese immigrants had preceded them. These Japanese companies provided their employees with practical and financial support for housing.[4] The close links between real estate agents, the companies, and their employees influenced Japanese business expatriates' spatial residential behaviour.[5] In some cases, companies carefully chose the area of housing for their employees, and along with the real estate agents had a great deal of power in determining the residential choices of incoming employees and their families. The company also provided financial support for a social club for Japanese businessmen, and for the establishment of a Japanese School that taught a curriculum similar to or identical with that taught in Japan, so that their employees' children would not have to catch up when they returned to school in Japan. However, religious meeting places, Japanese supermarkets, bookstores and restaurants were not provided by the companies, but were set up by individual entrepreneurs to supply Japanese expatriates. Japanese New immigrant communities of this sort exist to this day.

One of the major differences between Old and New communities is the ratio of permanent to non-permanent Japanese residents. Table 1.0 shows the Japanese population in some of the cities and countries where Japanese nationals were living in 2004.[6]

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[4]   Roger Goodman, Ceri Peach, Ayumi Takenaka and Paul White, 'Introduction', in Roger Goodman, Ceri Peach, Ayumi Takenaka and Paul White, eds, *Global Japan*, London, Routledge, 2003, p.9.
[5]   Paul White, 'Japanese in London', in Roger Goodman , Ceri Peach , Ayumi Takenaka and Paul White, eds, *Global Japan*.   Günther Glebe, 'Segregation and the ethnoscape: The Japanese business community in Düsseldolf', in *Global Japan*, p.107.
[6]   The Foreign Ministry of Japan, *The Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas*, Tokyo, 2005. The table includes only Japanese nationals. Those who do not have Japanese citizenship are excluded from the statistics.

Table 1.0 Distribution of Japanese permanent and non-permanent residents in

Old and New communities, 2004

Old Communities

	Permanent residents	Non-permanent residents	Total
Brazil	66,903 (96.9%)	2,116 (3.1%)	69,019 (100%)
Peru	1,195 (73.4%)	432 (26.6%)	1,627 (100%)
Argentine	11,223 (95.2%)	566 (4.8%)	11,789 (100%)
Bolivia	2,565 (86.9%)	388 (13.1%)	2,953 (100%)
Paraguay	3,422 (92.0%)	296 (8.0%)	3,718 (100%)
Honolulu	8,268 (60.5%)	5,391 (39.5%)	13,659 (100%)
Seattle	2,458 (41.1%)	3,520 (58.9%)	5,978 (100%)

New Communities

	Permanent residents	Non-permanent residents	Total
New York	12,902 (21.3%)	47,549 (78.7%)	60,451 (100%)
Dusseldolf	1,035 (17.25%)	4,965 (82.75%)	6,000 (100%)
London	4,280 (18.3%)	19,122 (81.7%)	23,402 (100%)
Singapore	1,195 (5.6%)	20,242 (94.4%)	21,437 (100%)
Hong Kong	885 (3.5%)	24,656 (96.5%)	25,541 (100%)
Australia	22,966 (46.8%)	26,063 (53.2%)	49,029 (100%)
• Sydney	8,858 (46.1%)	10,376 (53.9%)	19,234 (100%)
• Brisbane	1,793 (47.9%)	1,949 (52.1%)	3,742 (100%)
New Zealand	4,564 (36.5%)	7,954 (63.5%)	12,518 (100%)
• Auckland	1,155 (26.4%)	3,222 (73.6%)	4,377 (100%)
• Christchurch	926 (55.7%)	735 (44.3%)	1,661 (100%)

Source: The Foreign Ministry of Japan, *The Annual Report of Statistics on Japanese Nationals Overseas*, Tokyo, 2005.

The table distinguishes those who had permanent residence visas from those who had temporary residence visas – the latter category consisting largely of Japanese company employees, their families, and students. It shows that Old immigrant communities, with their long history of Japanese immigration, had far more permanent residents than non-permanent ones. In the countries of Central and South America, for example, the long-term immigrants who had begun arriving in the nineteenth century had been followed by very few sojourners associated with the expansion of Japan Inc. As a result, permanent residents made up fully 96.9 percent of the total Japanese population in Brazil, 73.4 per cent in Peru, 95.2 per cent in Argentine, 86.9 per cent in Bolivia, and 92 per cent in Paraguay. Some of these people came from families that had been in the areas for four or five generations. The only Old immigrant community with a majority of non-permanent residents is Seattle, which was established originally by the early twentieth century, but has received many newcomers, notably business expatriates, since the 1960s.

New immigrant communities, on the other hand, had a much lower proportion of permanent residents: 17.25 per cent in Dusseldolf, 18.3 per cent in London, only 5.6 per cent in Singapore, and only 3.5 per cent in Hong Kong. The proportion of permanent residents in the USA varied depending on cities. The proportion of permanent residents in the Japanese community of New York (predominantly a New immigrant city) was 21.3 per cent, while in the predominantly Old immigrant community of Honolulu (where new arrivals were outnumbered by families that had become established before World War II) it was 60.5 per cent.

The organization of social networks in Old immigrant societies differed from that in New ones. In the former, the Japanese Association was commonly one of the main social

networks, providing help for the immigrants and representing them. For example, in the USA, the Japanese Association of North America (*Hokubei Nihonjinkai*) was established in 1907 as a defence against the threat of the anti-Japanese movement. It informed the American public about the Japanese migrants' contribution to the host society and its economy. It also aided members who were in trouble, supported Japanese play groups and Japanese schools, organised Japanese seasonal events, and welcomed visiting members of the Japanese elite and Japanese naval units. It also sought to foster good relations with the host society by taking part in celebration for Independence Day or the local anniversary days, displaying Japanese cultural products decorated with both Japanese and American images. The Association tried to create an identity for the local Japanese as both 'good Japanese nationals' as well as 'good immigrants for the new country'.[7]

In New communities, on the other hand, a variety of social networks were 'transferred from the home country and were maintained' while the business expatriates were overseas.[8] Many expatriates belonged to at least one social network group which was related to the company, the home university, or the region of origin in Japan. These groups offered not only opportunities of socialising with other members but also various social and occupational advantages and connections. Their membership was generally confined to business expatriates and their families, while the small number of Japanese permanent residents and students in the same area were on their own. The expatriates strengthened their ties with other members of their own social group, but they rarely

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[7] Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi, 'The network of Japanese immigrant community', in Harumi Befu (ed.), *Nikkei Amerika Jin no Ayumi to genzai*, pp.49-52
[8] Günther Glebe, pp.111-112

socialised with other Japanese residents, rarely went outside the business expatriate community, and integrated hardly at all into the host society.

The level of integration of Old immigrant communities into the host society varied depending on the community. It was influenced by the state of diplomatic relations between Japan and the host country, attitudes in the host country towards the immigrants, by the history of the ethnic or racial relations in the country concerned, as well as by individual circumstances.[9] The level of integration of immigrants was also closely connected with questions of ethnic identity in the immigrant community. Where immigrants suffered racial discrimination, were segregated in low status occupations, or experienced conflict with other ethnic groups, their ethnic identification as Japanese remained strong. Strong ethnic identities could also be fostered by competition with other immigrant groups. For example, the Japanese migrants in the California Delta in the early 1930s strongly identified themselves as 'Japanese', uniting against a new wave of Filipino migrants who competed against them as farmers and labourers.[10]

The nature of identity in Old immigrant communities also depended on whether its members became fluent in the host society's language, adopted its main religion, were educated in local schools, and were employed in a predominantly non-Japanese work environment. Where these factors were present, the first generation tended still to identify themselves as Japanese, but the second generation tended to adopt a new identity

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[9] Mitziko Sawada, 'Culprits and Gentlemen: Meiji Japan's Restrictions of Emigrants to the United States, 1891-1909', *Pacific Historical Review*, 60, 1991; Christopher A. Reichl, 'Stages in the Historical Process of Ethnicity: The Japanese in Brazil, 1908-1988', *Ethnohistory*, 42:1, 1995; Azuma, Eiichiro, 'Racial Struggle, Immigrant Nationalism and Ethnic Identity: Japanese and Filipinos in the California Delta', *Pacific Historical Review*, 67, 1998.
[10] Eiichiro Azuma, 'Racial Struggle, Immigrant Nationalism and Ethnic Identity'.

such as 'Japanese-Brazilian'. When that happened, their identification with the Japanese community and its traditions tended to fade.

In Brazil, the migrants were divided into two groups which adopted two different identities. Since university graduates were respected and given high status in Brazil, Japanese families determined to have their eldest son (or even their eldest daughter if they had no sons) educated at university. At university, they were educated in Portuguese and had extensive cooperative contact with non-Japanese. They then went on to hold professional jobs in the cities, and most of them converted to Christianity. By contrast, people who did not go to university were tied to the countryside, they continued to engage in agriculture, they spoke Japanese within their local communities, and they maintained Japanese customs, religious practices, and traditional beliefs. As a result, people were divided into those who were educated, Catholic, and had white skin because they did not work in the sun, and those who were tanned, uneducated, and associated with Japanese traditions and culture.[11]

We also can see the migrants' attitudes towards their ethnic identification through the organization of formal ethnic societies and ethnic schools where the children of migrants went. In Brazil, the Japanese Association played a central role in uniting Japanese immigrants through worshiping the Japanese Emperor. The Association was a 'compulsory association', which all Japanese immigrants living in the area were supposed to join. Any who refused were labeled as non-Japanese by Association members.[12]

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[11] Takashi Maeyama, pp.101-102
[12] ibid., pp. 124-126

Japanese schools in Brazil also played an important role in fostering Japanese identity. The immigrants opened Japanese schools for their children as they were living in the rural areas where there were no local schools for their children and no support from the local authorities. About 600 Japanese schools were open by 1938. The children were full time students, learning various subjects in the Japanese language from the Japanese teacher, and the school was also a main place for worshiping the Emperor in order to ensure that the children were 'genuine Japanese'.[13]

In the USA, by contrast, the children of Japanese immigrants usually went to local schools. However, Japanese supplementary schools opened in order to teach Japanese subjects for the benefit of immigrants who intended to return to Japan soon or later. The immigrants' children went to the supplementary school on their way home from local schools. At first, they learned the Japanese language, Japanese history, geography and calligraphy, using Japanese text books registered by the Japanese government. From the 1920s, however, the schools began to use text books that drew on the life experience and culture of American students. For example, they learned accountancy by using American currency instead of Japanese currency, or they learned about famous people like Roosevelt, Nightingale, or Napoleon. This adaptation occurred as a defence against the anti-Japanese movement and it was designed to reduce hostility and create an image of the Japanese as good Americans. On the whole, the history of Old immigrant communities is a story of swings between separation from the host community and integration into it, with the long-term trend being towards integration.[14]

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[13] ibid., p.53, pp.130-131
[14] See also Stewart Lone, *The Japanese Community in Brazil, 1908-1940: Between Samurai and Carnival*, New York, Palgrave, 2001

Scholars have suggested that New communities, on the other hand, are ethnic enclaves. The policies of Japanese multinational companies limit the integration of their employees into the host society. However, there are other influences at work too, as when the host society limits integration by imposing restrictions on foreign sojourners. For example, in Singapore, government policy tightly controls the housing market for foreign residents, concentrating them in specific locations with specific housing styles. Even when Japanese in overseas communities make their own decisions about where to live, they tend to cluster around the Japanese school, Japanese shops, or other facilities that service their particular requirements. Most also like to live close to other Japanese.

This behaviour stems largely from the characteristics of expatriates. Japanese company employees and their families return to Japan on completion of their term of service, so they think of themselves as transients and have little incentive to adopt the values and lifestyle of the host community.[15] Lack of language skills and worries about culture-related problems also prevent many expatriates, particularly company employees' wives, from socialising with the local people.[16] Japanese sojourners therefore tend to associate mainly with other Japanese, clinging to the physical and conceptual safety of the Japanese community in an attempt to avoid conflict or embarrassment arising from cultural and linguistic differences.

However, it has been pointed out that the physical and conceptual segregation of Japanese expatriate communities has been slowly breaking down since the early 1990s as economic recession has led Japanese companies to rationalise their overseas branch

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[15] Günther Glebe, pp.109-110.
[16] Tetsuo Mizukami, *Integration of Japanese residents into Australian society: immigrants and sojourners in Brisbane*, Melbourne, Japanese Studies Centre, Monash University, 1993, p.57. Günther Glebe, p.112.

offices and factories, reducing the number of their overseas employees.[17] This has required the adoption of new strategies to service the employees' needs. For example, in one small American town, business expatriates could not receive sufficient financial support from their employers because they were too few in number. This forced them to cooperate with permanent residents to establish a Japanese supplementary school to teach Japanese and other related subjects to the children of both groups.[18] In this way, the expatriates started to move beyond the invisible boundary that had insulated them from the Japanese permanent residents. In this town, and elsewhere, the boundary between the company movers and independent movers is slowly blurring.

This blurring of boundaries is possible because the number of independent movers is increasing. Japanese communities now include increasing numbers of independent movers, such as opportunity seekers, students, people discontented with Japanese society, and people married to foreign nationals. They also include former business expatriates who have become fond of the host country's lifestyle and decided to stay on, sometimes retiring, sometimes changing jobs, and sometimes starting their own businesses.[19] In Australia, company movers once dominated the Japanese population, but the number of independent movers and permanent residents began to increase from the 1970s when Australia's restrictive immigration policy was abandoned. Many Japanese who have since migrated to Australia are 'lifestyle migrants'. According to Machiko Sato, lifestyle migrants were middle class people who migrated to Australia to seek a better lifestyle in terms of nature and the environment, or to gain personal freedoms that were denied them

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[17] Paul White, pp. 94-96
[18] Setsue Shibata, 'Opening a Japanese Saturday school in a small town in the United States', Community collaboration to teach Japanese as a heritage language', *Bilingual Research Journal*, 2000, 24
[19] Paul White, p.90, Günter Glebe, p.110

within the structures of Japanese society.[20]

The increase in the numbers of independent movers is becoming a key to a changed pattern of development in Japanese expatriate communities. Many independent movers go overseas prepared to experiment with new ideas and with a positive view of the host society, so their level of integration into their new communities is high.[21] They are willing to speak the language of the host society, mingle with its people, seek accommodation through non-Japanese real estate agents, send their children to local schools, and accept the values and ways of life different from those of Japan. They expect that such internationalisation (*kokusaika*) will benefit them at the personal level.[22] As their period of residence overseas lengthens, some of them experience a shift in ethnic identity. For example, in Australia, where nearly half the Japanese population consists of permanent residents, Japanese immigrants have become aware of themselves as 'Japanese-Australians', differentiating themselves from other ethnic groups and redefining themselves as members of Australia's multicultural society. [23]

'Being Japanese' overseas, too, is changing at some levels. In the Japanese business community, 'being Japanese' has often been considered a matter of national pride, linked deeply to the achievements of Japanese economic development. [24] For independent movers, however, being Japanese – being able to speak Japanese and understanding

[20] Machiko Sato, *Farewell to Nippon: Japanese Lifestyle Migrants in Australia*, Melbourne, Trans Pacific Press, 2001
[21] Tetsuo Mizukami, p.58
[22] Paul White, p.96
[23] Yoshikazu Shiobara, 'The beginning of the Multiculturalization of Japanese Immigrants to Australia: Japanese Community Organizations and the Policy Interface', *Japanese Studies*, 24, 2, 2004, pp. 247-261
[24] Kosaku Yoshino, *Bunka-nationalism no Shakaigaku* (Sociology of cultural nationalism), Nagoya, Nagoya University Press, 1997, pp.186-199

Japanese culture – is considered a useful resource for getting a job. Japanese companies (from multinationals to restaurants) value employees who understand the Japanese language, Japanese manners and Japanese etiquette, as do local companies that target local Japanese customers or target the Japanese export market. They can also act as cultural mediators, or teach the Japanese language or subjects related to Japan at local educational institutions.[25] 'Being Japanese' also brings the entitlement to use Japanese facilities such as Japanese language schools and social networks to obtain information useful for settlement in the host society. In short, for many immigrants, 'being Japanese' has become a practical resource that helps to 'smooth their process of arrival'.[26]

Literature on the Japanese in New Zealand

Japanese immigration to New Zealand dates back to the 1890s. The number of Japanese in New Zealand, however, remained very small until the early 1990s. Unlike Hawaii, California or Brazil, New Zealand did not import large numbers of Japanese contract workers moved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but began to restrict non-European immigration.[27] This restrictive immigration policy continued until the mid-1980s, though people from Western Europe, such as the Netherlands, Austria,

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[25] Chie Sakai, 'The Japanese community in Hong Kong in the 1990s: the diversity of strategies and intentions', in *Global Japan*. Harumi Befu, 'The global context of Japan outside Japan', in the Harumi Befu and Sylvie Guichard-Anguis (eds.), *Globalizing Japan: Ethnography of the Japanese Presence in Asia, Europe, and America*, New York, Routledge, 2001, pp.9-10
[26] Paul White, p.92
[27] Sean Brawley, *The white peril: foreign relations and Asian immigration to Australasia and North America 1919-1978*, Sydney, UNSW Press, 1995. Malcolm McKinnon, *Immigrants and Citizens: New Zealanders and Asian Immigration in Historical Context*, Wellington, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996. P.S. O'Connor, 'Keeping New Zealand White, 1908-1920', *New Zealand Journal of History*, no.2, 1968.

Denmark, and West Germany, and people from the Pacific Islands were gradually allowed to immigrate in order to fill the labour shortage created by economic growth in the decades after the Second World War. Japanese applicants, like other Asians, were generally barred from admission as permanent resident except when they applied as spouses or dependent children of New Zealand residents.[28]

Literature on early Japanese immigrants in New Zealand is very limited, although scholars such as Masato Tanabe and Ken McNeil have explored some of the individual histories of Japanese migrants who arrived in New Zealand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[29] Ian McGibbon has analysed New Zealand perceptions of Japan from the 1940s to the 1960s, and Peter Boston has enlarged our knowledge of the 50 or so Japanese war brides who entered New Zealand in the 1950s.[30] Nevertheless, the volume of literature remains small.

The rapid increase in New Zealand's Japanese population since the early 1990s, however, has provoked rather more scholarly interest. Atsuko Okayama, Nobuko Nakanishi, and Yasuo Nagao have studied the level of acculturation of Japanese migrants through the lens of linguistics.[31] Sara J. Boswell and Koichi Tanaka have examined some

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[28] Patrick Ongley and David Pearson, 'Post-1945 International Migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada Compared', *International Migration Review*, 29,3,1995

[29] Ken McNeil, 'Encounters, 1860s to 1940s', in Roger Peren (ed.), *Japan and New Zealand 150 years*, Massey University, 1999. Masato Tanabe, 'Nihon New Zealand Koryushi to Saisho no Nihonjin Ijusha'('The History of Japan-New Zealand Relations and the First Settlers: The Life histories of Asajiro Noda and the Other Early Settlers') , *New Zealand Kenkyu* (New Zealand Studies), 3, 1996

[30] Ian McGibbon, 'New Zealand Perceptions of Japan, 1945-1965', in Roger Peren (ed.), *Japan and New Zealand 150 years*, Massey University, 1999. Peter Boston, 'Tsuruko Lynch: From Shike to Northcote', in Roger Peren (ed.), *Japan and New Zealand 150 years*.

[31] Atsuko Okayama, 'Changes in Communicative Styles of Japanese People During their Sojourn in New Zealand, With Special Reference to Self-Assertiveness', M.A. Thesis, Christchurch, Department of Asian Languages, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1994. Nobuko Nakanishi, 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift in the Japanese Community of Auckland: a study of the interaction between the Sojourners and the Immigrants', M.A. Thesis, Auckland,

characteristics of Japanese migrants, such as socio-economic status or level of integration using an ethno-geographical and statistical approach, which is relevant to my study.[32] Tanaka has analysed the characteristics of the Japanese population in the mid-1990s using New Zealand Census figures. He suggests that most Japanese residents were first generation immigrants who arrived in New Zealand only in the 1990s, and that many were temporary residents rather than permanent residents. He attributes the rapid increase of the Japanese population to the expansion of tourism, education, and working holiday schemes from the late 1980s, which triggered a dramatic increase of temporary residents such working holiday makers, long term students, and contract workers linked to tourism.[33]

Boswell has investigated the Japanese immigrants of Auckland in the mid-1990s, suggesting that the Japanese community was dominated by temporary residents whose attitudes towards integration into the New Zealand life style were minimal.[34] The Japanese community of Auckland originally developed around business expatriates who were transferred to positions as company representatives in local branch offices and factories by Japanese multi-national corporations. These business expatriates played a leading role in the development of institutions like the Japanese supplementary school. The immigrant community continued to expand in the 1990s through an influx of short-term residents. Through a questionnaire survey and interviews, Boswell discovered that

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University of Auckland, 2000. Yasuo Nagao, 'Language Contact: The Case of Japanese in Australia and New Zealand', PhD Thesis, Christchurch, Department of Asian Studies, University of Canterbury, 2002.

[32] Koichi Tanaka, 'Characteristics of Japanese residents in New Zealand: A comparison with other ethnic groups', *Asian Studies Review*, 25, 1999. Sarah J. Boswell, 'An Ethnogeography of Japanese Immigrants in Auckland', in Hong-key Yoon (ed.), *An Ethno-Geography of Taiwanese, Japanese and Filipino Immigrants in Auckland*, Auckland, University of Auckland, 1995

[33] Koichi Tanaka, pp. 69-92

[34] Sarah J. Boswell, pp.145-146

the temporary residents and their families lived in the same area of Auckland, spoke the Japanese language often, ate Japanese food and socialised with Japanese people, even though many of them were somewhat westernised before their arrival in New Zealand.[35] In short, despite the recent arrival of short-term residents unconnected with the business community, Auckland still approximates fairly well to the classic model of a Japanese New immigrant community.

The Japanese in Christchurch and the purpose of this thesis

The Japanese community in Christchurch has not been studied, but the literature on New immigrant communities, particularly the studies on Auckland by Boswell, raises some intriguing hypotheses. One of these possibilities is suggested by the statistics on New immigrant communities in Table 1, which show that Christchurch is the only 'New' immigrant community with a majority of permanent residents. Does this mean that it is not built around Japanese business expatriates and the other 'birds of passage' who are so prominent in classic New immigrant communities? Does it mean that business expatriates have not played a pivotal role in the development of institutions like the Japanese Society and the Japanese Supplementary School of Canterbury? Does it mean that Christchurch's Japanese are not as insulated from the host community as the sojourners in Auckland and other New immigrant cities? Does this mean that they are more likely to adopt more of the values of the host society or feel more attachment to it? Does it mean that, like members of the Old Japanese community in the United States, they are developing an identity as 'good immigrants' who fit in well and benefit the host

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[35] ibid., pp.145-146

society? If the answers to these questions are 'yes', then Christchurch's Japanese are a New immigrant community only in the trivial sense that they have arrived in the host society very recently. In other respects, they approximate more closely to the model of Old immigrant communities in open and racially tolerant societies.

In this thesis I hope to answer these questions. In chapter 1, I trace the development of the Japanese community in Christchurch and examine the 'push' factors and 'pull' factors that have influenced Japanese migration to the city. In chapter 2, using the Japanese society newsletter and correspondence with key figures, I examine whether Japanese business expatriates played a role in the development of the Japanese Society and the Japanese Supplementary School. In chapter 3, using data from my own survey, I investigate the degree to which Christchurch's Japanese immigrants interact with other Japanese and with members of the host society both at work and on private social occasions. In Chapter 4, again using data from my survey, I examine attitudes towards Japanese culture and Japanese identity, and I ask whether there is evidence of growing attachment to New Zealand. Finally, in my conclusion, I pull the argument together and answer the question of whether the Japanese in Christchurch are, in any real sense, a New immigrant community, or whether they are something far more unusual and interesting.

Chapter 1

Background of the recent Japanese migrants of Christchurch

This chapter will focus on the growth of the Japanese population in Christchurch since the late 1980s. It will place that growth within three contexts: the history of Japanese immigration to New Zealand as a whole; the relaxation of New Zealand's immigration restriction; and the background of Japanese immigrants – their motivations, their perceptions of New Zealand, and the circumstances under which they came to New Zealand.

Japanese migrants of Christchurch until the late 1980s

Before World War II, Japanese migrants arrived in New Zealand as individuals as a result of the 'winds of fate', then scattered throughout the country.[36] How well scattered they were can be seen from the census figures in Table 1.1, which shows that except in 1921

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[36] Ken McNeil, 'Encounters, 1860s to 1940s', in Roger Peren (ed.), *Japan and New Zealand 150 years*, Massey University, 1999, p.31. Masato Tanabe, 'Nihon New Zealand Koryushi to Saisho no Nihonjin Ijusha' ('The History of Japan-New Zealand Relations and the First Settlers: The Life histories of Asajiro Noda and the Other Early Settlers'), *New Zealand Kenkyu* ('New Zealand Studies'), 3, 1996. According to Tanabe, Asajiro Noda was the first Japanese immigrant into New Zealand. In 1890, Noda deserted from German ship, on which he worked as a seaman for many years. After traveling around New Zealand, he moved to Dargaville where he worked on Kauri gum fields. He later married a Maori woman of the Ngati Mahuta, having five children. He became engaged in gardening, growing strawberries that they traded the strawberry to the local farmers. In the mid-1930s, he moved to Northland to start farming. On this, see Masato Tanabe, 'Nihon Nyujirando Koryu shi to Saishono Nihonjin Ijusha', pp.19-30.

more than half the Japanese population resided outside the metropolitan centres of Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch until the late 1970s. It was only with the census of 1981 that the current pattern of metropolitan dominance was clearly established.

The concentration of the Japanese population in metropolitan centres began first in Auckland and Wellington from 1966 to 1981. As Japan's postwar economic expansion reached New Zealand, Japanese multi-national companies perceived Auckland and Wellington as their obvious destinations. Auckland was the economic capital and Wellington was the political capital, and Japanese companies and the Japanese government sent their employees and officers to these cities as representatives. By 1981, these two centres had some 70 percent of New Zealand's Japanese population and fitted very neatly into the pattern of the New immigrant communities established as a result of the spread of Japanese commercial interests in the decades after World War II.

The level of Japanese concentration in Christchurch, on the other hand, remained very low until the mid-1990s. There were only 4 Japanese people (5.6 per cent of the total Japanese population in New Zealand) living in Christchurch in 1916, and as late as 1981 Christchurch had only 6.5 percent of the country's Japanese population. This reflected the city's lack of diplomatic or commercial importance in the eyes of Japanese companies. It was only in the late 1980s and 1990s that the city's Japanese population began to grow significantly as a result of the expansion of Japanese tourism to New Zealand's south island and the growth in the numbers of independent immigrants with no company ties that followed the relaxation of New Zealand's immigration laws in the mid-1980s.

Table 1.1   Japanese population in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, other areas, and New Zealand total, 1896-2001

Numbers (% of the total Japanese population)

	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Others	Total
1896	-	-	-	-	15
1901	-	-	-	-	17
1906	-	-	-	-	25
1916	3 (4.2%)	4 (5.6%)	4 (5.6%)	60 (84.5%)	71 (100%)
1921	20 (52.6%)	6 (15.8%)	2 (5.3%)	10 (26.3%)	38 (100%)
1926	-	-	-	-	59
1936	19 (17.9%)	8 (7.5%)	4 (3.8%)	75 (70.8%)	106 (100%)
1945	-	-	-	-	48
1951	-	-	-	-	47
1956	15 (11.4%)	22 (16.7%)	8 (6.1%)	87 (65.9%)	132 (100%)
1961	44 (11.9%)	35 (9.5%)	24 (6.5%)	267 (72.1%)	370 (100%)
1966	108 (17.8%)	82 (13.5%)	24 (4.0%)	393 (64.7%)	607 (100%)
1971	186 (20.6%)	206 (22.9%)	23 (2.6%)	486 (53.9%)	901 (100%)
1976	328 (28.0%)	154 (13.1%)	82 (7.0%)	609 (51.9%)	1,173 (100%)
1981	321 (43.1%)	207 (27.8%)	48 (6.5%)	168 (22.6%)	744 (100%)
1986	-	-	-	-	1,443
1991	-	-	-	-	2,970
1996	2,964 (39.7 %)	570 (7.6 %)	1,536 (20.6 %)	2,388 (32.1%)	7,458 (100%)
2001	4,101 (41%)	693 (6.9%)	1,875 (18.7%)	3,336 (33.4%)	10,005 (100%)

Source: Statistics New Zealand, *Census of population and dwellings,* 1896-2001

The first official record of Japanese residents in Christchurch appeared in the 1916 New Zealand Census, which reported that the Japanese population in Christchurch was four – one male and three female residents. However, we know nothing else about these

four people. Around the same period, there was another official record of the presence of Japanese in Christchurch, recorded under *Registration of Aliens Act* in 1917. That Act compelled all persons over the age of 15 who were not British subjects either by birth or naturalisation in New Zealand to register, and the names of Japanese nationals who were not yet naturalised appear in the registry. According to the record, there was only one Japanese person who lived in Christchurch as 'an alien'. His name was Charlie Tomey, a 50 years old married man, and he worked as a cook, lived in Riccarton and had been living in New Zealand for eight years.[37]

There is also an account on a Japanese student living in Christchurch between 1931 and 1934. His name was Isamu Kawase, and he was arguably the first Japanese student in New Zealand, studying Agriculture at Lincoln College (now Lincoln University). In his travel book about New Zealand, which he wrote for Japanese readers when he returned to Japan, he claimed that he had been told by local Christchurch people that 'more than ten Japanese people came to live in Canterbury in the 1850s, contributed to the Christchurch city establishment, and left for the gold rush at Otago later on'. However, scholars like Tanabe and McNeil suggest that the first Japanese migrants arrived in New Zealand only in 1890, and Kawase's informants were probably mistaken. It is likely that they confused the Japanese with the large numbers of Chinese who rushed to the New Zealand gold fields in the 1860s and 1870s and spread to other parts of the country in later years.

The most detailed individual history of a Japanese resident of Christchurch in the early period belongs to Ryugoro Fukushima, who was a member of a jujitsu-performing group touring Australia and New Zealand between 1906 and 1914. After working in

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[37] New Zealand, *Register of Aliens*, 1917

Sydney as a jujitsu instructor, he returned to Japan in 1923 where he became a physical instructor for the police. Fukushima first applied for permanent residence in New Zealand from Japan in the early 1930s, but his application was turned down 'in accordance with general policy'. However, he managed to enter New Zealand as a visitor in the mid-1930s and opened his own gymnasium in Christchurch. At that time, there was a wrestling boom in New Zealand, and some local policemen also joined his gymnasium to practice. He applied for naturalisation again in 1939, and this time his application was approved due to 'a lack of communication between the government departments administrating naturalisations and visitors permits'.[38]

Fukushima attempted to integrate into the host country by adopting an English name. He called himself Ray Shima, with Ray probably being chosen because it sounded like his Japanese name 'Ryu' and Shima being simply a shortened version of Fukushima. Adoption of English names was a common practice among Japanese residents of New Zealand before World War II, and it was often achieved by shortening or changing the original Japanese name to make it easy for native speakers of English to pronounce.[39] For instance, a Northland resident Asajiro Noda, the first Japanese immigrant to New Zealand, called himself Tommy Noda. A Balclutha resident Kazuyuki Kiyohei Tsukigawa, another immigrant of the early period who arrived in 1898, shortened his Japanese name by using initial letters and called himself K.K.; Koogin Chino, a Tokomaru Bay resident who arrived in 1900, called himself Joe Chino; and Hakuichi Kunioka, a Ruatoria resident who arrived in 1907, called himself Harold. In so doing, the Japanese immigrants of the early period attempted to integrate into the host country and

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[38] Ken McNeil, p. 34
[39] ibid., pp.33-34

to become good friends, neighbours and co-workers within the European community. Ryugoro Fukushima as Ray Shima became well respected by the local sporting community as his skills gave him a distinct advantage within New Zealand's strong sporting culture.[40]

After Japan started the Pacific War, the Japanese consulate in Wellington was closed in early 1942, and Japanese businesses, which had opened New Zealand branches from the 1920s, were also closed. Almost all the Japanese temporary residents, including officers, visitors, and business expatriates returned to Japan, but many immigrants and their children remained in New Zealand, their new home country. Because of suspicion by New Zealand's government of people originating in enemy countries during the war, some Japanese immigrants and their descendants tried to hide their Japanese identity by cutting their links with other Japanese immigrants and 'destroying other evidence such as photos taken in Japan'.[41] In early 1942, two Japanese immigrants who were British subjects, together with a Japanese-Maori New Zealander, were interned along with Japanese sojourners who were transferred from the Pacific Islands. Christchurch resident Ray Shima was one of the Japanese residents who were luckily excused from internment.

In the post-war period, Japanese women who married members of New Zealand occupying forces or New Zealand civilians arrived in New Zealand with their husbands as war brides. It is estimated that about 50 Japanese war brides entered New Zealand in the 1950s.[42] In 1955, one of the Japanese war brides arrived to settle in Christchurch. At her arrival, there was no Japanese community in Christchurch and no place to obtain

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40 Ken McNeil, p. 34
41 Masato Tanabe, p.20
42 Ian McGibbon, 'New Zealand Perceptions of Japan, 1945-1965', in Roger Peren (ed.), *Japan and New Zealand 150 Years*, 1999, p.133

particular ingredients for Japanese food. Like Ray Shima, she had to live as a Japanese

individual in European society. As she recalled:

> When I arrived in New Zealand in 1955, I was the only Japanese in Christchurch. ….. The number of Japanese people in Christchurch reached only 15 or 16 people by the late 1960s. There was no shop to buy the special ingredients for Japanese food. When Japanese vessels began to regularly stop in Lyttelton in 1965, I bought soy sauce from the vessel's captain. It was my first taste of Japanese food since I had left Japan…[43]

The small number of Japanese war brides was spread around the country for their new

lives, and they had no local Japanese community to provide support and comfort. Many

felt that they had to integrate into the host country as early as possible and live as good

citizens of New Zealand.[44] While receiving good support from their husbands' families

and from neighbours, some of them felt pressure to put Japanese culture completely

behind them in order to assimilate into New Zealand society.[45]

Except for rare case of Japanese applicants who were admitted for permanent

residence as spouses of New Zealand residents, Japanese were admitted to New Zealand

only on temporary visas such as work permits until the mid-1980s. The newcomers

included Japanese business expatriates and their families who arrived in Auckland and

Wellington from the 1960s. By the early 1980s, the Japanese population in these cities

had grown significantly and their communities had developed around the nucleus of

business expatriates.   Japanese businessmen's associations, Japanese supplementary

schools, and Japanese societies developed based on demands from the business

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[43] Japanese Society of Canterbury, *Kantaberi Nihonjinkai Nyusureta* ('The Japanese Society of Canterbury Newsletter'), no.9, 1994, P.14. My translation.
[44] Peter Boston, 'Tsuruko Lynch: From Shike to Northcote', in Roger Peren (ed.), *Japan and New Zealand 150 Years*, p.148. Jumpei Aoyama, *Umi ni kakeru niji* ('Rainbow over the sea'), Tokyo, NHK Press, 2003, pp.74-80
[45] Peter Boston, 'Tsuruko Lynch: From Shike to Northcote', p.148

expatriates; they were established in Wellington by the end of 1970s, and in Auckland by the end of 1980s.

In Christchurch, on the other hand, most Japanese residents arrived as independent movers rather than as company movers. For a long time, they were almost invisible, living as individuals amongst Europeans like those who had arrived in New Zealand in an earlier generation. Even when the population began to grow, and a genuine community began to form, its members were slow to form formal ethnic organizations to meet their community's needs. This was partly because the population was too small until the 1990s to sustain organization, but it was also because the community lacked the money and organizational clout of expatriates backed by major Japanese companies.

Japanese migrants since the late 1980s

Many scholars have pointed out that the extensive changes in New Zealand's immigration policy from 1986 were a major cause of rapid increase in the country's Asian population from the early 1990s. In 1986, the New Zealand government reviewed the immigration policy in order to abolish preference for any particular source of immigrants. Its adoption of multi-culturalism came as a result of increasing pressure from the international communities on the White New Zealand policy and as a result of the ideals of a Labour government determined to 'enrich the multi-cultural social fabric of New Zealand society through the selection of new settlers principally on the strength of their potential personal contribution to the future well-being of New Zealand'.[46] Though the Immigration Act of 1987 abolished any preferences for particular countries of

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[46]   Review of Immigration Policy August 1986, p.10, in Malcolm McKinnon, *Immigrants and Citizens: New Zealanders and Asian Immigration in Historical Context*, pp.45-46

origin, it was the Immigration Act of 1991 and the newly introduced points system that resulted in a rapid increase of immigrants with a variety of ethnic origins from the early 1990. [47]   The government established four categories for permanent residency applications; Family, Humanitarian, Business Investment, and General.   The Family category was for reunification of families, the Humanitarian category was for refugees, the Business Investment category was for entrepreneurs, and the General category was operated through a points system.[48]   The points system emphasised New Zealand's economic requirements for human capital, and it assessed applicants according to their qualifications, employability, age and settlement ability.[49]

The relaxation of New Zealand immigration policy influenced led to an increase of the Japanese population in New Zealand.   Figure 1.1 shows the number of Japanese applicants approved for residence in New Zealand from 1986 to 2004.   The number of Japanese applicants approved for residence remained small at around 50 people from 1986 to 1989, then started to increase from 1989.   It increased fairly steadily in the period between 1989 and 2004 with slight and brief declines.[50]   According to Koichi Tanaka, the majority of Japanese applicants for approved for permanent residence were admitted under the Family category, as spouses, de facto partners, or other immediate family

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[47]   Malcolm McKinnon, pp. 50-51. Patrick Ongley and David Pearson, 'Post-1945 International Migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada Compared', p. 775. Andrew D. Trlin, 'For the Promotion of Economic Growth and Prosperity: New Zealand's Immigration Policy, 1991-1995', in Andrew D. Trlin and Paul Spoonley (eds.), *New Zealand and International Migration*, Palmerston North, Massey University, 1997, p. 17. Jacqueline Lidgard, Elsie Ho, Yunn-ya Chen, Joanne Goodwin, Richard Bedford (eds.), *Immigrants from Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong in New Zealand in the mid-1990s: Macro and Micro Perspectives*, Hamilton, University of Waikato, 1998, p.1
[48]   The points system was later applied in 1995 to the Business Investor category, which replaced the Business Immigration Policy.
[49]   Andrew D. Trlin, 'For the Promotion of Economic Growth and Prosperity: New Zealand's Immigration Policy, 1991-1995', pp.5-6
[50]   The figure before 1989 is for the year ending March, and the figure since 1990 is for the year ending June.

members of New Zealand citizens or permanent residents. For example, in 1997, 56.3

per cent of the Japanese applicants for approved for permanent residence were admitted

under the Family category, and 41 per cent were admitted under the General skill

category. The proportion of Japanese applicants approved for permanent residence under

either the Business Investor category or the Humanitarian category was very small.[51]

**Figure 1.1   Number of Japanese applicants approved for residence in
                        New Zealand, 1986-2004**
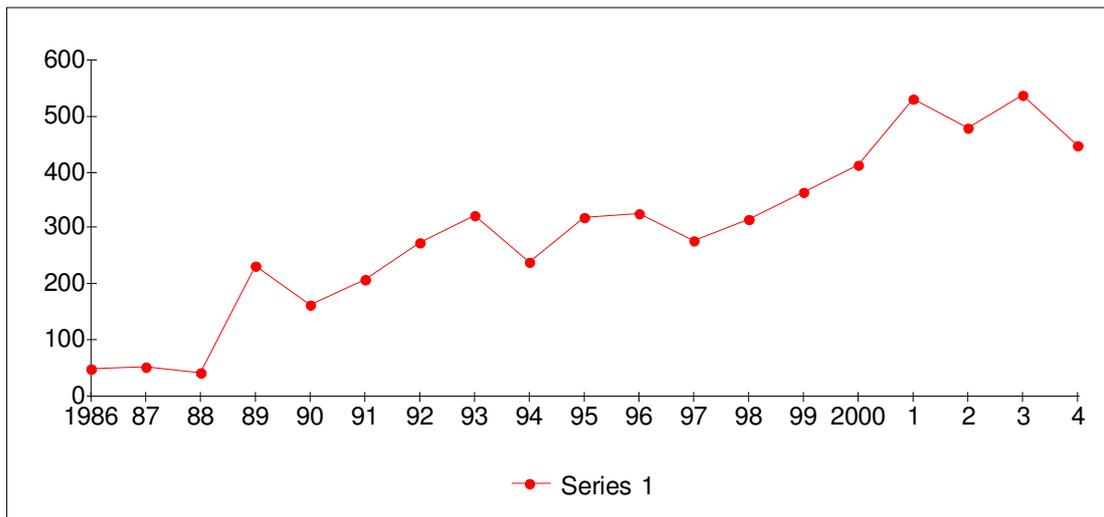
Source: 1986-87:Yoon Hong-Key (ed.), *An Ethno-Geography of Taiwanese, Japanese and
Filipino Immigrants in Auckland*, Auckland, University of Auckland, 1995
1988-99: Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 2000-2004: New Zealand
Immigration Service

[51]   Koichi Tanaka, p.75. According to Tanaka, for example, in 1997, 56.3 per cent of the
Japanese applicants for permanent residence approved were issued as Family category, and 41 per
cent were approved under the General skill category. The proportion of Japanese applicants
approved for permanent residence under either Business Investment or Humanitarian categories
was very small.

Tanaka has suggested that the increase population in New Zealand reflected the growth of trade and other contacts between Japan and New Zealand rather than the change in the policy. He points out that many Japanese youth visited New Zealand as temporary residents such as working holiday makers and long term student from the early 1990s when New Zealand became a popular destination for the Japanese tourists and English language students.[52] This is correct, but the liberalisation of New Zealand's immigration policy was clearly a precondition of the increase of Asian population forms part of the explanation.

Working holiday makers were those who entered New Zealand with working holiday visas issued under the Working Holiday Scheme (WHS). The WHS is a mutual agreement between Japan and partner governments, targeting 'young people to promote a greater understanding of culture, customs, and the social environment between the countries; each individual can be a cultural delegation in a host country at a grass-roots level through socialising with the local people'.[53] The Japanese government first concluded a WHS with Australia in 1980, and next concluded one with New Zealand in 1985.[54] By 2005, Japan had signed WHS agreements with seven countries and about 20,000 young Japanese people were leaving Japan under the WHS every year to visit these countries. WHS programmes flourished partly because of the tourism and foreign language booms among Japanese youth since the mid-1980s. Many participants were high school leavers, students who took a year off their studies at colleges or universities, or those who left or took a year off from their employment.

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[52] Koichi Tanaka, pp.69-70, p.87

[53] The Japan Association for Working Holiday Makers, http://www.jawhm.or.jp/jp/prgrm/main.html, accessed on 2 March 2005.

[54] Japan signed the WHS with Canada in 1986, Korea and France in 1999, Germany in 2000, and U.K. in 2001.

Figure 1.2   Number of Japanese working holiday makers to New Zealand, 1985-2003
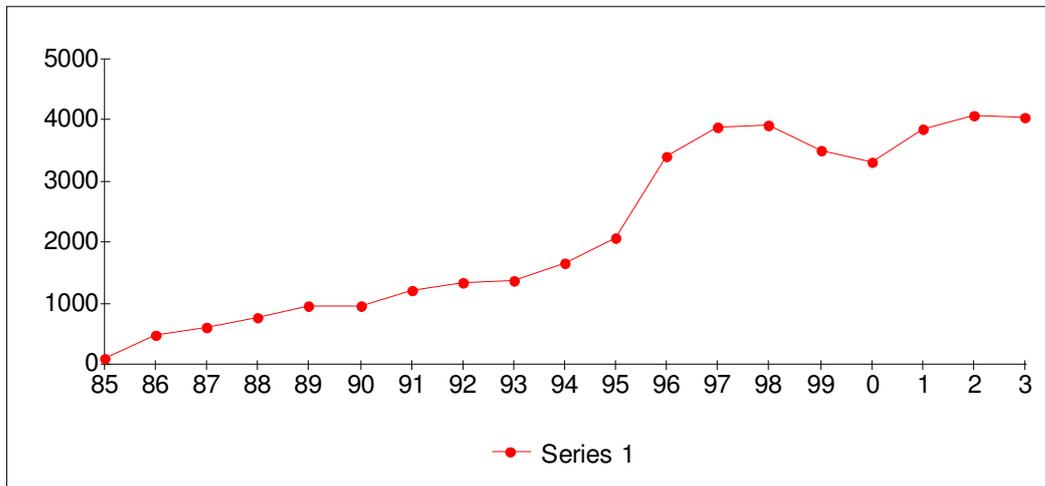
The number of Japanese working holiday makers coming to New Zealand has grown fairly steadily since the WHS was introduced. Figure 1.2 shows the number of Japanese working holiday makers to New Zealand from 1985 to 2003. When the WHS started between New Zealand and Japan in 1985, the number of Japanese youth issued for working holiday visa was only 110 people. It gradually increased, reached well over 1,000 people in 1991 and doubled only four years later. In 1996, the number of Japanese youth issued with working holiday visas jumped to 3,400, then reached 4,030 people in 2003. New Zealand has been one of the most popular working holiday destinations, chosen because it was a 'country where they were able to learn English', because it had 'reasonable living costs', because it had a 'beautiful landscape and abundance of nature',

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[55] Number of Working Holiday Visa issued in The Japan Association for Working Holiday Makers' website, http://www.jawhm.or.jp/eng/prgrm/visa.html, accessed on 3 March 2005

and because it was 'safer than other countries'.[56]

In my survey of a sample of Christchurch residents, I asked the respondents what type of visa they had when they first arrived in New Zealand. As Figure 1.3 shows, 30.4 per cent of the total number of respondents arrived in New Zealand with working holiday visas.

Figure 1.3   Visa categories at first arrival in New Zealand

WH: Working holiday visa
PR :   Permanent residency
W: Work permit visa
S: Student visa
Other: Visitor visa, Tourist visa, and some who entered in New Zealand without a visa such as a
          tourist.

Total
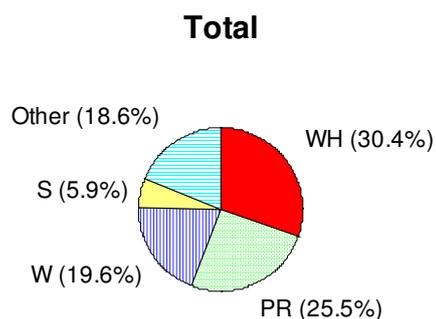
Some working holiday makers originally intended to return to Japan, but for a variety of reasons decided to stay on, applying for work visas or permanent residence. For example, Ryoko Nishida, a real estate agent in Christchurch, first arrived as working

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[56]   *Gekkan NZ* ('monthly NZ'), July 2004. *Gekkan Nyuji* conducted the survey. In total 108 WH makers of Auckland were interviewed. The interviewees included 37 males and 71 females. 12 people were age between 18 and 20, 58 people were age between 21 and 25, and 38 people were age between 26 and 31. 101 people were the first time WH makers, while 6 people were the second time and 1 person was the third time.

holiday maker in 1997 to pursue her dream of 'living overseas'.[57] She chose New Zealand because she was 26, which made her too old for the WHS in Australia and Canada. After arrival in New Zealand, she attended the local English school for two months, and she got a job offer at a New Zealand-owned souvenir shop for tourists in the city centre. Under the working holiday visa system, working holiday makers can not be employed under the same employer more than three months. At nearly the end of her three month contract, her employer agreed to support Nishida's application for a work permit visa to employ her for more than three months. Then in 2002, she was approved for the permanent residence, and began to work as a real estate agent, targeting Japanese people in particular, from 2003.

What drove Nishida to continue to stay in New Zealand was simply to pursue her dream of living overseas, though she originally did not intend to reside in New Zealand in the long-term. Before moving to New Zealand, she had been working for a giant electronics company for five years in Japan. Though she had hoped to work as a sales person, meeting and mingling with a lot of people, she found herself working all day in the office. So her motivation for coming to New Zealand combined a desire for overseas experience with dissatisfaction with her current situation. Her career in New Zealand as a souvenir shop sales person and later a real estate agent made her dream come true. She stressed that 'she enjoyed living in New Zealand very much more than living in Japan'. For such working holiday makers, like a working holiday visa proved to be a first step towards immigration to New Zealand.

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[57]   Ryoko Nishida, S*himpuru ritch seikatsu* (Simple and Rich Life), http;//www.ryonz.com/. Accessed on 12 April 2006. (My translation)

Temporary visas, including working holiday, work, student, or visitor visas were far more popular than permanent residence visas as means of first entry to New Zealand for Japanese residents of Christchurch who responded to my survey. Nearly three quarter of the total respondents (75.5 per cent) arrived with temporary visas, many without intending to reside in New Zealand in the long term. Though there were fewer business expatriates in Christchurch, many young people, especially women, were hired by local Japanese-operated tour companies on two-year contracts and entered New Zealand with work permit visas. The growth of Japanese tourism from the 1970s eventually created the opportunity for some Japanese immigrants in Christchurch to work as tour guides for incoming Japanese tourists.[58] By the end of the 1980s, Christchurch became very popular with Japanese tourists as the main gate to the scenic beauty of the South Island. Tour operating companies, souvenir shops, restaurants and hotels all needed Japanese speaking employees to deal with Japanese tourists.[59]

Amongst the imported workers was Masako Fisher, who arrived in Christchurch from Japan in 1988 after getting a job offer from a Japanese tour company based in Christchurch. After having worked in a tour operating company in Japan for three years, she sometimes felt that the company treated the male employees better than the female employees, and she thought that the Japanese lifestyle was too busy and too stressful. She also wanted to brush up her English language skills, 'see the bigger world', and enjoy a better lifestyle. With a two year work permit visa, she worked as a tour guide, and found that although she missed the easy availability of Japanese food and cooking

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[58] The Japanese Society of Canterbury, *Kantaberi Nihonjinkai Nyusureta* ('The Japanese Society of Canterbury Newsletter'), no.9, 1994, p.14
[59] Koichi Tanaka, p.83

ingredients she 'did not feel homesick at all' because she had lots of company from other young Japanese who worked in the tourist industry. Then, when her work permit expired, she stayed on because she married a New Zealander. [60]

Many other former temporary visa holders who responded to my questionnaire also changed course to settle in New Zealand, with reasons similar to those of the former working holiday makers and work visa holders. So the growth of the Japanese community did not result simply from the relaxation of New Zealand's immigration restrictions. It was also a result of the tourist boom, the consequent increase in work visa holders in the tourist industry, the stream of working holiday makers, and the growing numbers of long-term students. Some members of all these groups liked their new lives in New Zealand and stayed, and the relaxation of New Zealand's immigration policy helped to make it possible.

Motivations for leaving Japan

We cannot account for the growth of the Japanese community solely by referring to the attractions that the immigrants saw in New Zealand. These attractions were often the complement of their reasons for wanting to leave Japan. The reasons for wanting to leave the country in which they were born varied with individual circumstances, but some leading themes emerge. To begin with, the motives of company movers associated with classic New immigrant communities were very different from those of the independent movers who predominated in Christchurch. Indeed, the company movers can hardly be said to have made the choice of leaving Japan and choosing New Zealand, because they

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[60] Masako Fisher, *Haha to watashi no Nyujirando* ('Mother' and my New Zealand'), Tokyo, Ikuhosha, 2002, pp.28-29. My translation.

were posted to their new positions abroad by their employers.

In the case of the independent movers, the situation was very different. Their reasons for leaving were diverse, but most of them were linked to a choice of lifestyle or a desire for new cultural experiences. Many independent movers were dissatisfied with environmental or social conditions in Japan or questioned some established Japanese values. The few published accounts suggest the nature of these dissatisfactions. In *Migrants' case studies*, a New Zealand Immigration Service publication presenting recent immigrants' experiences, a Japanese couple who entered New Zealand under the Investor Category explained that in Japan they had been surrounded by a busy, stressful and competitive environment. They migrated to New Zealand because they 'wanted more out of life'.[61] Similarly, the book *My Home Now* features an interview with Yuki Kamiya, who explained very clearly that her dissatisfactions focused on three issues: entrenched gender roles which prescribed that 'the man works long hours and the woman cooks, cleans and brings up the children'; the regimented style of Japanese schools, whose rules and regulations even prescribed 'the length of a uniform skirt' or 'a girl's hairstyle or fringe length'; and the stress of boarding packed trains every morning where the commuters were 'pushed on' and 'squashed together with strangers'.[62] Yuki persuaded her husband to move to New Zealand so that they could have a better lifestyle and raise their children to 'learn social skills through lots of outdoor time'. The Kamiyas chose New Zealand as a destination because they were informed by friends from New Zealand that the country's natural environment was ideal for childrearing and family leisure.[63]

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[61] New Zealand Immigration Service, *Immigration kit 2002, no.8: Migrants' case studies,* p.18
[62] Gail Thomas and Leanne McKenzie (eds.), *My Home Now: Migrants and refugees to New Zealand tell their stories*, Auckland, Cape Catley, 2005, pp.62-64
[63] ibid., p.64

In designing my survey of the attitudes of Japanese immigrants in Christchurch, I wanted to test the representativeness of the scattered statements Yuki Kamiya and others about migrants' motives for leaving Japan. I therefore invited the immigrants who responded my survey to write out in their own words why they had decided to leave Japan and why they chose New Zealand as a destination. Most of the reasons that they gave for leaving Japan fall into the first six of the broad categories listed at the top of Table 1.2.

Table 1.2   Reasons for leaving Japan (multiple answers possible)

Reasons	No. of respondents
Stressful, annoying or unpleasant social conditions	19
Marriage	19
Desire for a new/better lifestyle	14
Desire for an overseas life	14
Entrepreneurship/job offer	13
Children's education	12
To reunite children or siblings	5
Simply love New Zealand	4
No particular reasons	4
To follow husband/partner's decision	3
To return to husband's country of origin	3
To come with parents	2
Company order	2
To have been influenced by friends living in New Zealand	2
Retirement	2
Fishing	1
Personal concerns about career	1

According to the survey, the most popular reason for leaving Japan was to escape from social conditions that were stressful, annoying or unpleasant. Those mentioned included over-crowding, traffic congestion, excessive working hours, a stressful work environment, exorbitant living and housing expenses, dissatisfaction with the political system, the presence of too many smokers, and so on. Interestingly, some female

respondents left Japan because they 'wanted to escape from traditional Japanese society and its ideas'. One of the female respondents wrote that 'I wanted to live outside Japan to escape from conventional Japanese society, where I always felt stressed and nervous about what other people were thinking and how they were judging me'.[64] These female respondents agreed that in Japan conformity was expected and individualism was discouraged. They also felt that in Japan, they were 'outsiders' as they usually did things that Japanese women were traditionally supposed not to do – such as expressing their views in public, or saying yes or no.

The second most popular reason was 'marriage to a New Zealander'. However, most of the respondents who mentioned this reason originally entered New Zealand as temporary residents: nine were working holiday makers, three were on student visas, two were on work permits, one was visitor, and another was a tourist. Only three arrived for the first time after having been granted permanent residence. They seem initially to have visited New Zealand, for reasons they did not state, with no intention of marrying New Zealanders. However, once they were here, they met New Zealand partners, married, and ended up settling in Christchurch.

The third most popular reasons for leaving Japan in the questionnaire survey was the desire for a new or better lifestyle. Some respondents who said that they had wanted 'a new or better lifestyle' did not clarify what they meant, but others referred explicitly to their desire to escape the stressful and unpleasant aspects of life in Japan that we have already mentioned. This desire for a different way of life was related to the overseas travel boom, which showed many Japanese that there were alternative and attractive ways

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[64] Female respondent, age 30-39, 6-9 year- residence, Japanese speaking partner, Tour guide, English level 3. My translation.

of living. Young Japanese went to language schools, went on working holidays, and sought out different cultural experiences. Moreover, the Japanese media portrayed life overseas as an exciting and interesting challenge, with television programmes like 'Pokapoka chikyu kazoku' (Cheerful world family), describing the lives of Japanese families who had migrated overseas.[65] And in most cases, the 'desire for a life overseas' was 'a desire for a new or better lifestyle' than was possible in Japan.

The fourth most popular reason for leaving Japan was a desire to pursue career-related objectives by setting up a business or taking up a job. The seven respondents who came to New Zealand to take up jobs were not sent out by Japanese companies, like the sojourners in classic New immigrant communities, but were independent movers who, while in Japan, applied for jobs in New Zealand and got them. Usually, they intended to work in New Zealand for a couple of years then return to Japan when their contracts expired. However, they ended up staying on when they renewed their contracts, marreid New Zealanders, became full-time students, or gained permanent residence under the General category. Six other respondents came to New Zealand as independent movers when they saw business opportunities linked to the growing Japanese tourist market in the mid-1980s. One of them wrote, 'I was looking for business chances in New Zealand because Japanese interests in the tourist market in Oceania were growing at that time'.[66] Only two respondents were company movers. One had lived in New Zealand for a year and intended to return to Japan when his tour of duty was completed. The other was sent to New Zealand twenty years ago, but the position that he was offered was made

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[65] TV Asahi, http://www.tv-asahi.co.jp/chikyukazoku/ accessed on 20 April 2007.
[66] Male respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Company director, English level 3. My translation.

permanent, and this allowed him to live in New Zealand permanently.

Education was the fifth most popular motivation for leaving. Such educational reasons reflected the today's Japanese educational environment in following two areas. Some parents in my survey echoed Yuki Kamiya's complaints about the rigid regulations, pressure and lack of freedom within the Japanese schooling system. They also saw the system as too 'examination oriented'. One of respondent put it like this:

> The Japanese educational system is too oriented to various examination and tests from pre-school age to university entrance. In the city where we used to live before coming to New Zealand, many parents sent their children to the supplementary school where children study until 9 o'clock at night after school, or they hire the home tutor for their children. My husband and I did not want to push our children in such a tiring system. We wanted to have our children grow up without such pressure and stress. [67]

Some respondents gave another education-related reason for wanting to leave Japan: the desire to have their children grow up bilingual. However, these respondents also said that they did not intend to return to Japan, and this shows that bilingualism was not seen as a skill that would enhance employment prospects in the country of their birth. Rather, it was linked to the family's decision, largely for other reasons, to create new lives in a new country.[68]

The other stated reasons for immigration were far less popular. Five respondents said that they had left Japan to reunite their families, usually after their daughter had married a New Zealander and had children. One of them wrote, 'we migrated to New Zealand because our only daughter had her family in New Zealand and told us she will never

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[67] Female respondent, age 50-59, 10-19 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Japanese teacher, English level 4. My translation.
[68] Female respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 2. My translation.

come back to Japan'.[69]   Even smaller number said that they had left Japan because they 'simply loved New Zealand', 'wanted to live overseas after retirement', 'wanted to go fishing', 'had personal reasons related to their career', 'came with their parents' when children, or had simply followed their husband or partner.

Some respondents mentioned two or more reasons for leaving Japan. One wrote: 'I came to New Zealand to work as a tour guide as a career change. Also, I wanted to brush up my English language skills as well as escape from the stresses of Japanese society'.[70] Most of the reasons cited either stated or implied dissatisfaction with at least some aspects of Japanese society or the Japanese way of life.   It is not surprising, then, that when I asked my respondents why they had chosen to migrate to New Zealand, rather than some other destination, most of them justified their choice by attributing to New Zealand virtues that were the obverse of the faults that they perceived in the land of their birth.

Reasons for selecting New Zealand as an emigration destination

I invited respondents to my survey to write down in their own words why they chose to migrate to New Zealand, rather than some other country. My classification of their answers is given in Table 1.3.

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[69] Female respondent, age over 60, 10-19 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Retired, English level 3. My translation.
[70] Female respondent, age 20-29, 2-5 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 4. My translation.

**Table 1.3   Reasons for selecting New Zealand as the immigration destination
(multiple answers possible)**

Reasons	No. of responses
Good environment 　　Good and relaxing lifestyle 29 　　Beautiful scenery, nature 7 　　Low crime rate 4 　　Low population density 3 　　Low living costs 3 　　Wide-open spaces 2	48
Married to a New Zealander	24
Education for children	12
Ease of immigration	11
Career change, entrepreneurship	8
Friendly people	6
Inspired by friends	6
To reunite with children or siblings	5
English-speaking country	5
Similar climate to Japan's	3
Reputation of sports	3
Politically stability and reliability	2
Company order	2
Small size of country	1
Low Japanese population	1
Nuclear free policy	1
Good feeling towards Japan	1

The most popular reasons for choosing New Zealand as a destination were related to New Zealand's good natural and social environment, such as the country's relaxing lifestyle, its relaxing work environment with shorter working hours, its beautiful scenery and natural abundance, their belief that it had a low crime rate, its low population density,

its comparative absence of traffic congestion, its low living costs, its wide-open spaces, and so on. Almost all the respondents had a good image of New Zealand – in many cases a much better image than they had of Japan.

Some respondents were impressed by New Zealand's good environment while living in the country as working holiday makers or work visa holders, or while visiting friends or traveling. One respondent who arrived in New Zealand as an 'imported worker' mentioned that he was impressed by New Zealand's better quality of life, and that this had led him to apply for permanent residence.[71] Another respondent mentioned that she visited New Zealand several times as a tour leader and had became fond of New Zealand's relaxing lifestyle and natural beauties. Then she decided to come to live in New Zealand.[72] Other respondents had a good image of New Zealand even before arriving. One respondent wrote that she and her husband chose New Zealand because they learned that New Zealand's climate was similar to Japan's, that New Zealand society was stable, and that there were many parts of the natural environment that were both beautiful and easily accessible.[73] Another respondent wrote that she and her husband learned that New Zealand offered a good lifestyle, well balanced between work commitments and private time.[74]

There were, probably, two main sources of New Zealand's good image. One was word of mouth from friends, acquaintances or relatives who had previously visited or

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[71]   Male respondent, age between 30 and 39, 6-9 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Tour guide, English level 4. My translation
[72]   Female respondent, age between 40 and 49, 10-19 year-residence, English speaking partner, Student/Interpreter, English level 5. My translation
[73]   Female respondent, age between 50 and 59, 10-19 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 2. My translation
[74]   Female respondent, age between 50 and 59, 10-19 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Japanese teacher, English level 4. My translation

lived in New Zealand. One respondent wrote that her friend living in New Zealand told her that New Zealand was a safe country with a lower crime rate than other English speaking countries; and that it offered a better and more relaxed lifestyle, including a less demanding and rigid educational system and a more relaxed work environment. So she and her husband decided to migrate to New Zealand.[75]

The other main source of the country's good image was published works on New Zealand, mainly guidebooks. Many guidebooks focusing on New Zealand's beautiful scenery, its natural environment, and its wide-open spaces have been published in Japan. Typical examples include *Raburî Nyûjîrando: Shizen to ningen no seikatsu* (Lovely New Zealand: human life in nature), and *Nyûjîrando no tabi: minamihankyû no shiki ga utsukushî sôgen, hitsuji, hyôga no tabi* (New Zealand travel: beautiful seasons featuring fields, sheep, and glaciers in the southern hemisphere). Such titles hint that New Zealanders were living surrounded by the beautiful landscape and had easy access to the mountains, rivers and beaches. The New Zealand lifestyle is also portrayed as relaxing and peaceful, as represented in book titles like *Nyûjîrando no sugao: sono miryoku to kietsu heian wo motomete* (New Zealand's true colours: in search of its charm, pleasure and peace), and *Nyûjîrando no kosodate ni manabu: oya ni yasashî surô- hoiku no dentô to genjô* (Learning about New Zealand childrearing: tradition and the recent trend towards slow childrearing, relaxing to the parent). These books projected the image of a stress-free lifestyle which readers were likely to find an attractive contrast to the Japanese lifestyle.[76] Even before they came out as working holiday-makers, temporary workers,

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[75] Female respondent, age over 60, over 20 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Worker for education industry, English level 5. My translation

[76] Yoshiyasu Ida, *Raburî Nyûjîrando: Shizen to ningen no seikatsu* ('Lovely New Zealand; human life in nature'), Tokyo, Nihomiyashoten, 1996. Jun Hashida, *Nyûjîrando no tabi:*

students or visitors, they had a good image of New Zealand that was confirmed when they experienced it for themselves. One respondent wrote that she was interested in New Zealand's relaxing lifestyle, so she decided to come to New Zealand as a working holiday maker. What she experienced convinced her that New Zealand was a safe country with friendly people, and good medical and social welfare systems. So she decided to live in New Zealand permanently.[77]

The second most popular reason for choosing New Zealand as a destination of immigration was a marriage to a New Zealander. There were 24 respondents who referred to marriage as a reason for migrating to New Zealand – 22 of them women. Interestingly, many of these originally arrived in New Zealand independently. Of these respondents, 20 originally arrived in New Zealand alone with a temporary visa. They planned to return Japan before the visa expired, having completed their holiday, work or study. However, they met their partners, mostly New Zealanders, and their relationship or marriage led them to decide to settle in New Zealand. As one respondent wrote, 'During my working holiday in New Zealand, I met my husband, and I decided to marry him and live in New Zealand'.[78]

Why did the respondents decide to live in New Zealand rather than Japan? The most popular reason was New Zealand's better environment, especially the belief that it

minamihankyû no shiki ga utsukushî sôgen, hitsuji, hyôga no tabi ('New Zealand travel; beautiful seasons of fields, sheep, and glacier in the southern hemistopher'), Tokyo, Shobunsha, 1987. Isamu Kawase, *Nyûjîrando no sugao: sono miryoku to kietsu heian wo motomete* ('New Zealand's true colours: in search of its charm, pleasure and peace'), Tokyo, Yamanoteshobo-shinsha, 1994. Yukiko Matsukawa, *Nyûjîrando no kosodate ni manabu: oya ni yasashî surô-hoiku no dentô to genjô* ('Learning about New Zealand childrearing: tradition and the recent trend towards slow childrearing, relaxing to the parent'), Tokyo, Shogakukan, 2004.

[77] Female respondent, age between 30 and 39, 6-9 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Tour guide, English level 3. My translation

[78] Female respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 3. My translation.

provided a more relaxed environment for bringing up children and a less stressful education system. One female respondent wrote 'I believe New Zealand is a better environment for child-rearing than Japan',[79] while another said that 'we chose New Zealand over Japan, because we wanted our children to grow up surrounded by nature'.[80] For some women who married a New Zealander, financial security was also a factor. As one respondent recalled, 'we chose to live in New Zealand because he had a secure job in New Zealand. It would be difficult for him to find a job in Japan because of the language barrier'.[81]

Four respondents who listed marriage to a Kiwi as a reason for deciding to live in New Zealand had different circumstances from the other 20. They met and married New Zealanders in Japan, and came to New Zealand with their husbands. They said that New Zealand's affordable housing was a strong motivation for their decision. Some also said that in Japan, particularly in the cities, people lived in apartments, which they found too small and inconvenient as their children grew up. After they moved to New Zealand, they could afford to buy a house with a garden.[82]

On the whole, those who married a Kiwi and chose to settle in New Zealand did so because of its relaxing lifestyle, its good social and physical environment and its less demanding educational system. Some were also motivated by the affordability of

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[79]   Female respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 year-residence, English speaking partner, Tour guide, English level 4. My translation.
[80]   Male respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 year-residence, English speaking partner, Company director, English level 5. My translation.
[81]   Female respondent, age 30-39, 10-19 year-residence, English speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 4, also female respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 year-residence, English speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 3. Both my translation.
[82]   Female respondent, age 30-39, 10-19 year-residence, English speaking partner, Self-employed, English level 4, also female respondent, age 40-49, 6-9 year-residence, English speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 4. Both my translation.

housing. Except for the fact that some of them took into account the fact that their husbands would find it difficult to get a good job in Japan, they seem to have chosen to live in New Zealand for much the same reasons as other respondents in the sample. People in both groups, overall, saw New Zealand as a 'paradise' where they could lead more relaxed lives and enjoy a better lifestyle than they could afford in Japan.

The third most popular reason for choosing New Zealand as a destination was education, which 12 people referred to. We saw earlier that dissatisfaction with the stressful, exam-oriented, education system was a factor that drove a good many Japanese to consider emigration, so it is not surprising to find that quite a few respondents nominated New Zealand's less demanding forms of education as one of the country's attractions. Some respondents also wanted to live in New Zealand so that their children would grow up bilingual.[83] No one nominated education as the sole reason for choosing to live in New Zealand, but respondents mentioned it along with other considerations. For example, one respondent wrote that 'we as parents wanted new challenges in a foreign country, and we wanted our children to grow up in a stress-free educational system as well as to be bilingual', and another respondent wrote that 'we believed we would be able to have a lifestyle with a good balance between work commitments and private time in New Zealand. Also, we rejected the Japanese education system which focused on examinations from primary school onwards.'[84] In both cases, the respondents believed New Zealand would offer something new and better to both the parents and their children.

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[83] Female respondent, age over 60, over 20 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Educator, English level 5. My translation.
[84] Female respondent, age 50-59, 10-19 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Japanese teacher, English level 4. My translation

The fourth most popular reason for choosing New Zealand as a destination was that New Zealand's immigration policy made it easy to gain entry. All 11 people who mentioned this factor arrived in New Zealand after 1986, when the immigration policy was relaxed and the working holiday visa system was introduced. Six of them arrived in New Zealand for the first time with their permanent residence approved under the categories of Business or General. They pointed out that the approval process was quicker than in Australia and cited the clarity and fairness of the points system introduced in 1991.[85] Four other respondents first arrived in New Zealand with working holiday visas, saying that New Zealand's more generous age limit of 30 years meant that they could come here although they were excluded by the age limit of 25 that applied in Australia and Canada. One respondent wrote: 'I was older than 26 years old when I planned to apply for a working holiday visa, so I applied for a New Zealand working holiday visa because New Zealand was only country to approve such an age'.[86] These working holiday makers eventually settled down in New Zealand after going on to obtain permanent residence. One respondent wrote that 'it was easier to have permanent residence approved than I thought'.[87]

The fifth most popular set of reasons for selecting New Zealand concerned job offers, careers and business opportunities. As previously seen, nearly all the respondents were independent movers rather than company movers. Their arrival in New Zealand was a matter of personal choice based on their perception of entrepreneurial opportunities,

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[85] Female respondent, age 20-29, 10-19 year-residence, English speaking partner, Café manager, English level 5, and female respondent, age 30-39, 6-9 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, B&B owner, English level 4. Both my translation.

[86] Female respondent, age 50-59, 10-19 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Japanese teacher, English level 4. My translation.

[87] Male respondent, age 30-39, 10-19 year-residence, Japanese speaking partner, Sales assistant, English level 2. My translation.

particularly in sections of the tourist industry targeting the Japanese market.

Six respondents referred to their belief that most New Zealanders were friendly people, so that it was possible to settle in New Zealand with safety and a feeling of security. Six others were attracted to New Zealand by good reports from friends who had migrated earlier, and six came to New Zealand to be reunited with their children or siblings who had already settled here. Five people said that they chose New Zealand as a destination because it was an English speaking country in which they were able to use or improve their English language skills. Smaller numbers referred to the country's good climate, to the country's reputation for sports, and its political system (which they contrasted favourably with Japan's), its nuclear-free policy, and so on.

Conclusion

Nearly 80 percent of the interviewees in Sarah J. Boswell's study of Japanese migrants in Auckland were 'company movers', sent to New Zealand to carry out their company duties. Their decisions to migrate were not a matter of individual decision.[88] Her research reinforces the idea that Auckland is a classic New immigrant community dominated by business sojourners. My case study of Christchurch suggests that the situation here is very different. In my survey, the overwhelming majority of respondents were independent movers. Indeed, only two respondents said that the reason they migrated was that they were sent by their companies. Their decisions to come to New Zealand were not result of the globalization of Japan Inc., but a result of the globalisation

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[88] Sarah J. Boswell, p. 102

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of the consciousness of individual Japanese.[89]

The arrival of these independent movers was greatly assisted by the relaxation of New Zealand immigration restrictions after 1986, but it also owed a lot to the arrival of large numbers of young Japanese who came to New Zealand on temporary visas, liked what they saw, and stayed. This independent immigration also owed a good deal to books and 'word of mouth' in Japan that sang New Zealand's praises as a country with an unspoiled natural environment and a relaxed way of life. Inspired by these reports, some immigrants applied for and received permanent residence before they even saw New Zealand.

Whereas company movers cannot be said to have chosen to leave Japan and live in another country, the independent movers who dominate Christchurch's Japanese community have done exactly that. Their principle motive for wanting to leave Japan was dissatisfaction with aspects of Japanese society and the Japanese way of life. Their principal motive for choosing New Zealand was that they perceived it as a place where they could lead the sorts of lives that are all but impossible in Japan. In this respect, they are very different from the company movers and other 'birds of passage' identified by Boswell in Auckland. They are more like the recent wave of 'lifestyle immigrants' that Sato has identified in Australia.[90]

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[89] On Japan and globalisation, see Harumi Befu, 'The global context of Japan outside Japan', in Harumi Befu and Sylvie Guichard-Anguis (eds.), *Globalizing Japan: Ethnography of the Japanese Presence in Asia, Europe, and America*, New York, Routledge, 2001, esp. pp.5-7.
[90] Machiko Sato, pp.3-5.

Chapter 2

Development of formal Japanese ethnic organisation

Development of the Japanese Society of Canterbury

Until the 1960s, there were no real Japanese communities in even the larger New Zealand cities. Instead, there were small numbers of Japanese who nearly all associated mostly with Europeans in European-dominated communities. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Japanese community organizations simply did not exist.

The first signs of change came in Auckland in the 1960s when the arrival of Japanese business expatriates led to the emergence of a classic New immigrant community. The business expatriates began to meet informally in the early 1960s, and by the early 1970s they had formed the *Nihon Boeki Kondankai* (The Japan Trading Assembly) to pursue mutual interests, such as fostering increased social contact and providing education based on the Japanese curriculum for their children. However, as the number of independent movers in Auckland increased from the mid-1980s, leaders from both expatriates and permanent residents felt the need for an ethnic organization that would integrate them both. So, while *Nihon Boeki Kondankai* continued its activities on behalf of the business

community, the Japanese Society of Auckland was created to represent the Japanese residents of Auckland as a whole.[91]

In Christchurch, the Japanese community developed even more slowly, but by the 1980s it had developed informal social networks such as a group for playing golf or a parents' group for teaching Japanese to their children. By the early 1990s, some members of the community were discussing the need for a formal organisation to represent the Japanese population of Christchurch as a whole. They were handicapped, though, by the fact that they were a community of permanent residents, rather than well-resourced business expatriates. A former chairman of the Japanese Society of Canterbury explained the situation to me:

> We did not have the financial resources to start a formal organisation. Unlike the Japanese Society of Auckland, we have few Japanese corporations in Christchurch which might financially support such a movement. Also, none of us had a sound knowledge of how to establish a formal organisation in Christchurch. None of us was willing to take charge of leading such a movement, until the Japanese Consular Office of Christchurch offered to take a leading role in the movement.[92]

It was Taniharu Hideaki of the Consul of the Consular Office of Japan in Christchurch (COJC) who ended up supplying the leadership. He made his office available for a meeting, and told the permanent residents that he would use his knowledge and experience of Japanese organizations in other countries to help them set up a formal body to represent the local Japanese community. As a result, the Japanese Society of Canterbury (JSC) was registered in January 1992 as a non-profitable organisation 'in order to help the Japanese residents in Canterbury integrate into the host society through

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[91] Email from Mr Kiyomi Gunji of the Japanese Society of Auckland. 5 September 2005
[92] Interview with a former chairman of Japanese Society of Canterbury, 26 April 2005.

promoting social activity and communication between Japanese residents, and any

activities contributing to cultural understanding between New Zealand and Japan.'[93]

The JSC consists of a board and three categories of membership: general members,

friendly members, and corporate members.[94] The board members are selected from the

general members, and consist of a Chairperson and other members in charge of editorial

and educational matters, liaison, accounting, and seasonal events. The Japanese Consul

is also represented as an Honorary Advisor. General members are defined as either

Japanese nationals or former Japanese nationals who have lived or were going to live in

Canterbury for more than three months and were over 18 years old.[95] Friendly

membership is extended to non-Japanese nationals with an understanding of Japanese

culture.[96] Corporate membership is available to companies or corporations owned or

operated by Japanese, or to New Zealand companies owned or operated by non-Japanese.

Friendly and corporate members had to be recommended by at least two board members.

There were 34 corporate members and about 100 individual general members when the

JSC was founded, but membership expanded with the growth of population and by 2005

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[93] The Japanese Society of Canterbury (The JSC), *Kantaberi Nihonjinkai Kaiho* ('The Japanese Society of Canterbury Newsletter'), no.2,1992, p.1

[94] Annual membership fees are required. For example, in 2005, the membership fees were $30 for general and friendly members and $100 for corporate members. General and friendly members pay the fee as a family unit.

[95] As an exceptional case, the board of JSC admits applications by Japanese from outside Canterbury where the number of Japanese is relatively small, as in the case of Nelson. Similarly, former JSC members who have moved outside Canterbury are occasionally permitted to retain membership.

[96] A New Zealander who married a Japanese general member of the JSC was counted as a general member, not a friendly member.

there were about 40 corporate members and 180 households registered as general members – the latter representing anywhere between 400 and 700 individuals.[97]

Although there have been only a few friendly members, the category of corporate members has appealed not only to Japanese companies but to New Zealand companies as well. At the foundation of the JSC, there were 34 businesses registered as corporate members, of whom 11 were Japanese companies, two were Japanese/New Zealand joint ventures, and 21 were New Zealand companies and businesses.[98] The majority of corporate members were from the car and tourist industries. The number of corporate members grew and reached its peak around 60 in the mid-1990s with 21 Japanese multinational corporations and locally owned Japanese businesses, two Japanese/New Zealand joint ventures, and 38 New Zealand businesses including three businesses owned by non-Japanese Asians.[99] So New Zealand businesses now outnumbered Japanese ones, hoping to target Japanese tourists or the local Japanese market or to build connections with the Japanese community. Many of these businesses were still linked to the tourist industry, but others included restaurants, banks, home hardware firms, real estate

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[97] At the foundation of the JSC, membership was originally counted on an individual basis. From 2005, however, membership was counted on the basis of household units. According to the vice-chairman of the JSC, it is now impossible to put an accurate figure on the number of individuals linked with the JSC, as members are registered only as household units. He suggests that if we include the main registrant's spouse and children, there would be between 400 and 700 general members.

[98] In the JSC membership list, Japanese businesses were mainly associated with tourism and the car industry. They included Japan Airlines, Japan Travel Bureau, OK Gift Shop, Honda, Toyota, and Nissan. New Zealand businesses were also often linked to tourism and the car industries, including Air New Zealand, The Mt Cook group, Chateau Hotel, Kingsgate Hotel, Pacific Tourways, Palazzo restaurant, Sign of the Takahe, Jade & Opal World for the tourism industry, and TEIN motors, Kirk Motors, and Ilam Toyota for the car industry. The Japanese/New Zealand joint ventures were Comalco NZ and Five Star Beef. The JSC, 'Newsletter', no. 1, June 1992, p. 2

[99] Ibid., no.12, 1995, p. 21

companies, law firms, accountancy businesses, insurance companies, travel agents and souvenir shops.[100]

The JSC's main activities are distribution of its newsletter, preparation for disasters and emergencies, taking part in events organized by the Consular Office of Japan in Christchurch, organising events for its members, and liaison with the host society and other immigrant communities. The JSC newsletter, originally named *Kantaberi Nihonjinkai Kaihô* (The Japanese Society of Canterbury Newsletter) and later *Kantaberî Nihonjinkai Nyûsuretâ* (The Japanese Society of Canterbury Newsletter) is published quarterly in the Japanese language and distributed to all members. The JSC newsletter started with only a few pages, but it now contains an average of 40 pages. The main purpose of the newsletter is 'to promote communication between the members, and to promote cultural understanding between the members and the Christchurch community.'[101] The articles in the newsletter are written and edited mostly by board members, but there are occasional contributions from general members. Generally, the newsletters consist of notices and reports by the JSC board on seasonal activities, general information, and meetings with local organisations such as the Christchurch City Council and the Christchurch police. The newsletter also contains reports by the Japanese Supplementary School of Canterbury and the Japanese play group on what they have been doing and what they have achieved, and some columns by general members. For

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[100]   Since late 2002, the number of corporate members has ranged between 40 and 50, with just over half of them owned by non-Japanese. For example, in September 2005, some of the corporate members from New Zealand based business were Bank of New Zealand, Colley Robinson Optometrists, Holmwood Real Estate, Smith Mitre 10 (home products), Snowy Peak (wool), Summit Wool Spinners, O'Donoghue Lindsay Group (insurance), Palazzo Restaurant , Aotea New Zealand Souvenirs, Garden City Golf, Rae Hardie Associates (accounting) and ORA limited (education). New Zealand-based businesses operated by non-Japanese Asian people were New Avonhead Travel and South Pacific Pure Foods. Ibid., no.53, 2005, p.40
[101]   Ibid., no.1, 1992, p.1

some of members, the newsletter is the only printed version of the Japanese language that they read in New Zealand, and it is consequently eagerly awaited. The newsletter keeps JSC members up to update with what is going on within the Japanese community and with dealings between the Japanese community and local authorities.

The newsletter is also used by the Japanese government and the COJC as a notice board for Japanese nationals. The JSC's relationship with the COJC has been tight from the beginning, with the Consul assisting in the society's foundation, and providing it with a postal address, a meeting place and a copying machine for the newsletter. At the same time, the JSC supports the activities of the COJC by encouraging eligible members to register as overseas voters for elections in Japan, and by advertising government notices. For example, in 1999, when legislation was passed making the Japanese national anthem and flag 'symbols of the identity of Japanese nationals', the Consul used the newsletter to publicise the legislation and print the Japanese Prime Minister's statement about its significance.[102]

The second main activity of the JSC is to organise *kinkyu renrakumou* (an emergency network) as a form of civil defense. Through the JSC newsletter, the JSC and the COJC frequently remind local Japanese to report to the office their intention to reside in New Zealand for more than three months and to provide their address, phone number, occupation, names of family members and an emergency contact in Japan (*zairyu todoke*). They also urge them to prepare emergency kits of food and water according to guidelines provided by New Zealand civil defence. In addition, the JSC divides the Christchurch residential area into about 20 small areas, each containing the contact phone lists of 2 to 32 households which are coordinated in a chain reaction message system. In the case of

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[102] ibid., no 29, 1999, p.10

an emergency or national disaster, the JSC president liaises with the COJC on the evacuation or provision of food for JSC members, and he passes on messages to group leaders of each residential area. A group leader must make sure that all members receive the message through the chain reaction system.

Emergency networks are common in Japan, especially those operating through schools or in rural areas. From the late 1980s, however, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs began to tackle the issue of growing numbers of overseas Japanese nationals who were involved in emergencies, such as major disasters, wars, and crimes targeting the Japanese. In particular, the Gulf Crisis that broke out in August 1990 provided important lessons on the need to strengthen Japan's system for managing crises abroad and protecting its nationals.[103] The Japanese government established the Migration Council in June 1991, which submitted proposals to strengthen its ability to cope with emergencies by improving communications, providing the public with information on safety, enhancing transport capacity and increasing relevant facilities and personnel in diplomatic offices abroad.[104] The aim was to encourage public and private sector cooperation in planning safety measures for the protection of Japanese nationals abroad, whether they were sojourners or people residing permanently in other countries.[105] The close connection between the COJC and the JSC therefore seems to have stemmed from the Japanese government's decision to assist in maintaining security for its nationals living abroad.

In Christchurch, the close co-operation between the JSC and the COJC was evident in other areas. As it third main activity, the JSC took part in a series of Japanese government

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[103]   Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, *Diplomatic Bluebook*,1992 p.328
[104]   ibid., pp.328-9
[105]   ibid., p.330

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activities promoting Japanese cultural understanding in Christchurch. For example, since the late 1980s the Japanese government has promoted the Japan Exchange Teaching programme (JET programme) for university and college graduates from English speaking countries, and numbers of young New Zealand graduates have participated in it. When the Consulate held a reception for these young people, the board members of the JSC were invited to provide information about Japanese culture and everyday needs. Similarly, when either the Japanese Embassy in Wellington or the COJC hosts Japanese cultural events in Christchurch, the JSC helps by displaying painting or calligraphy done by local Japanese children.

One of the most significant examples of support by the JSC for the COJC occurred in connection with the visit of the Japanese Crown Prince and Princess to New Zealand in December 2002. Before their arrival in Christchurch, the COJC released the date of the royal visit to JSC members whose children attended the Japanese Supplementary School of Canterbury so that they could coordinate the welcome for the royal family at the Antarctic Centre. This was the only occasion that the Japanese people of Christchurch could see the royal couple, and only 100 parents and their children were able to stand in the welcoming line up. The parents of pupils at the school applied to the Consulate for entry tickets, and all places were filled within two days. On the day of the royal couple's arrival, the school's pupils lined up at the front of the queue, waving Japanese and New Zealand flags. As the children were told not to talk to the royal couple or to shake hands, they were 'quiet from nervousness' when the royal visitors arrived.[106]

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[106] The JSC, 'Newsletter', no.42, 2002, p.1

The fourth activity of the JSC is to organise social events for its members. At the beginning of the JSC's establishment, the board of sports and recreation was created in order to promote social activity through cultural and sporting clubs linked to golf, fishing, tin pin bowling, tennis, volleyball, and photography. The sports and recreation board was later abolished due to lack of participation in club activities, though the golf club continued to thrive. The board was succeeded by a 'board of two events' that organized an annual athletics carnival and Japanese community participation in the annual Santa Parade. These two events continue to arouse widespread interest within the Japanese community.

The JSC's first athletics carnival was held at Marshland Domain in February 1997 after a long search for an event that would bring most members of the community together at the same time. Athletics is a popular seasonal activity at schools in Japan, from pre-school right through high school, and the JSC's carnival is adapted from the Japanese model. The carnival begins in traditional fashion with an opening ceremony and warming up exercises, whose spirit is nicely captured in the description of a New Zealander whose Japanese wife took part in the first athletics carnival:

> The opening ceremony set the scene for the day's events. Everything would be organised and scheduled in true Japanese fashion, with precision like the wheels and cogs of a Swiss watch. But this was a very Japanese event! Excitement was mounting and during the warm up exercise I was reminded of my school days in the dojo at Karate school with the Sensei (teacher) whipping out the words 'Ichi-ni-san-shi (One, two, three, four)' with the regularity and authority of a military officer. [107]

The opening ceremony and warm up are followed by running races, three legged races, relays, the tug war, folk dancing, races eating lollies, cakes or buns, and races in which the competitors borrow something like a pen, a hat or clothes from the spectators.

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[107] ibid., no 19,1997, p. 5

Parents and other members of the JSC can join the children in some events, as well as shooting photos and videos and providing a packed lunch. The meeting concludes with a closing ceremony, warm down exercises, a presentation to the winning team, and a closing ceremony.

The athletics carnival is a well established feature of Japanese culture, and the JSC's adaptation of it uses that cultural heritage to bring the Japanese community together. However, the dominant ethic of the local Japanese community opposes any form of exclusionist nationalism and the community also identifies itself through its residence in New Zealand. It is not surprising, therefore, that the JSC has added a New Zealand flavour to the proceedings. In Japan, there is normally a cheerleading competition or a mass display after the lunch break, but in Christchurch adults and children form teams that participate in a *Haka* (Maori dance) competition. Similarly, although teams in Japanese schools use the national colours of red and white as symbols, the teams in Christchurch use the traditional Canterbury colours of red and black. So while the JSC's athletics carnival helps Japanese children born in New Zealand to 'imagine' Japan, it also encourages them to embrace the local culture.

The relationship between the JSC and the COJC, as previously seen, is very close, and the Office regards Christchurch's Japanese residents as still subjects of Japan, for whose well-being it feels responsible. However, the COJC also makes it clear that its responsibility extends to ensuring that the members of the Japanese community act as good 'citizens' of Christchurch, cooperating fully with local and national authorities for the good of the local and New Zealand community. In the first JSC newsletter, the Japanese Consul gave the following message to the Society's members:

Japanese immigrants have moved to Christchurch full of the frontier spirit, just like

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the English migrants to this city 150 years ago. We see Christchurch as a land of hope for living and working, and for creating a new life with our families. I hope that the Japanese immigrants living in this city, contribute to building the city with the people of New Zealand for our next generation.[108]

Since then, his successors have sent similar messages to JSC members, printing them in the newsletter to ensure that they are widely circulated.

The idea that Christchurch's Japanese should be 'good community members of the host society' frequently stressed in the JSC newsletter. When the Christchurch Art Gallery building construction plan was introduced, the JSC urged its members to donate funds to the project, stating that as 'citizens of Christchurch' they should support the development of local facilities.[109] Through participation in the Christchurch community, the JSC apparently sought to promote a type of dual identity as Japanese nationals and as committed members of the local community.

The JSC's leaders often reminded its members of their status and their responsibility towards their host country by describing themselves, not only as 'Japanese who live in New Zealand', but also as 'Japanese who are allowed to reside in New Zealand by New Zealand society' (*New Zealand ni sumawasete itadaiteiru Nihonjin*). The JSC does not see residence in New Zealand as a right that the local Japanese have obtained, but as a privilege that depends on the permission of the New Zealand government. The JSC Chairperson argued that although Japanese migrants could request better government services in particular areas, they should learn New Zealand cultural values first. She said that 'they should go back to Japan if they only complain without learning anything from New Zealand values.'[110]

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[108] ibid., no.2,1992, p.1
[109] ibid., no 37, 2001, p. 6
[110] The JSC, 'Newsletter', no.38, 2001, p.30.

The JSC's fifth function is to represent the Japanese community in dealings with local authorities. It meets with the Christchurch City Council and the Police on the issues of concern to immigrant communities, along with other ethnic groups from Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Its leaders' belief that it represents 'Japanese who are allowed to reside in New Zealand by New Zealand society' contrasts with the attitude of some of the other groups. Representatives of the JSC are sometimes taken aback at the way in which other ethnic groups voice their opinions and press their demands. In the words of a former president of the JSC:

> The New Zealand authorities seem to struggle to find answers on how to deal with the cultural demands of the immigrants. It seems to me that they willingly listen to each demand and request from each ethnic group. The result is that we find ethnic enclaves in New Zealand such as a mosque in a public school…. We as immigrants should not insist on our culture of origin, and the authorities should not be too soft on cultural demands from the immigrants. [111]

Another board member of the JSC who attended the same meeting wrote:

> The JSC is well known by the local authorities as the [representative of an] immigrant group which does not insist on demands, requests, and support. I think the Japanese immigrants never complain. Of course, the Japanese immigrants more or less face some problems or inconvenience in the new country. However, many of us think it is not right for us to complain to the local authorities because we came to New Zealand as a result of our own decision.[112]

This 'modest' demeanour by Japanese community is linked to a determination to seek integration within the host country. Its members generally believe that they should adapt themselves to the values of the host society rather than attempting to force it to adapt to their distinctive ethnic needs and identity. They prefer to remain quiet and cooperative, respectful of the host society and identifying with its interests. Both their Japanese citizenship and their New Zealand residence are part of their identity, a fact that comes

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[111]   Letter from former chairman of JSC, August 2005.
[112]   Male respondent, age 40-49, 6-9 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, self-employed, English level 4.

across clearly in the wording of a formal letter that the JSC sent to the French Government to oppose nuclear tests in the South Pacific:

> As citizens of Japan, a nation that has suffered and continues to suffer from the devastating effects of nuclear weapons, and as residents of New Zealand where anti-nuclear policy is a cornerstone of the nation, we find the French Government's policy on nuclear testing/arms unacceptable. [113]

The Japanese residents of Christchurch still remain 'Japanese nationals' and maintain a strong attachment to Japan, but they are also attached to the country in which they live and they seek to participate in the task of building its future. This dual attachment to the place of their birth and they place where they live seems perfectly natural. The forms of identity that spring from nationality and residence are in practice complementary, not contradictory.

The Japanese Supplementary School of Canterbury

In New immigrant communities, Japanese schools were established as a result of Japanese business expatriates' desire to educate their children according to the Japanese school curriculum even when they were living outside Japan. Their concern was to make it easy for the children to fit into school on their return to Japan. There were two kinds of schools: Japanese schools for giving children full-time instruction according to the Japanese curriculum; and Japanese supplementary schools, which gave part-time instruction based on the Japanese curriculum to children who also attended local schools. Both types of school were usually funded by Japanese business expatriate associations and the Japanese government. Due to the nature of the schools, they at first excluded children who were living overseas as permanent residents. However, as the numbers of

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[113]   The JSC, 'Newsletter', no.13, 1995, pp.1-2

Japanese permanent residents in other countries grew from the 1990s, the government decided to extend support to their children. It assumed that the children would get their main education from ordinary schools in the countries where they lived, but it catered for their needs by extending the definition of supplementary schools from 'schools to teach children according to the Japanese school curriculum only' to 'schools to teach Japanese language and culture for children who lived overseas permanently as well'.[114]

In New Zealand, the first Japanese supplementary school was established in Auckland by *the Nihon Boeki Kondankai* in 1972 for the children of the sojourners. Provision of a Japanese curriculum for their children was a matter of great concern among the businessmen and their families. Since their children attended local schools, they needed a supplementary programme to enable them to cope with the Japanese curriculum on their return to Japan. It had modest beginnings with parents, mostly mothers, organising a volunteer group for teaching children of Japanese company employees after school or on Saturdays and school holidays. However, with the opening of the supplementary school in 1972, it was possible to each the same subjects at the same levels as at schools in Japan. The children went to the supplementary school on their way home from the local school a few times a week. The school was originally targeted at the children of business expatriates and all students were expected to have excellent Japanese skills to enable them to follow the Japanese curriculum. The children of non-business expatriates, such as permanent residents, were not permitted to attend the school except for the very few who had a sufficient command of the Japanese language. However, the number of children of long-term Japanese residents increased from the mid-1980s, and from 1989

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[114]   ibid., no.6, 1996, p.6

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the school began to cater more directly for their needs. The school now has two kinds of

classes: one is a supplementary course for children of expatriates to follow up the

Japanese curriculum, and the other is an 'international course' for the children of

permanent residents intended to consolidate their understanding of Japanese language and

culture.[115]

In Wellington, there is also a Japanese Supplementary School where the children of

Japanese immigrants either learn according to the Japanese curriculum or learn Japanese

language and culture. In 1979, the Japanese Businessmen's Society in Wellington

submitted a proposal for establishing a Japanese school in Wellington to the New

Zealand government. The Department of Education declined the idea but proposed that

the governments of New Zealand and Japan should fund a joint venture school. This

joint venture came into operation in 1981, when a Japanese curriculum was added to the

course of studies at an existing state school, the Chartwell Primary School.[116] The

Japanese children were taught the Japanese curriculum for two-thirds of the school day

by Japanese teachers in their own class environment and were integrated with the rest of

the school for the remainder of the day, studying the New Zealand curriculum. Moreover,

the children of New Zealand were given an opportunity to be taught Japanese language

and culture by the Japanese teacher during the integrated hours. The number of children

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[115]   The Japanese Supplementary School of Auckland Website,
http://www.jsa.org.nz/article.php/20060912161757329, accessed on 10 May 2007
[116]   While the Japanese government paid the salary of the Japanese teacher, the full responsible
of management, Japanese curriculum and other costs rested on the Japanese Businessmen's
Society. The Businessmen's Society and the parents of Japanese children at Chartwell School
5were expected to support the school by attending such activities as working bees and fund
raising activities like the parents of other children attending the school. Richard K. Harker and
K.G. Cameron, *A study of some aspects of the Japanese-N.Z. joint venture at Chartwell Primary
School, Wellington, N.Z.: final report*, Palmerston North, Education Department, Massey
University, 1983

of Japanese business expatriates eventually decreased, however, and this forced the closure of the Chartwell joint venture programme in 1998. Despite this, Japanese classes continue to be held after school, with both the children of business expatriates and permanent residents studying Japanese and mathematics in the Japanese language. [117]

In Christchurch, by contrast, the supplementary school never had any connection with the interests of business expatriates, and they played no part in its foundation. From the outset, it was established in order to teach Japanese language and culture to the children of permanent residents. The need for such a school had been apparent by the early 1990s, when some parents organised a volunteer group to teach Japanese to their children. Originally, 17 children from 9 families participated, studying each week at the house of one family, with the parents taking turns to teach the children. By 1994, the group was teaching 23 children from 12 families, so it rented a room from the Waimairi community centre and divided the children into different age groups in order to teach them more effectively. In 1996, the group divided into two, with some students meeting in Waimairi and the others meeting at Sumner, but the two study groups united again at Ilam School from May 1997.[118]

By winter 1996, the Chairman of the JSC was talking openly about the necessity of establishing a Japanese Supplementary School in Canterbury:

> With the growth in numbers of children who are studying Japanese language and culture at the group, we need to establish a school to introduce and teach Japanese language and culture to the local people as well as to the [children of] Japanese parents who live here permanently and who marry the local people.[119]

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[117] The Japanese Supplementary School of Wellington website, http://j-nz-wgn.hp.infoseek.co.jp/gakkou-00.htm, accessed on 10 May 2007.
[118] The JSC, 'Newsletter', no.16 1996, pp.2-3
[119] ibid., p.6.

The JSC's problem was that Christchurch had very few of the business expatriates whose support played a crucial role in the establishment of supplementary schools in Auckland and Wellington. As the JSC's Board put it:

> Members of the JSC moved to Christchurch as a result of their own decisions. In other words, the Japanese community of Christchurch is for permanent residents not for the Japanese business expatriates. We do not have any support from Japanese companies.[120]

They could expect no financial support from Japanese companies, and the Japanese government would make a contribution only after the school had been operating for a year and demonstrated that it was a financial and academic success.

The JSC's Board drew up a budget of $40,000 for the first year of the school's operations, and raised the money partly through school fees and partly through garage sales and other forms of fundraising that it organized with the help of parents[121] The JSC advertised for teachers, and the school opened as the Japanese Supplementary School of Canterbury (JSSC) in April 1999 with 55 pupils and 6 teachers. By June 2005, it had 150 pupils and this qualified it to receive a fully trained teacher paid and sent by the Japanese government in 2006.[122] So the efforts of the JSC and the permanent residents of Christchurch had been crowned with success.

The JSSC opened for two hours on Saturday afternoons, renting rooms from Ilam School in Christchurch's northwest. The children were divided into six classes according to their ages and levels of proficiency in the Japanese language. The school did not follow the Japanese curriculum because it did not need to supply the needs of sojourners.

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[120]   ibid., no.22, 1997, p.12
[121]   ibid., no.16, 1996, p.6. The school was expected to receive financial support from the Japanese government from the second year, since the government did not assist the first year.
[122]   ibid., no.56, 2006, p.10

Instead, it taught the Japanese language – reading, writing and speaking. It focused on the learning of *hiragana, katakana*, Chinese characters (*kanji*), and on the acquisition of reading skills.

The main role of the JSSC was to maintain the Japanese language and culture for the next generation. However, even before the school had opened, the JSC's board made it clear that the school would not succeed unless parents supplemented its efforts by teaching the spoken Japanese language at home. As the chairman put it:

> I heard that some mothers desired the establishment of a Japanese Supplementary School because they want their children to speak the Japanese language well enough to communicate with their grandparents. I understand that, but they can teach their children such a level of Japanese language at home…. I think the responsibility of teaching Japanese to children rests on the parents and that the home is central to Japanese teaching. The JSSC is not the total solution.[123]

The JSC and the JSSC saw that the home environment was the key to Japanese education for the next generation. Nevertheless, parents continued to expect a lot of the JSC, especially when they themselves often spoke English at home, or when they lacked the time and materials to organize celebrations of Japanese seasonal events.[124]

In addition to the Japanese language class, the JSCC celebrates important Japanese seasonal events such as the Star Festival or the Moon Festival, regarding them as important aspects of the students' cultural education. The children write poems or essays in Japanese, do calligraphy, and draw pictures related to Japanese topics. The JSSC's teachers see the seasonal events as the key to motivating the children to study the Japanese language. Many students are unenthusiastic students of the Japanese language because they are constantly exposed to an English-speaking environment, but the teachers

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[123] The JSC, 'Newsletter', no.22, 1997, p.12
[124]   Female respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Tour operator, English level 4. My translation.

discover that they are very interested in Japanese seasonal events. They seek to build on this interest as a way of keeping children's interest in Japanese culture alive and motivating them to learn the language.[125]

While the JSSC helped to maintain interest in Japanese culture, it also sought to turn the children into 'good citizens of New Zealand'. The JSC's board members and JSSC frequently reminded the children and their parents that the children were living in New Zealand and they had to provide the children with opportunities for learning about New Zealand cultural experiences. This emphasis on the importance of both cultures was made explicit in the school's policy:

> We hope that our children will be members of New Zealand society with a good understanding of the country, and also that they will understand the Japanese spirit through learning the Japanese language…[126]

The JSC and JSSC fostered the children's involvement with the local community by ensuring that they participated in one of Christchurch's most popular events, the Santa Parade. The children's performance deliberately integrated the two cultures. They performed up-beat adaptations of traditional dances and music, converting the traditional slow tempo into a fast one, and they changed the colours of the children's traditional Japanese peasant costumes to the Canterbury colours of red and black.

Another local event which the JSC and JSSC took part in was the Clean Up the World campaign, organised by the Christchurch City council. It is a campaign to clean streets, school grounds and parks in Christchurch, with about 4,000 people from 115 groups usually taking part. In 2002, the JSC organized 38 adults and 74 children into participating in the campaign, cleaning up 75,000 square meters of land around Ilam

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[125]   The JSC,' Newsletter', no.32, 2000, p.3
[126]   The JSC website, http://www.jsc.org.nz/ accessed on 10 May 2007.

School. By joining the campaign, especially cleaning the school where they studied on Saturdays, the JSC and JSSC showed their appreciation of the host society which let them use the school. Through participation in local events and adapting Japanese traditions to New Zealand culture, they sought to foster civic involvement and good ethnic relations.

Conclusion

The formation and character of formal Japanese organizations in Christchurch has been deeply affected by the nature of the community that produced them. It is not a classic New immigrant community built around business sojourners and other 'birds of passage', but a community based on a growing core of permanent residents who came to New Zealand because they wanted to live there. Unlike the Japanese residents of Auckland, Wellington and many great cities around the world, they could not depend on the money and organizational power of Japan Inc. to inspire the foundation of community organizations and schools. They were forced to do it themselves, and they are proud of it.

With advice from the Japanese consulate, Christchurch's Japanese residents founded the Japanese Society of Canterbury in 1992; and the JSC in turn, with widespread community involvement, founded the Japanese Supplementary School of Canterbury in 1999. The character of these organizations is linked to the fact that their leaders and members are not sojourners, but settlers. The JSSC's purpose is not to ensure that Japanese children will do well when they return to school in Japan, but to ensure that the children of long-term immigrants do not lose their language and culture. The JSC does not represent the interests of Japanese companies, but the interests of residents who want a harmonious, long-term future for themselves and their children in New Zealand. It

cultivates a relationship with local authorities that are based on respect for the host culture, on the conviction that newcomers must not cause trouble, and on the belief that Japanese immigrants have a responsibility to be 'good residents of New Zealand'. It tells its members that they must learn about New Zealand culture; it integrates the Canterbury colours of red and black into the cultural performances of Japanese children; and it promotes Japanese involvement in community events. And, although it organizes the Japanese community into civil defence networks on behalf of the Japanese consulate, it does this on the basis of principles laid down by the New Zealand civil defence authorities. In all these matters, it draws an implicit contrast between its own behaviour and the protests and demands of spokesmen for certain other ethnic groups. The JSC fosters a strong sense of Japanese identity amongst its members, but that identity has a dual aspect. The Japanese residents of Christchurch are quietly proud of being Japanese and want to preserve their cultural heritage; but they are also proud of being model immigrants – civic-minded newcomers who identity with the life of the community in which they live.

Chapter 3

Integration and acculturation
in work and social life

The last chapter examined the institutions representing Japanese immigrants in Christchurch, and showed that they expressed both Japanese ethnic identity and an identity as New Zealand residents committed to the well being and future of the host society.   In this chapter I will survey attitudes amongst the immigrants, attempting to assess the extent to which they are integrated into the host community. My main source of evidence is a questionnaire-based survey that I conducted amongst Japanese residents of Christchurch in 2005.[127]

The questionnaire was carried out in the Japanese language by sending it to individuals with an enclosed envelope with a supplied post stamp (see Appendices A and B). I sent the questionnaire to two groups of people. First, I selected a total of 188 people from the *White Pages* (the local phone book) because they had Japanese surnames. I am confident that my search picked up almost all the Japanese names in the book. I then posted the questionnaire between 8 and 11 August 2005 and received 77 replies by 6 September. In choosing names from the phone book, I was trying to make sure that I reached those who were living in Christchurch on a long-term basis rather than students or working holiday makers. As it turned out, all the respondents had lived in New Zealand for more than a year. There was, though, a problem in selecting those with

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[127] See Appendices A, B and C for details of the survey.

Japanese surnames from the phone book: I would miss Japanese women who had married New Zealanders and adopted their spouse's surname. To solve this problem, I got permission from the Japanese Society of Canterbury (JSC) to borrow its address book, which contained about 50 people with non-Japanese last names. Most were women with English last names. I sent the questionnaire to these 50 Japanese people on 28 September and asked them to return the questionnaire by 15 October. 25 people returned the questionnaire. All of these respondents had lived in New Zealand for at least one year. In total, combining the first and second groups of respondents, I had 102 responses to my questionnaire – a response rate of 42.9 per cent. All 102 respondents were born in Japan.

The proportion of male to female respondents was 40 male to 62 female respondents, yielding a sex ratio was 1: 1.6. Both Koichi Tanaka and Sarah J. Boswell have pointed out that there is a significant gender imbalance amongst the Japanese in New Zealand, with more women than men. They attribute it to two phenomena: the much higher number of mixed marriages or partnerships between Japanese women and New Zealand men than between Japanese men and New Zealand women; and the fact that women constitute the majority of working holiday makers, long-term students, and work visa holders who work as translators and tour guides.[128] According to Statistics New Zealand, the Census of 2001 showed that the Japanese population of Christchurch had a sex ratio of 1:1.66, almost identical with that in my survey.

According to the 2001 Census results for Christchurch, the largest age groups were 20 to 29 years old (34.9 per cent of the total number of Japanese) and 30 to 39 years old (21.5 per cent). The age group over 40 was small (18.2 per cent). This reflects the fact that many Japanese migrants in Christchurch first arrived in New Zealand as working

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[128] Koichi Tanaka, p.74. Sarah J. Boswell, p.112

holiday makers, long term students and work visa holders aged between 20 and 30 during the late 1980s and 1990s. Before their visas expired they married New Zealanders or applied for residence, and at the time of the 2001 census most were still in their twenties or thirties. Their numbers in the census return were augmented by large numbers of students, working holiday makers and other temporary residents in their twenties, which explains the disproportionate numbers in that age group.

Amongst my respondents, who consisted entirely of permanent residents who were sufficiently well established to get into the phone book or to join the JSC, the age structure was predictably different. That age structure was as follows: 0.9 per cent of the total number of respondents were under 20 years old; 4.9 per were between 20 and 29 years old; 31.4 per cent were between 30 and 39, 31.4 per cent were between 40 and 49, 14.7 per cent were between 50 and 59; and 16.7 per cent were 60 and over. So the biggest age groups consisted of those in their thirties and forties, and the numbers of those in their twenties and thirties was very small.

Length of residence in New Zealand in the questionnaire survey did not reflect the Census result either. According to the New Zealand Census result in 2001, the median period of residence for the Japanese in Christchurch was only 2.1 years, a figure which reflects the fact that the census counted the very large numbers of temporary residents. By contrast, nearly 60 per cent of those who responded to my survey had lived in New Zealand for more than 10 years. However, nearly all the respondents had arrived in New Zealand at least a few years after the relaxation of the immigration restriction in from 1986, and only seven had lived here for more than twenty years.

The marital status of the respondents did not reflect the 2001 Census either. While only 50 per cent of the Japanese in Christchurch were married or partnered in the Census result of 2001, fully 83 per cent of my respondents were married or partnered. This reflects the fact that my sample excluded the large number of temporary residents in their twenties, a mobile group unlikely to be either partnered or married. Instead, as permanent residents who had generally lived in Christchurch for years, they were drawn from precisely the age groups in which people are most likely to be partnered or married.

Amongst my respondents, the women were far more likely than the men to have partners who were native speakers of English – and therefore probably New Zealanders. Only 11.4 percent of the male respondents with partners were in relationships with native speakers of English, while the corresponding figure for female respondents was 58 per cent. Since 2 per cent of the partnered women were in relationships with men whose first language was neither Japanese nor English, this means that only 40 percent had Japanese partners. The figure reflects both the large excess of women within the Japanese community, and the popularity of relationships between European men and Japanese women. It may also reflect a bias in the sample, which was collected by two methods, one that systematically excluded women who were married to New Zealanders, and another that sought to compensate for this by systematically including them.

What use is a sample of this type? Clearly, it cannot be used to generalise about the total population of Japanese nationals in Christchurch, of whom 43.3 per cent are 'birds of passage' rather than the permanent residents who were included in the sample and are the subject of this thesis. So all conclusions that I draw from the sample relate exclusively to the permanent residents. What, then, can the survey tell us about the permanent

residents?   It cannot, we have seen, reveal the proportion of female Japanese permanent residents who are married to New Zealanders, but there is no reason to believe that the method of sampling precludes many other forms of generalisation. The response rate of 42.9 percent is acceptable, and we have no reason to believe that those who responded differ from those who did not in ways that would materially alter the outcomes of the survey.   The total of 102 respondents is 11 percent of the total number of Japanese nationals living in Christchurch who were permanent residents. Many had children, so the proportion of the adult permanent residents who responded was undoubtedly a good deal higher. Moreover, since 83 per cent of the respondents were married or partnered, and since each household returned only one questionnaire, the proportion of households included in the survey must have been higher still. I have therefore used the survey to venture cautious generalisations about Christchurch's permanent residents provided the trends were clear and provided there seemed to be no relevant bias in the sample.

Even a biased sample can be used as the basis for within-group comparisons. For example, even if the sample includes a disproportionate number of Japanese women with New Zealand partners, this does not prevent us from comparing the responses women with New Zealand partners with the responses of women with Japanese partners. Nor do biases in the overall sample prevent us from comparing the responses of men and women, of young and old, or of recently-arrived immigrants and those who have lived here for many years. The comparisons that I attempt in this thesis are often of precisely this sort.

Level of integration into the host society (1): level of English competence
Knowledge of English language skill is considered one of the important factors which determine the form and level of social interaction between immigrants and the host

community.[129]   Tania M. Boyer, for example, has found that recent Taiwanese immigrant in Auckland tend to remain 'essentially isolated' from the mainstream of New Zealand society due to their English incompetence. Even those who have lived in New Zealand for several years have found it difficult to develop an adequate knowledge of English. As a result, they tend to mix and mingle mostly with other Taiwanese, they are 'unlikely to try and seek employment in the New Zealand work force', they are 'not confident in using public transport', and they are 'unable to read information advertising community organizations and activities'.[130] Clearly, the new immigrants' lack of English competency influences not only their pattern of social activity but also their employment opportunities and ways of life. I therefore asked the respondents to assess their English language fluency level in the survey questionnaire as a way of gauging their potential for integration into the wider community.

The respondents were categorized into five levels of English competency: Level 1 consisted of those who spoke hardly any English; Level 2 consisted of those who spoke a little English; Level 3 consisted of those who spoke English at a communicative level in the sense that they could conduct a conversation and communicate in everyday situations; Level 4 consisted of those who considered that their English was better than they needed for basic communicative competence, but still short of real fluency; and Level 5 consisted of those who spoke English fluently – that is, they were able to discuss complicated issues with native speakers without difficulty.

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[129]   Tania M. Boyer, 'Home Sweet Home? An Analysis of Taiwanese Immigration Since 1986, and the Present Status of the Taiwanese Community in Auckland', in Hong-key Yoon (ed.), *An Ethno-Geography of Taiwanese, Japanese and Filipino Immigrants in Auckland*, Auckland, University of Auckland, 1995, p.63
[130] ibid. p.78

Table 3.1 English competency levels of total respondents (n=102)*

*English level category
- Level 1 : someone who speaks hardly any English
- Level 2 : someone between level 1 and 3
- Level 3 : someone who speaks English at communicative level
- Level 4 : someone between level 3 and 5
- Level 5 : someone who speaks English fluently

English level	% of number of respondents
Level 1	2.9
Level 2	6.9
Level 3	42.2
Level 4	39.2
Level 5	8.8

Table 3.2 English competency levels by length of residence in New Zealand (n=102)*

	% of number of respondents		
	0~5 years	6~9 years	More than 10 years
Level 1	12.5	4.0	0
Level 2	6.25	8.0	6.5
Level 3	62.5	24.0	44.3
Level 4	18.75	56.0	37.7
Level 5	0	8.0	11.5

* Note: for explanation of English competency levels, see text preceding Table 3.1.

Table 3.3 English competency levels by gender*

	% of number of respondents	
	Male (n=40)	Female (n=62)
Level 1	2.5	3.2
Level 2	5.0	8.1
Level 3	55.0	33.9
Level 4	30.0	45.1
Level 5	7.5	9.7

* Note: for further explanation of English competency levels, see text preceding Table 3.1.

Table 3.4 English competency levels by respondent's partner's first language*

	% of number of respondents	
	Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n=51)	Partner is native speaker of English (n=34)
Level 1	2.0	0
Level 2	9.8	2.9
Level 3	47.05	35.3
Level 4	37.25	47.1
Level 5	3.9	14.7

* Note: for explanation of English competency levels, see text preceding Table3.1.

Figure 3.1 shows the English competency levels of total respondents. Over 90 per cent of total respondents were able to speak English at communicative level or better. Clearly, the Japanese immigrants of Christchurch had more confidence in speaking English than the recent Taiwanese immigrants in Auckland studied by Boyer. As we will see later in this chapter, this relatively high level of English competency makes it possible for Japanese permanent residents in Christchurch to integrate into the local community, communicating effectively with Europeans in the workplace and on social occasions.

Table 3.2 shows the relationship between English competency and length of residence in New Zealand. The relationship was not significant except that those who had been in New Zealand for more than 6 years were better represented at levels of 4 and 5. There is, by contrast, a clear significance in English proficiency between male and female respondents in the survey. As Table 3.3 shows, the women were probably able to speak English somewhat better than men, with 55 per cent of women categorising themselves at Level 4 or 5, but only 37.5 per cent of men. The higher level of English proficiency amongst the women was seemingly related to the fact that many had New Zealand

partners and therefore had more opportunities to speak English. This is confirmed by Figure 3.4, which shows that nearly 62 per cent of those whose partners were native English speakers were in categories 4 or 5, while only 41 per cent of those whose partners were native Japanese speakers reached these categories. As previously seen, a much higher proportion of female respondents had English speaking partners. This no doubt helps to explain why more women were confident with their English ability than men.

Level of integration into the host society (2): ethnic contact in the work environment

According to Statistics New Zealand, the employment rate among the Japanese residents of Christchurch was 45.6 per cent in the Census data of 2001, which was higher than that of other northeast Asian ethnic groups such as Koreans and Taiwanese. Figure 3.1 shows the respondents' occupation at the time of the survey.

Figure 3.1 Occupation by industry for total respondents [131] (n=102)
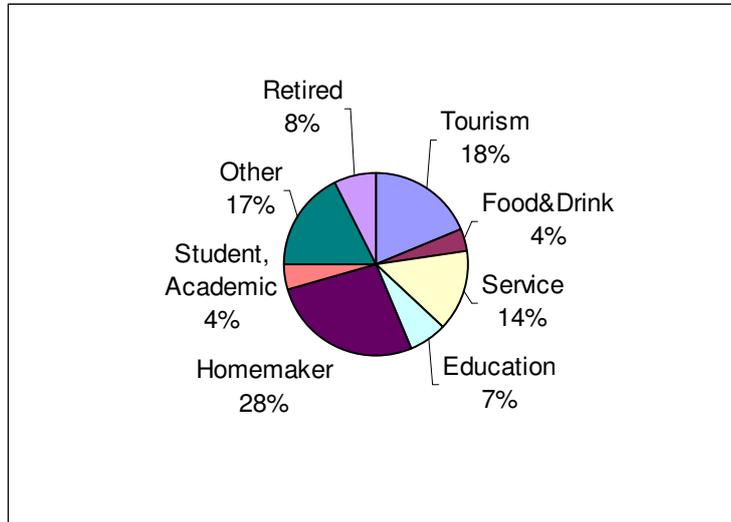
The most popular occupation among the respondents was 'homemaker', which included 24 per cent of total respondents and 44 per cent of female respondents. Tourism ranked next, with 16 per cent of respondents, followed by service industries with 13 per cent, and education with 6 per cent. A significant number, especially those in tourism, were in jobs where they were likely to have extensive, but by no means exclusive, contact with Japanese customers.

   Did many of our respondents work in 'mini-Japans', largely working with and servicing the needs of other Japanese? To find out, I asked respondents who at some

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[131] Tourism includes a tour operator, tour guide, tour coordinator, flight attendant and accommodation owner. Food and Drink includes a restaurant owner, chef, and café manager. Service includes a shop assistant, interpreter, translator, photographer, and photograph coordinator.
Education includes a Japanese language teacher, advisor or coordinator for a Japanese exchange student. Academic includes a lecture and researcher at the university. Other includes investment, trade, computer programmer, fashion designer, textile designer, dress maker, writer, and medical researcher.

stage had been in the workforce to rate their level of workplace interaction with different ethnic communities on a 5-point scale, with Group 1 (G1) indicating little or no interaction, Group 2 (G2) slightly more interaction, Group 3 (G3) a moderate amount of interaction, Group 4 (G4) quite a lot of interaction, and Group 5 (G5) a great deal of interaction. The responses are summarised in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Ethnic interactions in the Workplace*

*Note on categories:
- Group 1 (G1): little or no interaction;
- Group 2 (G2): slightly more interaction
- Group 3 (G3): a moderate amount of interaction
- Group 4 (G4): quite a lot of interaction
- Group 5 (G5): a great deal of interaction

(a) With Japanese (n=81)
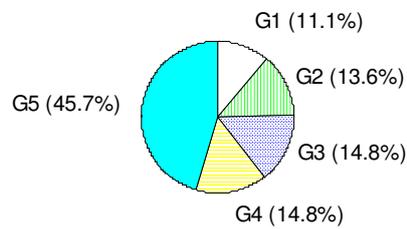
(b) With European New Zealanders (n=81)
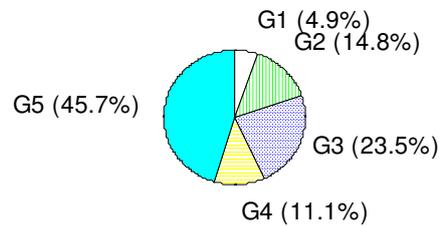
(c) With non-Japanese Asians (n=81)

83
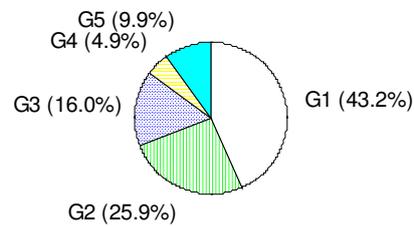
Fully 60 per cent of respondents said that they had interacted quite frequently or very frequently with other Japanese in the workplace, and almost as many said that they had interacted quite frequently or very frequently with European New Zealanders. By contrast, only 14.8 percent said that they had quite frequent or very frequent interaction with non-Japanese Asians.

This result indicates that the respondents to my survey, whom we have no reason to believe were unrepresentative, usually had significant interaction with New Zealanders even when employed in jobs which required them to deal extensively with Japanese. So Japanese tour guides, for example, were apparently required to interact with English speaking suppliers of services, or to act as cultural mediators between customers who spoke little English and suppliers who spoke no Japanese. Similarly, those worked in service occupations selling souvenirs or food intended especially for Japanese customers, were expected to serve other customers as well. So the Japanese migrants of Christchurch did not usually work in Japanese ethnic enclaves, but interacted frequently with European New Zealanders.

Level of integration into the host society (3): residential location

Generally, the concentration of Japanese residence in overseas expatriate communities results from a close relationship between Japanese multi-national companies, which employ company movers, and Japanese real estate agents in the local areas like Dusseldolf, London, Singapore and Auckland. The companies and the agents tend to locate new arrivals near other company employees, in close proximity to full-time Japanese schools, kindergartens and supermarkets. This behaviour suits the business

expatriates and their families, who live in the community only for short periods and who want to avoid stress related to differences of language and culture.[132]

In Christchurch, there are a few Japanese real estate agents but there are very few company movers. Some Japanese migrants, who lack English language skills, may depend on Japanese speaking agents to search for residential properties. But most permanent Japanese immigrants in Christchurch have enough English to deal with English speaking agents, and they often do, especially if they offer a wider range of properties. Those who marry New Zealanders are especially likely to deal with native English speaking agents. Moreover, the Japanese community in Christchurch is not large enough to support specialised Japanese grocery shops, supermarkets or kindergartens, and there is no full-time Japanese school. So these incentives to spatial concentration simply do not exist. This suggests that the residential location pattern for Japanese immigrants in Christchurch would differ from that in Japanese expatriate communities in cities with large numbers of business expatriates.[133] Table 3.5 confirms that this is the case.

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[132]   Paul White, pp.86-89. Günther Glebe, pp.105-109. Eyal Ben-Ari, pp. 126-127, Sarah J. Boswell, pp. 120-121.
[133]   Compare Sarah J. Boswell, pp.120-121.

Table 3.5   Residential location

Residential location	No. of house-holds
North west suburbs • Avonhead………..19 • Riccarton………...13 • Burnside……...…..10 • Fendalton…..…….9 • Bryndwr………....7 • Bishopdale……….5 • Upper Riccarton….4 • Harewood………...4 • Casebrook……...…4 • Ilam……….…..…3	78
Northern suburbs • St Albans………...14 • Edgeware………....6 • Merivale………….4 • Papanui………...…3 • Belfast…………….6	33
Eastern suburbs • Linwood………….4 • Avonside…………3 • North New Brighton................3 • Richmond……...…3 • Mairehau………....2 • New Brighton…....2 • Burwood………....1 • South New Brighton………….1 • Shirley………..…1 • Marshland………..1	21
City • City Centre……..19	19

Southern Suburbs • Woolston………..…3 • Opawa……………3 • Waltham……….….3 • St Martins..……..….2 • Sydenham………....2 • Beckenham………...1 • Spreydon…………...1 • Somerfield…………1	16
Hill suburbs • Cashmere…………...5 • Mt Pleasant………...3 • Sumner…………....2 • Hillsborough………..1	11
Western suburbs • Halswell………...…2 • Hilmorton…………2 • Hoon Hay…………1 • Hornby……………1 • Wigram…………...1	7
Adjacent to Christchurch • Lincoln…………….2 • Templeton………...1	3
Total	188

Source: *White Pages Christchurch 2005*

The table is based on the *White Pages* telephone directory, which I searched systematically for Japanese names to find potential respondents for my survey. As I did this, I noted all the addresses of those with Japanese names, and they are categorised by region in the table. What the table shows is that the largest number of Japanese lived in the northwestern suburbs, generally of a middle class character. These suburbs are popular with Asians generally, and they are close to Asian shops, supermarkets that cater to some extent for Asians, the University of Canterbury, and good schools with significant numbers of Asian students including Ilam School – home to the JSSC. The second most popular area was the northern suburbs – St Albans, Edgeware, Merivale, Papanui and Belfast, in which 33 households resided. All of these suburbs except for Belfast are relatively close to the city centre, the heart of the tourist industry, the place where many Japanese work, and the location of some Asian shops. The third most popular location is the city itself, defined as the area within the 'Four Avenues', which is home to 19 households. In total, nearly 70 per cent of the total sample (130 households) was located in these three areas.

Sarah J. Boswell has discovered that the Japanese business expatriates of Auckland resided in particular areas with a high density of Japanese people. Does the pattern of residential locations in Christchurch show similar densities? Clearly, it does not. Despite the fact that most of the households are located in three areas, these areas span 15 suburbs and the city centre itself. Given the small size of the Japanese population, a Japanese family is most unlikely to find that its neighbours are Japanese. There will probably not even be another Japanese family in the street. This residential pattern, I will later explain,

resulted in a moderate level of interaction with European New Zealanders as well as with Asian people in their neighbourhood.

Level of integration (4): patterns of social interaction in private life

In order to investigate wider preferences or patterns of socialisation among the Japanese immigrants of Christchurch, I asked the respondents where and how frequently they socialised with people from particular ethnic groups. First, the respondents assessed on what occasions and how often they tended to socialise with other Japanese people. The respondents were expected to nominate their main occasions for social activity from the following choices: the neighbourhood, the Japanese Society of Canterbury, their children's school, the work environment including work related activities after business hours, sporting or cultural clubs, and religious groups. Figure 3.3 summarises the relative popularity of the different locations for social activity with particular groups.

Figure 3.3 Main occasions for socialisation

(a) With other Japanese
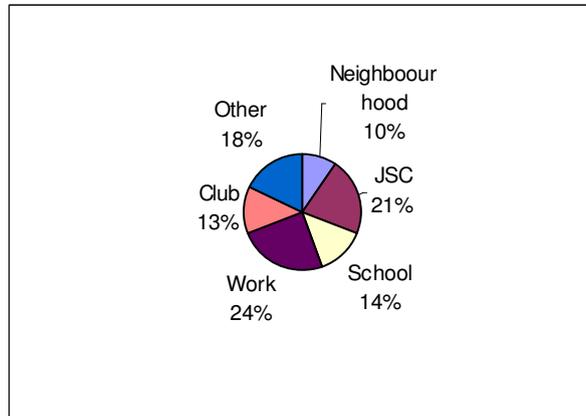
(b) With European New Zealanders
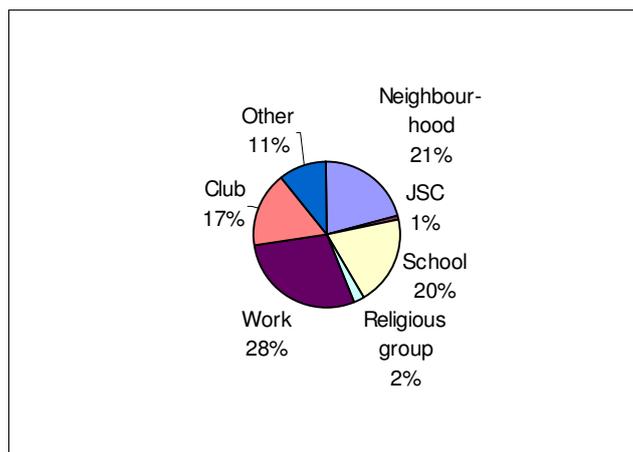
(c) With non-Japanese Asians
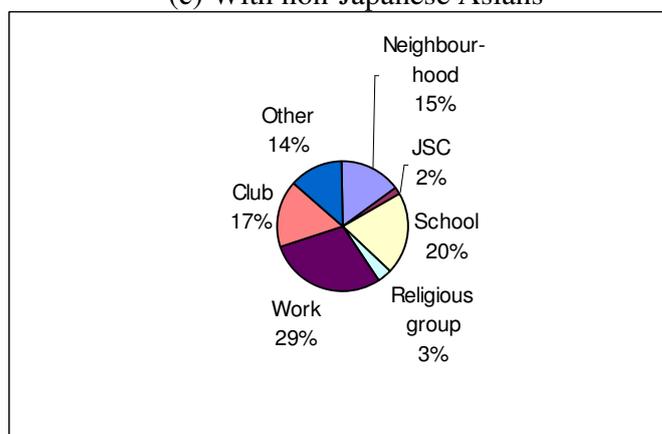
Figure 3.3 (a) shows that the main occasion for socialising with other Japanese is work related occasions (24 per cent of the total occasions), followed by the Japanese Society of Canterbury (21 per cent), children's school activities (14 per cent), sporting and cultural clubs (13 per cent), and neighbours (10 per cent). As Figure 3.3 (b) shows, the main occasions of socialising with European New Zealanders are work related occasions (28 per cent), followed by neighbourhood (21 per cent), children's school activities (20 per cent) and sporting and cultural clubs (17 per cent). The main occasion for socialising with non-Japanese Asian people, as Figure 3.3 (c) indicates, was work related occasions (29 per cent), children's school activities (20 per cent), sporting and cultural clubs (17 per cent) and neighbours (15 per cent).

The Japanese Society of Canterbury was used by many respondents as the main occasion to mingle with Japanese people only. Work place, children's school, neighbourhood, and sporting and cultural clubs were used as common occasions of socialising with Japanese, European New Zealanders or non-Japanese Asian people. In particular, the work place was the most popular occasion for social activity with all three groups. Through meeting people, for example co-workers, business partners or customers, during business hours and occasional drinking sessions after business hours, some Japanese immigrants establish a close relationship with their co-workers and business partners, which sometimes involve the whole family.

Those who were not in the work force at the time of survey and those who had never been in work force since arrival in New Zealand were mostly homemakers. Many of them tended to use their children's school activities as the main occasion of socialisation, regardless of the ethnicity of other parents. Since the Japanese immigrants of

Christchurch send their children to the local school, unlike the Japanese company movers in London or Dusseldolf, they are likely to meet European New Zealand parents and sometimes non-Japanese Asian parents at school activities, when picking up the children after school, or when their children invite friends from other ethnic groups home to play.

The neighbourhood is also a significant site of social activity, and because the Japanese were more likely to have Europeans or non-Japanese Asians for neighbours, it was especially important for interactions with these groups. Sporting and cultural clubs were also favoured, regardless of ethnic group. Examples include golf clubs, choirs, and social clubs organised by the Japanese Society and confined to its members; while cooking and language classes, and football clubs, rugby clubs or chess clubs were popular places to mingle with European New Zealanders and non-Japanese Asians.

Interestingly, religious groups were not popular places for socialisation. While a few respondents socialised with European New Zealanders or non-Japanese Asians at religious meetings, this was rare; none of the respondents used religious locations to meet other Japanese. This is because few Japanese are Christians. For example, while 95 per cent of Filipinos in New Zealand are Christians and 32 per cent of Taiwanese migrants are Buddhists, 60 per cent of the total Japanese in New Zealand state that they have no religion, with only 11 per cent claiming to be Christians and 23 per cent Buddhists.[134] Unlike the Filipinos and Taiwanese, Japanese immigrants in Christchurch rarely develop social networks based on the religious affiliation.

As well as asking the respondents about the occasions on which they socialised with different ethnic groups, I asked them how *often* they socialsed with them. I sought to

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[134] Statistics of New Zealand, *Census of Population and Dwellings,* 2001

ascertain first how often they socialised with other Japanese, asking them to assess their level of social interaction on a 5-point scale. This enabled me to place them into five groups, with Group 1 (G1) consisting of those who reported that they had little or no social life with other Japanese, Group 2 (G2) consisting of those who reported somewhat more social contact, Group 3 (G3) consisting of those who had a moderate amount of contact, Groups 4 (G4) consisting of those who had quite a lot of contact, and Group 5(G5) consisting of those who had a great deal of contact. I then used the same scale to determine the level of social activity between Japanese residents and European New Zealanders, and between Japanese residents and other Asians.[135] In so doing, I attempted to examine whether the Japanese immigrants of Christchurch tended to build their own ethnic enclave without socialising with people from different ethnic groups, or whether they tended to integrate into the mainstream of the host society or other ethnic groups of Asia. Figure 3.4 shows how frequently the respondents tended to socialise with people from particular ethnic groups.

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[135] I chose the frequency of socialising with European New Zealanders as the case of socialising with the main stream of Christchurch. According to the New Zealand Census 2001, 89.5 per cent of Christchurch population were European New Zealanders, which was the largest ethnic group of Christchurch. The second largest ethnic group was Maori and Pacific people with 9.6 per cent, and the third largest was Asian ethnic group with 5.7 per cent of the Christchurch population.

Figure 3.4 Level of socialisation with different ethnic groups*

- Group 1 (G1): little or no interaction
- Group 2 (G2): slightly more interaction
- Group 3 (G3): a moderate amount of interaction
- Group 4 (G4): quite a lot of interaction
- Group 5 (G5): a great deal of interaction

(a) With other Japanese (n=102)

G1
10%
G5
29%
G2
11%
G3
27%
G4
23%

(b) With European New Zealanders (n=102)

G1
6%
G5
26%
G2
13%
G4
21%
G3
34%
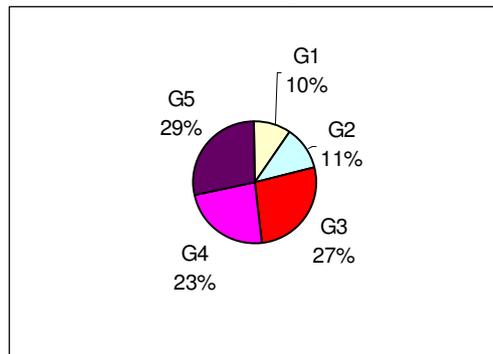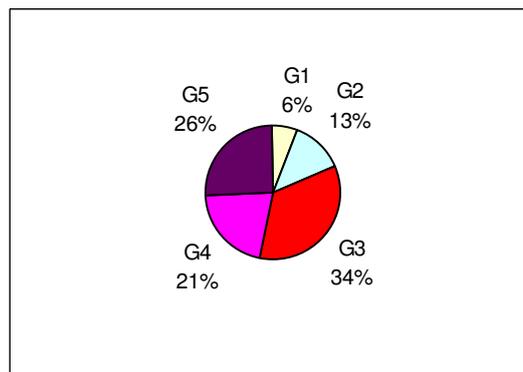
(c) With non-Japanese Asians (n=102)

G4 G5
5% 7%
G1
37%
G3
21%
G2
30%
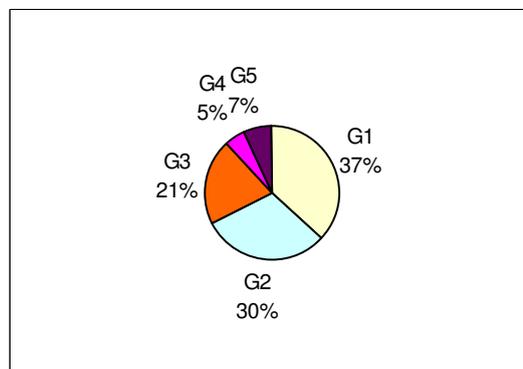
On the whole, the survey result indicates that there was a clear tendency for the respondents to be highly integrated into social networks with other Japanese and European New Zealanders, but not with non-Japanese Asian people. The Japanese had as much social contact with Europeans as with other Japanese, with 79 percent reporting at least a moderate amount of social activity with other Japanese and 81 percent reporting at least a moderate amount of social activity with Europeans. By contrast, only 33 per cent of the respondents reported the same level of social activity with non-Japanese Asians.

Asians are only a minority of the population of Christchurch, and this means that the Japanese are far less likely to meet them and socialise with them than with Europeans. What's more, though many Japanese migrants of Christchurch married either Japanese or New Zealanders, marriages between Japanese and non-Japanese Asian immigrants seem rare in Christchurch.[136]

How frequently Japanese residents of Christchurch socialised with either Japanese or European New Zealanders is significantly influenced by what ethnic group their partners are from. Figure 3.5 shows the frequency of social interaction with other Japanese, by respondent's partner's first language. The Figure shows that while those with native Japanese-speaking partners and those with native English-speaking partners both socialised extensively with other Japanese, fully half those whose partners were native speakers of English said that they had a great deal of social activity with European New Zealanders – a response given by only 14 percent of those married to native Japanese

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[136] According to Raj Vasil and Hong-Key Yoon, the rate of inter-marriage between people from a particular Asian ethnic group and other Asian group was considerably lower than that between them and non-Asian New Zealanders, in particular the cases of Chinese, Japanese, Thai and Filipinos. Raj Vasil and Hong-Key Yoon, *New Zealanders of Asian Origin,* pp.13-14. Also see Figure 5.4 in Appendix C.

speakers. When the Japanese immigrants marry or have a de facto relationship with European New Zealanders, they are likely to have more opportunities to extend their cultural horizons through extending their social relationship with their partners' families, friends, or New Zealand co-workers. Overall, the respondent's marriage or de facto relationship with a native English speaker increased the degree of integration into the European community while having little impact on the level of social interaction with other Japanese.

Figure 3.5 Level of social interaction by the respondent's partner's first language*

*Note on categories:
- Group 1 (G1): little or no interaction
- Group 2 (G2): slightly more interaction
- Group 3 (G3): a moderate amount of interaction
- Group 4 (G4): quite a lot of interaction
- Group 5 (G5): a great deal of interaction

(a) With Japanese

(b) With European New Zealanders

Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n=51)

G5 14%
G1 6%
G2 18%
G4 24%
G3 38%

Partner is native speaker of English (n=34)

G1 6%
G2 6%
G5 50%
G3 26%
G4 12%
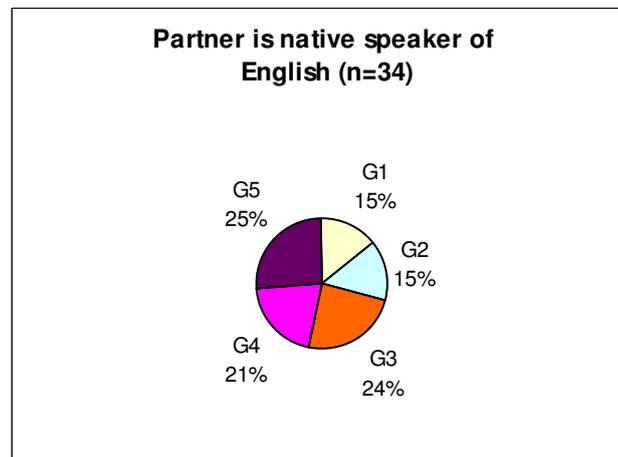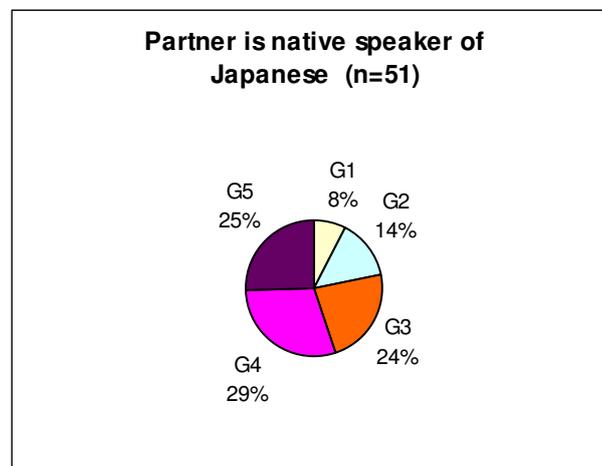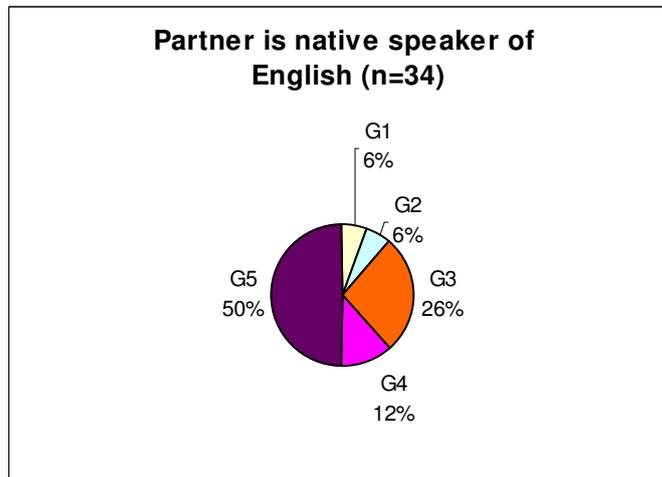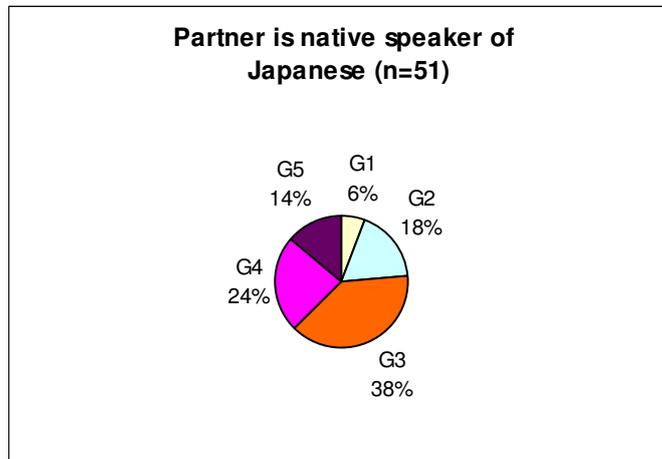
The Japanese migrants whose partners were New Zealanders tended to develop superior levels of fluency in English, and of course the level of fluency in a language can in turn act as an independent influence on frequency with which people socialise with native speakers of that language. Table 3.6 (a) and (b) show the link between the respondent's English fluency level and the frequency of socialisation with people from a particular ethnic group, indicating that English competency influences the frequency of socialisation when the respondents mingle with either the Japanese or European New Zealanders.

Table 3.6 Frequency of socialisation by English level*

*Note on categories:
- Group 1 (G1): little or no interaction
- Group 2 (G2): slightly more interaction
- Group 3 (G3): a moderate amount of interaction
- Group 4 (G4): quite a lot of interaction
- Group 5 (G5): a great deal of interaction

*English level category
- Level 1 : someone who hardly speaks English
- Level 2 : someone between level 1 and 3
- Level 3 : someone who speaks English at communicative level
- Level 4 : someone between level 3 and 5
- Level 5 : someone who speaks English fluently

(a) With Japanese (n=102)

% of number of respondents

	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5
Level 1	33.0	0	0	0	67.0
Level 2	0	0	28.5	28.5	43.0
Level 3	7.0	12.0	24.0	19.0	38.0
Level 4	12.5	10.0	25.0	32.5	20.0
Level 5	11.0	22.0	56.0	0	11.0

(b) With European New Zealanders (n=102)

% of number of respondents

	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5
Level 1	33.0	67.0	0	0	0
Level 2	29.0	14.0	57.0	0	0
Level 3	7.0	17.0	37.0	19.5	19.5
Level 4	0	7.5	37.5	30.0	25.0
Level 5	0	0	0	11	89.0

When the respondents' English competency level was higher, they socialised with European New Zealanders more often. [137] No respondents with little or no English competence (Level 1) socialised with European New Zealanders even a moderate amount, let alone more often. By contrast, 57 per cent of respondents with level 2 competence socialised at least a moderate amount with Europeans, as did 76 per cent with Level 3 competence, 92.5 per cent with Level 4 competence, and 100 per cent with Level 5 competence. Even the proportion of the respondents who socialised with European New Zealanders very frequently becomes larger when the respondents' English competency level is more fluent. Clearly, the migrant's English competency influences the level of integration with European New Zealanders. In other words, the Japanese migrants who have a good command of English are likely to mingle with European New Zealanders in private more frequently than those who are less competent in their English ability.

Conversely, it can be said that when the Japanese migrants' level of English competency is low, they are likely to socialise with other Japanese people more frequently. The proportion of the respondents who socialised with other Japanese people very frequently was large when the respondent's English competency level was low. While 67 per cent of the respondents at Level 1 English competency level had a great deal of interaction in private with other Japanese, 43 per cent of the respondents at Level 2, 38 per cent at Level 3, 20 per cent at Level 4, and only 11 per cent at Level 5 socialised with other Japanese very frequently. However, the largest proportion of the respondents tended to have a moderate or greater amount of interaction with other Japanese, no matter

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[137] Tania M. Boyer also suggested that the English competency influenced the level of socialisation of those who were not from English language background with the people of host society, while she discovered that the level of socialisation for Taiwanese migrants of Auckland with the people of host society was very low because of their lack of English language knowledge. Tania M. Boyer, pp.62-64.

what level of English competency they had. 67 per cent of the respondents for English competency at Level 1, 100 per cent of the respondents at Level 2, 81 per cent at Level 3, 77.5 per cent at Level 4, and 67 per cent at Level 5 had a moderate or greater amount of interaction with other Japanese. This indicates that the Japanese migrants are on the whole socially integrated into social networks with other Japanese even when they speak good English.

One of the reasons that Japanese migrants associate a lot with other Japanese regardless of their English language competency level is probably because they tend to obtain information on settlement through either formal or informal Japanese networks. After their arrival in New Zealand, the Japanese migrants usually face various kinds of concerns and need information for settlement – for example, information related to dwellings (such as the state of the property market, renting or flatting, safe areas, vicinity to schools, pre-schools, shops, parks or public transportation), employment opportunity information or business establishment information (including how to find a job vacancy, and taxation and law for business running), grocery and food shopping information, especially the places to buy Japanese food ingredients and fresh Japanese vegetables (usually unavailable at the local supermarket) and information on education (such as the children's school, play centre or English school). [138] Many Japanese migrants ask Japanese friends and acquaintances for their advice. In that way they learn from experienced migrants who understand their requirements from a Japanese perspective.

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[138] In my survey, 37.7 per cent of the total respondents used Japanese contacts for information on housing, 22.0 per cent used them for information on employment opportunities or establishing a business, 20.8 per cent for information on where to shop for groceries or food, and 19.5 per cent for information on education.

What's more, even Japanese migrants who speak good English still often prefer speaking

Japanese to speaking English because it is easy and stress free. One respondent wrote:

> It is very difficult for me to express nuances in the English language though I have lived
> in New Zealand for many years and I speak English well. It is very hard for me to
> translate what I feel … from Japanese into English.[139]

Another respondent said:

> I have made many Japanese friends through my child's activities, such as those at the
> Japanese Supplementary School. I wonder how I could have socialised with other
> Japanese without such activities. I enjoy talking with Japanese people in the Japanese
> language. Without these social occasions, I would not be able to enjoy living in New
> Zealand and I would be stressed from not having conversations in full-on Japanese. [140]

No matter how long the Japanese migrants of Christchurch have been living in New

Zealand and no matter how fluently they speak English, they need to retreat to a 'safe and

comfortable sanctuary' by sometimes socialising with other Japanese and speaking the

Japanese language.[141]   In this respect, they are like the Filipino migrants in Auckland

who, despite their proficiency in the English language and their high rate of marriage to

Europeans, maintain community organisations which link them to their homeland, sustain

their culture and allow them to enjoy and strengthen relationships among themselves.[142]

Level of integration (5): Information gathering

Modern communications have made it much easier for immigrants. In the 1950s,

Japanese war brides arrived in New Zealand after a one month sea trip from Japan. Now,

Japanese can travel between the two countries by a direct flight which runs daily and

takes only 11 hours. According to my survey, most Japanese migrants in Christchurch go

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[139] Female respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Tour guide,
English level 4. My translation.
[140] Female respondent, age 40-49, 2-5 years of residence, English speaking partner, Guardian of
Japanese students, English level 4. My translation.
[141] Hannah Pia Baral, p.168
[142] ibid., p.167

home once a year or once every few years, depending on their circumstances, to visit their families and old friends. Some of them even return to Japan more than once a year for business reasons.

The development of telecommunications and information technology also helps migrants to retain reasonable and quick contact with their country of origin, which blurs the borders of nation-states.[143]   Table 3.7 compares the access of households in different ethnic groups to telecommunication systems.

Table 3.7   Proportion of Japanese, Asian and New Zealand European households with access to telecommunication systems

	Japanese in NZ	Total Asians in NZ	Total NZ Europeans
Telephone	97.9 %	97.8 %	98.1 %
Fax Machine	51.3%	38.9 %	29.9 %
Internet	65.4 %	61.5 %	44.8 %

Source: Statistics New Zealand, *Census of population and dwellings*, 2001

While nearly all households in all ethnic groups have telephones, the proportion of Japanese households having fax machines and internet access is higher than the New Zealand Asian average and far higher than the New Zealand European average. More than half of Japanese households have fax machines compared with less than 30 percent of European households, and almost two-thirds of Japanese households have internet access compared with about 45 percent of European ones.

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[143]   Manying Ip and Wardlow Friesen, 'The New Chinese Community in New Zealand: Local Outcomes of Transnationalism', *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, vol.10, no2, 2001, p. 214

Japanese households are not only well equipped with communications technology, but they use it. Table 3.8 shows how many times respondents to my survey make contact with families or friends in Japan, whether by phone, an email, facsimile or mobile phone.

Table 3.8 Frequency of contacting families and friends in Japan (n=102)

Frequencies	% of number of respondents
At least once a week	26.0
2-3 times a month	44.0
Once a month	4.0
Once every 2-3 months	17.0
2-3 times a year	7.0
Hardly any contact	2.0

The table shows that more than a quarter of respondents contact their families and friends in Japan at least once a week, while most of the rest contact them two or three times a month. Only 2 percent have hardly any contact. One reason why most people maintain contact is that it is now much cheaper than it used to be. For example, in July 1996 the cheapest rate for a call to Japan through Telecom was $1.69 per minute, but the cheapest rate in July 2006 was only 7 cents per minute.[144] Even cheaper calls are available using prepaid phone cards. And, of course, the high rate of internet access amongst Japanese immigrants facilitates virtually free email contact or communication via websites.

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[144] New Zealand Telecom's call rate to Japan per minute in July 1996 was $2.15 as standard rate and $1.69 as off-peak rate. In 2006, Telecom has several options to call Japan, which ranges from $0.99 per minute as a highest rate to $0.07 per minute off peak as a cheapest rate. I would like to thank Ms. S. Potter and Ms. J. Power from Telecom Online Support Team for giving me the information on the above rates.

The growth of the Japanese population in New Zealand has led to the development of media services that target both permanent residents and sojourners. While there are no full-fledged Japanese newspapers, a few magazines and community-style papers have been established since the mid-1990s. The most important is *Gekkan NZ* (pronounced 'Gekkan Nyûjî '), a monthly publication produced in Auckland that was established by a combination of permanent and non-permanent residents in May 1996. It averages 20-30 pages and is distributed for free. It deals mainly with topics of local interest, such as seasonal events, places to eat, and places to see. For example, it covers the event guide for the Ellerslie International Flower Show in the spring, the Christchurch's Flower Festival in the summer, wine festivals in the early autumn, and ski fields in the winter. It also carries information on the immigration laws, such as how to apply for permanent resident visas, and advice on taxation. The Japanese Consular Office advertises every month to remind readers to report their details to the nearest office, including their addresses and contact phone numbers, and to tell readers about the Japanese overseas voting system. In addition, *Gekkan NZ* includes columns written by Japanese permanent residents or sojourners on their experiences of settlement or travel in New Zealand, and columns by New Zealand writers on topics like 'Kiwi English' or 'Kiwi pop-music'.

The print run of *Gekkan NZ* has been set at 20,000 copies monthly since 1999 – roughly twice the Japanese resident population of New Zealand. This is partly accounted for by the fact that 3,000 copies are distributed by travel agents in Japan. However, most copies are distributed within New Zealand, especially in Auckland (8,000 copies) and Christchurch (5,000 copies), the gateways to New Zealand tourism. Only 4,000 go to

other areas.[145]   The magazine is distributed wherever Japanese people are likely to go, especially local English language schools, local accommodation, Japanese travel agents, Japanese working holiday centres, Japanese restaurants, Japanese hair salons, and Japanese Bed and Breakfasts. It is read not only by the permanent residents and sojourners, but by the numerous Japanese tourists. In recent years, all copies have gone within a week of distribution.[146]

A Japanese TV programme has been also available in New Zealand since June 2000 when World TV (WTV) was launched as a satellite television channel in association with the SKY Network to broadcast Chinese, Korean and Japanese programmes 24 hours a day. By mid-2006, the total number of households subscribing to WTV was over 10,000 with some 50,000 viewers, which WTV put at 35 per cent of the total Asian population of New Zealand.[147] Programmes on the Japanese channel are specially selected by Nippon Broadcasting Company (NHK) from its Japanese broadcasts, and they cover news, sport, culture, documentaries, drama, music, finance reports, and children's programmes. WTV also provides all its subscribers with NHK's 24 hour world radio service.

Other Japanese language radio programmes have been available in Auckland and Christchurch since early 2000.   In Christchurch, the Japanese radio programme was started in 2002 by two young Japanese who were working holiday makers to New Zealand.   Having decided to launch a Japanese radio programme, they obtained sponsorship from local businesses, both Japanese and non-Japanese, and trained at the local FM radio station. They named the programme *Japs Down under.*   Though they

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[145] Email from *Gekkan NZ* editor, Mr Yoshida, 12 April 2005. According to Mr Yoshida, in 1999 some copies were left unused by the end of the month, but now all copies are gone in one week.
[146] Email from Mr Yoshida, 12 April 2005.
[147] World TV website, http://www.wtv.co.nz/main_english.htm, accessed on 19 August 2006.

understood the word 'Japs' has unfavourable connotations, they liked the cheeky and casual image that it projected.[148] They began to air a 30 minute programme from September 2002, and extended its air time to one hour three months later. Based on requests from listeners, who were mainly Japanese, the programme covered Japanese pop music, interviews with people from various ethnic groups in Christchurch, seasonal events reports in Christchurch, general information on life styles in New Zealand, current Japanese news, and Kiwi English conversation lessons. The programme was nominated for a New Zealand Radio award in January 2003 and won the award for new hope from Plains FM two months later. The programme's founders returned to Japan after the expiry of their working holiday visa, but a short Japanese language programme has continued. It is recorded in Japan then broadcast by Plains FM, and it carries mainly Japanese pop music and current Japanese news, continuing to fulfill its founders' desire that 'Japanese residents of New Zealand would feel at home through listening to the programme.'[149]

Because of better communications and the development of Japanese language media in New Zealand, the Japanese residents of Christchurch are now able to obtain the Japanese news more frequently and conveniently. Indeed, by using WTV and the internet, they can receive news about Japan at almost the same time as people living in Japan. My questionnaire survey results indicate that Japanese people in Christchurch are indeed very interested in news about Japan. However, they also show that they are even more interested in news about New Zealand. Table 3.9 compares the frequency with

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[148] Japs Down under website, http://homepage3.nifty.com/japsdownunder/newsub1.htm, 'About the programme', accessed on 11 Feb 2005
[149] ibid.

which respondents sought out news and information on Japan compared with the frequency with which they sought out news and information about New Zealand.

Table 3.9   Frequency of gathering news on Japan compared with frequency of gathering news on New Zealand

% of number of respondents

	Frequency of gathering news on Japan (n=102)	Frequency of gathering news on New Zealand (n=102)
Almost every day	58.9	81.0
A few times a week	21.0	13.0
A few times a month	13.7	3.0
A few times a year	3.2	0
Seldom or never	3.2	3.0

Fully 81 per cent of respondents sought out news on New Zealand almost every day, but only 58.9 percent were as assiduous in gathering news on Japan. In part, this reflects the fact that most Japanese in Christchurch have a good command of English, enabling them to use the local English language media. However, it also reflects the fact that local news has more immediate importance to the immigrants because it touches on things that are more likely to affect their lives, whether those things concern politics, the economy, the job market, social welfare, the property market, safety issues, or cultural events. Even the score in a rugby game, or a weather forecast, can be a useful topic when an immigrant interacts socially with people from the host country, as most of the Japanese in Christchurch do fairly frequently. Keeping up with the local news is a survival strategy that helps people to make their lives go smoothly.

Most Japanese in Christchurch are very interested in local affairs, and this holds true whether they are involved with partners who are native speakers of Japanese or of

English. Table 3.10 makes this clear. However, the table also shows that there is a big difference between the two groups when it comes to accessing information about Japan.

Table 3.10   Frequency of gathering news on Japan compared with frequency of gathering news on New Zealand, by respondent's partner's first language

(a) Frequency of gathering news on New Zealand

	% of number of respondents	
	Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n = 51)	Partner is native speaker of English (n =34)
Almost every day	78.4	88.2
A few times a week	15.7	8.8
A few times a month	2.0	3.0
A few times a year	0	0
Seldom or never	3.9	0

(b) Frequency of gathering news on Japan

	% of number of respondents	
	Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n = 51)	Partner is native speaker of English (n =34)
Almost everyday	74.0	43.3
A few times a week	18.0	23.3
A few times a month	8.0	20.0
A few times a year	0	6.7
Seldom or never	0	6.7

Some 88 per cent of respondents whose partners were native speakers of English gathered news on New Zealand almost every day, but so did some 78 percent of respondents whose partners were native speakers of Japanese – a small difference and not statistically significant. However, there is a clear difference in the frequency with which

the two groups of respondents sought out news about Japan. While 74 percent of respondents whose partners who were native speakers of Japanese gathered news about Japan almost every day, only 43.3 percent of those whose partners who were native speakers of English did likewise. Equally revealing is the fact that only 8 percent of the former category accessed news on Japan as seldom as a few times a month, and that no one in that category accessed it less often. By contrast, 20 per cent of those in the latter category accessed news on Japan as seldom as a few times a month, and 13.4 per cent accessed it less often.

The main sources of news on Japan are the New Zealand media, New Zealand Japanese media such as *Gekkan NZ*, information sent from Japan, the internet, WTV, and word of mouth. Of these, however, the Internet and WTV are the most popular, as Table 3.11 demonstrates.

Table 3.11   Main sources of news on Japan by respondents' partners' first language

% of number of respondents

	Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n =51)	Partner is native speaker of English (n = 34)
NZ Media	6.7	18.6
Japanese Media in NZ	3.3	7.0
Japanese Media sent from Japan	6.7	2.3
WTV	23.3	20.9
Internet	51.7	34.9
From Japanese people in NZ	3.3	7.0
From Japanese people in Japan	5.0	9.3

The table shows that the internet was the main source of information on Japan, both for respondents who had partners who were native speakers of Japanese and for those who did not. However, it was especially important for the former group, with more than half of them nominating it as their main source of information. For them, especially, it was worth going to the trouble of looking up Japanese media websites to remain up to date.[150]

WTV is popular with the Japanese in Christchurch because it provides effortless and culturally familiar entertainment and because it helps to create a Japanese speaking environment that helps the immigrants' children to grow up speaking Japanese. However, it is also a popular source of news on Japan, being nominated as the principal source of information by 23.3 percent of respondents whose partners were native speakers of Japanese and 20.9 percent of those whose partners were native speakers of English.

Table 3.10 also provides evidence that respondents with partners who are native speakers of English are less likely than other respondents to seek out information on Japan from WTV or the internet, but to encounter it casually when using sources for other purposes. In particular, they are almost three times as likely to rely on the New Zealand media, with 18.7 per cent of them nominating it as their most important source of information. This means that they hear about Japan mainly when the country is afflicted by a natural disaster, when the issue of Japanese whaling is raised by the international community, or when some unusual event makes Japan 'newsworthy' in New Zealand.[151] Such people are also more likely to get most of their news from conversations with other Japanese in New Zealand or from reports from family or friends back home in Japan.

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[150] Amongst the main Japanese websites are *The Daily Yomiuri*, http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/, The *Asahi Shimbun*, http://www.asahi.com/, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, http://www.nikkei.co.jp/, and *The Mainichi Newspapers*, http://www.mainichi.co.jp/.
[151] This point was made explicitly by a female respondent, age 30-39, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Medical Research Assistant, English level 5. My translation.

While migrants with partners who are native speakers of English often acquire information on Japan through channels different from those used by immigrants who are native speakers of Japanese, Table 3.12 shows that the two groups use very much the same sources for news about New Zealand.

Table 3.12 Main sources of news on New Zealand, by partner's first language

% of number of respondents

	Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n =51)	Partner is native speaker of English (n = 34)
NZ Media	90.2	84.2
Internet	9.8	7.9
From non-Japanese in NZ	0	7.9

In both cases, the main source is the New Zealand media (television, radio, newspapers, or magazines), with the internet running a distant second, and word of mouth from non-Japanese being mentioned only by a few respondents married to New Zealanders. The broad similarity in the pattern of information gathering no doubt reflects two facts: the easy availability of New Zealand media sources; and the fact that most members of both groups have enough English to understand those sources and are motivated to use them.

The development of travel and communications technology has made it easy for Japanese migrants in Christchurch to keep in touch with their families and friends in Japan, and to keep up to date with Japanese news. One respondent went so far as to say that:

> With the development of transportation, the Japanese immigrants of New Zealand can now travel from and to Japan and New Zealand conveniently and quickly just like when we travelled within Japan in the past. It seems to me that some of the Japanese immigrants do not realise that 'they immigrate into New Zealand' because of the convenience of

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transportation. [152]

There is an element of truth in this, but we should not push it too far. Nearly all the local Japanese, even those with Japanese partners, are well aware that they live in a foreign country and they make an effort to keep up with local news. At the same time, except amongst some of the Japanese married to New Zealanders, the links to Japan remain strong. What we are witnessing, perhaps, is the type of transnational behaviour that Manying Ip and Wardlow Friesen have observed in New Zealand's Chinese community, with immigrants maintaining strong ties simultaneously with both New Zealand and their country of origin. [153]

Conclusion

The close social ties between Christchurch's Japanese immigrants and the local community are very different from the relatively closed social world of partial classic New immigrant communities based on business sojourners. Those ties are based on the level of English language proficiency amongst the immigrants, on the personal relationships that many of them have formed with English-speaking partners, and on the fact that a good many of them have now lived in New Zealand for a decade or more. Their integration into the host society also sets them apart from some other immigrant communities, such as the Auckland Taiwanese studied by Tania M. Boyer, whose limited English language skills are the basis of their social isolation. [154]

Although the Christchurch Japanese tend to cluster in jobs that bring them into contact with other Japanese, such as those linked to tourism, this has not cut them off from the

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[152] Male respondent, age over 60, over 20 years of residence, English speaking partner, Retired, English level 4. My translation.
[153] Manying Ip and Wardlow Friesen, p. 214
[154] Tania M. Boyer, p.63

wider community because most of these jobs require extensive contact with Europeans as well as Japanese. Similarly, although they tend to live in particular parts of Christchurch – notably the City, the inner northern suburbs and the northwest – they are a small minority in all of these areas and have formed no ethnic enclaves. Because most of their neighbours are Europeans, and because they send their children to local schools where they meet European parents, they socialise a lot with Europeans in their private lives. This tendency is of course especially marked amongst the substantial minority of Japanese who have European partners, but it is present even amongst many of those whose partners are Japanese. Many of them rely on the workplace and on formal ethnic organisations, such as the Japanese Society and the Japanese Supplementary School, for much of their social interaction with other Japanese outside the family group.

Because the Japanese are long-term immigrants with good language skills and a high level of integration into Christchurch society, it is not surprising that they should take an interest in what happens in the country where they live. Most use the New Zealand media regularly to follow local events and to gather information which is useful or which links them to a network of shared knowledge that facilitates social interaction with members of the host community. At the same time, most of them maintain regular contact with Japan, returning for visits at least every few years, phoning their families, watching WTV, or using the internet to read the Japanese news. This pattern of behaviour is especially strong amongst Japanese with Japanese partners, but it exists in a weaker form even amongst those with European partners. Through taking an active interest in both the land of their birth and the land in which they live, the Japanese of Christchurch live out their dual identity as Japanese nationals and New Zealand residents.

Chapter 4

Japanese culture, Japanese identity, and New Zealand

This chapter will examine acculturation amongst Japanese immigrants in Christchurch, focusing on five areas: (1) culturally important seasonal events; (2) maintenance of Japanese culture amongst the immigrants' children; (3) ethnic identification and nationality; (4) 'Japanese-ness' at work and in daily life; and (5) levels of attachment to Japan and New Zealand. I will again use my survey questionnaire result for this chapter.

Attitudes towards Japanese and New Zealand seasonal events

One way of measuring acculturation is to assess the extent to which immigrants practice rituals linked to important seasonal events within both their own culture and the host culture. To examine this question, I asked respondents to my survey whether they celebrated three seasonal events that have special importance within Japanese culture: New Year (1 January), Girl's Festival (3 March), and Boy's Festival (5 May). New Year is a very popular traditional event in Japan, part of a major winter holiday that usually lasts from 31 December to 3 January (depending on the calendar). It is celebrated with special foods, decorations, poem-cards, shuttlecock, and the writing down of New Year resolutions in the first calligraphy of the year. Girls' Festival (or Girls' Day) and Boys'

Festival (or Boys' Day or Children's Day) are seasonal events that are especially important for families with small children. Girl's Festival is not a national holiday, but it dates back to the Edo period and is observed by families with girls. They pray for the girl's health and happy marriage by decorating special dolls with peach blossoms, and by consuming a white, sweet wine (*amazake*). Boy's Festival was established around the thirteenth century and is part of Golden Week, a week-long national holiday. Families with boys celebrate it by decorating a warrior doll, a suit of armour and a sword in the living room, by establishing a carp streamer (*koinobori*) in the garden, and by eating a rice cake wrapped up in an oak-leaf (*kashiwamochi*).

For comparative purposes, I also asked respondents about their observance of two culturally important New Zealand events that are linked with national holidays: Christmas and Easter. Christmas is an important family occasion in New Zealand, even amongst people who are not religious. Similarly, Easter has become less of a specifically religious occasion, with widespread commercial promotion of chocolate Easter eggs, Easter bunnies and hot cross buns, which most families buy for their children. The extent to which my respondents observed these two festivals is set out in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Celebration of Christmas and Easter amongst Japanese immigrants (n=102)
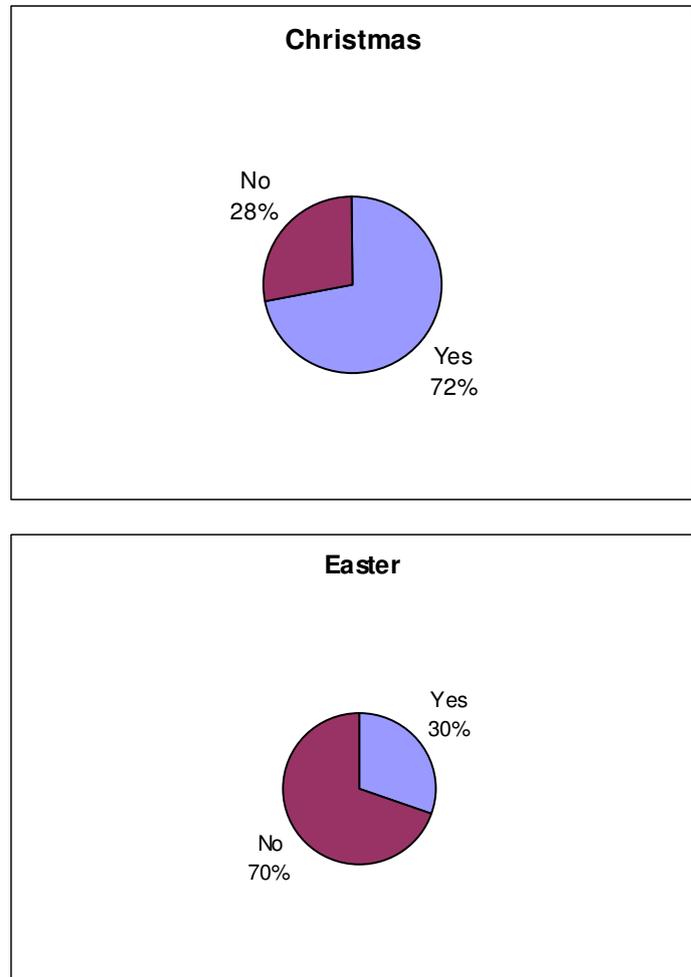
The figure shows that 72 per cent of respondents usually celebrated Christmas, and this might be taken as an indication of a high level of acculturation. However, it has to be said that much of this 'acculturation' took place before the respondents ever visited New Zealand, as Christmas has become popular in Japan where many people decorate a Christmas tree, have a Christmas dinner and a Christmas cake, give each other Christmas presents, or have a Christmas party.

Easter is not usually celebrated in Japan, although some private English language schools have begun to organize Easter egg hunts to introduce their students to an aspect of Western culture. Except for the small number of Christians, Japanese immigrants in Christchurch were unlikely to have celebrated Easter before their arrival. As a result, although some of my respondents bought hot cross buns or Easter eggs for their children, less than a third did anything to celebrate Easter.

In Japan, New Year rituals are even more widely observed than Christmas, and if this pattern were replicated within the Christchurch Japanese community New Year celebrations would have been all but universal. However, as Figure 4.2 shows, this was far from the case.

Figure 4.2 Celebration of New Year and Girls' Day or Boys' Day amongst Japanese immigrants

New Year (n=102)

Yes
40%

No
60%

Boy/Girl's Day (n=55)

No
51%

Yes
49%
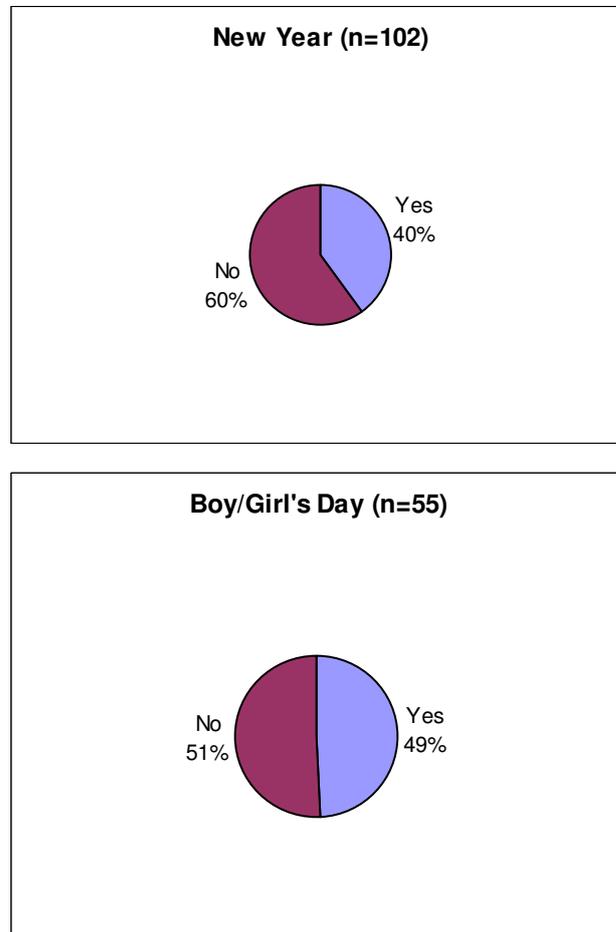
Somewhat surprisingly, only 40 per cent of the respondents said that they celebrated New Year. Why? One reason is that although New Year's Day is a national holiday in New Zealand, it is one of the peak periods in the New Zealand tourist season and this means that many local Japanese engaged in the tourist industry have to work. Another reason is that some Japanese residents find it very odd trying to celebrate a Japanese winter festival in the middle of a New Zealand summer. As one respondent put it: 'When I celebrate a seasonal event, such as a New Year, in New Zealand, I am not able to feel the same

seasonal atmosphere as in Japan because the New Zealand season is the opposite of Japan's.'[155]   Finally, although there are Asian grocery shops in Christchurch, they do not stock many of the foods and other things required for Japanese New Year celebrations. One respondent who did not celebrate New Year said that she found it too difficult obtaining the special food ingredients, decorations and activity tools required for proper celebrations.[156]

Girls' Day and Boys' Day seem to be slightly better observed amongst the Christchurch Japanese, with 49 per cent of respondents who had children saying that they had celebrated the appropriate day, or that they used to celebrate it when their children were young.   However, the two days are still far less widely celebrated than Christmas. At least in part, the explanation is a practical one. Preparation for both involves many fragile and expensive ornaments which are not available locally, while the celebration of Girls' day involves peach blossoms, which are out of season in New Zealand.

Are some sections of the Japanese community more likely to celebrate particular seasonal evens than others? My survey found no relationship between length of stay in New Zealand and respondents' observance of either Japanese seasonal events or New Zealand ones (see Table 5.1 in Appendix C). However, it did demonstrate a relationship between the respondents' partners' first language and rituals of cultural observance.

Figure 4.3 shows that fully 97 per cent of respondents whose partners were native speakers of English celebrated Christmas, compared with only 59 per cent of the respondents whose partners were native speakers of Japanese. Similarly, while 59 per

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[155]   Female respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Tour operator, English level 4. My translation.
[156]   Female respondent, age 30-39, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Self employed, English level 4. My translation.

cent of respondents whose partners were native speakers of English celebrated Easter, only 14 per cent of the respondents whose partners were native speakers of Japanese did. Clearly, and not surprisingly, the degree of acculturation was higher amongst respondents whose partners were New Zealanders.

In the case of Japanese seasonal events, the situation was more complicated. Figure 4.4 indicates that 53 per cent of respondents with Japanese partners celebrated New Year compared with only 24 per cent of respondents with New Zealand partners. However, there was no significant different in the tendency of parents in the two groups to celebrate Boys' Day or Girls' Day, with about half of both groups honouring the occasion. Seemingly, Japanese immigrants with Kiwi partners are no less likely than those with Japanese partners to go to the trouble of celebrating the growth of their children in a traditional way.

Figure 4.3. Celebration of Christmas and Easter, by partners' first language

(a) Christmas

Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n=51)

No 41%

Yes 59%

Partner is native speaker of English (n=34)

No 3%

Yes 97%

(b) Easter

Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n=51)

Yes
14%

No
86%

Partner is native speaker of English (n=34)

No
41%

Yes
59%
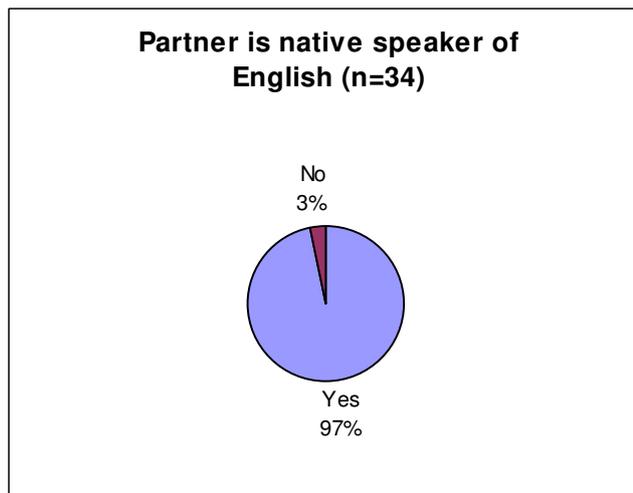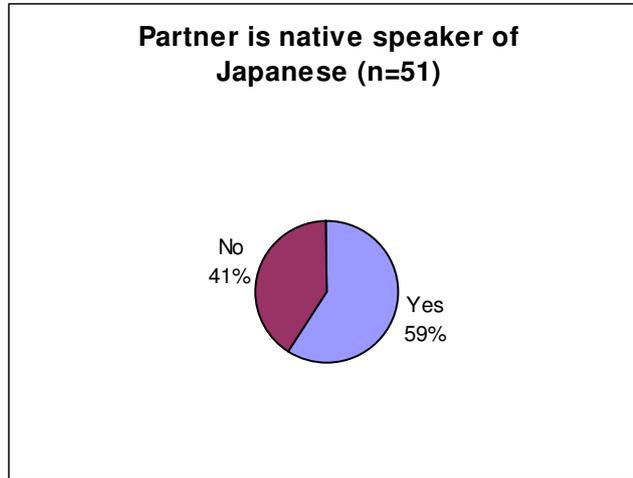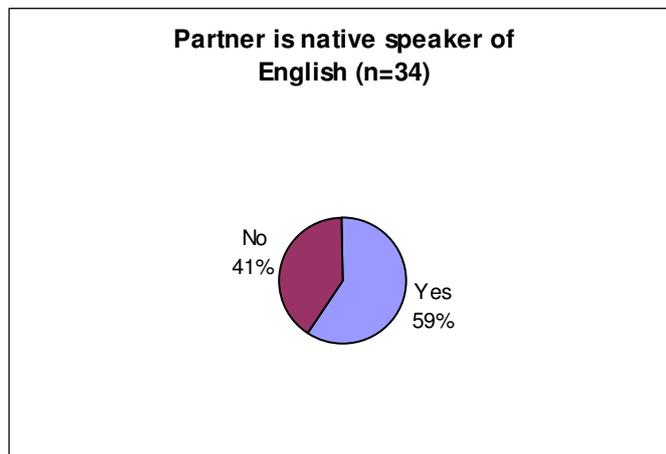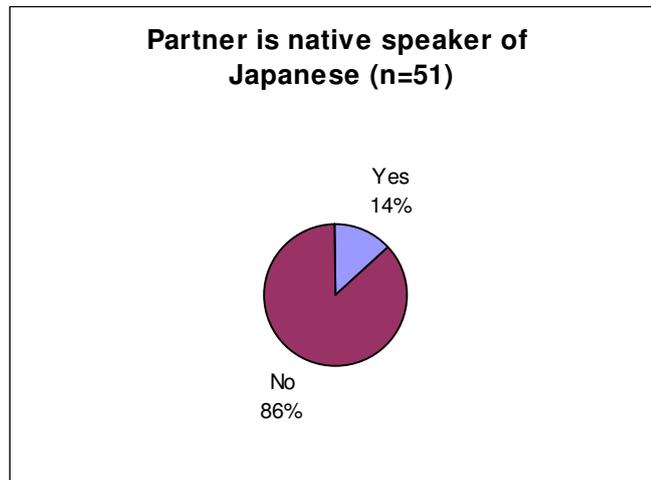
Figure 4.4   Celebration of traditional Japanese seasonal events by partners' first language

(a) New Year

Partner is native speaker of Japanese (=51)

No 47%

Yes 53%

Partner is native speaker of English (n=34)

Yes 24%

No 76%

(b) Girls' Day or Boys' Day

Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n=28)

No
50%

Yes
50%

Partner is native speaker of English (n=23)

No
52%

Yes
48%
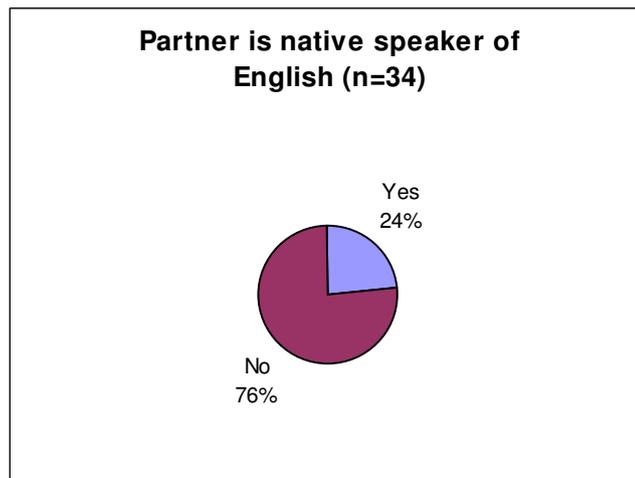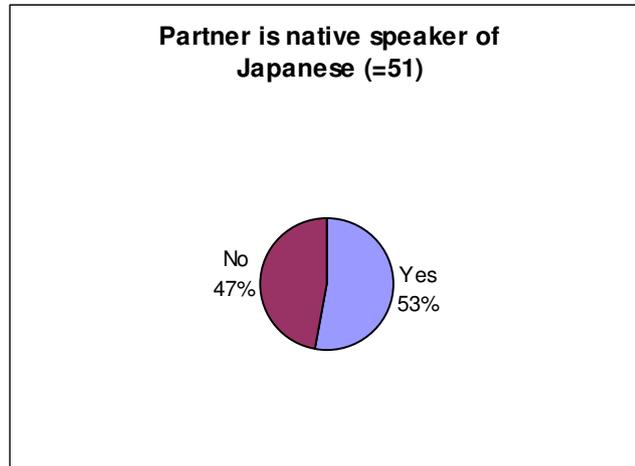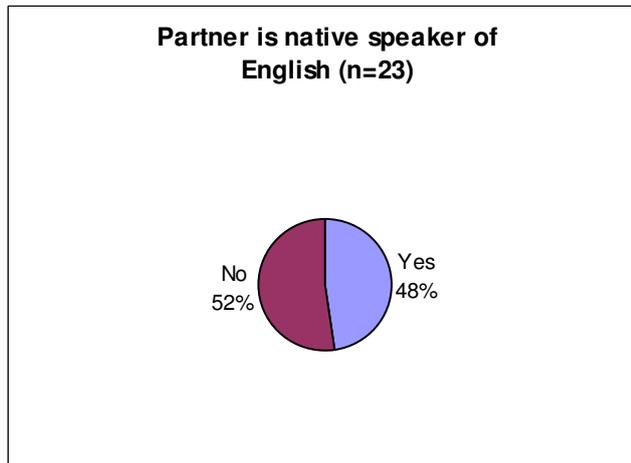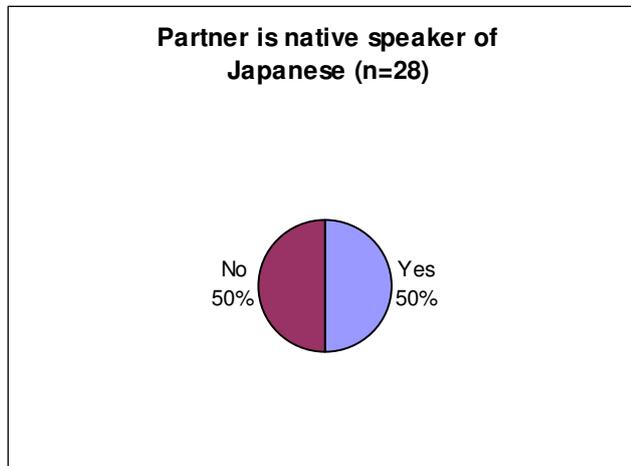
Transmission of Japanese culture to the next generation

If Japanese immigrants with Kiwi partners are as likely as those with Japanese partners to celebrate a traditional children's festival, they might also be as anxious to pass on Japanese culture to their children. To test this hypothesis, I asked respondents to rank the importance of maintaining Japanese culture on a four point scale: (A) Very important, (B) Important, (C) Not so important, (D) Not at all important. Figure 4.5 shows the result.

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Figure 4.5 **Level of support for passing on Japanese culture, traditions and customs to the next generation amongst Japanese parents**

A. Very important.
B. Important
C. Not so important
D. Not at all important

(a) Total respondents (n=102)

(b) By respondent's partner's first language

Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n=51)

Partner is native speaker of English (n=34)
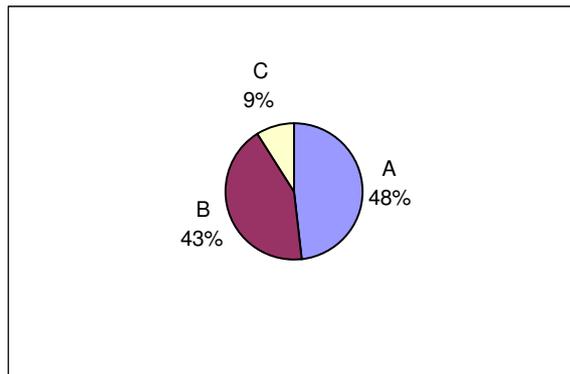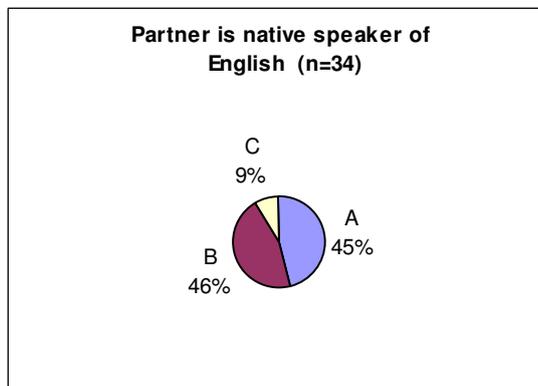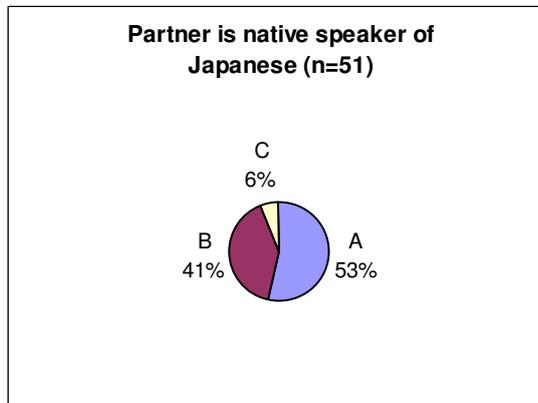
Not a single respondent thought that it was 'not at all important' to transmit knowledge of Japanese culture, traditions and customs to the next generation, and over 90 per cent considered that it was 'important' or 'very important' to do so. Moreover, the table shows that there was little or no difference between the attitudes of respondents whose partners were native speakers of Japanese and those whose partners were not native speakers: the figure was over 90 percent for both groups.

Many respondents linked their desire to pass on Japanese culture to the next generation to the fact that their children had inherited Japanese blood. Whether their children had two Japanese parents or only one, they thought that the children needed to know where they came from. As one respondent put it: 'Even when the children live in New Zealand with a Japanese parent and a New Zealand parent, it is a fact that they have inherited Japanese blood, and it is almost the instinctive responsibility of Japanese parents to teach their children as much Japanese language and history as possible.'[157] Another respondent wrote: 'I want my children to learn the culture of Japan, where I was born and grew up. In so doing, my children will understand their cultural roots, and they will be proud of inheriting Japanese blood.'[158] These attitudes were as likely to be expressed by respondents with New Zealand partners as respondents with Japanese partners.

The respondents also mentioned a practical reason for their desire to pass on their culture to their children: the need for smooth and effective communication between their children and their children's Japanese grandparents. We saw in an earlier chapter that

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[157] Female respondent, 30-39 years old, 6-9 years residence, English speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 4. My translation.
[158] Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years residence, English speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 3. My translation.

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some Japanese parents sent their children to the Japanese Supplementary School because they wanted them to be able to communicate with their grandparents, but communication and good relationships are not based just on possession of a common language. Some respondents observed that there is a protocol of 'being Japanese' or 'being a child of a Japanese parent' that includes not only language but manners, knowledge and culture. As one respondent it: 'When my children meet Japanese families and friends of their parents, they need to understand Japanese customs and manners, or the other families and our friends will laugh us to scorn.'[159]

It seems that both respondents who had native Japanese partners and those who had New Zealand ones recognised the importance of understanding the required forms of protocol within the Japanese community. However, some of those with Japanese partners said that 'their children are expected to speak good Japanese and understand Japanese culture and manners' better than the children of those who had English speaking partners, because 'children born of two Japanese parents had more obviously Japanese features than those who were born of a Japanese and a New Zealander.'[160] As another respondent said:

> When we socialise with Japanese people, they usually see and treat my children as 'Japanese'. My children are full-blood Japanese, having typical Japanese features, but their ways of thinking, speaking and behaviour are just like those of other New Zealand-born children because my children have grown up in New Zealand. If some children, born of Japanese and a New Zealander, speak with Japanese people without Japanese manners or behave themselves without Japanese manners, it will not be a big problem as long as they have partly European features. On the other hand, if other children, with two Japanese parents and clear Japanese features speak to Japanese people without Japanese manners, the Japanese people usually think the children are very rude and unsophisticated. This is why I believe that Japanese children, especially those who have two Japanese

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[159] Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years residence, English speaking partner, Self-employed, English level 4. My translation.
[160] Male respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years residence, Japanese speaking partner, Tour operator, English level 4. My translation.

parents and obvious Japanese features, had better understand Japanese ways of thinking, values and culture, and practise them when they meet other Japanese.[161]

There were many aspects of Japanese culture and customs that the respondents believed Japanese parent should teach their children in New Zealand. Table 4.1 shows how they ranked them in relative importance when asked to nominate the aspect of traditional culture that it was most important to pass on to children.

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[161]   Female respondent, 50-59 years old, 10-19 years residence, Japanese speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 2. My translation.

Table 4.1   **Aspect of Japanese culture seen as most important to teach children (multiple answers possible)**

Aspect of culture seen as most important	No. of respondents
Japanese language	21
Politeness	17
Seasonal events and commemorating days	16
Respect for older people	15
Manners • Taking off shoes inside house, greetings, how to use chopsticks, how to take a Japanese-style bath	12
Arts • Tea ceremony, flower arrangement, pottery, painting, architecture, gardening, origami, folk songs, cartoon books	8
Japanese history	5
Harmony, co-operating with others	5
Japanese food	5
Diligence	5
Modesty	5
Honesty	5
Bushido (Way of *Samurai*)	3
Sports • Jujitsu, karate	2
Kindness	2
love of Japan	1
Courage	1
Honour	1
benevolence	1
Loyalty	1
visiting ancestors' graves	1

The aspect of Japanese culture that respondents thought it most important for the next generation to learn was the Japanese language. As explained previously, the Japanese language was considered as a necessary tool to communicate with the Japanese grandparents of children. This explains the extensive support for the Japanese Supplementary School as a supplement for the parents' efforts to teach the children Japanese.[162] The aspect of culture ranked second in importance was politeness, while respect for older people was ranked fourth, the teaching of appropriate manners was ranked fifth, and other respondents stressed the importance of teaching children about harmony, modesty, honesty and diligence. Items falling within these categories, taken together, far outranked maintenance of the Japanese language as items which it was vital to transmit to the next generation. This shows that although members of Christchurch's Japanese community may sometimes have left Japan because they were dissatisfied with it, they retain a strong attachment to values linked to Japan's Confucian heritage and to its tradition of insisting on appropriate and respectful forms of speech and behaviour.

Teaching children about traditional Japanese seasonal events was the third most preferred item amongst respondents to the survey. These events included not only New Year's Day, Girls' Day and Boys' Day, but the Star Festival (usually held in July in Japan), the Moon Festival (usually held in September in Japan), as well as *Hanami* (watching cherry blossoms while having a lunch or dinner party under a cheery tree). Some

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[162] According to Nobuko Nakanishi, in the Japanese community of Auckland, migrants' attitudes towards the maintenance of language and culture became more positive as opportunities of socializing with other Japanese speakers increased. This may indicate that attitudes towards the maintenance of Japanese language will become even more positive in Christchurch as the Japanese community grows. See Nobuko Nakanishi, *Language Maintenance and Language Shift in the Japanese Community of Auckland: a study of the interaction between the Sojourners and the Immigrants*, M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 2000

respondents also said that it was important to teach children about War Memorial Day (15 August) and Hiroshima and Nagasaki Days (6 and 9 August). We have seen, however, that many respondents found it hard to observe the more traditional seasonal events within their homes. They relied upon the Japanese Supplementary School to mark these events and to teach children about them as part of the curriculum.[163]

Some respondents thought it very important to teach children about Japanese arts such as the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, pottery, painting, architecture, gardening, *Origami* (paper craft), folk songs and cartoon books. They felt that these arts were beautiful, with a long-established history, and they knew that many Westerners were attracted to them. They thought it important for children to know about them because if they were questioned 'they would feel embarrassed if they did not know anything'.[164] Similar reasoning, along with pride in the Japanese past and a belief that children should understand their roots, led other people to say that their children had to know about Japanese history. Other aspects of Japanese culture which some respondents nominated as very important were *Bushido* (the Way of the Samurai), Japanese cooking, and sports like jujitsu and karate.

While respondents to the survey considered it important to pass Japanese traditions and customs on to the next generation, they were very much aware that their children would grow up in New Zealand and meet more non-Japanese than Japanese who were potential partners in life. I asked the respondents if they had any ethnic preferences about the children's choice of partner, and the results are shown in Figure 4.6.

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[163] Female respondent, age 40-49, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Tour operator, English level 4. My translation.
[164] Male respondent, age 50-59, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Translator, English level 5. My translation.

Figure 4.6   Preferences concerning ethnicity of children's future partner

(a) Total respondents (n=66)
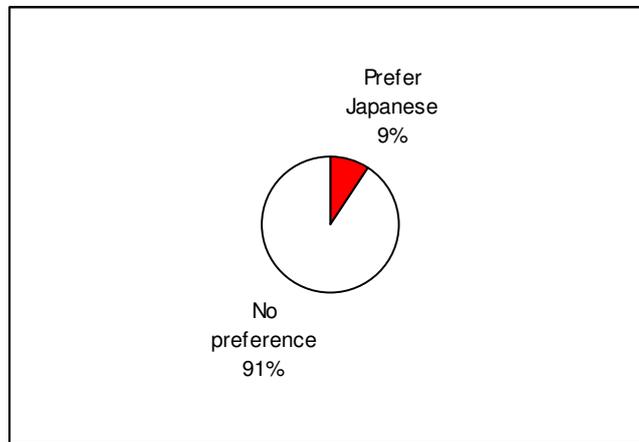
(b) Preferences by respondent's partner's first language
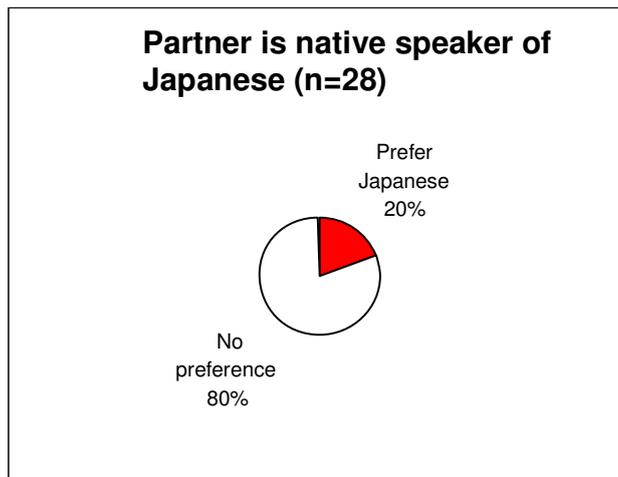
Figure 4.6 (a) shows that over 90 per cent of the total sample had no preference as to the ethnicity of their children's future partners and would leave the choice to them. Figure 4.6 (b), however, shows an interesting pattern within the total response. Respondents living with New Zealand partners were unanimous in having no preference, but 20 percent of those with Japanese partners said that they would be happier if their children formed relationships with other Japanese. Nearly all the latter group consisted of males with Japanese female partners. One male respondent said simply that he liked Japan and the Japanese.[165] Another said that he would not be able to accept it if his daughter chose a non-Japanese partner without any rational reason.[166] The most popular objection to the choice of a non-Japanese partner, however, was that marriage to someone from a different ethnic group could easily be wrecked by linguistic and cultural differences. One respondent wrote:

> I believe that people are unconsciously influenced by their cultural background, and this limits their understanding of people from other cultural backgrounds. Children who grow up with the Japanese language will not be able fully to understand those who grow up with other languages. [167]

Another respondent said:

> I am strongly concerned that the gaps between the different cultures, nationalities, ethnic groups, customs and ways of thinking are too deep to fix. I do not believe that one can fully understand someone who is from a different ethnic background no matter how long they know each other.[168]

These opinions, however, were confined to a small minority. Those with New Zealand partners knew from their own experience that it was possible to overcome or at least to

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[165] Male respondent, age 40-49, over 20 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Photograph co-ordinator, English level 3. My translation.

[166] Male respondent, age 30-39, 10-19 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Tour operator, English level 3. My translation.

[167] Male respondent, age 60 and over, 6-9 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Retired, English level 3. My translation.

[168] Female respondent, age 50-59, 10-19 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 3. My translation.

cope with cultural or ethnic differences in a relationship, and the success of many inter-ethnic relationships has not gone unobserved by other Japanese. Most parents seem untroubled by the likelihood that many of their children will form relationships with people from other ethnic groups.

Ethnic identification and nationality amongst the Christchurch Japanese

Ethnic identification is one of many ways in which people can draw boundaries between themselves and others, between 'us' and 'them'. To examine how Japanese immigrants in Christchurch construct ethnic boundaries, I asked those who responded to my survey how they considered their ethnic identity, giving them four choices: Japanese, Asian, Japanese-New Zealander, or Asian-New Zealander. Table 4.2 presents the results.

Table 4.2 Ethnic identity

(a) Total respondents (n=102)

% of number of respondents

Japanese	90.5
Asian	2.1
Japanese-NZer	6.3
Asian-NZer	1.1

(b) By respondents' partner's first language

% of number of respondents

	Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n= 51)	Partner is native speaker of English (n=34)
Japanese	93.9	87.5
Asian	0	6.3
Japanese-NZer	6.1	3.1
Asian-NZer	0	3.1

As can be seen from Table 4.2 (a), over 90.5 per cent of respondents opted simply for 'Japanese' as the best description of their ethnic identity, 6.3 per cent opted for 'Japanese New Zealander', 2.1 per cent chose 'Asian', and another 1.1 per cent opted for 'Asian New Zealander'. And, as Table 4.2 (b) shows, there was little difference in the responses of those with Japanese partners and those with New Zealand partners.

It is said that second, third or fourth generation Chinese and Indian immigrants tend to identify as Chinese-New Zealanders or Indian-New Zealanders.[169]   However, most Japanese in Christchurch are first generation immigrants who were born and grew up in Japan. When they arrived in New Zealand their Japanese identity was already well-formed, this identity is not usually altered even when the immigrants are well integrated into New Zealand society, speak fluent English, are married to a New Zealander, or work and socialise with New Zealanders because New Zealanders regard them as Japanese because of their appearance and their accent. As one respondent said:

> Though I speak English fluently in New Zealand, people in this country usually see me as Japanese.[170]

Another Japanese man who had lived in New Zealand for over 20 years explained:

> Even if I don't identify myself as Japanese, most New Zealanders around me see me as a Japanese. My physical features are those of Japanese, but my mentality is different from that of Japanese nationals living in Japan.[171]

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[169] Raj Vasil and Hong-Key Yoon, *New Zealanders of Asian Origin*, Wellington, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996, p.40

[170] Female respondent, over 60 years old, over 20 years residence, Japanese speaking partner, Education provider, English level 5. My translation.

[171] Male respondent, over 60 years old, over 20 years of residence, English speaking partner, retired, English level 4. My translation.

In addition, the respondents' identity is influenced by the fact that nearly all of them retain Japanese passports. As Figure 4.7 indicates, fully 99.0 per cent of respondents remained Japanese citizens.

Figure 4.7 New Zealand Citizenship statuses of the respondents

Question: Do you have New Zealand citizenship? (n=102)
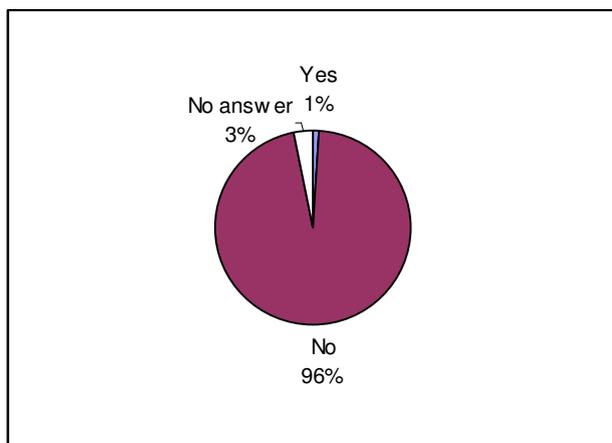
Scholars have pointed out that migrants who come to New Zealand from countries that allow dual citizenship are more likely to apply for New Zealand citizenship than those who come from countries that forbid it.[172] Since New Zealand permanent resident status gives the migrants almost all the rights of citizenship such as an entitlement to a wide range of social welfare, there is generally no immediate need for acquiring New Zealand

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[172] According to the research on recent migrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea in the 1990s conducted by the Migration Research Group at the University of Waikato, for example, immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong (which allowed dual citizenship) were more likely to obtain or be in the process of applying for New Zealand citizenship than migrants from Korea (which did not). Jacqueline Lidgard, Elsie Ho, Yunn-ya Chen, Joanne Goodwin and Richard Bedford (eds.), *Immigrants from Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong in New Zealand in the mid-1990s: Macro and Micro Perspectives*, University of Waikato, 1998, pp.36-37

citizenship. Japanese in New Zealand would lose their Japanese citizenship, with the advantages that it brings, the moment they became New Zealanders. Most of them are apparently satisfied with their current status as New Zealand permanent residents, because this brings them almost all the benefits of citizenship including voting rights, access to social welfare, and state-funded education.

To test whether most local Japanese are *really* satisfied to remain New Zealand residents, I asked respondents to my survey whether they intended to take out New Zealand citizenship in the future. Figure 4.8 (a) summarises their answers.

Figure 4.8   Intention to apply/not apply for New Zealand citizenship in the future[173]

(a) Total respondents (n=102)
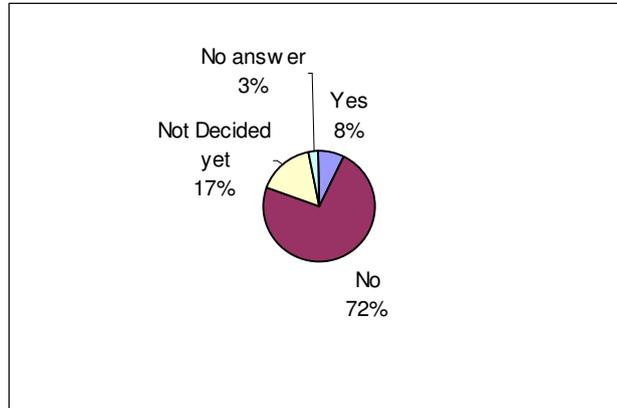
(b) By respondent's partner's first language

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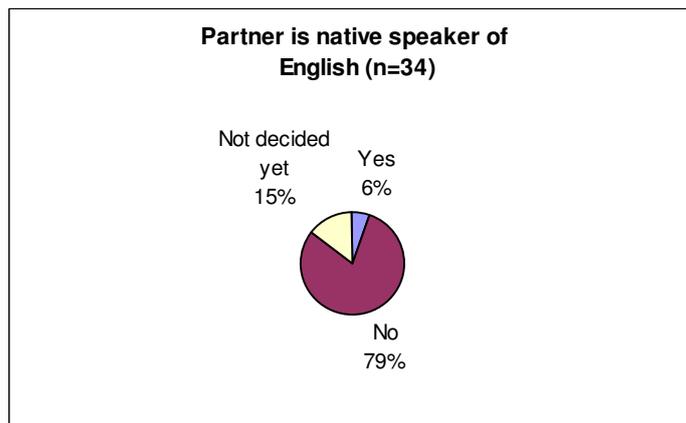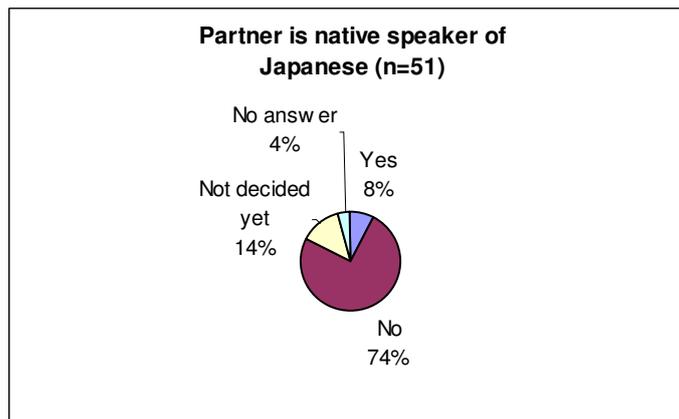
[173] The question was "Do you intend to apply for New Zealand citizenship in the future?"

Only 8 per cent said that they intended to apply for New Zealand citizenship, confirming that most are satisfied with their existing status. Moreover, as Figure 4.8 (b) shows, the responses of those with New Zealand partners showed no statistical difference from those of with Japanese ones. Many explained that getting New Zealand citizenship would serve no practical purpose and would have disadvantages. As permanent residents, they said, they felt 'treated just like New Zealand citizens'.[174] At the same time, they were well aware that if they became New Zealand nationals they would be unable to visit Japan for more than three months without applying for a visa and being finger-printed. As one respondent put it, 'It is absurd to go through such a process when I wish to visit and stay in Japan, where I was born and grew up.'[175] Some had even more pressing practical reasons, like the retired man who said that the Japanese government would stop his superannuation if he abandoned Japanese citizenship.[176]

However, emotional reasons also played a part in the reluctance of most respondents to change their citizenship. Many considered that this would amount to 'abandoning being Japanese'. One respondent said, 'It is a fact that I was born in Japan and inherited Japanese blood. That no one can deny, even though I live in New Zealand as a permanent resident. There is no need to change nationality.'[177] For such people, Japanese citizenship supplied them with official documentation of their roots, identifying 'who they were' and 'where they were originally from'. If they lost their Japanese citizenship,

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[174] Male respondent, over 60 years old, over 20 years of residence, English speaking partner, Retired, English level 4. My translation.

[175] Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years of residence, Single, Full-time student, English level 4. My translation.

[176] Male respondent, over 60 years old, 10-19 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Retired, English level 3. My translation.

[177] Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years residence, English speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 3. My translation.

they would feel they were no longer Japanese, which was how they had always identified themselves.

An intriguing feature of the responses, however, is the significant number of respondents (17 percent of the total) who had not yet decided whether they would apply for New Zealand citizenship at some time in the future. These respondents were keeping their options open in case the New Zealand government attached disadvantages to permanent residence status, or in case the Japanese government decided to allow dual citizenship. Again, practical reasons were important. One respondent said that if dual citizenship were possible New Zealand citizenship would be 'attractive' as it would allow her 'to live in Australia'.[178]

'Japanese-ness' at work and in daily life

Scholars have pointed out that 'Japanese-ness' is a social myth of homogeneity, closely linked with the discourse of Japanese identity (*nihonjinron*) and its idealised image of Japan, and that business expatriates often use the rhetoric of *nihonjinron* in order to explain their own and fellow expatriates' behaviour to non-Japanese people.[179] For example, they frequently say, 'The Japanese are hard-working people with strong allegiance to the company', or 'Japanese people are co-operative and value harmony within the group', and so on.[180] However, as the ranks of Japanese abroad are swelled

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[178] Female respondent, 30-39 years old, 6-9 years of residence, English speaking partner, Full-time student, English level 4. My translation.

[179] Kosaku Yoshino, *Bunka-nationalism no Shakaigaku* (Sociology of cultural nationalism), Nagoya, Nagoya University Press, 1997. Hiroshi Minami, *Nihonjinron* ('The discourse of Japanese identity'), Tokyo, Iwanamishoten, 1994

[180] E. Ben-Ari, 'Globalization, "folk models" of the world order and national identity: Japanese business expatriates in Singapore', in M. Soderberg and I. Reader (eds.), *Japanese Influences and Presences in Asia*, London, Curzon, 1997.

by increasing numbers of independent movers living and working beyond the confines of a narrowly Japanese community, the values and behaviour associated with 'Japanese-ness' are said to be weakening. Increasingly, Japanese expatriates are said to be rejecting particular forms of traditional behaviour, such as patriarchal business practices. However, the ethic of 'Japanese-ness' is far from dead, in part because it can be used as a means of advancement when it comes to getting a job with Japanese companies or impressing Japanese customers.[181]

To find out the role which the traditional business ethic plays amongst the Japanese in Christchurch, I asked my respondents whether it is always important, sometimes important, or rarely important to conform to the values and modes of behaviour prescribed by the traditional business ethic. The results are set out in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3   Importance of practicing Japanese business manners and acting in conformity with associated Japanese cultural values at work (n=81)

	% of number of respondents
It is always important.	35.7 %
It is sometimes important.	55.9 %
It is rarely important.	3.6 %
I have hardly ever thought about the matter.	4.8 %

Just over a third of respondents thought that it was 'always important' to practice Japanese business manners at work. Speaking for them, one respondent said that 'they were proud to show New Zealanders Japanese business manners, which they thought

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[181] Chie Sakai, pp. 143-144, Harumi Befu, pp.9-10

better than New Zealand business manners'.[182]   However, by far the largest number of respondents (55.9 per cent) considered that it was only 'sometimes important' to practice traditional business manners at work. These respondents thought that it was generally appropriate to behave in a traditional way with Japanese workmates and customers, but to adopt a more 'New Zealand' way of behaving when dealing with New Zealanders. For example, when meeting Japanese customers, formal manners, such as a bow, are required, on the other hand, friendly smiles and greetings are preferred when meeting New Zealand customers. As one respondent put it: 'I adopt Japanese manners for Japanese people and New Zealand manners for New Zealanders, because I understand that there are differences between the two cultures.'[183] We can describe the strategy this respondent and those like him as 'selective acculturation'.

I also tried to determine whether the respondents felt that their own 'Japanese-ness' had weakened as a result of living in New Zealand. I did this by asking them whether they had come to think, perhaps when visiting Japan on holiday that they had become less 'Japanese'. Figure 4.9 summarises their responses.

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[182]   Male respondent, 40-49 years old, over 20 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Photograph coordinator, English level 3. My translation.
[183]   Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years of residence, English speaking partner, Self-employed, English level 4.

Figure 4.9   Whether respondents considered that they had become less 'Japanese'

Total respondents (n=102)
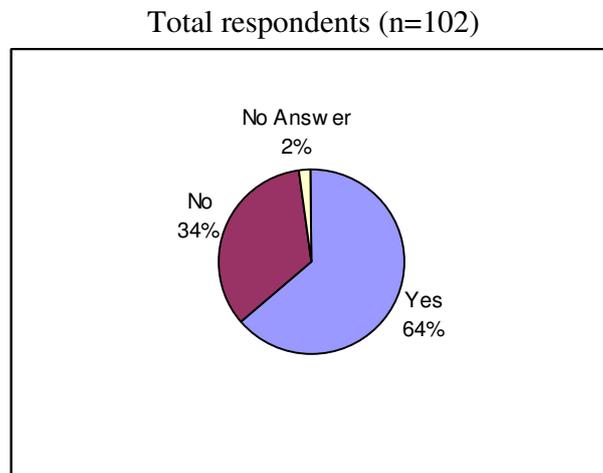
Figure 4.10   Whether respondents felt that they had become less 'Japanese', by respondent's partner's first language
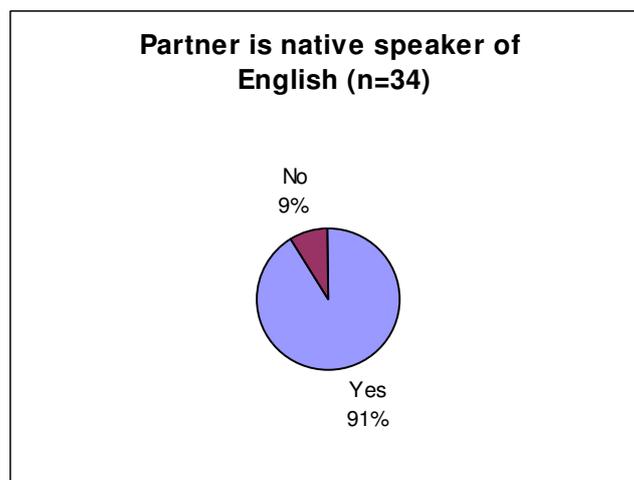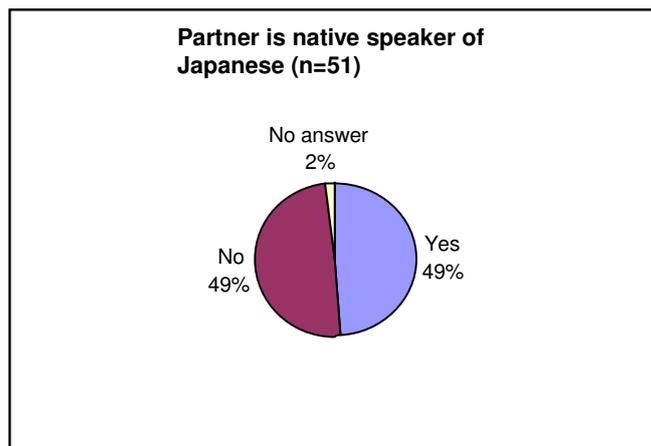
Figure 4.11   Whether respondents felt that they had become less 'Japanese', by length of stay

0~5 years (n=16)

No 56%   Yes 44%

6~9 years (n=25)

No 44%   Yes 56%

Over 10 years (n=61)

No answer 3%
No 25%
Yes 72%
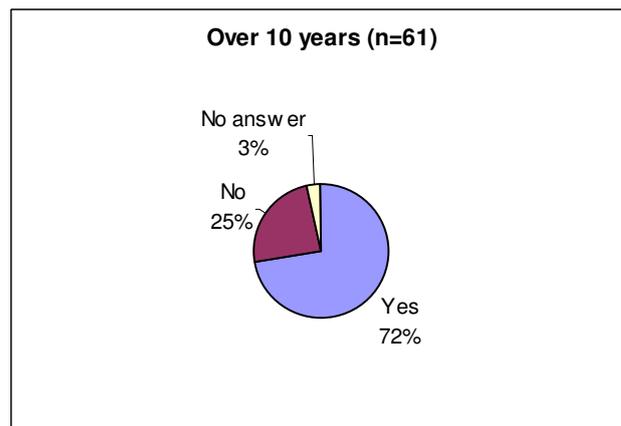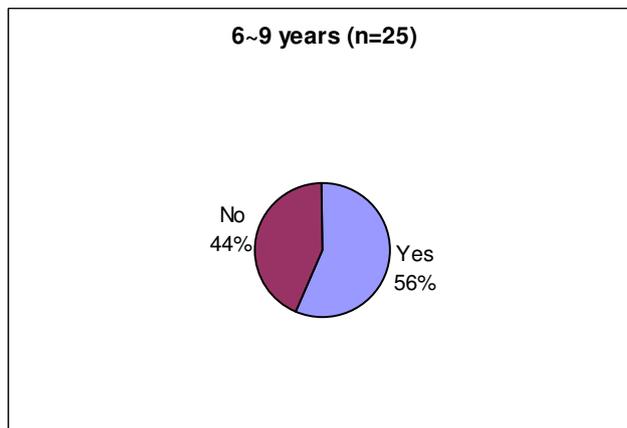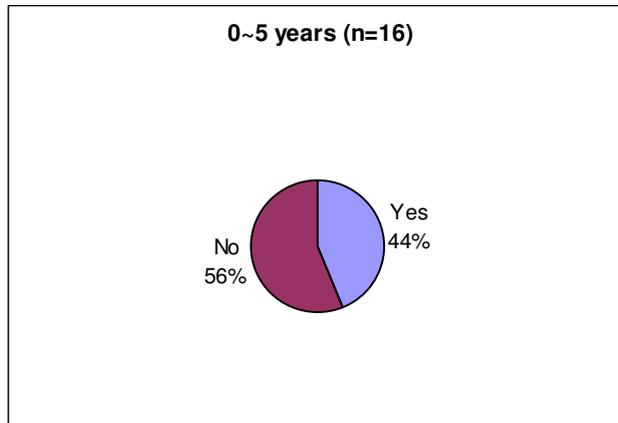
Figure 4.9 shows that almost two-thirds of the respondents felt that their 'Japanese-ness' had weakened, but figure 4.10 shows that this response was not randomly distributed throughout the group. Over 90 percent of those who had New Zealand partners felt that they had become less 'Japanese', but only half of those with Japanese partners gave the same answer. This unsurprising result reflects the fact that those with New Zealand partners were influenced by the pressure on both parties in a close cross-cultural relationship to 'give a little' as they worked out mutually agreeable ways of acting and thinking. It also reflects the fact that, as we saw in an earlier chapter, respondents with European partners tend to have better English than those with Japanese partners and tend to socialize more frequently with New Zealanders.

Figure 4.11 shows another non-random pattern in my respondents' answers: those who had lived in New Zealand for many years were far more likely to say that they had changed than those who had lived in New Zealand for only a short time. At one end of the scale, nearly 60 per cent of those who had been in New Zealand for less than five years felt that they had not become less 'Japanese', while at the other only 25 per cent of those who had been in New Zealand for more than ten years felt that they had not changed. The whole scale shows a steady self-perceived loss of 'Japanese-ness' that correlates strongly with increasing length of residence in New Zealand. Again, this finding is not surprising.

In what ways did the respondents think that they had become 'less Japanese'? Their written comments on the survey identify three areas of change: fashion, ways of speaking, and adaptation to lifestyle. Female respondents, especially, felt that as they had lived in

New Zealand they had become less and less fashion conscious. One respondent put it like this:

> When I stayed in Japan on my holiday, I stood out in the crowd very much, because I had not kept up with trendy Japanese fashions and hairstyles. I used to follow the Japanese fashions and hairstyles every season when I was living in Japan, but now I do not care about it at all, as I am living in New Zealand where not many people care about trendy fashion.[184]

Another respondent said:

> I have not cared about my appearance such as hairstyle, make-up and clothes anymore since living in New Zealand. When I lived in Japan, people around me saw me as strange if I went out without make-up, because wearing make-up in public is a kind of good manners for grown-up women. I am now able to walk in the street and meet people without wearing make-up in New Zealand because no one cares how I look. I no longer need to care about what other people around me think about me.[185]

These women, and others like them, had adjusted their attitudes towards fashion because they had learned that in New Zealand most people did not dress up except on very rare occasions, and that they did not care much about or at least criticise other women's clothing, make-up or hairstyle. My respondents had come to enjoy living in New Zealand, without the stress of constantly worrying about their appearance as they had in Japan.

Japanese society has elaborate codes of manners that greatly influence what people say and how they say it. An important convention is that people do not make their points directly and forcefully and that they do not answer with a clear-cut 'yes' or 'no'. This convention is designed to preserve social harmony by allowing people to 'feel out' each

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[184] Female respondent, 30-39 years old, 6-9 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Student, English level 4. My translation.
[185] Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 3. My translation.

other's positions and work towards consensus without a direct confrontation of views.[186]

In Japan, people know that they have to conform to this code and they become very skilled at working out what other people are really thinking. In New Zealand, however, the code does not operate, and Japanese who observe it when talking to Kiwis risk not being understood. As a result, they usually adopt a more direct manner of speaking, and this eventually becomes habitual. Unfortunately, this more direct manner can carry over to conversations with friends and family back home in Japan, causing disappointment and even dismay. In the words of one respondent:

> If I don't agree to something or with someone, I clearly say, "I don't agree". While in Japan I did not do that, because people would commonly think I was rude if I did so in public. New Zealanders usually tell you what they think, by saying yes or no clearly. I have to do the same in New Zealand and I am now used to it. When I visit Japan and stay with my family and friends they think I am changed or that sometimes I am too rude, as I now say 'yes' or 'no' clearly.[187]

Finally, many of my respondents felt that in New Zealand they had got used to a different lifestyle, so that they now had some difficulty in re-adapting to the lifestyle on visits back to Japan. Their comments all went along the following lines: 'The New Zealand lifestyle has changed me a lot and I am more used to New Zealand ways than Japanese ways'; 'when I was in Japan, I never did ……, but now I do it just like other New Zealanders'; 'I can't put up with the crowded trains [in Japan] anymore'; '[In Japan], I can't put up with the crowds at supermarkets, parks, beaches and so on'; 'While in Japan, I tried to open the taxi door just like I do in New Zealand [Japanese taxi doors are

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[186] Chie Nakane, *Tate shakai no ningen kankei: tanitsushakai no riron* (Japanese Society), Tokyo, Kodansha, 1967
[187] Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 6-9 years of residence, English speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 4. My translation.

automatic]'; and 'I say hello to shop assistants when I enter a shop in Japan, but no one else does. New Zealanders usually say hello to shop assistants in a friendly way'.

In my sample, women were more likely than men to say that they had become 'less Japanese'. As figure 4.12 shows, three-quarters of the women but only half the men felt that they had changed.

Figure 4.12   Whether respondents considered that they had become less 'Japanese', by gender

Male (n=40)

No
50%

Yes
50%

Female (n=62)

No answer
5%

No
24%

Yes
71%
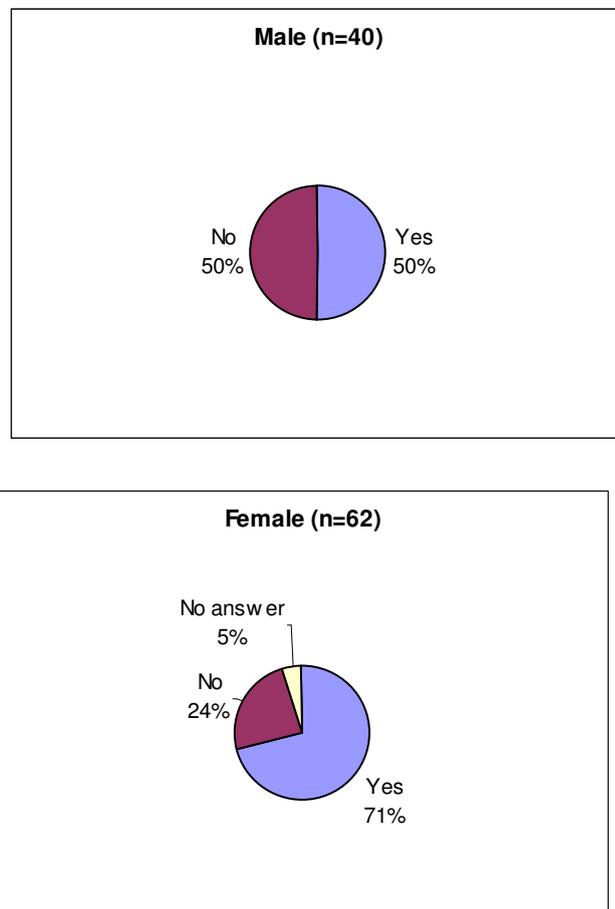
This was no doubt largely a reflection of the fact that a much higher proportion of the women were in relationships with New Zealand partners. However, in their written

comments on the survey form, the women themselves sometimes linked their changes in outlook to gender issues. One woman said: 'I am no longer able to accept and follow the Japanese social expectation about how a Japanese woman should be, such as "a Japanese woman should keep quiet in public, without clearly stating her opinion or saying yes or no clearly".'[188] She and others felt that Japanese codes of appropriate behaviour had been especially restrictive in the case of women, and many saw their lives in New Zealand as a type of liberation. One respondent said that in New Zealand she no longer cared about what other people thought about her and how they judged her. She felt that New Zealanders accepted her as she was.[189] Another said that she could be an individual in New Zealand, because individualism was valued, unlike in Japan.[190] Their experience was very much like that of another Japanese immigrant, Yuki Kamiya, who we met in an earlier chapter. She spoke of her feeling of liberation at escaping from the stresses imposed on her by overcrowding, the competitive education system, and rigid gender roles in Japan.[191] They all enjoyed their less constrained, more 'individual' lifestyles in New Zealand, and they all felt changed by them. They still felt that they were Japanese, but in the new environment they had become a different sort of Japanese.

Attachment to Japan and New Zealand

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[188] Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years residence, English speaking partner, Tour guide, English level 4. My translation.

[189] Female respondent, 40-49 years old, 10-19 years of residence, Japanese speaking partner, Homemaker, English level 3. My translation.

[190] Female respondent, 30-39 years old, 10-19 years residence, English speaking partner, Medical research assistant, English level 5. My translation.

[191] Gail Thomas and Leanne McKenzie (eds.), *My Home Now: Migrants and refugees to New Zealand tell their stories*, Auckland, Cape Catley, 2005, pp.62-64

Japanese immigrants in Christchurch are well integrated socially, they gladly adopt many aspects of the local lifestyle, and many of them feel relief at having escaped from the stresses and constraints of life in Japan. At the same time, they remain in close contact with friends and families in their home country, many keep informed by developments there, and nearly all still identify as Japanese and choose to remain Japanese nationals. Clearly, on different levels, they are attached to both countries. As a way of analyzing this attachment further, I asked those who filled in my survey how they would respond in a variety of situations. In the first instance, I asked them how they would feel if they saw someone burning (a) a Japanese flag, and (b) a New Zealand flag, giving them three choices: 'I would be very shocked and angry', 'I would be shocked but not angry', or 'I would not mind'. Figure 4.13 gives the results.

Figure 4.13 Attitudes towards the national flag for total respondents[192] (n=102)

A. I would be very shocked and angry.
B. I would be shocked but not angry.
C. I would not mind.

Japanese flag

No answer
11%
C
2%
A
48%
B
39%

NZ flag

No answer
10%
C
8%
A
35%
B
47%
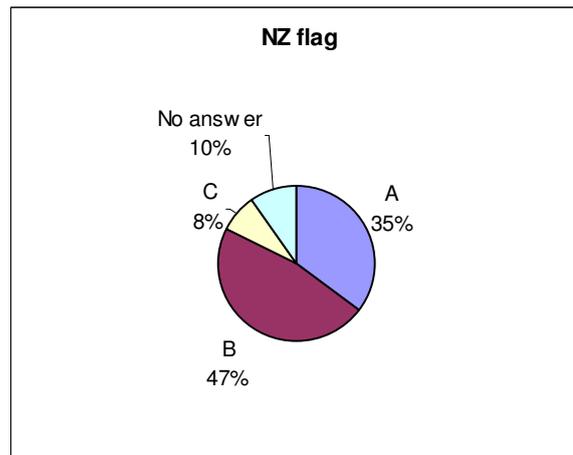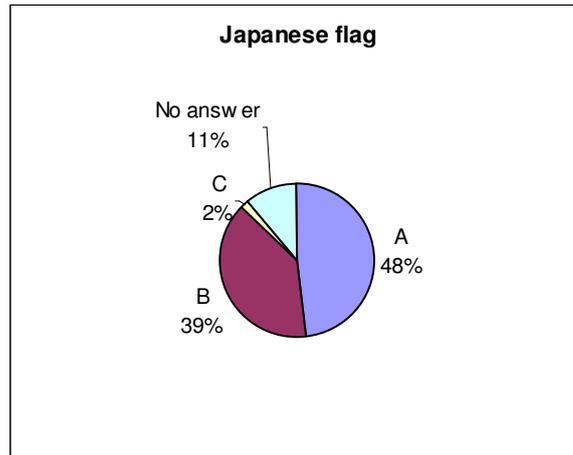
The figures show far more overlap than difference in the respondents' reactions to the burning of the two flags, with only 2 per cent of respondents saying they would not mind seeing the Japanese flag burned and only 8 percent saying they would not mind seeing the New Zealand flag burned. However, the figures also tend to show that the emotional

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[192] The question was what would best describe your reaction if you saw someone burning a Japanese flag/ a New Zealand flag.

response to the burning of the Japanese flag was a bit deeper, with nearly 50 percent saying that they would be 'very shocked and angry' compared with 35 percent who said that they would react in this way to the burning of the New Zealand flag.

I wondered whether being in a relationship with a New Zealander would affect reactions to the burning of a Japanese flag, so I distinguished the answers of respondents with partners who were native speakers of Japanese from those of respondents who were native speakers of English. Figure 4.14 gives the results.

Figure 4.14   Reaction to someone burning a Japanese flag, by respondent's partner's first language[193]

A. I would be very shocked and angry.
B. I would be shocked but not angry.
C. I would not mind.

Partner is native speaker of Japanese (n=51)

No answer 8%
C 6%
B 31%
A 55%

Partner is native speaker of English (n=34)

No answer 15%
A 44%
B 41%
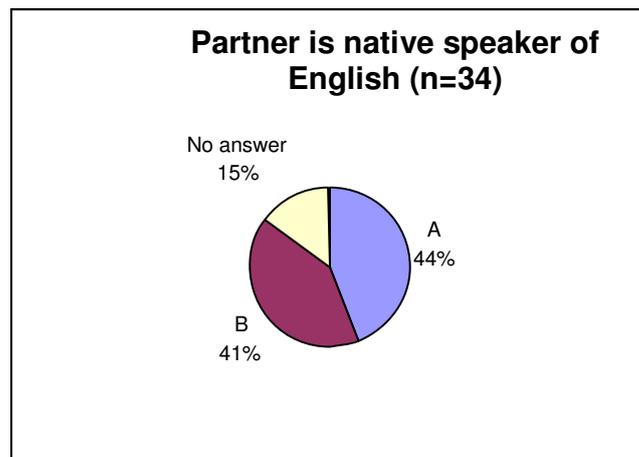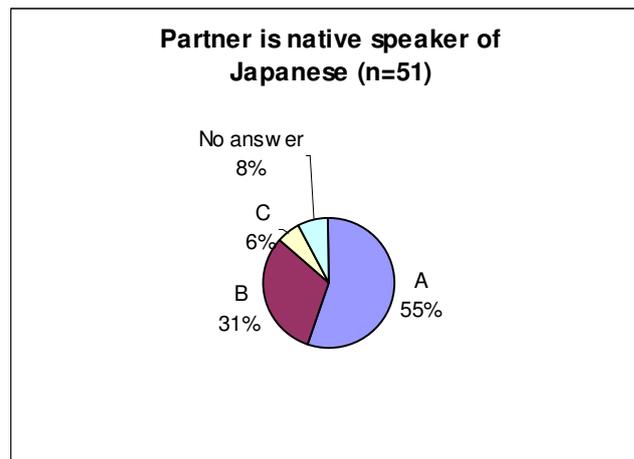
Slightly more of those with Japanese speaking partners said that they would be 'very shocked and angry', but we must set this against the fact that the only respondents who said that they 'would not mind' also had Japanese partners.   Overall, there was no

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[193] ibid.

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significant difference in the reactions of the two groups. This is not surprising, for we saw earlier that although those with New Zealand partners were integrated into the host society, this involved no loss of Japanese identity. Members of both groups remained Japanese citizens and thought of themselves as Japanese.

We saw earlier that respondents who had lived for many years in New Zealand were somewhat more likely to feel that they had become 'less Japanese' with the passing of the years. This raises the question of whether their years of absence had tended to reduce the sense of shock that Japanese naturally feel at the desecration of their flag. To answer this question, I analysed the responses by length of residence in New Zealand, as in Figure 4.15.

Figure 4.15   Reaction to someone burning a Japanese flag, by length of residence in   New Zealand[194]

A. I would be very shocked and angry.
B. I would be shocked but not angry.
C. I would not mind.

0~2 years (n=5)
B 20%
A 80%

3~5 years (n=11)
B 27%
A 73%

6~9 years (n=25)
No answer 12%
A 44%
B 44%

10~19 years (n=54)
No answer 11%
C 6%
A 44%
B 39%

Over 20 years (n=7)
No answer 14%
A 29%
B 57%

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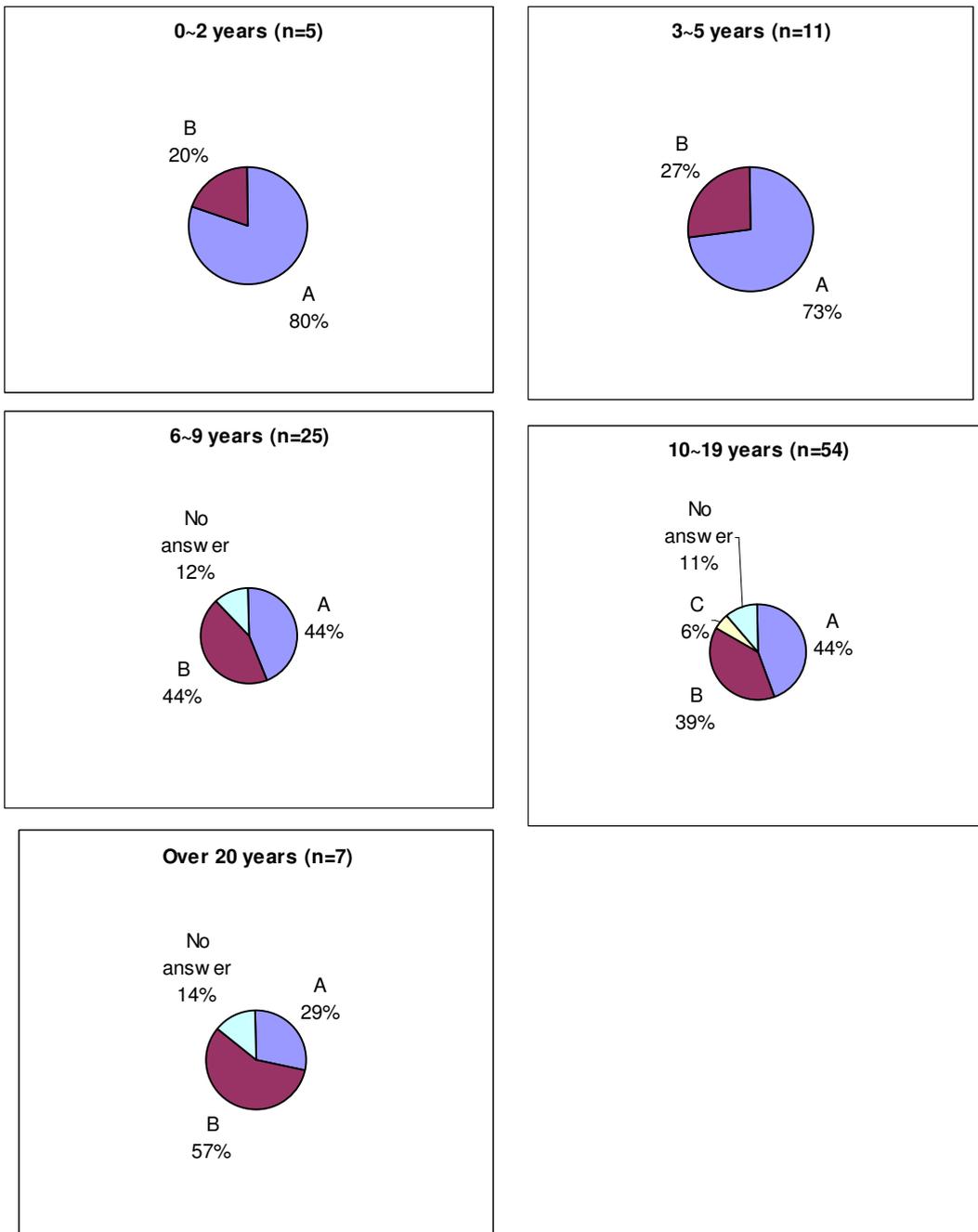
[194] ibid.

Overwhelmingly, those who had been in New Zealand for less than six years reported that they would feel 'very shocked and angry', but a majority of those who had been in New Zealand for six years or more said that they would feel only shock, not anger. Of those who had been here for over twenty years, only a third said that they would feel both shocked and angry. The implication is that Japanese residents' attachment to the flag as a symbol of the country of their birth tended to become a little looser as their years of residence in New Zealand increased.

International sporting events are expressions of international rivalry, and attitudes towards the competing teams can be an important indication of national loyalties. I therefore asked my respondents a series of questions designed to test the strength of their attachments to Japan and New Zealand. The answers to those questions are summarised in Figure 4.16 below.

Figure 4.16 Level of support for either Japanese or New Zealand teams (n=102)

New Zealand vs Australia

No answer
8%

Australia
1%

NZ
91%

Japan vs China

No answer
10%

Japan
90%

NZ vs Japan

No answer
21%

NZ
39%

Japan
40%

NZ vs Korea

No answer
13%

Korea
4%

NZ
83%

Canterbury vs Auckland

No answer
9%

Canterbury
91%

Canterbury vs Kobe

No answer
20%
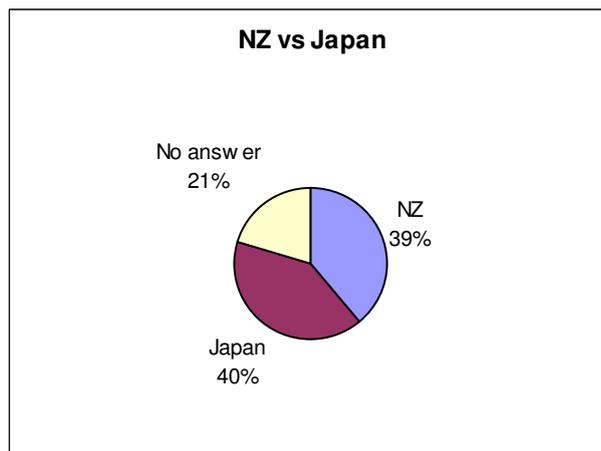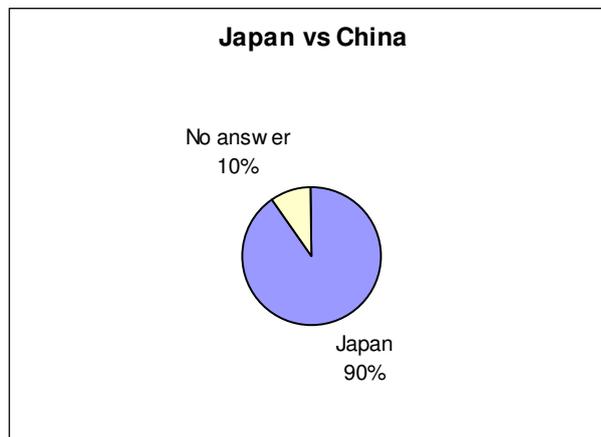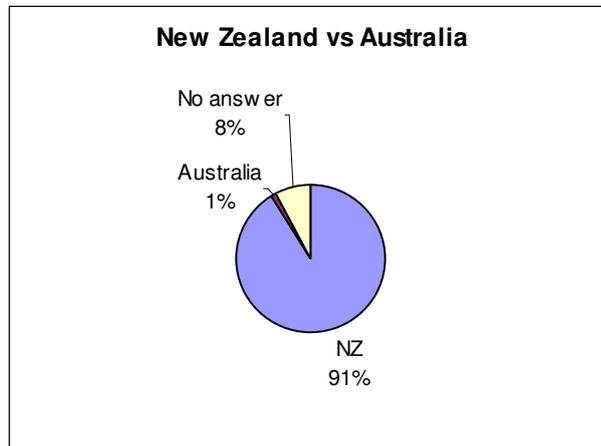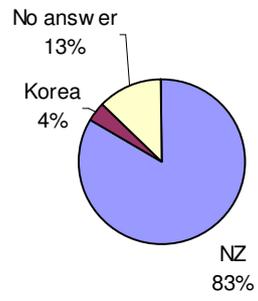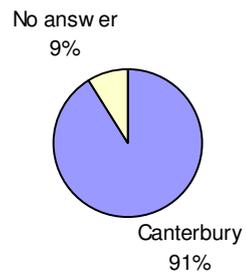
Kobe
24%

Canterbury
56%
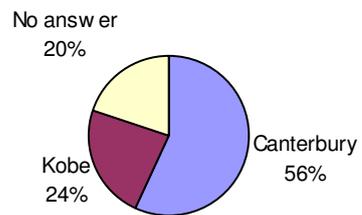
The figures show very strong identification with both Japan and New Zealand. All respondents said that if Japan played China they would support Japan, and almost all of them said that that would support New Zealand against Australia. Solidarity with other Asians, predictably, counted almost for nothing, with 83 per cent of respondents supporting New Zealand against Japan's near neighbour, Korea. Christchurch's Japanese, who use the red and black colours at the Japanese society's sports day, are one-eyed Cantabrians, too: every respondent wanted Canterbury rugby teams to beat Auckland. More surprising, perhaps, is the fact that their strong identification with Christchurch trumped loyalty to an equivalent city in Japan: 56 per cent said that if Canterbury played Kobe, one of Japan's most popular rugby teams, they hoped Canterbury would win. Finally, the crucial test: which team would they support if New Zealand played Japan? Our respondents were hopelessly divided with 40 per cent saying they would support Japan and 39 per cent saying they would support New Zealand. There was only a single vote in it.

Were these split loyalties simply the result of a solid vote for the New Zealand team by Japanese women who were under the influence of Kiwi male partners? Figure 4.17, which analyses the answers of respondents who had partners, shows that they were not. The figures show that whether the partner was Japanese or a New Zealander made no difference: 41 per cent of those whose partners were native speakers of Japanese chose New Zealand over Japan, as did 32 per cent of those whose partners were native speakers of English.

Did the split loyalties of the respondents, then, reflect a division between recent arrivals and those who had lived in New Zealand for many years? Figure 4.18 shows that

there was not a clear-cut division. It seems that allegiance to Japan in sports events is not significantly related to length of residence in New Zealand. Even those who had been in New Zealand for only a few years included many admirers of the All Blacks. Whether recent arrivals or long-term immigrants, many of them become emotionally involved in supporting the team representing the place where they live.

**Figure 4.17   Support for New Zealand vs. support for Japan, by respondent's
           partner's first language**

**Partner is native speaker of
Japanese (n=51)**

No answer
14%

NZ
41%

Japan
45%

**Partner is native speaker of
English (n=34)**

No answer
32%

NZ
32%
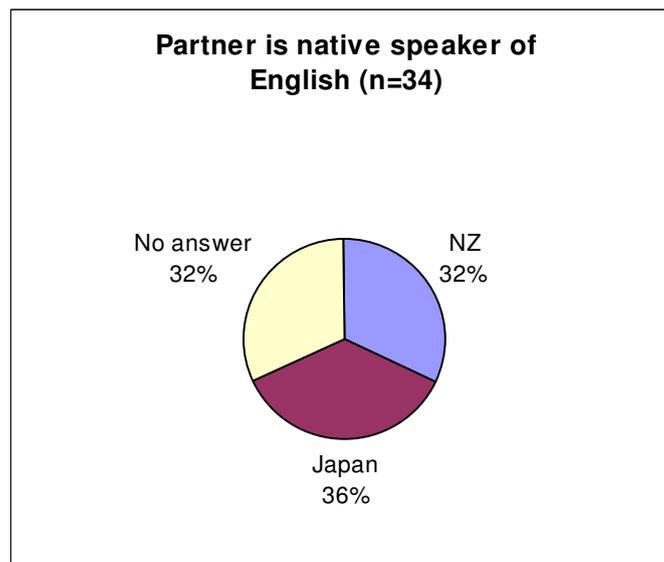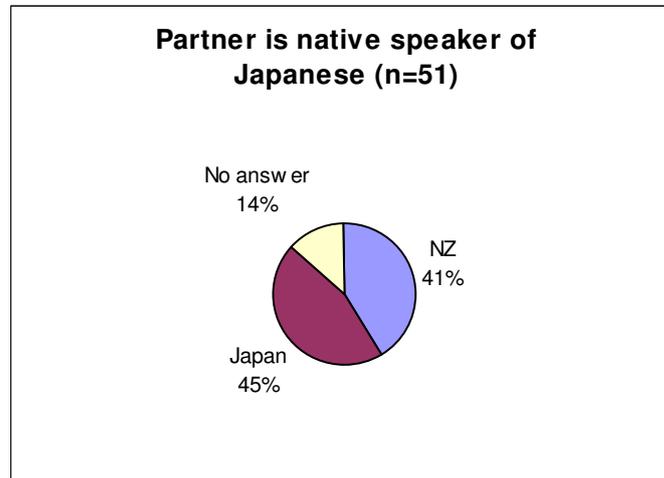
Japan
36%

Figure 4.18   Support for New Zealand vs. support for Japan, by length of residence

in New Zealand

0~5 years (n=16)

NZ
38%

Japan
62%

6~9 years (n=25)

No answer
12%

NZ
52%

Japan
36%

Over 10 years (n=61)

No answer
23%

NZ
41%
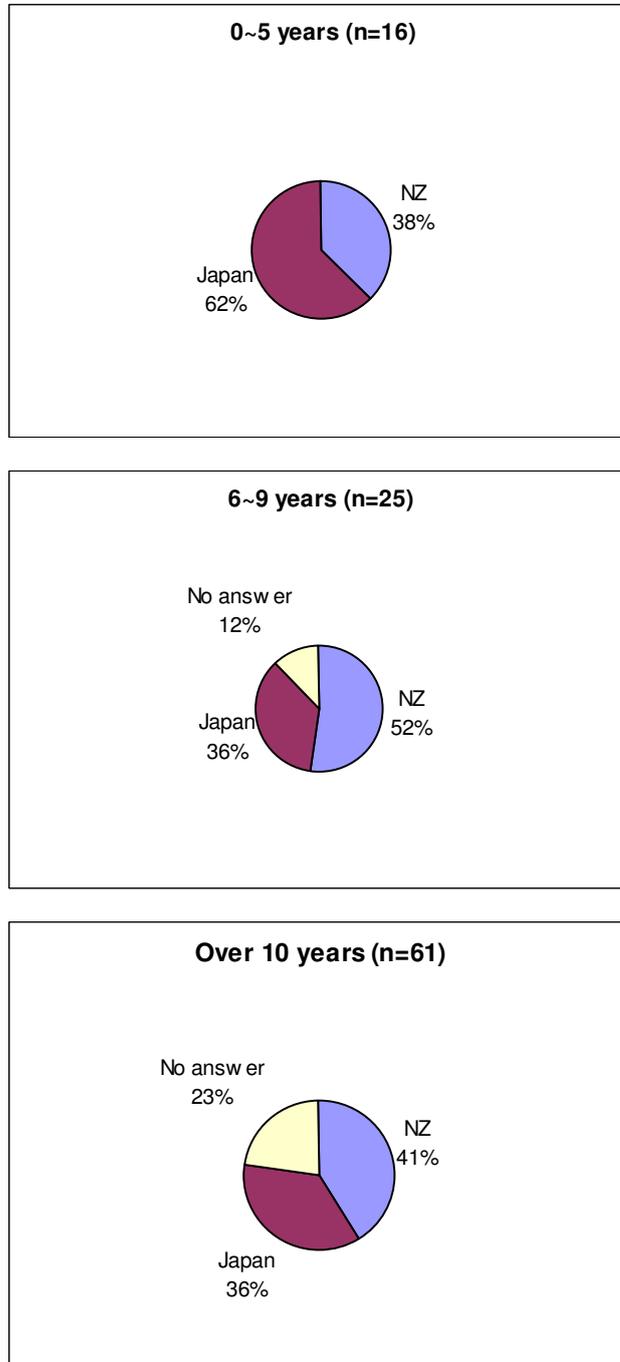
Japan
36%

Conclusion

It is difficult for Christchurch's Japanese population to maintain a full range of traditional ethnic practices when living in the southern hemisphere thousands of kilometres from Japan. Seasonal festivals are out of season, special foods are difficult or impossible to obtain, and some children show no enthusiasm for either Japan's language or its traditional culture. However, most members of the Japanese community are determined that their children will grow up speaking Japanese, understanding Japanese culture, and knowing how to behave in a Japanese way when required. They also have no doubts about their own identity: they still have Japanese passports, and they think of themselves as Japanese, not as Japanese-New Zealanders.

However, Christchurch's Japanese are not a community apart. Most of them speak English, they have a significant level of integration with the wider community, and the longer they live here the more they are affected by that community. When they visit Japan, most of them discover that they have changed, and family and friends sometimes criticize them for having lost some of their 'Japanese-ness'. They still identify as Japanese, but they know that they have become a different sort of Japanese.

Their values also testify to the fact that national identity is not the only form of identity, and that nationality is not the only source of loyalty. They might still be Japanese nationals and think of themselves at Japanese, but they also think of themselves as people who live in New Zealand and as people attached to their local community. Nearly all of them would be shocked and many would be angry if they saw the New Zealand flag being burned. In sport, they are one-eyed Cantabrians, and they support the All Blacks against (almost) all-comers. Only when New Zealand plays Japan are their

loyalties divided, and if we can judge by the responses to my survey the division is virtually an even one. They might not be Japanese-New Zealanders, but they are not *just* Japanese, either. They are also residents of New Zealand, they like the local lifestyle, and most are happy to be living there rather than in Japan. They might be Japanese nationals, but they feel a strong attachment to the country and the city where they live.

Conclusion

Christchurch is certainly not an Old immigrant community like those in Brazil and Argentina, where significant numbers of Japanese have lived for generations and over 90 per cent of Japanese nationals are permanent residents. However, this study has shown that it is certainly not a classic New immigrant community either. It has very few business expatriates, given temporary postings overseas by companies associated with the post-World War II globalisation of Japan Inc.; and it is not dominated numerically by other 'birds of passage' like students, working holiday makers, and holders of temporary work permits. Of the 1661 Japanese nationals in Christchurch in 2004, fully 55.7 per cent were permanent residents – a figure higher than that in the other New immigrant communities listed in the introduction.[195] In Auckland, for example, permanent residents constituted only 26.4 per cent of the population, in New York 21.3 per cent, in London 18.3 per cent, and in Singapore a mere 5.6 per cent.

The growth of Christchurch's Japanese community was not driven by business sojourners, but by the immigration of self-movers, most of whom seem to have settled in New Zealand because they wanted an alternative to the stresses, competitiveness, and sometimes the social values that they associated with life in Japan. In short, Christchurch has benefited from the sort of 'lifestyle immigrants' who have boosted the proportion of permanent residents amongst Japanese nationals in Australia to 46.8 per cent. It is these immigrants, who are in Christchurch because that is the place where they want to live, who have shaped the city's Japanese community. They were the ones who, without help

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[195] See Table 1.1 in Introduction.

from Japanese companies and business sojourners, founded the Japanese Society of Canterbury (the JSC); they were the ones who, through the JSC and community fund-raising, established the Japanese Supplementary School of Canterbury (the JSSC); they are the ones who ensure that the JSSC helps to maintain the Japanese language skills and cultural knowledge of their children, rather than catering for the children of sojourners destined to return to Japan; they are the ones who usually interact with both Japanese and New Zealanders in the workplace, who have no desire to live in Japanese enclaves, and who have extensive social contact with the local population. Indeed, if they are women, they are often married to New Zealand men.

Through the JSC and the JSSC, they project a dual identity as *Japanese nationals* and as *New Zealand residents* committed to the life of the community. This matches the way they think of themselves outside institutional contexts. They think of themselves as Japanese, not as Japanese-New Zealanders, they want their children to have a good knowledge of the Japanese language and Japanese culture, they enjoy Japanese news and entertainment, and they maintain contact with family and friends in Japan. At the same time, they identify strongly with the place where they live. They want Canterbury teams to beat Auckland and Kobe. They want the All Blacks to thrash Australia and Korea. And, when faced with the ultimate test of loyalty – a confrontation between the All Blacks and Japan – they are evenly and hopelessly divided. Their dual identity generates a dual loyalty, but this creates no problems because outside the sporting arena it is never put to the test. Their attachment to the land where they were born coexists happily with their attachment to the land where they want to live.

Appendix A

Questionnaire survey sample in English

<u>**Questionnaire**</u>

Note : <u>Please fill the following questions. If there are multiple choices, please circle an appropriate answer.</u>

<u>**Section 1**</u>

1. Age :   < 20 ,   20-29 ,   30-39 ,   40-49 ,   50-59   ,   > 60

2. Sex :   Male   /   Female

3. Were you born :   in Japan / in New Zealand / Other (   )

4. How long have you lived in New Zealand? :

   < 1 year ,   1-2 years   ,   2-5 years ,   6-9 years   ,   10-19 years ,   > 20 years

5. What is your spouse's main language? :   (   )

6. What is your occupation? :   (   )

7. How fluently do you speak English?   Please circle the appropriate number.

    Hardly speaks   communicative   Fluently
     1---------------------2-------------------3-------------------4------------------5

8.   (i) Why did you decide to emigrate from Japan?

_____

_____

_____

 (ii) Did you immigrate into New Zealand with your family? : Yes   /   No

(iii) What was your visa when you first came to New Zealand? :
   Working holiday   /   Work   / Permanent residency (Family category) /
   Permanent residency (Business category) /
   Permanent residency (General category) / Other (   )
(iv) How many time have you visited Japan since arriving in New Zealand?   (   )

9. Why did you choose New Zealand?

_____

_____

_____

<u>Section 2 : Information gathering and socialising</u>

10. How often do you catch up with news on Japan?

   A. Almost everyday
   B. 2~3times a week
   C. 2~3times a month
   D. 2~3times every 6 months
   E. Seldom or never

11. What is your main source of news on Japan?

   A. New Zealand media including TV, radio, newspaper and magazines.
   B. Japanese media in NZ (e.g. Gekkan NZ or Japanese language radio programme.)
   C. Japanese magazines or newspapers sent from Japan.
   D. WTV.
   E. Internet .
   F. Mouth of words from other Japanese people in New Zealand.
   G. Mouth of words from Japanese family and friends in Japan.

12. How often do you catch up with news on New Zealand?

   A. Almost everyday
   B. 2~3times a week
   C. 2~3times a month
   D. 2~3times every 6 months
   E. Seldom or never

13. What is your main source of news on New Zealand?

    A. New Zealand TV, Radio, newspapers and magazines.
    B. Internet.
    C. Mouth of words from non-Japanese in New Zealand.
    D. Mouth of words from Japanese in New Zealand.

14. What kind of people and how often do you mix with on social occasions? Please circle an appropriate number in each questions from (i) to (iii) .

    (i) With Japanese.

little or no interaction   a moderate amount   a great deal
    1------------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

    (ii) With European New Zealanders.

little or no interaction   a moderate amount   a great deal
    1------------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

    (iii) With non-Japanese Asian people.

little or no interaction   a moderate amount   a great deal
    1------------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

15. On what occasions do you most often socialise with (i) Japanese, (ii) European New Zealanders, and (iii) non-Japanese Asian people? Please write the appropriate answer from A to H. If you choose the answer H 'Other', please specify what occasions you often mix with.

    (i) Japanese   (   )
    (ii) European New Zealanders   (   )
    (iii) non- Japanese Asians   (   )

    A. With neighbours.
    B. At the Japanese society.
    C. At school related meeting.
    D. At religious groups.
    E. At business or work related meeting.
    F. At sporting or cultural clubs.
    G. Hardly ever mixed with those people.
    H. Other

16. To those who moved to New Zealand. (If your were born in New Zealand, please proceed to Section 3.)

(i) Please specify the information that you needed after arrival in New Zealand.

_____

_____

_____

(ii) What is your main source of gathering information on your settlement in New Zealand after arrival?

  A. Within Japanese community
  B. Within non-Japanese Asian communities
  C. Within New Zealand communities apart from a Japanese and Asian communities
  D. Other (   )

(iii) How often do you contact your family and friends in Japan?

  A. More than once a week
  B.2~3times a month
  C.2~3times every 6 months
  D.2~3times a year
  E. Hardly ever

Section 3 : At work

  Note : **If you do not work, or never had a work experience in New Zealand, please go on to Section 4.**

17. What kind of people and how often do (did) you mix with at work? Please circle the appropriate number in each question from (i) to (iii).

  (i) With Japanese.

little or no interaction   a moderate amount   a great deal
    1------------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

  (ii) With European New Zealanders.

little or no interaction   a moderate amount   a great deal
    1------------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

(iii) With non-Japanese Asians.

little or no interaction   a moderate amount   a great deal
  1------------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

18 . At work, do you think it is important to maintain Japanese manners, values, customs and ways of thinking in the following situation? Please circle as many answers as you think it is important.

 A. It is always important.
 B. It is occasionally important.
 C. It is not important very much.
 D. I have hardly ever thought about that.

(i) Please circle an appropriate number, close to the reason you think so.

A. Because I am required to maintain Japanese manners, values, customs and ways of thinking because I have a lot of chances to meet Japanese customers.

B. Because it is useful to maintain these Japanese business manners in the work environment in which my bosses and co-workers are Japanese.

C. I do not need those Japanese business manners because I work with non-Japanese.

D. Since I work in New Zealand, I think New Zealand business manner and ways of thinking are more important than those of Japan.

Section 4 : Tradition, customs, and Identification

19. Do you celebrate New Year and New Year's Eve in the Japanese style?
              Yes / No
20. Do you celebrate Christmas?   Yes / No
21. Do you celebrate Easter?   Yes / No
22. If you have children, do you celebrate Girl's Day or Children's Day?
      Yes / No / Not applicable

23. Do you think it is important to maintain Japanese tradition and customs for the next generation of Japanese descents?

  A. Very important.
  B. Important.
  C. Not so important.
  D. Not at all important.

（ⅰ）Please explain why you think so.

_____

_____

_____

（ⅱ）If you choose either answer A or B, please specify Japanese tradition and customs
that you would like to have the next generation of Japanese descents maintain.

_____

_____

_____

24. If you have children, do you have some views on their marriage?

 A. I will prefer their marriage with Japanese.
 B. I will prefer their marriage with a non-Japanese.
 C. I do not have a particular opinion on their marriage because it is up to them.

（ⅰ）If you choose the answer A and answer B, please explain why you think so.

_____

_____

_____

25. Do you have a New Zealand citizenship?   Yes /   No

(I) If you are not a New Zealand citizen, do you intend to apply for New Zealand
    citizenship in the future?
    A. Yes, I will.
    B. Probably, I will not.
    C. Not decided yet.

(II) If you chose (B), please specify the reason.

_____

_____

26. In New Zealand, do you usually identify yourself as :

   A. Japanese
   B. Asian
   C. A Japanese- New Zealander
   D. An Asian-New Zealander

27. When you visit Japan, do you feel that your values have in any way become 'less Japanese' than they used to be?

                    Yes / No

  (i) If "yes', please explain how and when.

_____

_____

_____

28. What would best describe your reaction if you saw someone burning a Japanese flag?

   A. I would be very shocked and angry.
   B. I would be shocked but not angry.
   C. I would not mind.

29. What would best describe your reaction if you saw someone burning a New Zealand flag?

   A. I would be very shocked and angry.
   B. I would be shocked but not angry.
   C. I would not mind.

30. Here is a list of some sporting events. Which side would you rather win each of these games? Please circle the team, which you would like to win each game.

   A. Rugby game: New Zealand vs. Australia
   B. Baseball game :Japan   vs. China
   C. Rugby game :   New Zealand vs. Japan
   D. Football game : New Zealand   vs.   Korea
   E Rugby game : Canterbury Crusaders vs.   Auckland Blues
   F. Rugby game :   Canterbury Crusaders vs. Kobe Seiko

Thank you very much for taking time from your busy schedule and answering my questionnaire. Individual information will be secured in my study.
Please feel free to write any comments on the contents of questionnaire, your experience of migration into New Zealand, Japanese community in New Zealand, identity of Japanese, identity of a new resident of New Zealand and so on.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix B

Questionnaire survey sample in Japanese

アンケート質問票

<u>パート1からパート5まであります。それぞれの質問にお答えください。複数の回答を用意している場合は、それぞれ一番近いと思われる答えを選んでください。</u>

<u>パート1</u>

1. 年齢 ： 20歳以下 、 20-29歳 、 30-39歳 、 40-49歳 、 50-59歳 、 60歳以上

2. 性別 ： 男性 、 女性

3. 出生国 ： 日本 、ニュージーランド 、その他 （　　　　　　　　）

4. ニュージーランドでの通算滞在期間 ：
   　　一年未満 、 1〜2年 、 2〜5年 、 6〜9年 、 10〜19年 、20年以上

5. 配偶者またはパートナーの第一言語は何ですか ：
   （　　　　　　　　　　　　）

6. 職業と職種 ：（ 職業 ：　　　　　　　　　、職種　　　　　　　　　　　　）

7. 英会話のレベルはどのくらいですか。最も近いと思われる数字を丸で囲んでください。 ：

```
ほとんど
話せない                    日常会話程度                    流暢
 1--------------------2-------------------3-------------------4------------------5
```

8.日本でお生まれの方に質問です。

 (i) 日本国外移住を決めた理由は何ですか。

 (ii) ニュージーランドには、家族で移住しましたか。 ： はい ： いいえ

 (iii) ニュージーランドに最初に入国したときのビザ(査証)の種類は何でしたか。:
    ワーキングホリデービザ 、 ワークビザ 、 パーマネントレジデンシー(家族) 、
    パーマネントレジデンシー(ビジネス)、パーマネントレジデンシー(一般)、
    その他(   )

 (iv) ニュージーランドに移住後、今までに何回くらい日本へ帰国しましたか。:
        (   )

9.ニュージーランド以外でお生まれになった方に質問です。ニュージーランドを移住先
  に選んだ理由は何ですか。

_____

_____

_____

パート2 ： 情報収集・コミュニケーション

10. 日本についてのニュースや情報をどのくらい頻繁に手に入れますか。
    ア. ほぼ毎日
    イ. 週に2～3回くらい
    ウ. 1ヶ月に2～3回くらい
    エ. 半年に2～3回くらい
    オ. めったにしない。

11. 日本のニュースや情報を主にどこから手に入れますか。最も多く利用するものを
　　丸で囲んでください。

　　ア．ニュージーランドのメディア（テレビ、ラジオ、新聞、雑誌など）
　　イ．ニュージーランド国内の日本語のメディア（月刊ニュージー、日本語ラジオ放送
　　　　など）
　　ウ．日本から送られてくる新聞、雑誌、テレビ番組の録画テープなど。
　　エ．WTV（海外向け日本語テレビ放送）
　　オ．インターネット
　　カ．ニュージーランド在住の日本人からの口コミ
　　キ．日本に住む家族や友人からの口コミ

12. ニュージーランドのニュースや情報をどのくらい頻繁に手に入れますか。
　　ア．ほぼ毎日
　　イ．週に2～3回くらい
　　ウ．1ヶ月に2～3回くらい
　　エ．半年に2～3回くらい
　　オ．めったにしない。

13. ニュージーランドのニュースや情報を主にどこから手に入れますか。最も多く利用
　　するものを丸で囲んでください。
　　ア．ニュージーランドのテレビ、新聞、ラジオ
　　イ．インターネット
　　ウ．ニュージーランド在住の日本人以外の人からの口コミ
　　エ．ニュージーランド在住の日本人からの口コミ

14. 社交・交友関係で、どのような人とどのくらい頻繁にお付き合いをすることが多い
　　ですか。(i)から(iii)まで、最も適する数字をそれぞれ 丸で囲んでください。

　　（ⅰ）社交・友関係で、日本人(日系ニュージーランド人も含む)と付き合う割合：

ほとんど　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　たまに　　　　　　　　　　　　いつも
付き合いがない　　　　　　　　　　　　付き合っている　　　　　　　　付き合っている
　1-----------------------2-----------------3------------------4------------------5

　　(ii)社交・交友関係で、ヨーロッパ系ニュージーランド人(ヨーロッパ系新移住者も
　　　　含む)と付き合う割合：

ほとんど　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　たまに　　　　　　　　　　　　いつも
付き合いがない　　　　　　　　　　　　付き合っている　　　　　　　　付き合っている
　1-----------------------2-----------------3------------------4------------------5

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(iii)　社交・交友関係で、アジア系ニュージーランド人（アジア系新移住者も含む）と付き合う割合：

ほとんど 付き合いがない		たまに 付き合っている		いつも 付き合っている

1------------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

15.　交友関係で、日本人、ヨーロッパ系ニュージーランド人、アジア系ニュージーランド人（アジア系新移住者も含む）とそれぞれお付き合いをするときは、どんな場合が多いですか。アからキまで最も適する記号をAからCのそれぞれカッコ内に記入してください。また、回答が「ク：その他」の場合は、具体的例を記入してください。

　A. 日本人と付き合うとき
（　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　）
　B. ヨーロッパ系ニュージーランド人と付き合うとき
（　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　）
　C. アジア系ニュージーランド人と付き合うとき
（　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　）

　　ア. 隣近所
　　イ. 日本人会関係の集まりで
　　ウ. お子さんの学校関係の集まりで
　　エ. 宗教関係の集まりで
　　オ. ビジネス・仕事関係の集まりで
　　カ. スポーツや文化クラブなどの集まりで
　　キ. ほとんど付き合いがない。
　　ク. その他(具体的な例を記入してください)

16.ニュージーランドに移住している方への質問です。(ニュージーランドでお生まれの方は、次のパート3へお進みください。）

　(i)　ニュージーランドに到着後、生活に関する情報で必要としていたものは、どのようなことが多かったですか。：

_____

_____

_____

(ii) 生活に関する情報は、主にどこ（あるいは誰）に頼ることが多かったですか。：

    ア．主に、日本人コミュニティーの中で情報を集めた。
    イ．主に、日本人以外のアジア系コミュニティーの中で情報を集めた。
    ウ．主に、アジア系以外のニュージーランドコミュニティーの中で情報を集めた。
    エ．その他　（　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　）

(iii) 日本の家族・友人とはどのくらいの割合で連絡を取っていますか。
    ア．週に1回以上
    イ．1ヶ月に2〜3回
    ウ．半年に2〜3回
    エ．1年に2〜3回
    オ．ほとんど連絡しない

パート3　：　仕事関係でのコミュニケーション

注意：ニュージーランドで現在働いている方と、過去に働いたことのある方のみお答えください。就職経験をお持ちでない方は、次のパート4にお進みください。

17. 仕事上では、どのような人たちとどのくらい頻繁にお付き合いをする（した）ことが
   多いですか。最も適する番号を丸で囲んでください。

（ⅰ）仕事上、日本人・日系ニュージーランド人(同僚・上司・顧客・取引先などを含む)と
   付き合う頻度

ほとんど	たまに	いつも
付き合いがない	付き合っている	付き合っている

  1-----------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

（ⅱ）仕事上、ヨーロッパ系ニュージーランド人 (同僚・上司・顧客・取引先などを含
   む)と付き合う頻度

ほとんど	たまに	いつも
付き合いがない	付き合っている	付き合っている

  1-----------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5

（ⅲ）仕事上、アジア系ニュージーランド人・アジア系新住民(同僚・上司・顧客・取引
　　　先などを含む)と付き合う頻度

```
ほとんど                      たまに                       いつも
付き合いがない                付き合っている               付き合っている
 1------------------------2------------------3------------------4------------------5
```

18. 仕事場では、日本人としてのマナー、価値観、習慣、考え方などを持ち続けること
　　が必要だと思いますか。

　　　　ア．　常に必要である
　　　　イ．　時と場合によっては必要である
　　　　ウ．　それほど必要ではない
　　　　エ．　そんなことは、考えたこともない

　（ⅰ）前項目の答えの理由で、最も近いものはどれですか。(この質問のみ複数回答
　　　可能。）
ア．日本人顧客と接する機会が多いので、日本的なサービス・接客が求められるから。
イ．職場には日本人の上司・同僚が多いので、日本的なビジネスマナーが役に立つか
　　ら。
ウ．日本人以外の人と付き合うことが多いので、日本的なビジネスマナーはあまり必要
　　でないから。
エ．ニュージーランドで働いているので、ニュージーランド的なマナー・価値観・考え方・
　　習慣の方が必要だと思うから。

パート4　：　伝統・習慣・アイデンティティー

19. 正月を日本風に過ごしてお祝いしますか。：　することが多い　、しないことが多い

20. クリスマスはニュージーランド風に過ごしてお祝いしますか。：
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　することが多い　、　しないことが多い

21. イースターはニュージーランド風に過ごしてお祝いしますか。：
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　することが多い　　、　しないことが多い

22. お子さんがいらっしゃる方は、ひな祭りや子供の日をお祝いしますか。：
　　　　　　　　　することが多い　　　　、　しないことが多い　　　、　子供はいない

23. <u>お子さんがいらっしゃる方も、いらっしゃらない方もお答えください。</u>ニュージーランドに住む日本人の血を引く2世、3世、4世など次の世代の人たちに、日本の伝統や習慣を伝えることは重要だと思いますか。

    ア．とても重要だ
    イ．重要だ
    ウ．それほど重要ではない
    エ．まったく重要ではない

（ⅰ）その回答の理由をお聞かせください。

_____

_____

_____

(ⅱ)ア「とても重要だ」イ「時と場合により重要だ」のそれぞれを選んだ方に質問します。日本人の血を引く次の世代の人たちに伝えたいあるいは学んでもらいたい日本の伝統や習慣を具体的に挙げてください。

_____

_____

_____

24. お子さんがいらっしゃる方は、将来、お子さんが結婚するときに特別な意見はありますか。：
    ア．　できれば、日本人と結婚してもらいたい。
    イ．　できれば、日本人ではない人と結婚してもらいたい。
    ウ．　子供の自由なので、意見はしないつもり。
    エ．　子供はいない。

(I)ア「できれば日本人と結婚してもらいたい」とイ「できれば、日本人ではない人と結婚してもらいたい」のそれぞれに回答した方は、その理由を教えてください。

_____

_____

_____

25. ニュージーランド国籍をお持ちですか。 ： 持っている 、 持っていない

(i) ニュージーランド国籍をお持ちでない方は、将来、ニュージーランド国籍を取得するつもりですか ：
    ア. 将来取得するつもり
    イ. おそらく、取得しないだろう
    ウ. 未定

(ii) 前問（ⅰ)で、イ「おそらく取得しないだろう」を選んだ方は、その理由をお聞かせください。

_____

_____

_____

26. ニュージーランドで生活している際、ご自分のアイデンティティーを表現するものに近いものは何ですか。
    ア. 日本人
    イ. アジア人
    ウ. 日系ニュージーランド人
    エ. アジア系ニュージーランド人

27. 日本に帰国した際、ご自分のことを「日本人離れしてきたかなあ」あるいは「日本人っぽくないなあ」と思ったことはありますか。：

    思ったことがある 、 思ったことはない

（i）「思ったことがある」と答えた方は、具体的に、どのように、また、どんな場合にそう思いましたか。

_____

_____

_____

28. もし日本の国旗が故意に燃やされているのを見たら、どのように感じると思いますか。
　　ア．とてもショック。多分、怒りを感じるだろう。
　　イ．ショックは受けるが、多分、怒らないだろう。
　　ウ．別に気にしない。

29. もしニュージーランドの国旗が故意に燃やされているのを見たら、どのように感じると思いますか。
　　ア．とてもショック。多分、怒りを感じるだろう。
　　イ．ショックは受けるが、多分、怒らないだろう。
　　ウ．別に気にしない。

30. 次に挙げるAからFまでのスポーツの試合があったとしたら、それぞれどちらのチームを応援することが多いと思いますか。AからFまで、応援すると思われるチームをそれぞれ丸で囲んでください。

　A．　ラグビーの試合　：　　　ニュージーランド　　　　　対　　　　オーストラリア
　B．　野球の試合　：　　　　　　日本　　　　　　対　　　中国
　C．　ラグビーの試合　：　　　ニュージーランド　　　　　対　　　　日本
　D．　サッカーの試合　：　　　ニュージーランド　　　対　　　韓国
　E．　ラグビーの試合　：　カンタベリー・クルセイダーズ　対　　オークランド・ブルース
　F．　ラグビーの試合　：　　カンタベリー・クルセイダーズ　対　　　神戸製鋼

アンケートの質問は以上で終わりです。お忙しい中、長時間にわたりアンケートにご協力いただきまして、誠にありがとうございました。アンケート結果は、個人の情報として漏洩することはまったくありません。

今回のアンケートの内容、ニュージーランド移住生活、ニュージーランドの日本人コミュニティー、日本人としてのアイデンティティー、ニュージーランド住民としてのアイデンティティーなど、何かご意見がありましたらご自由にお書きください。

_____

_____

_____

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_____

Appendix C

Basic information of respondents for questionnaire survey

**Figure 5.1 Proportion of male and female respondents (n=102)**
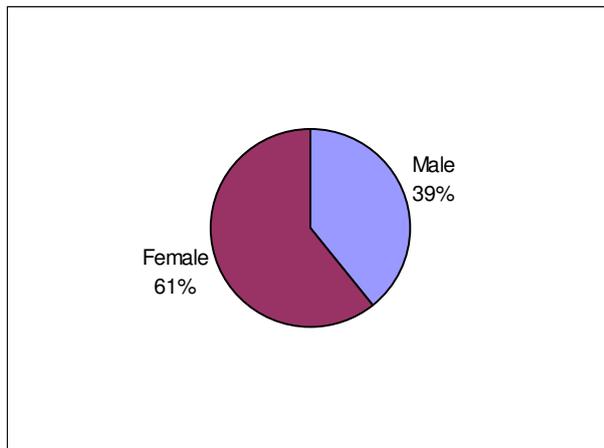
**Figure 5.2 Age distributions of respondents (n=102)**
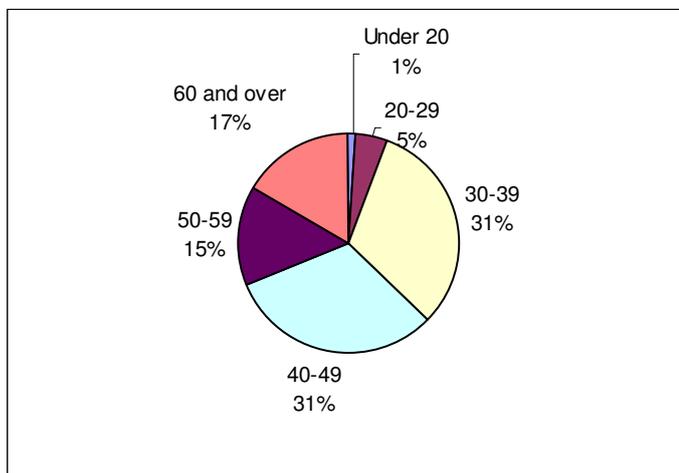
Figure 5.3 Length of residence in New Zealand for the total respondents* (n=102)

* Category:
A: Less than 2 years
B: More than 2 and less than 6 years
C: More than 6 and less than 10 years
D: More than 10 and less than 20 years
E: More than 20 years
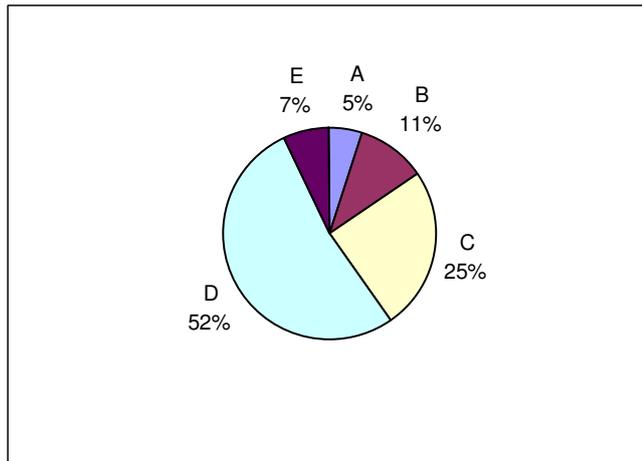
Figure 5.4 First language for respondent's partners

   (a) Total respondents who had partners (n=85)

(b) By gender

Male (n=35)

English
speaking
partner
11%

Japanese
speaking
partner
89%

Female (n=50)

Other
2%

Japanese
speaking
partner
40%

English
speaking
partner
58%
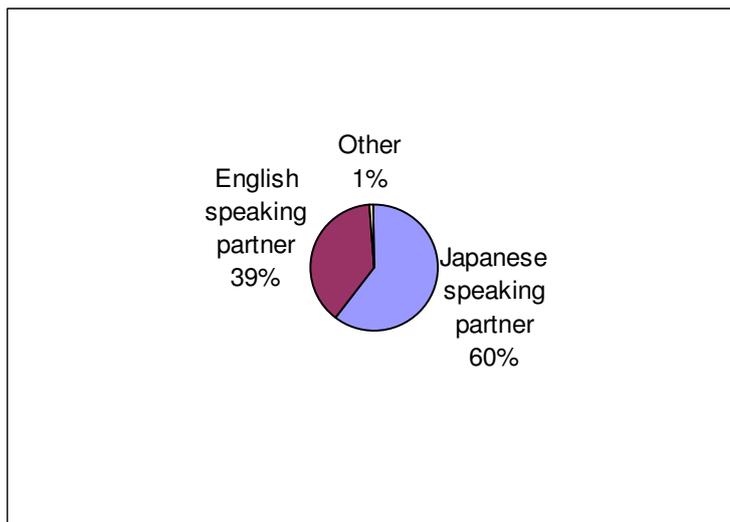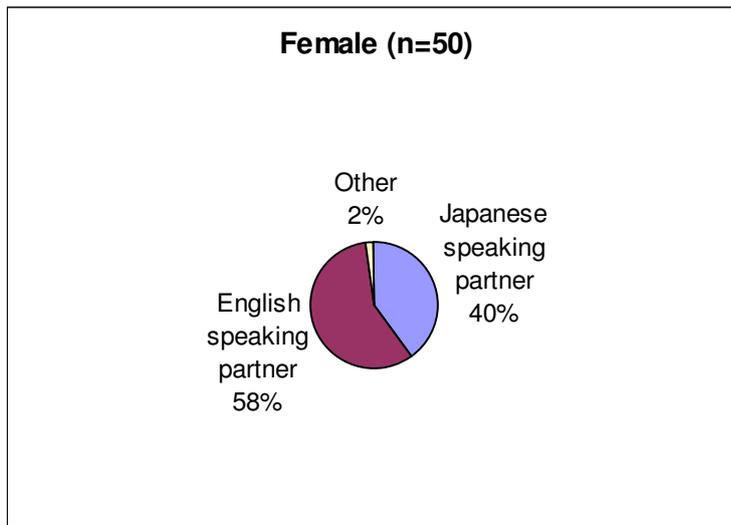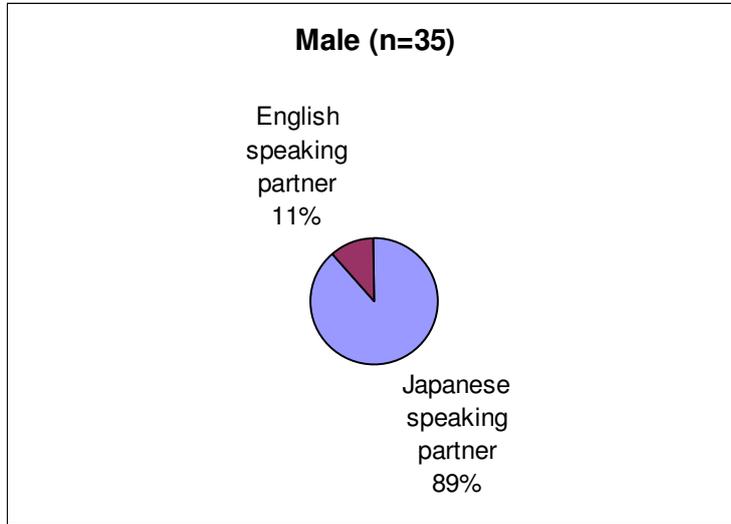
Table 5.1 Attitudes towards seasonal evens of Japan and New Zealand by length of residence in New Zealand

(I) New Year (n=102)

	% of number of respondents	
	Celebrate	Not celebrate
1-2 years	40.0	60.0
2-5 years	54.5	45.5
6-9 years	32.0	68.0
10-19 years	43.0	57.0
Over 20 years	29.0	71.0

II) Christmas (n=102)

	% of number of respondents	
	Celebrate	Not celebrate
1-2 years	60.0	40.0
2-5 years	73.0	27.0
6-9 years	60.0	40.0
10-19 years	80.0	20.0
Over 20 years	57.0	43.0

III) Easter (n=102)

	Number of respondents (%)	
	Celebrate	Not celebrate
1-2 years	40.0	60.0
2-5 years	18.0	82.0
6-9 years	24.0	76.0
10-19 years	35.0	65.0
Over 20 years	29.0	71.0

IV) Girl's / Boy's Day (n=55)

	% of number of respondents	
	Celebrate	Not cerebrate
1-2 years	0	0
2-5 years	57.0	43.0
6-9 years	33.0	67.0
10-19 years	51.5	48.5
Over 20 years	67.0	33.0

Table 5.2 Level of social activity with different ethnic groups by length of Residence* (n=102)

*Note on categories:
- Group 1 (G1): little or no interaction with Japanese/ European New Zealanders/ non-Japanese Asians.
- Group 2 (G2): slightly more interaction with Japanese/ European New Zealanders/ non-Japanese Asians
- Group 3 (G3): a moderate amount of interaction with Japanese/ European New Zealander/ non-Japanese Asian people.
- Group 4 (G4): quite a lot of interaction with Japanese/ European New Zealander/ non-Japanese Asian people.
- Group 5 (G5): a great deal of interaction with Japanese/ European New Zealander/ non-Japanese Asian people.

(a) With Japanese

	% of number of respondents				
	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5
1~2 years	57.0	0	43.0	0	0
3-5 years	0	18.0	9.0	27.0	46.0
6-9 years	15.0	12.0	23.0	15.0	35.0
10-19 years	6.0	9.5	28.0	30.0	26.5
Over 20 years	0	17.0	50.0	0	33.0

(b) With European New Zealanders

% of number of respondents

	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5
1~2 years	0	0	43.0	0	57.0
3~5 years	18.0	27.0	27.0	18.0	10.0
6~9 years	8.0	11.5	27.0	34.5	19.0
10 ~19 years	4.0	13.0	38.0	15.0	30.0
Over 20 years	0	0	50.0	33.0	17.0

(c) With non-Japanese Asians

% of number of respondents

	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5
1~2 years	57.0	0	43.0	0	0
2~5 years	46.0	18.0	18.0	9.0	9.0
6~9 years	42.0	23.0	27.0	4.0	4.0
10~19 years	32.0	40.0	17.0	2.0	9.0
Over 20 years	16.5	16.5	50.5	16.5	0

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