惠靈頓華僑青年

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華僑青年與華僑社團在

社交上及文化上底適應的研究

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C H I N E S E Y O U T H I N

W E L L I N G T O N

A study in Social and Cultural
Adjustment of Chinese Youth
and the Chinese Community -
1970 - 1972

by

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Pearl Buck's little daughter informed her that a lady wished to see her.

"Is it a Chinese or an American?", Pearl Buck asked.

"I don't know," replied the child, "I didn't ask her."

Quoted from S.W. Kung "Chinese in American Life"
p. 166 (1962)

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDIED GROUP

Wellington Chinese Youth (16-29) tend to be a homogenous group who prefer to mix together and identify themselves as both Chinese by ethnic origin and as New Zealand citizens. They have not experienced prejudice and discrimination to any significant extent. Chinese youth have easily adjusted to living in New Zealand, synthesised some Chinese cultural patterns with those of the host society, and in the process experienced little serious identity conflicts.

(A more detailed description of the characteristics is presented in Appendices 4C)

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Photo 1 INDOOR BASKETBALL

Homogeneity of the Chinese youth, male and female, is maintained outside family activities by sport, particularly indoor basketball. Thus sport is the easiest way for Chinese youth to gain status, acceptability and prestige within the youth group.

This picture shows the beginning of an indoor basketball game between a local team and the visiting men's Fiji touring team in October 1969, which also played in Auckland against Chinese teams. The majority of the seated onlookers are Chinese youth. The referee is European.

Photo taken by Brian Young.

PREFACE

The theme of this dissertation is that Wellington Chinese youth^a between the ages of 16-29 have rapidly moved away from traditional New Zealand Chinese ways of thinking and adopted many of the host society attitudes and patterns of behaviour, and yet, Chinese youth tend to be a homogenous group. After over 120 years of settlement in New Zealand this is surprising, and as a result the shape and content of the research has changed considerably from its inception. At first the writer believed that the Chinese youth were being assimilated very rapidly into the New Zealand society^b and the purpose of the study would be to document this movement by statistical, sociological, and anthropological methods. During the interviewing of Chinese youths it became increasingly evident that total assimilation was not progressing rapidly, and that there was a noticeable social reaction to the process by Chinese youth. This was confirmed by the results of the social survey. The problem of this thesis is to account for this social resistance to the process of assimilation. Basically, there are two major reasons:

1. The resilient and adaptive nature of the Chinese institutions including family and social organisations in Wellington and the rest of New Zealand with the Chinese family as the most powerful unifying factor.
2. The attitudes of the predominantly white Anglo-Saxon protestant (WASP)^c

a. The term "Chinese" refers to a person of Chinese ethnic origin who may or may not have been born in China, and includes people of mixed-Chinese race. "Chinese youth" are, for the purpose of this study, defined as those who were between the ages of 16-29 as at May 1970 who were either born in New Zealand or who emigrated to New Zealand under the age of nine.

b. This is the assumption held by 34. Ng Bickleen Fong (1959), "Chinese in New Zealand".

c. In New Zealand the W.A.S.P. is not technically a Native, but like the Chinese, an immigrant. This fact is overlooked in the administration of the immigration laws.

New Zealand society to Chinese people have been notable for hostility, antipathy prior to the 1930's and since then to race avoidance and tolerance. The former antipathy was reflected most spectacularly in the successive racist immigration legislation directed against Chinese and other Asians from 1881, and since 1921, when all references to ethnic origin were omitted, to colour discriminatory administration of the Immigration Acts.

As a result of these two basic factors the total number of Chinese living in New Zealand in 1966 was only 10,283 compared to a total European population of about 2.4 million (2,426,352) and only 59% (6065) Chinese in New Zealand were born in New Zealand whereas 85% (2,279,994) of New Zealand's total population were New Zealand born, despite the 120 years or so of history in New Zealand of both groups.

This dissertation analyses both of the factors of the Chinese family, and host society with the emphasis on the social and cultural adjustment of the Chinese youth in Wellington with the sincere trust that harmonious race relations enjoyed today in 1973 may continue and that this study will promote better understanding between Chinese and the host society. On the one hand, Chinese can better understand the historical forces which have profoundly affected their adjustment, and the nature of the attitudes held today by most New Zealanders to Chinese people (and other coloured New Zealand citizens). On the other hand, it is also hoped that non-Chinese may better appreciate the nature of the Chinese people, the pervasive Confucian ethical code which governs their behaviour, the character of the Chinese community, and the problems the Chinese people especially youth, experience as they seek to adapt to the New Zealand society.

The reader may ask why a dissertation on Chinese youth does not concentrate

solely on youth. The answer is simply that because of the dominating influence of the Chinese family and community on the lives of the majority of Chinese youths in Wellington, the analysis cannot be successfully conducted unless these factors are stressed and the youth put in the context of the Chinese milieu.

Current trends in social research inundate the reader with highly sophisticated statistical data. The writer has not followed this trend entirely, primarily because he does not believe that human attitudes and actions can be categorised accurately solely on the basis of a few questions presented in a brief period. Cherished attitudes and patterns of behaviour adhered to today may and often do change tomorrow because of different circumstances and needs which affect the individual. At best a statistical analysis on human attitudes and behavioural patterns can only be as reliable as the informants and given the complexities and frailties of the human being, such statistical research must be viewed cautiously. Such problems have been minimised by supplementing the inferential statistics with anthropological research techniques. Furthermore, because the writer is a second-generation Chinese-New Zealander who has grown-up in the Wellington Chinese community and experienced the agonising process of establishing an identity^a, this dissertation is a view of the "inside-looking-out". The world is seen from the eyes of Chinese youth and synthesised by a Chinese youth.

This study makes no claim to be definitive as its terms of reference are the socio-cultural aspects of adjustment, although the economic and political aspects are mentioned briefly in the introduction, nor does it represent the views of all Chinese youth in Wellington even though painstaking efforts were made to compile

a. The writer's experiences are outlined in the Appendix 4A

a list of names and addresses of all Chinese youth between the ages of 16 - 29. Just under 80% of an estimated 530 youths and young Chinese were contacted. What is presented are representative views of Chinese youth who tended to associate themselves with the Chinese community. Interpretations placed upon the statistical data are subject to the inevitable problems of bias all researchers experience. Notwithstanding all these points, the writer believes the interpretation to be an accurate assessment of the social adjustment of Chinese youth in Wellington.

The reader may also ask: how relevant are the findings on the Chinese youth in Wellington to the Chinese youth in other urban centres and rural areas? It is not so easy to answer this question. Of the 10,283 Chinese in New Zealand in 1966, just over 85% (8,638) lived in urban areas^a while 15% (1,487) lived in rural areas. Of the urban Chinese, the largest communities were in Auckland (2,836 people, 37.6%) and Wellington-Hutt urban areas (2,305 people, 30.5%), while the other largest concentrations were in Dunedin, Christchurch and Napier.^b Thus just under 70% of the Chinese in New Zealand were found in either Auckland or the Wellington area. Auckland is the only major urban centre, apart from Wellington, which has strong Chinese social organisations, and even though it has a more unified structure, it does not achieve anywhere near the same impact on the youth, as in the structurally diversified Wellington Chinese community. It is not possible for the writer to generalise on other areas in New Zealand because of the diversity of the adjustment experience. However, Chinese youth do tend to associate and maintain contact with each other throughout the length and breadth of New Zealand, the

a. defined as: the populations of the 18 urban areas plus that of all boroughs, towns districts, and county towns with populations of 1,000 or over which lie outside the urban areas. Population Census 1966 Vol. 7 p.6

b. 77.3% of the total New Zealand population (2,676,919) were urban dwellers, and 22.7% rural.

unifying factor being the strength of the Chinese family up-bringing, and common life experiences of growing-up in New Zealand.

The body of this dissertation consists of an introduction, four chapters, followed by conclusions.

The introduction deals with the problems related to terminology, then briefly with the literature as it relates to the youth or descendants of immigrants; the concept of the Chinese community; ending with a discussion of the economic adjustment and political orientation of the New Zealand Chinese.

Chapter one is descriptive and traces the history of Chinese immigration and the characteristics of their settlement in the face of rigorous colour discrimination, ending with present-day attitudes of White New Zealanders to non-White immigrants and their descendants, such as the Chinese. Chapter two discusses the structural strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese community organisations. A case study of the community Hall projects focuses on the structural diversity. Chapter three analyses the extent to which Chinese youth have progressed away from the traditional values and patterns of behaviour. Chapter four studies the attitudes Chinese have to mixed-marriages and delineates the source of identity problems. The dissertation ends with general conclusions.

The appendices complement the body of the thesis. Appendix 1 provides background material on the nature of the traditional Chinese extended family and the submissive role of the individual to the family demands. This deference to the needs of the extended family group provides the key to Chinese attitudes to New Zealand prior to the Communist take over in China, 1949. Also outlined is the Confucian ethical framework which is, in part, instilled in the Chinese youth in New Zealand and other overseas Chinese communities. Appendix 2 contains four selected tape interviews representing

four types of adjustment: a 'traditional' New Zealand Chinese girl, a westernised Chinese girl, an 'integrated' Chinese male and a mixed-marriage of a Chinese male to a European. Appendix 3 includes the immigration letters in which the writer alleges the Labour Department has discriminated against the Hong Kong applicant. The matter had still not been resolved when this thesis was submitted early 1973. Appendix 4 incorporates background information to the 1970 Social Survey of Chinese Youth and the Association and club questionnaire. This appendix deals with the researcher's bias and own problems of finding an identity, the preparation for and administration of the Social Survey including the Survey letters of introduction, the Association questionnaire and the Chinese Youth questionnaire.

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The New Zealand Chinese have been the object of much study by Fyfe (1948)¹⁷ Scurrah (1948)³⁸ Ng Bickleen (1959)³⁴ and by five geographers: McGee (1961)²⁶ Ng, D (1962)³⁵ Taher (1965)⁴¹ Wong (1968)⁵² and Thornton (1969)⁴⁴. These studies have thoroughly researched the historical settlement of the Chinese in New Zealand, as well as aspects of their contemporary social adjustment, concentrating mainly on the adult Chinese, the majority of whom are immigrants.

The purpose of this study is to research some of the contemporary aspects of social adjustment of the Chinese in Wellington, with an emphasis on the children of Chinese immigrants - Chinese youth aged between 16-29. This dissertation is based mainly on the theoretical framework as outlined by Milton Gordon (1964)¹¹⁷ although he omits the economic or occupational^a as well as the visibility^b factors of social adjustment of an immigrant group.

While the visibility factor is generally important, its relevance to any social group situation is related to the degree of significance ascribed to physical distinction. In Brazil colour values have been largely incorporated into the structure of the society with the result, that greater importance is attached to social status (wealth, intelligence or personal charms). There racial differences generally are given the same significance as cultural preferences.^c

Because of the limited scope of this research project the dissertation concentrates on six of Gordon's variables; Behaviour reception; Attitude reception; Structural;

a. 73(2) Inglis (1968)

b. 26(1) McGee (1961)

c. 94 Banton (1967) pp.262-281

Cultural; Marital; Identificational.

Gordon's multi-facet approach to the study of immigrant groups was a major break-through for social scientists for now the factors were all theoretically linked, together, and the observed phenomenon of regression in assimilation could be accounted for.^a A major weakness of his approach however is the failure to include psychological factors in his sociological framework, as an individual's action may not coincide with his ideals.^b For instance - 33% of the Chinese youth in the survey sample stated that they would marry a non-Chinese if they loved that person, but, this was not likely to happen as only 8% dated non-Chinese regularly enough to be possibly affected.

a. 26 McGee (1961) pp. 12-18.

b. Researchers in Australia such as Taft (1965)¹⁴⁸ and Johnston (1965)¹²⁴ have developed Gordon's conceptual framework and identified two basic divisions; subjective assimilation and behavioural assimilation. The former refers to the psychological aspects or attitudinal assimilation. For example, the type of food eaten is correlated with the preference for such food.

TABLE 1 THE NINE ADJUSTMENT VARIABLES

Subprocess or Condition	Type or Stage of Adjustment	Special Sociological Term
1. Absence of discrimination	Behaviour receptional adjustment	None
2. Absence of Prejudice	Attitude receptional adjustment	None
3. Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level	Structural adjustment	None
4. Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioural adjustment	Acculturation
5. Large-scale intermarriage	Marital adjustment	Amalgamation
6. Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational adjustment	None
7. Absence of value and power conflict	Civic adjustment	
8. Visibility (or colour)		
9. Change of occupational patterns to those of host society	Economic adjustment	

1. TERMINOLOGY

When two or more different racial groups meet there are two basic responses that are possible. Either the dominant group may seek to annihilate the smaller group, as in the case of contact between the minority Aborigines and Europeans in Tasmania, Australia, or they may attempt to live together in the same general geographical locality. There are three main terms used to describe the subsequent types of adjustment, and the choice of the three basic alternatives is largely determined by the host or dominant society:

- a. Assimilation
- b. Integration
- c. Segregation

Segregation is a policy which allows each group to live separately in the host country but the two races may participate in the same economic system in a master-slave type of relationship. This is in the case of Negro ghettos in the United States, and the Apartheid systems of South Africa and Rhodesia where the white minority retains total control of the country. The analysis will focus on the two terms of assimilation and integration because of their relevance to the New Zealand social situation.

a. Assimilation

The term assimilation generally refers to a process whereby a minority immigrant group discards its culture including its values, its learned patterns of behaviour, its philosophy, and adopts the life-styles of the dominant society. The problems of this term are directly related to the origin of the bulk of modern

social research in this field of culture contact. Because of the dominance of the Chicago School of Sociologists headed by R.E. Park in the study of immigrant groups in the United States the research naturally adopted the terms of reference of the majority white Anglo-Saxon. It was taken for granted that the immigrant should discard his own cultural heritage and adopt that of his new country. Herein lies the basic problem of the term assimilation. Four objections may be raised to the implicit assumptions embodied in the concept.

(1) The major assumption of assimilation is that the culture of the dominant white society is superior to that of any other ethnic group, normally 'coloured'. Technological superiority is assigned a cultural meaning which is interpreted as racial superiority. England was the centre of the major industrial revolution in the late 18th Century to mid 19th Century. Her people colonised a large part of the world and in their contact with 'coloured' people automatically thought that their culture was superior. These attitudes of racial superiority remained throughout the colonial penetration of China especially after the Opium Wars of 1840. Metge (1967)^a expressed this assumption of superiority succinctly:

"Assimilation is like segregation being firmly based on a belief in the superiority of the dominant culture".

(2) The assimilative process was regarded as inevitable and yet after over 200 years of settlement in the United States most of the Negro people have remained basically separated from the main stream of white American life, in occupations, politics, culture, education, and socially. Chinatowns still exist

a. Metge "Alternative Policy Patterns in Multi-racial Societies" in 5 Brookes & Kawharau (1967) pp. 41-56

in San Francisco and New York, while in S.E. Asia and elsewhere the Chinese communities remain quite distinct from the indigenous population.

(3) It was thought that the receiving white society would remain unaffected by the immigrant groups. The popularity for Chinese cuisine by Whites in America and New Zealand instantly dispels this assumption. The absorbing body is affected by the contact with another, although usually, in Western countries, the minority immigrant group is the one that changes most. The reverse is true in South Africa and Rhodesia where the numerically dominant host populations are subjugated by the white minorities.

(4) The colour factor was recognised by Park as the major problem to his theory of assimilation who stated:

"The chief obstacle to assimilation seems to be not cultural differences but physical traits. It is notorious that Japanese, Chinese and other immigrant peoples who bear a distinctive racial mark do not easily mix with native (host) populations."^a

Racial distinctiveness impedes the assimilative process in two ways: firstly, it makes the racial group self-conscious of their uniqueness and it draws them closer together, and secondly it distinguishes them from the host population and they may become the victims of racial discrimination. The colour factor was the major reason which enabled early settlers to single out Chinese (and others) as an object for frustrations during periods of economic hardships, and,

a. 130(2) Park (1935) p.281

for the establishment in Australia, U.S.A. and New Zealand of immigration laws directed against Chinese at first, then 'coloured' people in general. To this day colour remains the basis of New Zealand's immigration policies. McGee in (1961)^a concluded that the Indians, who are darker than Chinese, had become a colour caste in New Zealand.

Because of the profound influence of the Chicago School which viewed the assimilative process as being inevitable and irreversible the existence of ethnic social organisations and the family were not regarded as a serious obstacle to assimilation of the ethnic groups in America. The researchers failed to perceive that traditional social structures could be adapted, or that new organisations from within the ethnic minority group could be developed. Continued reinforcing of the traditions was also made possible by the influx of new immigrants. The result of the outlined mis-conceptions of the assimilative process is candidly admitted by Greely (1964)^b:

"American sociologists are quite frankly surprised by the survival of the ethnic-groups in American society, long after the immigration experience has come to an end."

b. Integration

This term generally denotes a process whereby the two or more groups live together as groups, and adjust themselves to each other so that they respect and value the contributions each group makes to a common life in the society.

a. 26 McGee (1961) p.25

b.120 Greely (1964) p.112

The immigrant's adjustment to the basic customs, values (standards) and institutions of the dominant society does not preclude his retaining the pride and practices of his traditional culture.^a

The end result of this process is the formation of an integrated society in which racial differences are given the same significance as cultural preferences for cosmetics, body size and form and mannerisms. Racial traits in themselves would not identify categories of people although they may be used to rank individuals in a social class.^b Thus a whole new culture is formed by the combination and adaptation of the pre-existing cultures.

New Zealand's stated record of administration concerning its ethnic groups, and especially to the native Maori minority who constitute about 10% of the total population, is of integration.^c In actual practise however, this term has become a synonym for assimilation as the stated immigration policy is to allow entry to those nationalities 'who are easily assimilated'.^d Thus there exists much policy confusion in Government and its administrative agencies such as the Department of Maori Affairs and Immigration Department to ethnic groups in New Zealand.

Today, Maoris are vocal in their assertions that they want to retain the right to have a pride in Maoritanga, or the Maori way of life, and Chinese youth specifically do not want to 'give up' all their cultural heritage. Absorption or

a. paraphased from 48 Trlin (1967) pp.138-9.

b. 94 Banton (1967) p.281.

c. 21 Hunn (1961) p.15.

d. 53(1) Immigration Dept. 1970.

assimilation, is considered unacceptable. The situation has been posed as integration or assimilation. (In other contexts the terms used are cultural pluralism or the melting pot respectively.) The distinction is important as in the integrated state:

"...a group can define for itself those components it wishes in whatever adapted form may be necessary, in the assimilated state it is the other group that decides what it chooses to accept and what will survive."^a

The confusion which exists between the New Zealand Government and the Department of Labour, Immigration Division is understandable, as the same confusion even exists in the professional literature of the Sociologists, differing with respect to comprehensiveness, clarity, complexity, ambitiousness, theoretical orientation, suitability to empirical research etc. The confusion is easily revealed on analysis of three representative definitions as follows.

1. Taft's (1966)^b definition of assimilation as "the process whereby the immigrants and the native population become more alike as a result of interaction" is of little use. The problem remains in the phrase 'become more alike'. We may ask - how alike? If we mean that immigrants should be so alike that we cannot tell where they or their parents came from then the cause is lost already, for even the Europeans in New Zealand, and in the United States, do not achieve that degree of assimilation. Taft does however elaborate on his definition by specifically mentioning that no value judgment is made covering the desired speed of assimilation and the relative merits of

a. 19 Hartley and Thompson (1967) p.431

b. 148 Taft (1966) p.4

assimilation and pluralism (integration). He says, furthermore, that it is possible for a two-way process, as in integration, in which the native group is influenced by immigrants as well as vice versa, although in practice, the immigrant does most of the changing.

2. In a much more useful definition, Johnston (1967)^a describes the concept of assimilation in terms of external and subjective assimilation. External assimilation implies a decreased distinguishability of the immigrant from the members of the host society, and subjective assimilation, refers to the immigrant's psychological identification with members of the same group. So there may be immigrants who are only externally assimilated, those only subjectively assimilated, those who are both externally and subjectively assimilated and those who are not assimilated in either respect. For example: a Chinese immigrant who gets naturalised only to get the old age pension or to travel overseas while retaining the right of unrestricted entry back to New Zealand, is only externally assimilated. A Chinese immigrant who accepts New Zealand nationality on account of his identification with his new country and its people is both externally and subjectively assimilated.

3. Collins (1952)^b defines assimilation "as an integrative process by which people, differing in race, culture and status when placed in a common locality achieve social solidarity." No attempt is made to distinguish between the terms assimilation and integration.

Primarily because of the confusion between the two concepts of assimilation and integration, and the value judgments implicit in the term assimilation

a. 124(5) Johnston (1967) pps. 148-9.

b. 124 Johnston (1965) p.210

this dissertation refers to the adaptive process as "adjustment", a neutral concept.^a

c. Adjustment: A neutral Concept

The concept of race relations can be often a highly emotion-charged issue and the confusion which exists in the professional literature of social scientists^b between the terms integration and assimilation and in official New Zealand thinking is largely the cause of stumbling blocks to rational, and impartial discussion. For this reason the term used in this dissertation is adjustment. Adjustment as referred to in this study is defined as a form of integration which includes the social and cultural facets only, and summarises succinctly the dynamic process of adaption which both host society and ethnic groups have to go through. Adjustment is the two-way process whereby the host society changes its prejudiced attitudes to a particular ethnic group and so becomes a more receptive society; on the other hand, elements of the ethnic group's culture may be preserved as it participates in the general society.

Adjustment (or modified integration)^c is seen by the writer to be most satisfactory alternative to the policies of integration and assimilation because the Chinese community in New Zealand is small (making complete integration impossible) and geographically dispersed, both nationally and in the urban areas. Furthermore, this is the direction Chinese youth themselves would like to advance.

a. 19 Hartley and Thompson (1967) p.430.

b. The writer is indebted to Mr Nan Hsiung Shu for the suggestion to have a neutral concept.

c. The term 'modified integration' is one used by 26 McGee (1961) p.252 to apply to the Indian community in New Zealand.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The study of the assimilation of ethnic minority groups is a specialised branch within the major field of culture change, and yet studies relating to the process and problems of social adjustment of these immigrant groups throughout the world are impressive in their quantity, the diverse groups studied, and in the degree of insight researchers have been able to reveal about these groups. However there is a noticeable and surprising absence of studies relating to the children of immigrants, especially as research has been conducted in America for over 50 years dating from Robert E. Park and the Chicago sociologists. The major reason for the relative neglect of the children of immigrants lies in the assumption that the process of assimilation is both inevitable and irreversible. In the cases where children are mentioned, they have been treated instrumentally to denote the slow assimilation of their parents as in Saenger (1941);¹⁴⁰ Kent (1953);¹²⁷ Ng, B (1959);³⁴ Moench (1963).⁸¹

There are two notable exceptions of non-Asian groups: a study by Rieger (1953)¹³⁸ on Yeminite youth in Israel and another by Child (1943)¹⁰² on Italian second generation immigrants in America.^a Rieger found that the assimilation of the Yeminite adolescents was a function of their parents' assimilation. If the parents of the youth identified with the dominant Israeli culture, the children followed in their steps and experienced few problems (cultural conflict). Child studied young male Italian immigrants between 19-20 years of age, born in the United States or who arrived at a very young age. He classified these immigrants into three distinct groups, a typology which is commonly

a. This section is based on Ruth Johnston's article (1965) 124(3)

used by social scientists:

1. those who identified with the American culture;
2. those who identified with the Italian culture;
3. those who oscillated between the two cultures.

However, a further alternative exists which is not applicable to Chinese youth in Wellington, and that is:

4. those who withdraw from both cultures and become beatniks.^a

All the subjects had reached the stage of resolving their cultural dilemma and experienced little cultural conflict^b as a result.

Studies of Asian groups have also reflected a similar tendency to concentrate on the analysis of first generation immigrants, with three significant exceptions: a brilliant historical analysis by K. Pyle (1969)¹³³ on Japanese youth in Meiji Japan; a study of the occupational opportunities for the second generation Japanese in the United States by E. Strong (1934);¹⁴⁶ and a brief sketch of the identity conflicts of Chinese adolescents in San Francisco by S. Fong (1968)⁶⁸. Pyle (1969) found that the Japanese youth in Meiji Japan 1885-1895 experienced tremendous cultural conflicts in identity to their need to be both modern and Japanese and so to reconcile the necessity of cultural borrowing with their national pride. Three basic responses, similar to Child were outlined.^c

-
- a. 68 Fong S. (1968)
 - b. Cultural conflict is experienced when a person is unable to chose between two alternatives: that of his ethnic culture and that of the dominant society.
 - c. Although the problems discussed by Pyle interpreted from the view point of the dominant society as opposed to the other studies mentioned in this section in which the people studied are minority immigrant groups, the analysis is included because the dilemmas experienced by Japanese youth in the culture contract situation of traditional versus modern influences, are so clearly analysed.

Strong (1934) was concerned mainly with the occupational opportunities available to second generation Japanese. Although the youth experienced a conflict of cultural standards, which sometimes caused bewilderment, they had made a success in the distance they had progressed from where the first generation stopped, and in the variety of directions in which they had advanced. Fong (1968) briefly studied identity conflicts experienced by Chinese adolescents in San Francisco who found the transition from the Chinese-way-of-life to the overwhelming American life-style difficult. Except for those who withdrew totally into the Chinese community, all others experienced identity conflicts. Fong found that the San Francisco youth were a heterogeneous crowd who differed widely in feelings about becoming involved with the wider American society, ranging from complete avoidance to complete participation. The finding that some Chinese youth chose to opt out of society is a unique one.

In conclusion, the outstanding difference between the Asian and non-Asian research reviewed on second generation youth, lies in the fact that the Asian studies do not present the statistical basis on which their finding are based. It is difficult in such circumstances to evaluate the conclusion of the studies on Asian youth. The problem of presenting the statistical base is avoided in this dissertation by the adoption of an inter-disciplinary strategy using historical, sociological (social survey) and anthropological (representative vignette case studies) approaches with the major emphasis on the sociological.

HUTT URBAN AREA

WELLINGTON URBAN AREA

WELLINGTON SURVEY AREA

Boundaries 1966 Census Urban Areas

photo/map 1

3. THE CHARACTER OF THE WELLINGTON CHINESE AS A COMMUNITY

The concept of community is open to as many definitions as there are investigators.^a For the purposes of this study "community" is defined as the interrelationships between: people of a similar character; and these people and their geographical locality.

The term "community" is also somewhat misleading when applied to the Chinese in Wellington, for it implies a unity of character and geographical concentration (see Map 2) which does not in fact exist. The Wellington Chinese are divided into three broad groupings based on the district of origin in the Kwangtung Province, China (as shown in map 3) the Poonyue, Seyip, Jung Sing/Tung Kwuan districts, in approximate equal third proportions. This basic community structure is complicated by the existence of other Chinese groups, members of whom are drawn from this basic pool. These other groups include the two Christian Chinese Churches (Anglican and Baptist), the Eastern Chinese Sports Club, the Wellington Chinese Association and the Wanderers (Chinese) rugby Club. The only common denominator of the Chinese in Wellington is their ethnic origin.

The relevance of the definition of the "community" to this study may be seen in the relationship between geographical locality and the term assimilation. As the original immigrants of an ethnic minority have been observed to live together in certain localities of cities, particularly in the inner city areas, it was assumed by the human ecologists (Park and Burgess) in the Concentric

a. Article by W.R. Burch: "The Native of Community" in Social Process in New Zealand - readings in Sociology, editor: 14 John Forster 1969 p.81
In this paper Burch concludes that beyond the concept that people are involved in community there is no complete agreement as to the nature of community.

Zone theory, that an outward residential movement of the immigrant group denoted a break down of the immigrant community and a subsequent assimilation, into the patterns of the host society.^a

In the first sub-finding presented in Appendix 4C the hypothesis that Chinese youth living in the inner city are less assimilated than those in the outer areas was not proved. The purpose of this section is to investigate the reasons which account for the homogeneity of the Chinese youth on the two levels as stated in the definition of community namely: the interpersonal and the spatial levels.

1. Spatial Distribution

Chinese people in Wellington were concentrated in the inner city area of Wellington prior to 1945 as shown in Map 2, with secondary concentrations in Newtown and Petone. Since 1945 there has been an outward movement of the residential patterns of Chinese. Given the fact of geographical dispersal we are presented with the problem of explaining why the hypothesis failed to prove the seemingly obvious.

The answer is simply because the hypothesis was hinged around youth and not the generational divisions between parents, children and grandchildren. Because the Chinese youth in Wellington tend to form a homogenous group it means that

a. The writer is aware of the problems of applying the Concentric Zone theory to the Wellington area. Because of geography alone it is not applicable. McGee (1961) and Tahir (1965) group Newtown in with the inner city area because this is where arrivals generally stay. The writer resisted this incorporation because prior to the 1950's the inner city area was the main receiving area for the Chinese people. The movement of large numbers of Chinese to Newtown coincided with the movement out of the inner city area.

MAIN CONCENTRATIONS OF CHINESE IN WELLINGTON 1945 & 1972

they have tended to experience the effects of the adjustment process as a group, and because of this the reaction to the assimilative forces tends to affect the group as a whole. An analysis of the intrapersonal relationships (within the group) clarifies the way the youth react.

Intrapersonal relationships^a

To what extent can we say a Chinese community exists in Wellington when it is geographically dispersed? The finding that Chinese youth tend to be a homogenous group indicates that change is accompanied with adjustment. So Chinese youth utilise modern conveniences such as the motor car, telephone and an efficient postal service to maintain contact with each other. A family car typically is assigned social importance as a means of maintaining frequent contact between members of the nuclear and extended family and other Chinese relatives and friends. It is not unusual for Chinese youth to be laden with the duty of chauffeuring parents and elderly Chinese on visiting trips. In these ways the Chinese community can maintain frequent contact with each other.

a. interpersonal relationships are those between the immigrant person and the host society.

4. The Economic Adjustment and Political Orientation of New Zealand Chinese

a. Economic Adjustment

In 1966,^a Chinese in New Zealand were found in all occupational groupings but were heavily concentrated in two out of the 44 groups of industries into which the New Zealand economy is classified. Just over 57% (2,311 persons out of 4,022 in the Chinese labour force) were either engaged in market gardening or the agriculture and livestock production industries (20%), or in the fruit and vegetable or wholesale and retail trade (37%), while over 15% of the Chinese labour force were in the manufacturing division. If we take the three major groupings then about 72% of the Chinese work force was in either market gardening, retailing or manufacturing.

Market gardening and the fruitshop are occupations which lend themselves to the maintenance of the extended family as within its structure everyone contributes their time and efforts, including, as a tradition, women and children. Thus, in 1966, almost 18% of the females in the Chinese Labour force were engaged in market gardening compared to just over 5% of the females in the New Zealand work force, and about 40% of the females were engaged in the wholesale and retail trade. Such an 'economically integrated extended family'^b reinforced family solidarity but its viability has depended upon the ability of each family group to resolve the family problems and conflicts which threatened the business enterprise, and to harmonise the consumption of profits by the household with the need for reinvestment and expansion. An instance of

a. Statistics are from the N.Z. Population Census, Race Vol. 7 pp. 6-7.

b. The writer is indebted to Mr R.H. Wheeler for suggesting this term.

DIAGRAM 1

M. Tahir (1965) Asians in New Zealand. p.164. Unpublished Ph.D.

urban family dissolution is mentioned in Appendix 2C in the vignette on the "integrated Chinese male" and is further discussed in Chapter 1. In analysis of the viability of the economically integrated extended family, two trends are discernable. In the rural areas such a family group will probably persist in New Zealand as the contribution of the Chinese market gardens to New Zealand remains considerable. For instance, in 1972, 80% of the produce sent to a leading privately owned Wellington Fruit and Vegetable Auction firm, Turners & Growers, was supplied by Chinese, and at Auckland, in the same firm, it was about 60%^a. In such economically integrated families family solidarity is reinforced by assigning business tasks to each member of the household within the common firm, and also as a consequence it socially isolates itself from the host society. However, in the urban areas the solidarity is in the process of being eroded away by economic forces, as revealed in diagram 1, and new ambitions held by the New Zealand Chinese. The decline in the numbers employed in, and in the actual number of Chinese Laundry shops is clearly shown in diagram 1, and in 1972 such laundry shops had virtually ceased to exist throughout New Zealand because of competition from the dry-cleaning process, the home washing machines, and drip-dry and soft-collared shirts.

Change is also evident in the adoption and synthesising of new values and ambitions by middle-aged Chinese who in penetrating into the professional occupational grouping have had to reinterpret the Chinese ways. For instance among such a group,

a. The writer is grateful to Mr Thomas Romain for obtaining these statistics from the firm concerned. Produce from the market gardens is sent by truck and/or rail to the city fruit and vegetable markets where it is sold by public auction on a commission basis.

and even other 'white collar workers', the economically integrated extended family is irrelevant and no longer desired, and the nuclear family unit preferred instead where economic and social roles are separated.

In Wellington local Chinese are prominent in the economic and social fields. For instance, New Zealand's only Chinese Mayor is in Petone (in the Hutt urban area) and there is also a New Zealand born Chinese lecturer as well as Chinese doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, accountants, dentists, nurses etc. Chinese have also been past presidents of host society social organisations such as Rotary and Lyons. As a result, Chinese youth in Wellington and New Zealand have had the way blazed for them to enter into fuller participation in the host society.

b. Political Orientation of New Zealand Chinese

No reliable research^a has been undertaken of the political attitudes of New Zealand Chinese and the writer believes that research in a field which is sensitive would be unprofitable. The reason lies in the relationship Chinese in New Zealand have had with both the Nationalist Chinese Government (Republic of China), now in Formosa, and the Communist China Government (People's Republic of China) established in 1949.

New Zealand Chinese have been represented by the Republic of China from 1908^b

-
- a. Mr Stuart Grief (1970-72), University of Otago, researched the Chinese in New Zealand but the methodology and statistical base is questionable. "Selected Political and Social Attitudes of the New Zealand Chinese" paper read at the 1st International Conference on Chinese Studies, held at Hamilton, May 1972.
 - b. In 1908 the Republic of China established consulate links in New Zealand. In 1935 representation was upgraded to the level of consulate general and then finally, in 1961, full diplomatic representation was established.

until 22 December 1972, when the New Zealand Labour Government officially recognised the Communist Chinese Government. Relationships between local Chinese with the Republic of China have fluctuated from enthusiastic support prior to 1949 and then after the Communist Government came to power in 1949 the support was cordial. During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) New Zealand Chinese financially helped to support the war effort in China and Chinese throughout New Zealand donated a small percentage of their income, bought bonds and also lent money, but when the Communist Government came to power the majority of Chinese became cautious because most still had relatives in Mainland China. Rapport between the Nationalist Chinese representatives and the local Chinese has been handicapped by two basic problems of language and (misguided) zeal. In New Zealand most Chinese speak either or both Cantonese and their district dialect, whereas the representatives from Taiwan have mainly been Mandarin speaking, and so there existed a basic communication barrier (written Chinese is standard). An equally serious problem has been a willingness of some of the representatives from Formosa to denounce Communism at every opportunity. Such actions have in fact strained relationships between local Chinese and the Nationalist Government representatives. For instance anyone using characters of the modern simplified Chinese script, standardised in Communist China, or indulges in cultural borrowing from Communist China is thought to be under Communist influence. Cultural assets have been in the past assigned political meanings. Relationships have not been warmed by the apparent refusal of the Nationalist Government to acknowledge the Sino-Japanese war bonds and loan certificates.

On the other hand New Zealand Chinese attitudes to Communist China are ambivalent. Adverse and at times conflicting reports received from Hong Kong, Chinese Newspapers, letters sent from relatives in Kwantung Province, China, together with information gleaned from the few New Zealand Chinese who have dared to pay a visit to 'The

Mainland' do not encourage local Chinese to enthusiastically embrace the Communist regime. But at the same time satisfaction is gained from the fact that China is a world power and can at last demand respect for its people, something which has been denied since the Opium Wars of 1839-41.

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER 1: BEHAVIOURAL AND ATTITUDINAL ADJUSTMENT OF
THE CHINESE AND HOST SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

New Zealand's population may be divided into two major groupings, the "White and the Coloured". In 1966 the "White" or European population with origins generally from Britain accounted for about 90% (2.4 million) of the total population numbering 2.7 million. The "Coloured" group represented only about 9% (250,567), of whom 7.5% (201,159) were Maoris, and 1.9% (49,408) people who were classified as "other races."^a Chinese represented only 0.4% (10,283) of the total New Zealand population, and 20.8% of the "other races". Despite about 120 years of settlement in New Zealand, which is about the same number of years Europeans have been in New Zealand, the numbers of Chinese are extremely low. Furthermore, only 54% of all Chinese living in New Zealand in 1966 were born in New Zealand.

This section on the behavioural and attitudinal reception, or in other words, how the Chinese were treated when they came to New Zealand, traces the reasons for the low numbers of Chinese in New Zealand today to: the anti-Chinese immigration legislation and application, and to the nature of the Chinese immigration itself over 120 years. These historical factors provide the two basic reasons which help to explain the homogeneity of the Chinese youth.

The period of 120 years may be divided into four distinct periods of race relations between Chinese and Europeans in New Zealand.

1. 1850-59, a period of initial contact.
2. 1860-80, the development of unofficial hostilities.
3. 1881 - 1930's, the period of official discrimination.
4. 1930's - today, an era in which official discrimination was replaced by administrative discrimination and a general tolerance of Chinese

a. See diagram 2 - p. 33

residents in New Zealand.

It must be noted that while this section is concerned with these four periods of race-relations, they are not rigidly adhered to, especially in the last two periods, as this would destroy continuity of sub-sections, such as those on the structural and functional analysis of the Chinese social organisations.

DIAGRAM 2

Direct from N.Z. Population Census 1966, Race, Vol. 7, p.3

KWANGTUNG PROVINCE

District Origin of
New Zealand Chinese Immigrants

1. HISTORICAL SETTING

The Chinese migrants who came to New Zealand from the Southern province of Kwangtung, China,^a represent the outer fringe of a migration through south east Asia which began in the first millenium B.C. from both Kwangtung and Fukien provinces.

There are two major reasons why the bulk of the people who left China came from the southern provinces. In the first place, Canton, the capital city of Kwangtung Province is located on the delta of the Pearl River and became a natural centre of commerce and trade with other countries. In the 19th Century, Canton became a major point of contact with European traders. The second reason is more subjective. It is claimed that the people from the two southern provinces have a 'sea-faring and independent spirit'.^b Apparently, this independence was so strong that the rulers of China in Peking, regarded the southern rice-growing provinces with mistrust, and yet unofficially recognised their independence, which was reinforced by the physical separation from Peking (about 1,200 miles) and by an almost continuous mountain range which traverses the Kwangtung and Fukien provinces in a general east to north-east direction. (see Map 3)

What then were the reasons for migration from these southern provinces? Push factors were the most important reasons for the migrations into South-east Asia. Prior to the 19th Century China suffered from the state of over-population, where food resources could not expand as fast as the population growth. This occurred during the period of internal peace under the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644), and more particularly under the Ching or Manchu Dynasty (1644-1838). The Ching dynasty probably

a. See Map 3.

b. 29 McNeur (1930) pp.5-11

attained the highest level of material prosperity in China's history and probably made China the most populous nation in the world.^a New dykes were constructed and maintained which effectively reduced the traditional flooding catastrophes and there was an absence of internal battles with their heavy losses of life. As a result, the population grew spectacularly as the area of cultivated land per person shrank correspondingly. The average yearly population increase between 1741 to 1796, a period of 55 years, was 4.67%. In comparison New Zealand's population growth rate since the 1950's has been under 2% while third world countries fall between 2 - 3%.^b Pressure on land was naturally increased. In 1578, there was about 66 mou land or about 1 acre per family (average size of family was 6) in China. By 1729 it was 35 mou per family or just over $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre and in 1953, about 16, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre.^c With the combined factors of over population and decadence and irrelevance of the government, the beginning of internal disorder resulted from about 1830 and lasted 120 years to the founding of Communist China in 1949.

The brunt of the internal problems was not however borne by the Kwangtung area. The hinterland to Canton is very fertile, with rainfall over 70 inches per annum and summer temperatures in the 90°F range. Double cropping of rice is therefore possible and the sub-tropical climate enables a diverse range of crops to be grown including - sweet potatoes, mulberry trees, sugar-cane as well as bananas, pineapples, lichees etc. But Kwangtung province did not escape entirely the effects of decay. A way of escape for those daring enough was to go overseas, and it was against such

-
- a. 77 Latourette (1963) p. 309.
 - b. United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1971.
 - c. 67 Eberhard (1967) p.275 N.B. 1 mou = 0.165 acre.

a background that the 'strong highly individualistic, risktaker'^a was selected by his unsuccessful family to leave the southern provinces to seek fortunes overseas, and therefore security for those at home. This selection process had a very important influence on the adjustment process to the host societies as the individuals represented not only themselves, but also the family. Identification largely remained with the village.

a. The term 'individualistic' here refers to the sojourner who through circumstances, was chosen by his family to go overseas on his own. It does not have the connotation of Weber's Protestant Ethic - a thesis that the emphasis on the individual associated with the birth of the Christian protestant movement, released tremendous, dynamic energy which expressed itself in the rapid growth of Capitalism.

(a) INITIAL CONTACT 1850-60's

The lure of gold provided the stimulus for the long and arduous sea voyage to the 'old gold mountain' in California and then to the 'new gold mountain' initially at Victoria and then to New South Wales in Australia, then to Otago and other areas in the South Island in New Zealand. In 1867 it was estimated that there were 1,219 Chinese in the colony of New Zealand of which 1,185 were in Otago. By 1874 the number had reached 4,816 including two women^a (see Map 4).

"In 1871" stated Rev. Alexander Don, "they came by the shipload direct from China - March 354, July 316, August 348, September 258, October 205 - 1,596 for the year."^b

The Chinese were sojourners,^c determined in their resolve to work hard and so eventually return home to enjoy the fruits of their labours. They never intended to settle permanently in New Zealand, though some either chose to or were forced to because they were unsuccessful. For such, ties at home became severed because the shame was too great to reveal. But for the majority who were successful in 'making money' and who kept alive their duties and responsibilities with long hard hours of toil, endured physical discomfort from living in squalid mud huts or tents, loneliness and drudgery, this self-sacrifice of immediate comforts was worthwhile. This was because happiness to a Chinese was in knowing that loved ones at home were being cared for, by the money sent home. If a man became rich he could leave and never return. What was the sense in staying? After all, it was better to be with the loved ones at home in China

a. New Zealand Population Census 1966, Race Vol. 7, p.4.

b. 28(1) McNeur (1951) p.11.

c. For the purposes of this thesis, a sojourner is a person who does not intend to stay permanently in the country to which he has migrated. A settler in comparison is an immigrant who intends to settle permanently.

Table 2: Chinese Arrivals and Departures

TABLE 2 CHINESE ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES

		<u>ARRIVALS</u>	<u>DEPARTURES</u>
		Total	Total
1866-70			
1871		1,596	
1872		475	190
1873		185 (2) *	278
1874		1,123	355
1875		776 (1)	384
1876		112	453
1877-86		3,325 (10)	2,611
1887 - 96		1,679	1,656
1897 - 06		1,104	1,385
1907-16		3,495	3,367
1917-26		<u>5,050</u>	<u>3,668</u>
1866-1926	Total	18,920	14,347

Adapted from 34 Ng B (1959) p.21

* Brackets denote number of Chinese families

where honour and respect was to be found. Chinese were taught:

"Where fame and wealth fare
To your home town repair
For it is folly to wear silk
Where none will care."

If he was too homesick and had not yet discovered his fortune, he took a trip home to see his parents, brothers and sisters and kin. If he had a wife, to impregnate her and so further strengthen the real but unseen bonds of loyalty. At least the ancestral tablets could be attended to and the family-line assured and in this way he was fulfilling his sacred duty of providing for the needs of his forefathers, present family and kin, as well as future generations. If he was single, he probably got married to a maiden arranged for him from birth or by his parents in his absence, after they conferred with the astrologer to satisfy themselves that the spirits agreed with the choice. But the establishment of a new nuclear family within the extended family group did not alter the son's primary and permanent devotion to his parents. His wife would always be secondary in his allegiance because his parents brought him into the world, nurtured him, and his responsibility was to ensure the continuance of their family. He never thought of it as such, but this was called 'filial piety.'

The stubborn identification with China and the nature of the immigration is dramatically illustrated by the Table 2. Of the total registered arrivals of 7,592 between 1866-1886, 54% (4,271) had gone back to China either for a visit or permanently within 20 years. Over the 60 years from 1866-1926 76% of the Chinese immigrants had returned to China. (Total arrivals in New Zealand were 18,920 and departures, 14,347).

The Chinese sojourner's constant identification with home and duty was reinforced by the sharp contrast of his new environment, with the old one he had left behind. At home there were the rice fields, the feel of familiar earth, of nature and her many moods, the lychee trees, the young children, familiar faces. In Otago, there were: bleak, stark hills; intensely cold snowy winters, with chilling stars. In the summer it was stifling hot. Although these frontier feelings of alienation from the land were also experienced by the Anglo-Saxon settlers, the Chinese reacted differently by preferring the hut to the tent. Mr Don commented in 1906:

"He liked a home of firmer stuff than calico. He built a hut of turf on the grassy plots, of slabs in the bush, of cobblestones on the shingle, of adobe where stones were scarce, of whatever stuff came handiest. And for roofing what better than the bags that held his rice?"^a

Some huts had manuka roofs, and sometimes were grouped together to form a closely knit community, a family of men with the 'toong choon' (同村)^b brothers. Here there was time to talk about home, to gamble at fan tan and mah-jong, to console one another, to teach each other how to sew, to cook, and to remind each other to remain resolute in their duties back home in China. This 'family' was the most important social institution in their new but transient lives. For those who knew how, letters could be written home on behalf of a lonely miner consoling the loved ones with words they could only speak but could not write, and with gold won so meticulously from the hard earth, perhaps urging his brothers and close kin to come-over as there was gold

a. See photo No. 3 p.43 cited from 28 McNeur (1951) p. 12.

b. From the same village.

to be found, and a place to stay. In this way chain-migration, by constant letters, was established drawing Chinese to New Zealand from a small locality of the Kwangtung province. (Chinese in Wellington may be traced to about 67 coastal districts out of 99 districts in Kwangtung province.^a) Here too, was comfort and security from the 'bark gway'.^b The "family" of men fulfilled the most heart-felt needs of the Chinese miner. It provided him with companionship, and a feeling of belonging, of security in a strange land, several thousand miles away (see photo 2)

The attitudes of the dominant European miners had not yet crystalised towards the Chinese miners and remained ambiguous. Chinese were regarded with dislike and suspicion, even though they did not represent any economic threat. In 1857, an Anti-Chinese Committee to fight the "Mongolian Filth" was formed in Nelson (see Diagram 3) although not a single Chinese had attempted to settle there. In marked contrast, attitudes in Otago were generally more enlightened even in 1864-5 when seven thousand miners left Otago in three months. The anxious business community of Dunedin invited Chinese immigrants to work abandoned mines. In the eyes of the Chinese miners, the effect of subtle and overt acts of discrimination made the already closely-knit sojourners more inward looking and distrustful of the 'bark gway' in New Zealand. They had had bitter first-hand experience of the White gold miners in the Victorian and New South Wales gold fields.

-
- a. Fears of the 'Yellow Peril' of New Zealand being swamped by Chinese from China were and are completely unfounded. Then, the migrants came as sojourners, not as settlers. Today, because the majority of New Zealand Chinese are drawn from only three major districts of Kwangtung Province the fears are completely irrational. This figure was derived from examining the records of the Wellington Chinese District Association.
 - b. 'White ghost' literally or the 'White-man'. The term was derogatory and scornful but has become common usage without the emotional significance.

PHOTO 2 A FAMILY OF MEN

Note the compound linking the two solid buildings made of mud walls, and manuka roofs. Vegetation in background is manuka.

Photo reproduced from G.H. McNeur (1951)
The Church and the Chinese in New Zealand,
p.16-17.

THE CHINESE

I HEREBY CONVENE A PUBLIC

MEETING

Of the inhabitants of the Borough miners, and settlers of the Western District, to be held at the

TOWN HALL,

SATURDAY, JUNE 4TH, 1881

At 8.30 p.m., to consider the best means to adopt to check the influx of the Chinese.

T. DANIEL, Mayor,

Printed, Western Star Office, Riverina.

DIAGRAM 3 POSTER ADVERTISING A PUBLIC MEETING TO DISCUSS THE CHINESE PROBLEM.

Reproduced from Spence (1971) People of Nan Yang p.18.

DIAGRAM 4 FLIGHT OF THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR, DUNEDIN PUNCH, 28 October, 1865
 Reproduced from Spence (1971) People of Nan Yang p.13

(b) 1860-1880: UNOFFICIAL HOSTILITIES - truths and myths

In the preceding section the reasons why the Chinese came to New Zealand were outlined, together with a brief outline of the Chinese attitudes to the family, to China, and to their temporary country of migration. The events are described mainly through the eyes of the Chinese miners. On the other hand, the attitudes of the Whites were ambivalent. In this part, the events leading to the setting-up of a special Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into the question of Chinese in 1871, are outlined briefly. The major findings of the Committee are also presented, but, attitudes towards Chinese became clearly hostile.

In 1867 it was estimated that there were about 1,200 Chinese in New Zealand of which 1,185 were in Otago. By 1874, the number of Chinese in New Zealand had reached 4,816, including 2 women. Alarmed by this four-fold increase, fears of a "yellow peril" led to protests against the Chinese who were referred to as "Chinamen", "celestials", "Johnny" or "John" by almost all of the newspapers from the mid 1800's.^a (see Diagram 4) The Daily Telegraph, 2 June 1863 described the arrival of the first "Chinamen" in Dunedin in the following way:

"His reception was noisy and appeared rather to disconcert Johnny, who took to his heels, and scurried up the street at a rapid pace."

Another example is that of Ah Pack, the only Chinese at Naseby, a mining town, who had his pigtail cut off, was stripped of most of his clothes, was closed in a large cask and rolled about town by drunken hooligans.^b

a. 34 Ng. B. (1959) p. 27.

b. The Otago witness, 8 February 1868.

To a large extent the Anti-Chinese hysteria developed from frustrations due to the adverse economic conditions with the apparent depletion of gold and the overall long depression in which New Zealand found itself in this period. It was reported in the Lake Whakatipu Mail, that:

"All classes agree that the Chinese are eating up an inheritance that we should leave for our race in the future."^a

Yet the Chinese usually worked on gold-fields in the South Island, abandoned by White miners.^b The racist nature of the protests is clearly evident: but equally clear is the underlying economic causes of the outbursts. The hysteria is well illustrated by the inflammatory speech of the President of the Arrowtown Miners' Association:

"We are free men, they are slaves! We are Christians, they are heathens!! We are Britons, they are Mongolians!!!"^c

As a direct result of the agitation against Chinese a "Select Committee of Inquiry into the Chinese Question" was set up by Parliament in 1871. After exhaustive enquiries the Committee rejected all the derogatory claims made against Chinese. The two major findings of this inquiry were that:

1. The Chinese were not an economic threat as their diggings were located in areas considered unprofitable by Europeans.
2. Chinese were not a threat to public morals and health as claimed.

The parliamentary committee recommended that no legislation should be passed to exclude the entry of Chinese into New Zealand and that no special burdens should be imposed on

a. Lake Whakatipu Mail, 17 May 1871, cited in 34 Ng, B (1959) p. 16.
 b. See Map 4, p. 50.
 c. Otago Daily Times, 17 August 1871 cited in 34 Ng, B (1959) p. 16

restricting their entry. On the exhaustive evidence of common men, officials, and professionals, Chinese were praised as having a high moral character being frugal civil, patient and trustworthy, many of the allegations brought against them being untrue. Their presence in a district did not mean extra police, while as gold miners they were able to make a living from ground already worked over.

On the basis of such an inquiry and of overwhelming empirical evidence it would be quite reasonable to expect that agitation against the Chinese would lapse. In fact pressures continued with even greater vigour - the findings of the Committee were almost entirely ignored - and the basis of New Zealand's successive discriminatory Immigration Acts became firmly established not on reason, but on emotion. This is especially emphasised by the fact that the Chinese population was beginning to drift to the North Island as the gold became depleted (see maps 4, 5 and 6 following), or else returned to China.

The attitudes behind the categorical rejection of the 1871 Committee's findings must be viewed against the backdrop of the Colony's wars against the Maoris over land rights. Both the Maoris and White men (Pakehas) saw that the future of their communities depended upon retaining the land on one hand, and in the latter case, of acquiring it. The "Maori Wars" (1863-72) were a general produce of British Imperialism or colonisation, and more specifically of racial antagonism and socio-economic competition.^a As in the case of the Chinese the question of Race originated with the Pakeha colonisers. In their determination to establish a miniature England the White men thought the Maoris were inferior as a race and a hinderance to this aim as were the Chinese. The New Zealand colony was sharply differentiated by the British

a. 13 Encyclopaedia of N.Z. (1966) p. 476.

settlers into Whites and non-Whites. Non-Whites had no place in the original concept of society, even at the beginning of the colonisation of New Zealand.

Reproduced from: M. Tahir "The Asians" in Immigrants in New Zealand (1970) ed. Thomson & Trlin p.45

MAP 5 DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN NEW ZEALAND 1901

Reproduced from Tahir (1970) in Thomson & Trlin
p. 47.

MAP 6 DISTRIBUTION OF ASIANS IN NEW ZEALAND 1961

(c) 1881-1930: The White New Zealand Policy OFFICIAL HOSTILITIES - established and refined

This section describes the legislative restrictions to keep New Zealand White which were imposed to make the entry of Chinese into New Zealand increasingly more difficult from 1881 up to 1920. The effect of successive legislation had profoundly influenced the pattern of social adjustment of Chinese in New Zealand and of Chinese youth both in Wellington and New Zealand. To the few surviving grandparents the humiliation and suffering caused by the successive Immigration Acts remain indelibly vivid.

During 1878 West Coast members of Parliament made an attack on the Chinese and demanded a Bill to restrict entry after which the Prime Minister, Sir George Gray commented in a memorandum on Chinese Immigration that even if a few of them entered New Zealand it would be "prolific of disasters in New Zealand" and cited leprosy, labour problems and lower standards of living. The attempt failed, and it was not until 1881 that the first Chinese Immigrants' Restriction Act was passed following similar legislation in Australia. Across the Tasman Sea in Australia royal assent had been refused for a similar restrictive Act in 1876, though a similar Act became law a year later. At an Inter-colonial Conference of 1880-81 uniform legislation was agreed on and passed by the eastern colonies.^a New Zealand followed their example with the 1881 Act which imposed a poll tax of £10 upon entry into New Zealand and limited the number of Chinese who could be brought by any one ship to one for every 10 tons of burden. The early legislation officially expressed the fear of the

a. 13 Encyclopaedia of New Zealand (1966) p. 629

"yellow peril" who, it was claimed, were plotting to overthrow White civilisation everywhere.^a The view was kindled by the American European White colonialists who became frightened of the Yellow race in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. The Act also marked the beginning of the "White New Zealand Policy" and became the basis for immigration legislation until 1920, and also produced a remarkable social reaction from the Chinese outlined in the following section.

(1) 1890 FORMAL PETITION BY CHINESE - for unrestricted entry into New Zealand

In the first known instance of New Zealand Chinese reaction, the Wellington Chinese community petitioned the legislative council against oppressive legislation in August 1890. The petition: 1. Reaffirmed the provisions made in a treaty between China and Britain that subjects of the Chinese nation could "enter, settle and trade in any colony or Dependency of Great Britain."

2. Denied allegations of immorality with young girls on the basis of records from the law courts of the Colony, and the findings of the Select Committee 1871.

3. Advocated that a poll-tax of £10 should not be increased and should be payable by all immigrants from other nations.

4. Stated that since Chinese had taken up market gardening the shortage of fruit and vegetables which had formerly been available at exorbitant prices, had been eliminated.

a. According to 39 Spence (1971) p. 10 the phrase "Yellow Peril" appeared as the title of a cartoon drama by the German artist Knackfuss in the 1890's developed from a similar idea published in the British magazine in Piveli, 22 December 1860.

5. Reaffirmed that Chinese were law abiding, industrious and had been blamed for many offences of which they were not guilty. These allegations were invented either for interested motives or for the sake of popularity.^a

The plea was useless in the face of the combined forces of Seddon (who became Prime Minister in 1893), the chief protagonist in the agitation against Chinese immigration and, the Press. Scurrah (1948) stated that the press was anti-Asiatic without exception: "Of all the files searched, not one editorial or letter published expressed favour towards an impartiality to the Chinese question."^b

The Immigration Restriction Act of 1899 provided the basic framework of the Immigration Act in operation today. It prohibited immigrants who were insane, criminals or diseased, and made special provisions for people not of British birth and parentage. Chinese were singled out and had to pay a poll-tax of £100. Only one Chinese per 200 tons of burden was allowed in a vessel and no certificate of naturalisation for British Citizenship (which automatically applied in New Zealand) was to be issued after this date. Chinese did not gain the right for citizenship again until 1948, or half a century later, when the British nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act 1948 was enacted. A prescribed "education test" which made rote learning possible (reading of 100 words of English) was introduced in a Chinese Immigration Amendment Bill of 1907 and was not imposed upon other racial groups. The test was carried out by the Collector of Customs, on Chinese selected at his discretion. This amendment of 1907, together with the requirements of previous legislation, was thought to be the most effective way to restrict the immigration of

a. 34 Ng, B (1959) p. 23.

b. Cited in 34 Ng, B (1959); 38 Scurrah (1948) p. 61

Chinese short of total exclusion, which was not possible because of British imperial considerations. At the Colonial Conference of 1897 the Imperial Government categorically stated that it "objected to any exclusion of immigrants on the grounds of race and colour as contrary to the traditions of the British Empire."^a In Parliament total prohibition was favoured, but thoughts of raising the poll-tax to £500 and even more were considered unwise as the importation was financed by syndicates. Hence it was feared that the Chinese would have had to remain almost indefinitely to repay such a large amount. The racist lobby had up until 1907 regarded Chinese as less than people. A connotation of criminality was added in 1908 requiring Chinese entering or leaving New Zealand to provide a thumb-print.

While major efforts were directed at preventing the entry of Chinese into New Zealand the Chinese were also encouraged not to remain. By 1892 all fees for naturalisation as British subjects were abolished, except in the case of Chinese. Dislike of Chinese among the working class was publically and energetically fostered by the emergence of three organisations in the period 1900-30, the White Race League, then a few years later the White New Zealand League and the Anti-Asiatic Society. The aims were to prohibit Asiatic immigration and to keep New Zealand completely White and were widely publicised by pamphlets and public addresses throughout New Zealand.

(2) Immigration Restriction Act 1920

The Anti-Chinese agitation decreased during the first World War years, but when

a. 13 Encyclopaedia of New Zealand (1968) p. 629 Vol. 2

it was over there was a considerable increase in the number of Chinese, and also, Indians seeking entry. Between 1916 and 1921 the Chinese population increased by just over $\frac{1}{2}$ (from 2,147 to 3,266) and the Indians by just over $3\frac{1}{2}$ times (from 181 to 671). In part, the increase in the number of Chinese was due to the uncertain political conditions in China which followed the overthrowing of the Manchu dynasty in the October 10th Revolution 1911. China experienced internal disorder for the next 88 years until 1949 with the establishment of the Communist Government.

In 1919 there were about 1,000 inquiries from Indians wishing to come to New Zealand. Fear of a 'flood' of both Indians and Chinese led to the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1920 which instituted the entry permit system basically still in operation in 1972. The Act established that British people would gain automatic admittance into New Zealand; further Asiatic immigration would be stopped with the exception of wives and families of Chinese already naturalised or born in New Zealand; an individual permit system was introduced for all persons not of British birth and parentage, replacing the quasi-education test, but the poll-tax remained, and the Minister of Customs and Customs Department officers were entrusted with the administration of legislation which did not discriminate against race or colour, but the granting of an individual permit remained at the discretion of the Minister of Customs, who could also grant exemptions. This has remained the basic pattern ever since.

It will be noted that discrimination based on race or colour was now removed from law but transferred to administrative action, and that colour discrimination was still to be practised on the basis of ethnic origin. This is illustrated by the events of successive years. Firstly (between 1920 and 1926) only a limited number of permits were issued for the entry of Chinese for permanent residence. On 1 January 1926 and for the next 20 years no permits for permanent residence were granted to Chinese, while temporary permits were issued for 6 months to 2 years, with possible extension.

Secondly, permanent Chinese residents were no longer permitted to send for their wives, and those who chose to remain in New Zealand had to be prepared to be separated from their families. Chinese were virtually excluded from the country with the exception of wives and fiances of New Zealand born Chinese. And thirdly, Chinese were further discriminated against under the 1927 Dangerous Drug Act. A Chinese home could be entered at any time without a search warrant if the presence of opium was suspected on the premises.

From 1930 the first signs of a softening of the hardline anti-Chinese attitudes may be discerned. In 1930 Chinese students (children of Chinese resident in New Zealand) could enter New Zealand on a temporary permit which was renewable for a further 12 months and in 1934 the poll-tax was temporarily waived.

(3) EFFECTS OF THE RESTRICTIVE IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION ON THE CHINESE

(i) Demographic Imbalance

When the 1881 Immigrants Restriction Act was passed, the Chinese population in the colony had actually reached a maximum of 5,004 including 9 women. With the decline in gold mining, Chinese were forced into the towns where they entered the fruit and vegetable trade, ran laundries or went into market gardening, which may be regarded as the "traditional" Chinese occupations in New Zealand. By 1901 the number of Chinese had fallen to 2,938 (78 women) and reached its lowest in 1916 with 2,147 (130 women). In 1921, 3,266 (273 women); 1926, 3,374 (447 women) and in 1936, 2,943 (511 women).^a The result of the sex imbalance was that in 1935 it was estimated that there were less than 100 Chinese families in New Zealand.^b

a. See Table 3 following.

b. N.Z. Population Census 1966 Race, Vol. 7 p. 4

The New Zealand Chinese population by 1921 was as a result characterised by: a predominantly male population, heavily weighted in the middle to elderly age groups, who were either single, or they were married but separated from their wives and families by economic conditions in China or by New Zealand Immigration legislation.

(ii) Chinese Social Organisation to counter entry restrictions and problems of adjustment

Chinese mutual aid societies became established on an informal basis by urban Chinese, especially in the largest cities in New Zealand, Auckland and Wellington to counter entry restrictions and to help each other adjust to living in New Zealand. In Wellington City there were two such societies established before 1910. The first known society was the Wellington Chinese Masonic Society (Incorporated) (致公堂) which was established in 1906-7, in Frederick Street and survived until about 1938 when the old members either died or returned to China.^a The incorporation of the Society is important for it means: recognition by New Zealand law; protection as a society by law; and an understanding of the New Zealand milieu evidenced earlier in the 1890 Petition by Chinese for unrestricted entry into New Zealand. Soon after, the Poonyue or Chung Wah Association (番禺會館) Tory Street was formed in 1908. This society was established to meet the specific needs of the immigrants from the Poonyue district in China. It was also during this era that the three surviving Chinese

a. Interview with Mr F.L. Law, a 90 year old Chinese who served as a Christian Missionary for about 10 years in Otago in the early 1910-20.

District Associations in 1972 were incorporated into National Associations (see photographs 3 , 4, 5): the New Zealand Poonyue Association (1916); the New Zealand Tung Jung Association (1926) in Frederick Street, an amalgamation of two districts, Tung Kuan and Jung Sing); and the New Zealand Seyip Association (1936).^a Sub-branches were formed throughout New Zealand. These three district associations, to which membership is ascribed by districts of origin of the male Chinese settlers from China, were not brought to New Zealand from China, rather, they grew into existence as Social Centres to meet the needs of local Chinese from specific Chinese districts, by offering protection from a generally hostile host society, mutual help, recreation, temporary accommodation, friendship, settlement of disputes, arranging passage to China and acting as official guarantors of money for ship bookings, arranging shipment of the dead back to China or for visiting the graves of kinsmen, and for the financing and venue for celebrations with special facilities for Chinese cooking. Because the majority of the Chinese were from the peasantry class, the maintenance of cultural traits was and still is notable for the observance of traditional Chinese festivals and social traditions rather than for the higher cultural forms of art, literature, music and calligraphy. To a new immigrant, his Association became the most important organisation in his life. Here he often met familiar faces and men who he could call "hing day" (or brother), and perhaps most important of all he was introduced into the new environment by fellow Chinese. The Chinese District Associations were similar to the self help groups in the host society such as the Free Masonry and Friendly Societies which also acted as Social Centres for members and provided benefits. The only basic

a. The term "district" is used in preference to 34 Ng's "familial" association (1959 p.61) as a study of association membership lists of the Tung Jung Association and discussion with members of the Seyip and Poonyue Association revealed that New Zealand Chinese organisations were not founded upon a family or surname basis.

difference was that the host society groups were actually established in Great Britain and links with societies in Great Britain for the members arriving in New Zealand were retained along with the rituals and familiar benefits.^a The Chinese groups had no such links.

The Chinese formed an encapsulated community - socially, culturally, and geographically, but not economically. In Wellington, the area bound by Haining Street through to Frederick Street, Tory Street and Vivian Street was known as 'Chinatown' and the inhabitants left early in the morning to work in fruitshops, laundries and market gardens and returned late at night, while those who lived on the shop premises or on the gardens on the outskirts of the growing city (such as Cambridge Terrace) came into 'Chinatown' to talk with fellow countrymen, to play Pakapoo, Fan Tan and Mah-Jong. For the majority, these gambling games provided the only recreation from the long 12-16 hours of toil a day, often 7 days a week. For those who despaired, opium smoking provided a solace and escape from their responsibilities and individual problems. Here too were the Chinese general stores which sold: Chinese food and spices; Chinese herbal medicines; Chinese newspapers and magazines. They also acted as "unofficial" post offices and were places where old and new immigrants would "drop-in" for a sip of Chinese tea and learn about the latest events both in New Zealand, the Chinese community and home in China. The Wellington "Chinatown" and in Auckland (Grey Street area) were very small and differ from the San Francisco Chinatown in that the latter was entirely self-sufficient and large. It still retains a distinct Chinese character. In New Zealand the "Chinatowns" ceased to exist about 10 years after World War II.

a. 13 Encyclopaedia of New Zealand (1966) Vol. 1 p.754.

The Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church^a was established in 1907, in Frederick Street. Just prior to 1900 a catechist was employed to work among the 500 Chinese in Wellington and from this a small group of lay workers both men and women were teaching Chinese the English language and helping them to understand the Christian message. The Church was the only organisation in Wellington which attempted to teach the Chinese English. An evangelist, Mr David Wong was engaged as Missioner in 1903, and held regular Sunday services, an adult Sunday School after Sunday Evensong, and week-night classes in English. The Sunday services were attended by 25-40 Chinese in the period up to World War I.

TABLE 3

NEW ZEALAND CHINESE POPULATION

1874 - 1966

<u>Census</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
1874	4,814	2	4,816
1878	4,424	9	4,433
1881	4,995	9	5,004
1886	4,527	15	4,542
1891	4,426	18	4,444
1896	3,773	86	3,859
1901	2,885	78	2,963
1906+	2,515	55	2,570
1911+	2,542	88	2,630
1916	2,017	130	2,147
1921	2,993	273	3,266
1926	2,927	447	3,374
1936	2,432	511	2,943
1945	3,414	1,526	4,940
1951	3,633	2,090	5,723
1956	4,026	2,705	6,731
1961	4,913	3,611	8,524
1966	5,700	4,583	10,283

+Apparently omits Chinese of mixed blood

from New Zealand Census 1966 Race, Vol. 7 p.4

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- a. This detailed section on the role of the Chinese Anglican Church in Wellington serves as background to its present day role. As the Chinese Anglican Church is the most influential social institution in New Zealand apart from the family, an understanding of past difficulties of its work is desirable.

PHOTO 4 THE NEW ZEALAND TUNG JUNG
ASSOCIATION located in
Frederick Street, next to
Haining
the head
extinct

Photo 3

THE NEW ZEALAND POONYUE ASSOCIATION
Temporary Headquarters owned by a Poonyue businessman
in Cambridge Terrace, Wellington. A building for a
permanent Headquarter was purchased late 1972, in
Vivian Street, Wellington by the very active Poonyue
group, under the name Poon-Fa. This name denotes the
combining of two districts just like Tung-Jung but
the dominant group by far is the Poonyue.

PHOTO 4 THE NEW ZEALAND TUNG JUNG ASSOCIATION located in Frederick Street, next to Haining Street, Wellington - the heart of the now extinct little 'Chinatown'.

PHOTO 5

NEW ZEALAND CHINESE ASSOCIATION

Marion Street, Wellington.

The problem facing the Chinese is whether

Association or 'win'

help defray expenses

portion of the build

sub-let. Over-high

facilities are avail

Chinese. Youth do

the facilities, pri

because they do not

exist hence showing

the balanced deprec

Chinese family of

the need has dimin

Photo 5 THE NEW ZEALAND SEYIP ASSOCIATION
located in close proximity to Haining Street,
Wellington the Association has modernised part
of the interior. It also has sleeping quarters
at the rear of the building.
Negotiations are being made to relocate to
larger premises (1972).

PHOTO 6

NEW ZEALAND CHINESE ASSOCIATION,
Marion Street, Wellington.

The problem facing New Zealand Chinese is whether to revive the Association or 'wind-it-up'. To help defray expenses a major portion of the building is sub-let. Over-night guests facilities are available for Chinese. Youth do not utilise the facilities, primarily because they do not know they exist hence showing that with the balanced demography of the Chinese family of the 1970's the need has diminished.

Within the confines of Well
 Pamphlet: "Wellington Chinese
 work amongst the Chinese in

The Anglican Christian work spread from Wellington to Otaki, Levin, Palmerston North, Dannevirke and Northern Hawkes Bay but it was evident that the Christian religion was accepted with some difficulty. In 1917 there were only three baptised converts. In 1923 between 90 to 160 attended the services and yet in 1932 there were only 14 Anglican Christian Chinese in Wellington.

Although the Church fulfilled a vital social function by teaching English, the problem of gaining converts serves to illustrate the vast gap between the Chinese and British way of thinking.

The Reverend F.L. Law an Anglican Minister suggested three Chinese attitudes to Christianity^a: Firstly, a definite opposition to the "Jesus Religion", secondly, the opinion that Jesus was the Europeans "Holy" man, and Confucius was the Chinese "Holy" leader, and thirdly a belief in Jesus on the part of some, who were afraid to come boldly forward for fear of ridicule and also of their relatives. A further problem was related to the departure to China of some of the most faithful Christians. This tendency followed the general trends of Chinese departures (See Table 3). Clearly the strength of the Chinese heritage, the values stressing "face" and the strength of traditional family bonds and loyalties, as well as community censure helped to prevent an easy acceptance of (Anglican) Christianity - the Englishman's Religion. The fact that the Confucian ethical code stressed by Chinese upbringing coincides in the main with Christian morality meant that the Chinese saw little need to be converted.

Within the confines of Wellington's Chinatown area the companionship of Chinese

a. Pamphlet: "Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission - Fifty years of Christian work amongst the Chinese in New Zealand."

kept alive time honoured customs and traditions. Because of the closed nature of the community and antipathy to the Chinese, few Whitemen ventured into Wellington's Chinatown, and the privacy was broken only by infrequent police raids for opium.^a The murder in 1905 in protest to the 'Yellow Peril' of an elderly Chinese male in Haining Street by Lionel Terry, a mentally unbalanced Englishman, did not help to break down the isolation of the Chinese Community. But not all Chinese lived here. Others established themselves in Market Gardens, in the Lower Hutt Valley, and Gracefield areas forming small scattered islands of Chinese. From Gracefield the Chinese crossed the estuary of the Hutt River by boat and then with the produce held in two baskets attached at both ends of a pole, 'hawked' the goods from door to door both in Wellington and the Hutt Valley. Later some families shifted from the Hutt Valley gardens to Otaki, Levin areas, some sixty miles north of Wellington.

a. Sports Post, 29 April 1967, p. 16-17.

SUMMARY 1850-1930

The successive discriminatory immigration legislation which limited then virtually prohibited Chinese entry into New Zealand reflected the hostile and sometimes individual hysterical outbursts by the predominantly working-class New Zealand citizens of the period. To the majority of New Zealanders, the Chinese were unwanted, avoided, ignored and tolerated as strangers. Partly in response to this ill-treatment and non-treatment and to meet the needs of its people, the predominantly male Chinese community became encapsulated socially, culturally and geographically.^a Economically, the Chinese made a valuable contribution to the New Zealand economy by providing fruit and vegetables and laundering services at reasonable prices as well as fulfilling their own aims of making enough money to support their families in China. The petition presented in 1890 by the Wellington Chinese community for unrestricted entry into New Zealand of Chinese was an unprecedented act and the natural propensity for Chinese to return to China was in fact strengthened by the push effect of the successive discriminatory Immigration Acts which made it virtually impossible for Chinese to identify themselves as New Zealand Chinese. The petition indicates that the transient Chinese had a surprising firm grasp of the mechanics of the host society even at such an early stage of their sojourn in New Zealand.

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- a. 23 Report: The Kwong Chew Club, May 1967.
The Kwong Chew Club (1921-) at 49 Hobson Street, Auckland owed its beginnings largely to the initial indignation aroused in the Seyip community (largely of the Sunwei county) when a country brother was killed in a street argument and the convicted person was released after serving only 2 years in gaol.

(d) 1936-72 LIBERALISING IMMIGRATION POLICY AND ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRIMINATION

Humanitarian principles to establish political, social and racial freedom within New Zealand dominated Government policies following the Great Depression between the two World Wars. However, the liberalising of immigration policies affecting the entry of Chinese into New Zealand had begun passively and reluctantly rather than by deliberate and sympathetic policy. For instance, after 1934, the poll-tax on Chinese was not in practice levied even though it was not formally abolished until the Finance Act of 1944. The lapsing of the poll-tax originated during the Great Depression between 1928-1934 when there was a net loss of 1,002 Chinese (arrivals 2,417; departures 3,419). The reluctant change in immigration policies to the Chinese may be seen in events brought about by the Second World War, as described by Ng, B (1959)

"During the Second World War, it was decided that discriminatory restrictions against Chinese should be eased to allow permanent Chinese residents to bring their wives and children to the country - a privilege that was already enjoyed by non-Chinese aliens. In the case of Chinese wives and children, their permit was to be limited to two years, and a bond of £200 was required, to guarantee that the wives would take home all children including those born to them during their two-year stay in New Zealand. There were other various conditions to be fulfilled. In spite of these, however, and of the necessity to provide the passage fare and the £200 bond, 500 Chinese husbands and fathers took advantage of the scheme. Considering the Chinese population at the time was about 3,000 and that the scheme remained in operation for only a short time, the large number of applications demonstrated the anxiety of the Chinese to be reunited with their families. Eventually, 249 wives and 244 children entered New Zealand on this special permit.

With the extension of the War to the Pacific, these refugee families were unable to return to China. The original permits

could be renewed, but each renewal was accompanied by a warning that there was no guarantee of a further period of residence. Post-war China, beset by inflation and civil war, was a land to which the Chinese husbands would not wish to send their families. Homes and businesses had been established; Chinese children who were attending New Zealand schools and settling down to New Zealand life were faced with the prospect of becoming refugees again. The Dunedin Presbtery's Public Question Committee took up the matter;...."^a

The problem was resolved only after a deputation from the Dunedin Presbytery presented its case to the Prime Minister, Mr Peter Fraser in June 1947. Two months later Cabinet approved permanent residence for the 1,323 Chinese affected.^b Although the outcome was successful and subsequent immigration policy affecting the Chinese allowed the entry of other wives and minor children from China, basic attitudes in the administration of the immigration laws remained anti-Chinese. (This is dealt with later in the analysis of the Immigration Act 1964).

In contrast, the social legislation in New Zealand became universally humanitarian. The Social Security Act 1938 applicable in 1972 made benefits payable to all New Zealand residents, including people of Asian origin but not Asian nationality, provided three conditions were met: a means test; the recipient is 60 years of age, for an unmarried woman unable to undertake regular employment, 55 years; a residence qualification requiring 20 years residence in New Zealand immediately preceding application, or if actually resident on 15 March

a. 34 Ng, B (1959) pp.32-33.

The 1,323 Chinese affected by World War 2 included: 249 wives, 244 children; 437 children born in New Zealand to 'refugee' wives; 300 Chinese male students; and 93 Chinese businessmen.

b. 34 Ng, B (1959) op. cit.

1938, a term of 10 years.^a The British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act of 1948 laid down the requirements and procedure for obtaining citizenship regardless of race. Chinese could apply for naturalisation again after a break of 49 years,^b the main requirements being: that the applicant on attaining the age of 20 years has given notice of his intention to apply for naturalisation; that he has resided in the country during the 12 months prior to the date of application; that during the 7 years immediately preceding the 12 months he has resided in New Zealand for periods which amount to at least four years.

a. N.Z. Encyclopaedia (1966) Vol. 3 p.270.

b. Calculated from the Immigration Restriction Act 1899 to the British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act 1948. This latter Act created for the first time the status of "New Zealand Citizen."

(1) EFFECTS ON CHINESE(a) Demographic Balance

The combined effect of the "liberalising" of policy (abandoning the poll-tax allowing Chinese refugee wives and children to remain, resumption of naturalisation) together with the establishment of a Communist Government in China in 1949 was the creation of a permanent Chinese community in New Zealand. Two basic changes occurred within the New Zealand Chinese community - it became larger and assumed a stable character, with a better sex ratio and a more balanced age structure. In 1936 there were only 21 Chinese females in New Zealand to every 100 males; 1945, there were only 45 to 100; 1951, 58 to 100; 1956, 67; 1961, 74; and by 1966 the ratio had risen to 80 females to every 100 males. Natural increase is now further redressing the balance.^a The balancing of the sex ratio since 1945 explains the unusual predominance of second generation youth in the sample despite over 100 years of Chinese settlement in New Zealand. Fifty (52% $\pm$ 5%) were second generation while only 31 (32% $\pm$ 5%) were third generation. This distribution is confirmed by table No. 4, which shows that 54% (5,548) of the Chinese were born in New Zealand, of which 51% (2,932) were males and 57% (2,616) were females.

The continued identification with Chinese ancestry and civilisation is reflected in the relatively low proportion of Chinese of "mixed-blood". In 1966 there were only 12% (1,228) Chinese of "mixed-blood" compared to 17% (1,197) Indians.

a. New Zealand Census 1966, Race, Vol. 7 p.4

TABLE 4

CHINESE BORN IN NEW ZEALAND

<u>N.Z. Born</u>	<u>Total Number</u>		<u>%Born in New Zealand</u>
Chinese males	2,932	5,700	51
Chinese females	2,616	4,583	57
	5,548	10,283	54%

(b) The Chinese Extended Family: a household and business concern(i) The Economic and Social Bonds of the Family as a Group

An extended family as described in this thesis and observed in the Wellington area may be defined as a group of people male and females comprising at least three generations, who share the same living and cooking facilities in the same house and are related by blood-ties to form a household. It therefore includes grandparents, father (and mother) and children. A nuclear family consists of mother, father and children only.

In 1935 there were less than 100 Chinese families (both extended and nuclear) in New Zealand^a out of a total of about 3,000 Chinese of which just over 500 were female, and so the extended family was not common. Rather, the family of men linked together by kinship ties predominated. Following the entry into New Zealand of the 1939 'Refugee' wives and children the foundations were laid for the operating of Chinese fruitshops, laundries and market gardens by the nuclear family or the extended

a. N.Z. Population Census, 1966, Race, Vol. 7, p.4

family/business concern structure. Within the structure of the household, everyone, including the women and children as in tradition, contributed all their time and effort. Such an economically integrated family reinforced family solidarity by assigning business tasks to each member of the family within the common firm and thus socially isolated itself from the host society. Contact with the host society members tended to be impersonal and during business hours. The majority of Chinese youth in Wellington and New Zealand have grown up in such circumstances.

The weakening of the economically integrated family occurred because of internal and external factors to the family. Internally the direction of the firm correlated with the direction of the family to such an extent that household problems directly affected the business: conflicts between the household members threatened its operation, and the consumption of profits by the household was at the expense of reinvestment and expansion. The problem of maintaining unity within the economically integrated family is well illustrated by the vignette on the "Integrated Chinese male" who relates:

"Dad was the youngest of four, three brothers, and a sister. The second brother had a fight or argument, so that's why Dad left the Island Bay Shop (in Wellington) and we went market gardening in 1952....It's funny really. There have been so many fights within the family that....I don't know if we were really close...."a

Besides the problem of conflict unity was put under stress when the firm could no longer support growing numbers, and in instances where the household occupied living quarters on the shop premises, then the split began when the nuclear

family decided to invest in its own house, away from the city centre. External push/pull factors relate to events after the Second World War when there was a general lessening of tensions within the New Zealand Society. The relaxed milieu of today has been the result where there is abundant job opportunities; unrestricted social mobility, political stability and general prosperity. The operation of push factors may be seen with the virtual disappearance in New Zealand of the Chinese laundry shop for reasons already outlined in the Introduction Section 4.

The fruitshops business offers only limited scope for expansion with the intense competition from supermarkets and the widespread sale of fruit and vegetables by Grocery stores. Pull factors relate to the educational opportunities open to all New Zealand citizens and the growing disdain for the long working hours and little time for leisure associated with the fruitshop and market garden. Because of the forementioned reasons, Chinese have since the Second World War increasingly penetrated into all levels of the occupational structure.

Unity within the economically integrated Chinese family was maintained by "walking on two legs" - one leg being the business enterprise and the other, the extended family as a social unit. As long as the economic and social functions coincide then unity is maintained. But with the gradual separation of the economic role from the social role of the Chinese extended family its unity has been undermined. In Wellington 1971, 87% (84) of the respondents came from nuclear families.

(ii) Change in Attitudes of the Chinese

With the unification of the Chinese families during and after the Second World War and the creation of a permanent Chinese community in New Zealand two factors

profoundly affected the direction and character of the adjustment of Chinese in New Zealand, namely: the creation of Communist China in 1949 and changes in legislation within New Zealand.

Since the Second World War there has been a significant shift in identification of the Chinese away from China to that of the host society. With the succession to power of Communist Government in 1949 the desire to return home was for practical reasons shelved. The letters from China told of the problems and especially the absence of individual freedom while in comparison, New Zealand offered economic, social and political security. The changes in social legislation made it possible for Chinese to feel at home in New Zealand with the Social Security Act 1938 making benefits payable to all New Zealand residents, and the British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act of 1948 which made it possible for everyone resident in New Zealand to apply for New Zealand Citizenship.^a

It is a paradox that when Chinese people generally had no real intentions of staying in New Zealand as permanent settlers prior to 1949 they experienced discriminatory immigration and application specifically formulated to prevent or at second best, minimise their entry into New Zealand, while today the application of Government immigration policy at 1972, as it affects Chinese has never been so favourable provided the applicants hold 'professional, technical or speciality trade qualifications' in which there is a shortage in New Zealand. Such applicants would intend to settle in New Zealand permanently.

The change in attitudes of the New Zealand resident Chinese is strikingly evidenced by their willingness since 1949 to invest their savings in New Zealand where previously the Chinese preferred to invest in real estate in China, a reverse type of colonialism. The antipathy of the host society to the Americans and the English doing this very thing is referred to by Sutch.^b Conspicuous investment by

a. The social legislation was outlined more fully on pps. 71-72.

b. 40(1) Sutch W.V. (1966) pp. 170-171 and 40(2) Sutch (1966) pp.434-435.

the Chinese is in modern homes (see photo 27) and other real estate. Gone too are the ubiquitous trucks which were for both private and business use and now Chinese have modern and expensive motor cars, as well as trucks if they have a shop or market garden. The change in attitudes has been from a sojourner to a settler, a change which confronted parents with a host of problems. Should we speak Chinese at home to our children? If we did wouldn't this hinder their advancement at school and therefore their careers? Should we let them learn how to read and write Chinese after school or during the weekend? If we let them go then we will not have their help in the fruitshop; if we don't let them go to Chinese school then surely they will forget their Chinese language? Such questions and many others left many parents apprehensive that their children would forget their heritage, and so parents sent their children along to 'Chinese school' if it was convenient, to either of the two Chinese Churches or at the Tung Jung Association.

(iii) Social effects

The outward manifestation of the undermining of the economical integrated extended family were not necessarily reflected in the social functions of the smaller extended family and new nuclear family. Grandparents still had to be cared for; children were speaking Chinese at home mainly because their mothers and grandparents and fathers spoke Chinese more fluently. The majority of the children in Wellington (93% $\pm$ 5%) attended Chinese school after attending normal classes at school, while 48% $\pm$ 5% attended for between 3 to 7 years or more. After Chinese school there was the normal school homework or work to do in the shop. Because of chain migration relatives were numerous and frequent birthdays, weddings and funerals helped to maintain the feeling of family solidarity and concern.

PHOTO 7 HAINING STREET dominance

The last two wooden houses built in the 1880's, left in Haining Street. The doors to these buildings were very solid, presumably to stall and prevent police raids on opium. Rusty iron bars protect the rear windows. To the rear there is a roast-pig oven.

The two houses in photo 7 were built on the site of the old opium den. (The site is indicated by a red cross on the photograph).

THE IMMIGRATION ACT 1964 AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

PHOTO 8

HAINING STREET ... and succession

This photo shows Haining Street as it was in 1972. The area is used for light industry and warehousing. There is only one house left as a reminder of the illustrious past. The two houses in photo 7 have gone and the site is used as a car park. (The site is indicated by a red cross on the photograph).

In 1964 at the second reading of the Immigration Act 1964, the Minister of Immigration said:

"We no longer restrict entry on the basis of race. In saying that, I express the policy followed by successive governments."

—Vaughan G. (1972) "Racial Issues in New Zealand" Auckland Press.

op. cit p.109

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates Vol. 140 p.1712

(2) THE IMMIGRATION ACT 1964 AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

The purpose of this section is to show that racial discrimination still exists in the administration of New Zealand's immigration laws and to analyse the Labour Department Immigration Division's philosophy to immigrants. The administration of the immigration law in New Zealand as it affects Chinese supports the argument presented by Vaughan (1972)^a that New Zealand, although by world standards enjoys racial harmony, is basically racist:

"White racism, subtle and blatant...pervades important structures in New Zealand society. Racism exists when decisions are made on a racial basis, which result in the subordination of a racial group. Racism usually works to support a status quo....It can operate on two levels, the individual and the institutional, and either of these can be overt or covert."^b

(underlining added by writer)

The Immigration Act amended and consolidated the laws relating to immigration. Notably, race, colour, creed and ethnic origin are omitted as criteria of admission to New Zealand, but effective control of immigration is retained in the principal of admission by Ministerial discretion vested in the Minister of Labour and Immigration, who may delegate his powers to any Immigration Officer.

In 1964 at the second reading of the Bill that became the Immigration Act 1964, the Minister of Immigration said:

"We no longer restrict entry on the grounds of race, colour or creed. In saying that, I express the policy that has been followed by successive governments."^c

a.48(a) Vaughan G. (1972) "Racial Issues in New Zealand": Problems and insights, Akarana Press.

b. op. cit p.109

c. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates Vol. 340 p.2712.

in July 1971, in reply to a question from the floor, the Prime Minister, the Hon. J.R. Marshall, then Minister of Immigration, said:

"Immigration policies do not discriminate against people on the ground of race or colour."^a

In the early part of this chapter the main discriminatory immigration laws enacted specifically against the Chinese were mentioned and included the Immigrant's Restriction Act 1881, Immigration Restriction Act of 1899 and the Chinese Immigration Amendment Bill 1907. The mention of race was omitted with the Immigration Restriction Act 1920. Discrimination on grounds of race and colour was transferred to the application of the immigration laws.

We shall consider only two documented cases of discrimination against Chinese.

1. The first case, fully documented in the Appendix 3, involved a Chinese visitor to New Zealand who was prevented from entering New Zealand unless signed declarations were given that no application would be made for an extension or extensions or for permanent residence in New Zealand. Such declarations take away a visitor's right, as contained in the Immigration Act 1964 Section 14(4), to apply for an extension or extensions on entry into New Zealand. The visitor is prevented from exercising his rights even before he arrives in New Zealand.

In 1970^b a New Zealand citizen and a resident for over thirty years lodged a letter of application for a relative from Hong Kong to visit New Zealand as

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- a. New Zealand Parliamentary Debates Vol. 373 p.2135
 - b. The writer is indebted to the legal analysis of this case of discrimination by Mr Peter Waugh in an unpublished manuscript entitled "Aspects of Discrimination in the Application of New Zealand's Immigration Act 1964". The summary presented here is adapted from this paper.

a tourist for 12 months. Both parties were Chinese. Over a year later a six month permit was granted after 3 declarations, demanded by the Immigration Department, that no extensions of the permit would be applied for, were given.^a These were given by two New Zealand citizens and the prospective visitor from Hong Kong. It appears from the following extract from an Immigration Department letter that no permit would have been granted without such declarations:

"I should be grateful if you would forward your written declaration that you will not apply for any extension to Mr _____ temporary permit, should he be issued one, or for permanent residence, nor will you cause or induce any person or organisation to apply for the same on his behalf."^b

The six month permit was granted and an application for an extension was turned down on the grounds that the above undertakings were given.^c The demanded declarations are, it is submitted, contrary to Section 14(4). The Labour Department has claimed the right to impose any conditions it wishes under section 14(2) and Section 15(3). However, these conditions must be ultra vires (beyond legal authority) when the Act itself provides the right to apply for extensions.

The Labour Department admits that such declarations are worthless.^d They cannot be legally requested. Yet these guarantees are demanded spasmodically from Chinese visitors from Hong Kong and permits not issued without their being given. This case is an example of the rule rather than an exception to it.

The Department also makes it necessary for Chinese who are citizens of Hong Kong and holders of a British passport, to obtain a permit before leaving

a. Appendix 3 p. 281 and p.286

b. *ibid*, p. 282

c. *ibid*, p. 283

d. *ibid*, p. 311

Hong Kong. Under the same circumstances, a European does not need to obtain a permit before leaving Hong Kong.

2. The Government Immigration Policy as stated by the Honourable Prime Minister on 23rd July 1971 was to allow entry of persons with:

"Professional, technical or specialty trade qualifications."^a

In 1966 a Hong Kong Chinese nurse employed by the Hong Kong Government Hospital with a British passport, applied for a position with the Palmerston North Hospital and was registered with the New Zealand Nursing Board, but her application to enter and work in New Zealand was declined. The nurse had been trained in England and obtained a General Nursing Certificate in London and qualified as a mid-wife after further training at Birmingham. In 1971 she arrived in New Zealand on a two month temporary entry visa. Representations were made to the Immigration Department pointing out that New Zealand had a shortage of 1,700 qualified nurses, and that at least two positions were waiting her acceptance in Wellington. It was claimed by the Department that she did not come within definition of the above policy. She has been allowed to remain in New Zealand.

The problem remains to discover the basic reasons for the administrative discrimination operating against Chinese (and Indians). Beside the obvious factor of human nature to reject anything perceived as being different and strange, the Labour Department's philosophy to immigrants is based upon the concept of assimilation, and is inconsistent. The racist assumptions implicit in the term assimilation have already been outlined in the introduction and yet the Department's

a. 23 July 1971 Hansards.

policy as stated in 1970, was:

"...to allow entry to those nationalities who are easily assimilated^a"
and that the policy of restricting the numbers of immigrants entering New Zealand are

"...Not at all a matter of racial discrimination but is dictated by the relative ease with which different groups of people can be assimilated."^b

It is officially admitted by the Labour Department that Asians, including Chinese, Indians and others are assimilating well and Chinese are especially singled out for their good assimilation^c then it would be reasonable to expect that special agreements and concessions have been established with Chinese in Hong Kong as such arrangements as assisted immigration, schemes exist with Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Greece, Malta, France.^d More recently Southern Europeans including Yugoslavs, Hungarians and Italians have been included into the assisted passage scheme and yet there is not even a quota system for Chinese from Hong Kong, even though it is conceded that the anti-Asian sentiment in New Zealand which used to be a serious problem had almost disappeared.^e

The Labour Department's policy based on the concept of assimilation is also at odds with New Zealand's domestic policy, to its ethnic groups, which is one of integration,^f stated since 1961.

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- a. Labour Department, Immigration Division publication entitled "Immigration" p.1.
 - b. Labour Department, Immigration Division publication entitled "A Look at New Zealand's Immigration Policy" p.1.
 - c. Labour Department, Immigration Division publication entitled "Immigration" p.3.
 - d. Labour Department, Immigration Division publication "Immigrants to New Zealand April 1970, p.4.
 - e. ibid. p.3
 - f. 20 Hunn (1961) p. 15.

2. RACIAL ATTITUDES OF EUROPEAN NEW ZEALANDERS - as reflected in the attitudes to immigrants

"It has been the traditional policy of successive New Zealand Governments to give preference to people of British stock and about 80% of the annual intake are in this category."^a

The above statement by the Labour Department, Immigration Division neatly summarises the historical peopling of New Zealand of Anglo-Saxons in the main. As a result, Asian peoples in New Zealand especially Chinese have been the object of hostilities, harassment, ill-treatment, and exclusion which originated from the economically insecure working class. A cursory survey of successive New Zealand Immigration Acts easily supports this view: the administration of the present Immigration Act leaves little doubt that New Zealand has an unstated "White New Zealand Policy" which equals, if not, surpasses that of Australia's. We may ask, however, to what extent are Government attitudes as revealed in the application of the Immigration Act 1964 a true reflection of its citizens it purports to represent? Recent research by Trlin (1971)^b in Auckland suggests that Government's current immigration policy which stringently limits entry of Asians, particularly Chinese, does not have widespread support of New Zealand's citizens - 88% of the sample were willing to admit Chinese. Furthermore, Trlin found that non-professional/managerial and white collar workers, the "working class" held to the view of assimilation of the immigrants, that the immigrants give up their old ways of thinking and acting and tried to take on the New Zealand ways of thinking and acting.

a. Publication: "Immigration to New Zealand" 1970.

b. 48(3) Trlin (1971) As the study was on racial attitudes held by 231 New Zealand born respondents and 86 foreign-born (mainly British) to Immigrants, the Maori people were excluded from the analysis. See Table 5.

Table 5: Racial Attitudes in New Zealand

TABLE 5 RACIAL ATTITUDES IN NEW ZEALAND

1 Social Distance Expressed by 231 New Zealand-born Respondents towards 14 Birthplace Groups
(Percentage Distribution)

I would be willing to admit persons from this country	PACIFIC VIEWPOINT													
	United Kingdom	U.S.A.	Sweden	Denmark	Germany	Netherlands	Yugoslavia	Hungary	Italy	China	Japan	West Samoa	India	Niue
To close kinship by marriage	77.05	68.83	49.78	49.35	42.42	41.55	33.33	29.00	27.70	14.71	14.28	12.55	11.68	9.09
To my home as friends or guests	9.95	16.01	21.21	25.10	20.77	28.13	22.94	24.67	22.07	30.73	26.40	24.67	25.10	25.97
To my occupation as a work- mate or colleague	4.76	4.76	12.12	9.52	12.98	10.82	15.58	14.28	15.58	11.68	13.85	16.01	11.25	16.01
To residence in New Zealand	6.49	4.76	10.38	8.65	10.82	11.68	15.15	9.95	13.85	12.55	6.06	16.88	14.28	15.58
To New Zealand as visitors only	0.86	5.60	4.76	6.49	9.09	6.06	8.65	15.15	13.42	18.18	25.54	17.74	22.94	19.04
I would not be willing to admit to New Zealand	0.86	—	1.73	0.86	3.89	1.73	4.32	6.92	7.35	12.12	13.85	12.12	14.71	14.28

Note: Respondents were asked to indicate the highest step on the scale to which they would be willing to admit persons (as a class) from each of the specified countries. A respondent's nomination of "to close kinship by marriage" may be taken to denote also acceptance of "to my home", "to my occupation" and "to residence in New Zealand".

Reproduced from Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. 12, No. 2,
September, 1971, p. 146.

Professional/managerial and white collar workers tended to support integration that is, the immigrant group acts and thinks like New Zealanders in some ways and New Zealanders act and think like immigrants in some ways so that eventually the differences between them would disappear. In New Zealand, 1966 30% of the work force were in the professional/managerial and white collar workers group while the corresponding figures for Hutt urban and Wellington urban were well above the National average at 39% and 48% respectively.^a On the basis of Trlin's findings then, almost 50% of the residents in the Wellington area tend to favour integration or interaction, and yet overriding the general favourable attitude to Chinese is the confirmation in Table 5 of the writer's contention that the attitudes held by the host New Zealand society to immigrants sharply differentiate between "White" and "non-White" groups. Trlin omitted to mention this.

(1) The "White" groups comprised of two groups of Europeans - the traditional British American and Northern European immigrants who are culturally and socially similar to White New Zealanders, and Southern European immigrants who have recently been given favourable treatment by being included in those countries eligible for assisted passage to New Zealand even though there has been hostility and is antipathy to both Italians and Greeks from the host society.

(2) The "Non-White" or coloured immigrant group which is headed by the Chinese with the Indians second to last. Why are the Chinese (and Indians) so lowly rated in the total spectrum of immigrants? And why are the Chinese placed first in the

a. Calculated from the New Zealand Population Census 1966 Industries and Occupations. p.9 and 1966 Census Supplement No. 6 p.10. The professional/managerial and white collar workers group was interpreted by the writer to include the Census Occupations divisions: Professional, Technical, Administrative, executive, Clerical workers. The high percentage in the Hutt and Wellington Cities is due to the fact that Wellington is the Capital City and the Administrative headquarters for many businesses.

coloured group?

The reasons for the first question regarding the low rating of Chinese are found in the dominance of colour in the process of selecting who should enter New Zealand. It was proved as far back as 1871 with the Committee of Inquiry into the Chinese question that Chinese were first-class citizens and were law-abiding, industrious, moral people. This is admitted by the Labour Department as evidenced in Section 1D(2) of this Chapter, and yet Chinese remain the victims of colour discrimination. Today Chinese youth in Wellington are proud that Chinese are so highly respected citizens at all walks of life, and although there is scant statistical evidence, Chinese contribution, economically and socially to the New Zealand life is much more than is appreciated, despite substantial remittances to China prior to 1949. While the numbers of Chinese professionals (architects, engineers, lawyers, accountants etc) and entrepreneurs is not stated in the Census it is significant that Chinese have penetrated into all levels of the occupational structure in New Zealand. The traditional high regard for education held by Chinese has resulted in increasing numbers of New Zealand Chinese youth seeking a university education. In comparison the Indian population in New Zealand (6,843) is smaller than the Chinese (10,283) and has made an important economic contribution to New Zealand in the retail trade (fruit and vegetable) and in market gardening, has shown more willingness to marry non-Indians (the ratio of "mixed-blood" is 1 in every 6 compared to the Chinese 1 in every 8) and yet Indians are rated second to bottom in Trlin's findings. Clearly, the relatively negative Indian stereotype held by White New Zealanders is basically influenced by the fact that Indians are of a darker colour than Chinese, and McGee's contention that Indians have become a colour-caste in New Zealand is fully justified.

The reason why Chinese are ranked highest on the coloured group is more difficult to explain. Undoubtedly the fact that the Chinese are generally the highest colour of the group (with the possible exception of a small number of Japanese) is very important. Another possible reason may be that as New Zealanders have been in contact with Chinese for about 120 years who have become geographically dispersed throughout New Zealand, the increased contact has helped to minimise adverse stereotyping. Furthermore, as Chinese have penetrated into the professional status occupations and into the ranks of Jaycees, Lion and Rotary Clubs their esteem has increased accordingly. The attributes of diligence, loyalty, honesty, trustworthiness, steadiness, can now be appreciated at first hand by White employers as Chinese give up their shops or leave the gardens. But probably more important is the change in attitudes among the Chinese. As there is little hope in the immediate future of returning to China they are determined to adapt, by participating fully in the life of New Zealand.

Trlin found that 57% of his respondents declared that they would be willing to admit immigrants from both China and Japan to a social position of workmate or colleague in their occupation, which does indicate that the basic colour differentiation is becoming subject to modification but equally significant is the finding that Southern Europeans are still ranked higher than Chinese:- Yugoslavs 71%; Hungarians 67%; and Italians 65%.

On the basis of Trlin's survey one can presume few New Zealanders would be willing to admit to racial prejudices: overt expressions of xenophobia were confined to a small percentage of the sample population, ranging from 12% to 15% on the social distance scale for immigrants from China, Japan, Western Samoa, Niue and India. The majority are reported to have adopted a tolerant attitude to Non-White New Zealanders and supported an integrative (interactionist) ideal where both immigrants

and New Zealanders should contribute to a common culture so that differences between them would eventually disappear. Few thought that immigrants should "give-up" their ways as quickly as possible (Monism) and none subscribed to separate development of each immigrant group (pluralism)^a.

The writer strongly suspects that these answers from Trlin's sample are more a reflection of those attitudes which are compatible with the social philosophy of equality, and with the general international outcry against all forms of racial discrimination, rather than the true feelings of New Zealanders. Another example of this "window dressing" put by Government is seen in the Race Relations Act 1972^b which, although it outlaws racial discriminations, provides so many clauses to side-step any possible changes that its enforcement is doubtful.^c Preliminary newspaper opinion polls indicate overwhelming support for a 1973 rugby tour, irrespective of whether South Africa concedes to have its selections on a multi-racial basis. It appears to the writer that White New Zealanders tend to follow a policy of sympathetic support for countries who have a similar life-style such as Afrikaan South Africa and White Rhodesia on grounds of a certain social affinity: a common language, a similar colonial heritage which distinguishes 'colonials' (such as 'Australians', 'Anglo-Saxon Americans', 'Afrikaan South Africans' and New Zealanders) from Europeans; a common love of the same sport; and a similar way of suburban life.

-
- a. The three orientations are from 148 Taft (1963).
 - b. The Race Relations Act 1972: An Act to affirm and promote racial equality in New Zealand and to implement the International Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.
 - c. 37 Pope (1971) p.385.

Trlin's study supports Vaughan's (1972) argument that New Zealand is a racist society which is expressed both on the individual and institutional levels and which operates both covertly and overtly, but does this assertion apply to the youth (16-29) who make up about 30% of New Zealand's total population? The writer does not believe that White New Zealand youth share the racist attitudes of their parents, because they have been educated together, to believe in social equality, in an environment of material prosperity, and as well, as share in an international youth culture made possible by international television link-ups, radio, films, pop music and which advocates among other things: civil rights, racial equality and an end to hypocrisy. White New Zealanders believe that they have tolerated its coloured citizens in the past. This is a myth. Maoris have been taught by the host society to depreciate their own culture and uphold Pakeha^a values and way-of-living as superior to "Maoritanga" or the Maori way of life. In the past racial harmony between Chinese and 'European' has been achieved by Chinese passiveness not so much host society tolerance. Chinese have accepted the hostilities and inhuman treatment of the past and continued racial discrimination in the administration of the Immigration laws as being "part-and-parcel" of the privilege of being allowed to enter New Zealand. The same Chinese characteristics which enabled the early Chinese sojourners to endure physical and mental hardships also enable them to endure social injustices.

New Zealand has a long history of anti-Asian discrimination and in Buchanan's^b opinion, persecution of the Asians in the past cannot be dismissed lightly as 'a

a. 'Pakeha' is a Maori term for White New Zealanders.

b. 6 Buchanan, K.M. (1964) p.23.

Victorian aberration" - for the feelings which gave rise to them which persisted in 1964 and still continue in 1972. Buchanan stated that:

"There is a grudging willingness to accept the stranger if he conforms to our cultural pattern and merges with us and since this is not possible to the Asian (if only for reasons of skin colour), the result is a situation, if not of active discrimination, at least of race avoidance."^a

a. 6 Buchanan, K.M. (1964) p. 23.

3. ATTITUDES OF CHINESE YOUTH TO THE HOST SOCIETY

After the analysis in the preceding two sections of this chapter it is surprising and interesting to find that Chinese youth in Wellington consider that New Zealanders have a favourable attitude to them. 75% (+ 4%) of the youth thought so, and reacted to New Zealanders accordingly (see Table 6).

80, 83% (+ 4%) stated that they had hardly ever experienced any prejudice or discrimination, and this was mostly in primary schools, 48, 49% (+ 5%) or less frequently at secondary school 11, 11% (+ 3%). The other instances 23, 24% (+ 3%) were in shopping, job applications, housing^a and travelling.

The incidence of actual discrimination shows a decreasing incidence as Chinese youth have grown and entered the wider society. Certainly, prejudice was noticed by the youth-only 22% thought that they were regarded extremely favourably. Does this necessarily mean that social attitudes to Chinese have improved? Undoubtedly the attitudes have improved in the host society but the writer has reservations as to a real change of host society attitudes. Children tend to

TABLE 6

PERCEIVED ATTITUDES OF NEW ZEALANDERS TO CHINESE

	No.	%	%error
Extremely favourable	21	22	4
Favourable	73	75	4
Indifferent	3	3	2
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 7

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCED BY CHINESE YOUTH

	No	%	%error
Often	2	2	1
Hardly ever	80	83	4
None	15	15	4
TOTAL	97	100	

a. An example is cited in Appendix 2C on the 'integrated' Chinese male.

be spontaneous in what they say and actions to a large extent reflect faithfully attitudes of their parents. By the age of sixteen the individual can conjure up systematically the full range of alternative possibilities that could exist at any time. In effect, this means that speech and behaviour patterns become more discrete and sophisticated as the individual matures. Tendencies to discriminate on the basis of colour can easily be suppressed. On the other hand, Chinese in New Zealand have an excellent record of law-abiding and industrious people, and as more Chinese, particularly youth, penetrate into all sectors of the occupations these and other noteworthy qualities can be appreciated by a wider number of people. Increased contact will reinforce the positive stereotyping of New Zealand Chinese.^a

In view of the writer's own experience and problems of identity the survey findings in the final analysis may well reflect the ease of which Chinese youth have been acculturated into New Zealand society, but who have yet to be confronted with a similar identity crisis as the writer's (see Appendix 4A).

a. It is a common fallacy to believe that increased contact between Races will automatically bring about better understanding - increased contact may in occasions reinforce adverse stereotyping.

SUMMARY

The history of Chinese immigration to New Zealand has been characterised by a continuous pre-occupation to prevent them from entering and the New Zealand Government policy remains basically unchanged even though all references to colour and ethnic origin were removed from the Immigration Act in 1920. Since then the discriminatory policies against Chinese have been and are maintained by administrative action.

Fears of the "Yellow Peril" are completely unfounded as the Chinese in New Zealand originate mainly by chain migration from a small locality within the Kwangtung Province, China. The paradox is that prior to 1949 when the Communist Government gained power in China, Chinese people did not want to stay in New Zealand permanently because of their family ties. Since 1949, political circumstances in China forced Chinese in New Zealand to shelve indefinitely plans to return to their homeland and in effect have become political exiles, separated from their close relatives who are either in China or Hong Kong.

Because of the hostile society and the development of social organisations to help Chinese accommodate themselves in Wellington, the community became encapsulated and characterised by a predominance of males. It was only when the Labour Government in 1938 on, began to treat Chinese benevolently that a more balanced sex and age structure became possible and it has been only since the Communist takeover in China in 1949 that a permanent Chinese community was formed in New Zealand. As families have been reunited only since the 1940's and early 1950's the Chinese youth in Wellington remain largely a homogeneous group.

In the absence of comprehensive research into racial attitudes in New

Zealand it is difficult to gauge the feeling towards Chinese. Trlin's findings however suggest that the Government's immigration policies have wide support in New Zealand, and New Zealand attitudes to its non-white immigrants follow the principle of avoiding contact with non-whites where possible. Attitudes of New Zealanders to Chinese have changed from hostility to apathy and even tolerance.

CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 2: STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

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Photo 9 CHINESE GATHERING

About 200 members, relatives and friends of the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church at a picnic, 1971. Generational gaps are bridged only at Church gatherings outside the family.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

In the preceding chapter the two major factors of loyalty to the Chinese family and past discrimination by the host society which have influenced the social adjustment of Chinese youth have been discussed.

Structurally, Chinese youth are not rapidly entering into the life of the host society. The reasons for this lie not with the more traditional Chinese associations or Chinese Christian churches, but rather with the importance of Chinese youth clubs with ethnic identity and sport as the common bonds. The former two groups tend to be mutually exclusive and cater mainly for the interests and needs of elderly Chinese although each realises that youthful members are needed to ensure their long term survival. The most active Chinese district association, Seyip, has achieved this in part, but the Churches come closest to building bridges between the generations outside of the Chinese family group. Chinese youth groups are the most effective agencies outside the family for maintaining homogeneity and tend to insulate the youth socially from participating in the host society's formal associations.

This chapter analyses the extent to which the Chinese in Wellington act as a close-knit community. The discussion is divided into two parts:-

- (a) The community in diversity which discusses the role of the major Chinese organisations as it seeks to adjust to the host society, including:-
 - (1) the older generation associations consisting of the three district associations namely the Seyip, Poonyue and Tung Jung; the Wellington Chinese Association and the two Chinese Christian Churches, the Baptist and Anglican.
 - (2) the formal youth clubs: Eastern Chinese Sports Club and

Church Youth Clubs, as well as the informal youth relationships.

- (b) This second part is concerned with the nature of that response as the Chinese community attempts to build 'community halls', revealing the pattern of interrelationships between the relevant groups: the Poonyue Association, the Seyip Association, the Eastern Chinese Sports Club, and the Wellington Anglican Chinese Mission Church.

INTRODUCTION

The role of ethnic associations in the assimilation of immigrants is a subject of great controversy.^a Researchers such as: Park and Miller (1921),¹³⁰ Zubrzycki (1956)¹⁵⁷ and Borrie (1959)⁹⁷ believe that the ethnic association hinders the association of immigrants while others maintain that the ethnic association enhances the assimilation of its members (Chyz and Lewis, 1949 and Longrod Thomas, 1959)^b; and Handlin (1951).¹²² The advocates of the view that the ethnic association has a negative influence on assimilation base their opinions on the nature of the association's activities; the language used, the type of activity, the social contact with members of the same ethnic group which prevent the members from fully participating in the life of the host society. They also argue that the observance of ethnic national days and the character of leisure activities restrict mutual contacts to members of the same ethnic group and so the possibilities of assimilation are minimised. The positive or enhancing influence on assimilation is explained on the premise that leaders of ethnic organisations are usually well assimilated immigrants who channel information from the host community to the immigrant group. The leaders are seen to act as vital bridges between newcomer and host community and so pave the way for a speedy assimilation. Such opposed findings are useful from an analytical point of view, but the ultimate decision of whether an ethnic association is or not rests mainly with the ethnic minority group itself, and not solely with the researcher. The mere fact that these associations

a. 124(5) Johnston (1967) "The Influence of the Ethnic Association on the Assimilation of its immigrant members."

b. Op.cit. Johnston (1967)

survive attests that the group thinks that they are necessary. Conversely, the host society if it is pursuing a policy of assimilation of its racial groups will regard the ethnic association as a hinderance to assimilation.

In Wellington and New Zealand as a whole the Chinese Associations, Churches and Clubs have played and continue to have a positive effect on the adjustment of the members, for here a positive identity is established. Furthermore, the leaders, on an individual liaison capacity do provide vital links by channelling information between newcomer and host society.

THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN DIVERSITY

1. Older Generation Associations

(a) The Chinese District Associations

For the purposes of this study, a Chinese District Association refers to a Chinese organisation which was formed in the immigrant country to meet the social welfare needs of its members. Membership is by birth and is based on the origin of the individual in China through the male lineage.^a There are three district associations in Wellington; Poonyue; Seyip; and Tung Jung whose members originate from the two adjacent districts of Tung Kuan and Jung Sing.^b Distinctiveness between the three district associations is reinforced by the clear dialect differences.

The major functions of the Chinese District Associations are directed to three purposes:

- (1) the maintenance of Chinese customs relating to ancestor worship;
- (2) the holding of Chinese banquets;
- (3) the retention of the Chinese ethnic identity.

In the main these functions are directed to and maintained by the older generation. A comparison of the average ages of the committees reveals the large generation gap which exists between the youth and the elders, and highlights the declining importance of ancestor worship even with the parents of Chinese youth who believe such customs to be superstitious beliefs irrelevant to modern life. (See Table 8). Three

a. 34 Ng, Bickleen (1959) p. 61 uses the term "familial institutions" instead of "district association". The latter term is more correct as a survey of the membership lists Keptin Chinese characters of the district associations reveals a wide range of surnames.

b. The origins of the District Association has already been discussed in Chapter 1 (see pages 59-69)

important differences emerge. The Tung Jung group has the widest range of ages, with 4 men in their 70's still actively interested in the association and as a result the mean age of this association is the highest. The median age of the Committee members is also the highest, at 45. Secondly, the Poonyue group have

TABLE 8

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE ASSOCIATION LEADERS

<u>Age</u>	<u>Seyip</u>	<u>Poonyue</u>	<u>Tung-Jung</u>
Mean	39.4	37.5	49.8
Median	39	35	45
Mode	30's	30's	30's
Range	60-21	46-30	70-32

the smallest age range 46-30 and the lowest median age of 35, and lowest mode and are the closest unit of the three associations. And thirdly, the Seyip group has the youngest members with 2 in their early twenties, and as the Seyip's are the closest knit group within the Chinese community in Wellington, their Association is the most relevant of the three. All three district association Committee members are entirely male.

Traditionally, membership and active participation has been reserved for males only, but a marked change has occurred within the last ten years with women being allowed to participate in associational activities. The change in attitudes is largely a result of the emancipation of women throughout industrialising countries. The effect of this change in participation has tended to help keep the associations alive, and, with greater numerical support, to maintain sectional differences on the associational level.

Only within the Seyip community is there a bridge^a between the older and younger generation, with the inclusion of two younger members, one of whom is an outstanding community youth leader. The problem of making the district associations relevant to the changing needs of the Chinese community is underlined by the attitude of Chinese

a. The Seyip generational bridge is confined to social occasions only. In comparison the Chinese Anglican Church provides additional links of culture and religion.

youth in Wellington. Table 9 reveals that 35% ($\pm 5\%$) of them stated that Chinese youth should join Chinese clubs and associations while 33% ($\pm 5\%$) disagreed. 11% ($\pm 3\%$) had not even heard of them while 16% ($\pm 4\%$) did not know what they did. The predominant feeling was that the district associations were not relevant and should combine their activities to form one united association (as shown in Table 10). But irrespective of the lack of youth participation the associations continue to fulfil a useful role within the Chinese community, and their total effect is to provide meeting places where mostly older Chinese can and do meet regularly at least once a month. Although the functions have been reduced, the associations are still very active.

One of the most relevant functions the associations perform for youth is that cooking and eating facilities are available for the traditional Chinese wedding dinner for relatives and close friends on Sunday afternoon after the main western-style wedding ceremony and reception on Saturday night.

TABLE 9

ATTITUDE TO DISTRICT ASSOCIATIONS

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>% error</u>
Agree	34	35	5
Neutral	15	16	4
Disagree	32	33	5
Haven't heard of them	11	11	3
Only heard of them	5	5	2
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 10

REASONS FOR ATTITUDES TO DISTRICT ASSOCIATIONS

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>% error</u>
Combine 1 club	54	57	5
Retain Association	16	16	4
Other	27	27	4
TOTAL	97	100	

(2) The Wellington Chinese Association

- a branch of the New Zealand Chinese Association.

In theory, the Wellington Chinese Association exists as a united integrative body for the whole community, including the Hutt urban area, although the latter has a sub-branch organisation. But in practice, the Association achieves this function with only limited success. This may be seen in an analysis of three of the nine objectives of the constitution of the New Zealand Chinese Association established in 1937 which are as follows:

(1) The major aim is "To provide for Chinese residents in New Zealand the means of mutual helpfulness, social intercourse, and rational recreation, and to promote the intellectual, moral and physical well-being of the Chinese in New Zealand and to unite and co-operate for patriotic cultural and educational progress and to deal with all matters concerning the welfare of Chinese." (emphasis added by writer).

(2) The second and third objectives are "To establish schools and classes, to make provision for public lectures, addresses and debates for the education and entertainment of Chinese" and "To provide halls and meeting places, clubs, buildings and premises where members can meet for any of the purposes of the Association."

The first objective outlines the comprehensive scope of the Association and the second and third objectives suggest some of the ways the aims may be achieved. As an example of its financial weakness, part of the Association buildings are sub-let to bolster its budget, and only a minimum space is available for an office and meetings. Living accommodation is available on the premises. The problems besetting the New Zealand Chinese Association and its Wellington branch lie basically in the conception

present leaders have of its role, and that is, a passive one, in the presence of the easy and rapid adjustment of Chinese in New Zealand, a universal social welfare scheme which provides monetary payments as well as public hospitals, and the strength and activity of the Chinese district associations are handled by and kept within each family group and only as a last resort are the problems publically vented, if at all. Because of the above listed reasons there is generally little need to call upon the Chinese Association. The second and third objectives are fulfilled by the various Chinese groups in Wellington. As a body representing Chinese the Wellington Chinese Association has failed to make itself relevant to the modern society. From Table 11, 61% (+ 5%) of the youth did not know what the Association did, while 39% (+ 5%) did not even know the Association existed. In comparison the figures for the District Associations were 16% (+ 4%) and 11% (+ 3%) respectively. The response of 61% (+ 5%) youth reveals the failure of the Wellington Chinese Association to relate and to publicise Association activities to the community. For instance the Association is responsible for the Double Tenth Celebrations^a and yet the majority of youth failed to associate this festival with the Chinese Association. Comments from youth typically concentrated on the fact that the Association did very

TABLE 11

ATTITUDES TO THE WELLINGTON CHINESE ASSOCIATION

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%error</u>
Agree	21	22	4
Neutral	12	12	3
Disagree	5	5	2
Haven't heard of them	38	39	5
Only heard of them	21	22	4
TOTAL	97	100	

a. For description see page 176.

little, and that the leaders were of the "older generation."

What then are the reasons for its ineffectiveness? In the first place, the major reason lies in the question of leadership. The Association lacks a decisive, charismatic leader who is capable of initiating and sustaining projects within the Chinese community, and who has the respect of all sections of the community. As a result, the establishment of a new Chinese School with about 60 pupils by the Chinese Embassy, was a project within the interest of the Wellington Chinese Association but it failed to take the initiatives. The various projects to build a community hall remained unco-ordinated (see Case Study later in this chapter) and action that is taken is not made public with the absence of an institutionalised Wellington Chinese newspaper and radio programme. Secondly, the problem of leadership is also related to the structure of the organisation. A Chairman is elected at every monthly meeting, and so this exercise in democracy results in a diffusion of power where no individual has the authority to act, except by majority consent. Continuity and sustained drive is therefore made difficult. Thirdly, the strength of District Associations and other groups tend to have a detrimental effect on the ability of the Association to unite the community as in moves to bring about union in New Zealand. The order of allegiance of Chinese is first to the "family", the group, then to the community, a premise which is asserted in Appendix A on the Traditional Chinese Family. In 1969, the male only committee was comprised of 3 Seyip, 8 Poonyue, 7 Jung Sing, a total of 18. The Eastern Sports Club and Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church were also

'represented' by separate individuals within the committee. Virtually all the 18 committee members were active or had once been active in the District Associations, and so with such a concentration of leadership it could reasonably be expected that the Association would be able to unite the Chinese community. At least a forum of community leaders is in existence. Fourthly, there is no institutionalised media of communication such as a regular Chinese newspaper to collate the events within the community. And lastly, the problem of achieving unity on the Chinese community level is also one of membership. Membership remains on an individual basis and election to office is open to all Chinese over the age of 16 who are paid members. There is no provision for official representatives of Chinese clubs and organisations.

In practise, unity of purpose is possible only when the common aim does not conflict with sectional interest. Thus in the diverse attempts to build a community hall for the Chinese (see Case Study) the Association was ineffective as a co-ordinating group, but it was able to take effective action in the New Zealand rice shortage of 1967 when the New Zealand Government heavily restricted imports of rice owing to balance of payments difficulties. Subsequent delegations from the parent organisation, the New Zealand Chinese Association, were successful in gaining the exemption of rice from control. Community support was also given to the New Zealand Chinese Association delegations in 1970-71, to both the New Zealand Government and Australian High Commission, calling for equal treatment of New Zealand citizens on entry requirements to Australia. In 1971 the New Zealand Government granted unfettered entry of Australian citizens into New Zealand, regardless of ethnic or racial origin, The Australian Labour Government intends to honour a reciprocal agreement in 1973.

Photo 10 THE WELLINGTON CHINESE ANGLICAN MISSION CHURCH AND CHINESE CENTRE HALL Taranaki Street. The most influential Chinese organisation in Wellington and New Zealand for maintaining and promoting Chinese culture in both the Chinese Community and wider New Zealand society.

PHOTO 11 CHINESE ANGLICAN BAZAAR

Jam-packed from opening 10 a.m. until the late afternoon to buy special Chinese take-away foods, cakes, groceries, art-work; fruit and vegetables. The Bazaar has become an annual festive occasion for the Chinese community.

PHOTO 12 THE WELLINGTON CHINESE
BAPTIST CHURCH
Adelaide Road, Newtown.

The Church serves as a
hall and place of
worship.

DIAGRAM 5

1970-71

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF
THE WELLINGTON CHINESE ANGLICAN MISSION CHURCH

INDOOR BASKETBALL (weekly, 70)

TAI KIK CLUB (Self-defense)
(weekly, 20)

CHINESE PAINTING (weekly, 10)

ENGLISH CONVERSATIONAL CLASS
(weekly, 15)

DRAMA CLUB (weekly, 35)

MUSIC CLUB (weekly, 15)

CHINESE SCHOOL (weekly 180)

CHINESE FOLK DANCING GROUP
(performed 15 times)

LION DANCING GROUP (8)

BAZAAR COMMITTEE

WOMEN'S GUILD (70)

ADULTS CLUB (20)

YOUTH CLUB (70)

JUNIOR YOUTH CLUB (20)

PUBLICATIONS: fortnightly
newsletterSUNDAY SERVICE (weekly 50-70)
Evangelistic
Service (once a month 70-80)SUNDAY SCHOOL
Hutt Valley (50)
Wellington (70)BIBLE CLASS
Senior (20)
Junior (15)

CHOIR

SATURDAY AT HOME SERVICES
(monthly, 50)

3. Two Chinese Christian Churches: the Anglican and Baptist

The historical background to the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission has already been outlined in Chapter One. In 1932 a joint Anglican-Baptist Mission was established during the Great Depression in order to rationalise the economic problem of maintaining separate Ministers of religion. In that year, there were only 14 Anglican Christian Chinese. This united Mission came to an end on 31 March 1949 as it was felt that the differences of outlook and practice of the two Churches which supported the Mission would hinder the development of the work of both Churches. Since 1949 the two Churches have carried on the Christian work along separate paths. The Chinese Churches are recognised by the Wellington Chinese today to be the only organisations which promote moral behaviour so basic to Chinese upbringing, and in the minds of most Chinese in Wellington, the Church symbolises ethics and therefore may be supported irrespective of one's religious opinions.

The Anglican Church is the larger of the two, both in membership and influence in the Chinese community. (See Table 12).

The major reason for this is primarily because the Anglicans traditionally have a longer history in Wellington and engage in more social service activities (refer to diagram 5) than the Baptists, thereby making its presence felt more.

Of the formal Chinese groups in Wellington

the Chinese Churchgoers meet the most regularly and have the most gatherings in one year.

Other Baptist Church activities include regular visiting, family prayer meetings held fortnightly, 3 evangelistic trips to Otaki, an annual Youth fellowship to Palmerston North and an evangelistic outreach throughout New Zealand. Chinese language classes are held

TABLE 12

ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH 1969 & 1970 -
Average figures

	Sunday Night Service	Sunday School & Bible Classes
Anglican	70	140
Baptist	40	100
TOTAL	110	240

after school Tuesdays to Thursdays inclusive and are attended by about 20 children, while English language classes are held Tuesday, one in the day, and at night (1970-1).

Other Chinese Anglican Mission activities are: Special Monthly evangelistic services attended by 100-200; Monthly-at-home services, Annual evangelistic services at Palmerston North and Otaki, besides missionary visits throughout New Zealand, a Special Christmas party is held either at Palmerston North or Wellington, and regular visiting. Secular activities are carried out under auspices of the Anglican Chinese Centre^a and include: Chinese School held on Saturday afternoons attended by an average of 180 youth, including regular attendance of 10 European New Zealanders; Drama Club (30); Tiy Kik classes (self-defense) with about 20 members, Women's guild (70), Youth Club (70) which besides indoorbasketball activities, helps with Church maintenance and the Chinese Bazaar, Music Club (15), Chinese painting (10), Chinese Dancing School.

The major activities of the Churches are the Sunday night service, and Sunday School, Easter Services, and Christmas celebrations. The combined attendance figures are 110 at Church and 240 at Sunday School. English is used much more frequently as a medium of communication between teacher and pupil at the Baptist Sunday School than at the Anglican Church, and as a result more senior youth members feel a keen loss of meaning to attending the Chinese Baptist Church and Chinese Baptist Church youth meetings. Thus the problem of establishing a Chinese identity is made more difficult. Annual Church Bazaars are socially important, for here, Chinese youth and adults combine efforts to raise funds. In turn, the Chinese community supports the Churches according to the influence the Church has on their lives or those of their families. Annual Church picnics serve the same purpose.

a. see diagram 5, p. 112.

In Church the constant contact with older members of the congregation enables continued and regular generational contact. But the greatest influence on identity problems are the sermons. Both Ministers make constant reference to their Chinese experiences in Hong Kong or in China, simple Chinese stories and allegories which illustrate the Gospel message. At both services the language used is Cantonese. But the greatest influence of the Chinese Church, especially, Anglican, is the clear reference to two diverging ways of life between the Chinese and New Zealand society and learning how to apply this knowledge on the situational level, at Church functions and at home. The Churches remain the only Chinese organisations which offer guidance to Chinese youth and parents, so that they may better understand the factors which influence their social adjustment in New Zealand.

2. FORMAL CHINESE YOUTH CLUBS

Introduction

The Eastern Sports Club, the Chinese Church Youth Clubs and the Wanderers Rugby Club are unlike the District Associations and Wellington Chinese Association in that they are not primarily concerned with being relevant to the Chinese community. Their mere existence attests that they are relevant to at least the youth. But why are they important to young Chinese? The importance lies in that they provide a social anchorage apart from the family from which the Chinese youth can adjust to living in New Zealand.

One of the major differences between the modern Western industrial society and the comparatively 'primitive society' is a marked change in the primary source of status or 'social anchorage' of the youth. In all societies, before puberty, an

individual's life is basically orientated around the family, and status in society. In the so-called 'primitive society', socialisation is mainly completed within the family or team group, whereas, in the industrial society non-kinship units are of primary importance. The transition between youth and adulthood is then a relatively unstable transition in a Western community such as New Zealand, and especially so when this transition is complicated by reasons of different racial origins. In sociological terms the position is one of marginality, where a person occupies a position between two groups and is faced with conflicting expectations.^a It is a time in which various roles may be staged without definitely choosing any.

TABLE 13 CHINESE YOUTH CLUB MEMBERSHIP IN WELLINGTON

	1969	1970	% to Sample Universe 376		% to estimated total 530 Chinese (16-29)	
			1969	1970	1969	1970
Baptist	29	53	10	14	5.5	10
Anglican	52	70	17	19	10	13.4
Eastern	88	86	29	21	15	16
TOTAL A	169	209	56	54	30.5	39.4
Wanderers Rugby Club	20	20	6	6	4	4
TOTAL B	189	229	62	60	34.5	43.4

% Error $\pm$ 4%

Theoretically, a youth club or 'peer group'^b allows an individual to 'find himself'

a. 109 Dunphy (1969) p. 8-15

b. A 'peer' is a person of similar approximate age, equality and status.

with others of his same age of both sexes and so the roles played within the peer group represent approximations to adult roles, acting as a stabilising influence on personality development. Youth clubs in an ethnic minority group have a third function, of reinforcing group solidarity and ethnic identity.

In Wellington the youth clubs generally serve two functions of social adjustment: as a stepping stone to the wider society, and to the seeking of identity with other Chinese youth.

About 60% of the sample universe (376) - or total number of names and addresses collected by the writer - belonged to Chinese clubs, while only 43% ($\pm$ 4%) of the estimated survey universe (530) belonged to Chinese Clubs. From the writer's experience, the 1970 total figures would approximate to reality, while the percentage error of 4% would allow for those youth who belong to more than one Chinese club, who are not between the ages of 16-29, or who belong to other groups such as the Mu-Suit club. However, in a relatively homogenous Chinese community in Wellington, such a low percentage of Club participation may be queried. There are two major reasons for this:

(1) Difficulty of constructing the survey universe led to the bias towards Chinese who were either associated with or had been associated with the Chinese clubs, hence 60% of the sample universe of 376 belonged to four clubs. It is obvious that Chinese who do not associate with these youth would be omitted either because they associate mainly with non-Chinese, mix with a small circle of Chinese probably in an older age-group, or they do not go out much at all.

(2) A group of not more than 140 Chinese have been omitted from this study,^a

a. This number was calculated from the difference of the estimated Chinese population (16-29) 530 and 390 the Chinese population (16-29) known to the researcher and who qualified for the survey.

and that is those born overseas and who immigrated to New Zealand over the age of nine. Recent immigrants in this age group do not participate in these youth clubs as a rule.

On balance, the sample universe represents a wide cross-section of Chinese youth who have grown up in New Zealand. In light of the preceding discussion the responses to the attitudinal questions relating to youth clubs showed an expected similarity. About 70% (+ 5%) (68) of the

Chinese youth thought that Chinese youth should join a Chinese youth Club, whereas about 26% (+ 4%) (26) thought that as Chinese are living in New Zealand they should join clubs of the dominant society and that Chinese clubs should not exist.

(see Table 14 opposite)

TABLE 14

ATTITUDE:	TO EASTERN			CHURCH CLUBS		
	No.	%	%Error	No.	%	%Error
Agree	68	70	5	67	69	5
Neutral	19	20	4	20	21	4
Disagree	6	6	2	7	7	3
Don't know of Club	4	4	2	3	3	2
TOTAL	97	100		97	100	

(a) Eastern Chinese Sports Club

The Eastern Chinese Sports Club was in 1970-71 characterised: by its activities in indoorbasketball, as the longest surviving Wellington Chinese youth club, and an active membership whose members are the oldest of the youth clubs, mainly 24 to over 30 age group. The Sports Club was first formed in 1953 as the Eastern Basketball Club, concentrating solely on indoorbasketball and participating in the Wellington basketball competition once a week. In 1958 the Club changed to its present name, and conducted the first Annual Queens Birthday weekend indoorbasketball tournament (in June) which continues to attract entries from Chinese Clubs throughout New Zealand.

A tennis tournament is held every year during Wellington Anniversary weekend (January) and social cricket and rugby matches are played against other Chinese clubs. The club made its first major tour overseas to Fiji in 1959; it visited Fiji again in 1968 while the first reciprocal visit by Fiji was made in the following year, 1969. The impact of the Eastern Sports Club, with a membership of about 60 active Chinese members on the Wellington Chinese youth and in New Zealand has been important in establishing sport, and especially indoorbasketball as a means to social acceptability and to foster Chinese youth gatherings, especially at socials held in conjunction with Chinese indoorbasketball tournaments. Sport is a bond which reinforces the awareness of their identity by providing Chinese youth with the opportunity of playing in the same teams, an organisation for attracting other Chinese, regular indoorbasketball tournaments for Chinese and other recreational and social activities. These thoughts were expressed by a young Auckland Chinese community leader^a

"...The younger generation of Chinese still in Schools or who have left, retain their circle of friends....Their awareness of new Chinese identity and different cultural background from the host society is instilled in them through parental influence. The Association, using sport as a common bond, allows the fostering of these two factors - consequently parents encourage their children to join."

The Eastern Chinese Sports Club has the distinction of being historically the most important Chinese club run by youth and as such has been important as an agency for the training of Chinese youth to enter society and an important source of status for those youth who have been or still are members of the club. It is also an imperfect

a. Mr Bik Cheung, 1969 President of the Auckland Chinese Sports Club.

social anchorage for Chinese youth who seek the social skills and friendships of both Chinese and non-Chinese to enable them to adjust to the host society. This is because the club is concerned only with maintaining social contacts through sport among Chinese - outside this, the individual Chinese youth must go elsewhere in his search for a Chinese identity. (A Chinese youth must search for an identity because unlike the European New Zealander who only knows one culture, the Chinese youth has two cultures, a Chinese and a European New Zealand one, from which he has to choose how he is going to harmonise the two)^a For instance, the Club is operated by youth themselves who can equip themselves well to succeed in the economic life of the dominant society by learning the skills of committee meetings, but cultural and social links to the older Chinese community are virtually non-existent. The club exists apart from the bulk of the Chinese community consisting of younger brothers and sister and the elders. Continuity between generations is broken. This is evidenced by the fact that elders seldom attend the various club social gatherings and sports tournaments.

Discontinuity is also noticeable in the membership of the club whose active members are mainly in the 24 to over 30 age group. The majority of the founding members have retired from basketball, and the present members are gradually turning to 'social' basketball with few younger players and so unless attention is turned to attracting young Chinese and gaining the support of older members of the Chinese community, the club will soon cease.

(b) Chinese Church Youth Clubs

The balance of the Chinese youth, especially adolescents who circulate with other

a. The writer's own identity crisis is recorded in Appendix 4A.

PHOTO 13 SOFTBALL TOURNAMENT

Chinese men's and women's teams from the Chinese youth clubs participate at an informal New Year Softball tournament. The modern cars signify a break from the past where most Chinese utilised the shop truck for both business and pleasure.

Chinese youth belong to either: the two Chinese Church youth clubs, Anglican (with a membership of about 90) and Baptist (about 30); the Wanderers Football Club (Chinese) formed in 1967 with a male membership of about 20; or to a Mu-Suit Club (Karate) established in 1968 with a Chinese and non-Chinese membership of both sexes of about 40. The remainder of this section however will concentrate only on the two Church youth groups and in particular, on the Anglican youth group.

The Anglican youth peer group in 1970-71 had a heterosexual membership of mainly teenagers and some youth in their early twenties. Of the total of 90 about 70 are in the 16-29 age group, and of the 70, about 35 (50%) are Seyip. Like Eastern, indoorbasketball remains the major club activity, but emphasis was also placed on attracting non-playing Chinese to join in other club activities, such as fortnightly club nights where a variety of cultural and recreational activities were featured, such as discussion groups and talks given by selected celebrities, table-tennis, chess, Chinese snooker and social gatherings such as barbecues. Beside the appeal to a wider range of interests and to a younger age group the club is distinctive in that an emphasis is placed on moral leadership and outlook which is in harmony with the traditional Chinese way of life and Christian philosophy.

In 1968 the Club held its first annual basketball tournament and social, attended by Chinese teams from Otago and Hawkes Bay. Support from parents and the Church is evident at such public gatherings, even though the Club is largely independent of Church control. Traditionally, apart from contacts with host society sports clubs, the Eastern Sports Club and the Church Youth groups have been keen rivals on the basketball court, and more recently also at cricket and rugby.

Rugby is the national sport of New Zealand and it is not surprising that Chinese youth have an active interest in the sport. The Wanderers Football Club was formed out

of the Baptist youth group and forms the third party of what has become an informal annual Chinese challenge round. But as a separate club the Wanderers have a formal link with Horowhenua Chinese and have an annual game for a trophy. The Mu-Suit Club attracts about 10 Chinese youth (16-29) of both sexes to its karate classes, and is the only club which is regularly attended by non-Chinese. The two "Black-belt" instructors are Chinese.

Reference has already been made to the 60% ($\pm 4\%$) youth who belong to Chinese clubs. This percentage was derived from an analyses of the membership lists of Chinese clubs, and is confirmed by Table 15 on Voluntary Association participation.

How many youth belong to more than one Chinese voluntary association?

According to Gordon one measure of assimilation is the increased participation in voluntary associations of the host society and evidence from the writer's social survey indicates that structural assimilation is slow.

TABLE 15

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%Error</u>
None	42	43	5
One	31	32	5
Two	18	19	4
Three plus	6	6	2
TOTAL	97	100	

Table 15 reveals that in Wellington 25% ($\pm 4\%$) of the Chinese youth belong to two or more Chinese associations which indicates that there exists a 'hard-core' of Chinese youth who are determined to retain their close identification with the Chinese community. It remains now to see how many youth participate in the voluntary associations of the host society. Table 16 reveals that only 12% ($\pm 3\%$) belong exclusively to the dominant society associations, and only 13% ($\pm 3\%$) can be said to have made an attempt to integrate into the main stream of New Zealand Society.

3. INFORMAL YOUTH RELATIONSHIPS:
friends and visiting

(a) Friends

Both formal and informal relationships are important in the process of making new acquaintances and developing friendships. It would be reasonable to expect to find a strong correlation between the pattern of voluntary association membership and the nationality of one's friends especially as membership to a club increases the chances of making friends. The correlation, however, was statistically insignificant. The reason seems to be that while Chinese club membership undoubtedly gives satisfaction to many Chinese youth, and is a source of friendship, there are diverse factors which determine who a person defines as friends. These friends include; home neighbours, school class-mates, work

associates. Table 17 shows that while 51% ($\pm 5\%$) of the youth have mostly Chinese friends, a sizeable minority, 34% ($\pm 5\%$) stated that their friends were mostly European New Zealanders. The independence Chinese youth now enjoy is strikingly illustrated by the parents' preference of friends. 5% of the youth thought that their parents would prefer them to make friends with Chinese, while 41% youth stated that

TABLE 16

ASSOCIATION TYPE CHINESE YOUTH ATTEND

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%Error</u>
Only N.Z.	12	12	3
Mixed	13	13	3
Only Chinese	30	32	5
None	42	43	5
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 17

NATIONALITY OF 10 BEST FRIENDS

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%Error</u>
Only N.Z.	8	8	3
Mostly N.Z.	25	26	4
$\frac{1}{2}/\frac{1}{2}$	11	12	3
Mostly Chinese	42	43	5
Only Chinese	8	8	3
Other	3	3	2
TOTAL	97	100	

their parents did not mind. This latter answer however should not be taken at face value as it reflects the attitudes of what the subjects wanted their parents to think. Evidence of this may be seen in the question which asked for reasons for their parents preference. Table 19 reveals that 74% of the subjects replied that their parents were resigned to them having friends of different ethnic origins but actually preferred Chinese.

(b) Visiting

Because the majority of Chinese Youth have grown-up in a period of relative racial tolerance in New Zealand, frequent contact with New Zealanders has been inevitable. But how often are reciprocal visits made between Chinese and non-Chinese? The question, as summarised in Table 20, investigated the frequency of visiting over a period of a year prior to the survey

TABLE 18 - PARENTS PREFERENCE FOR FRIENDS

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%Error</u>
N.Z.	2	2	1
Don't mind	40	41	5
Mostly Chinese	29	30	5
All Chinese	26	27	5
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 19

PERCEIVED REASONS FOR PARENTS PREFERENCE

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%Error</u>
Resigned to it but prefer Chinese friends	72	74	5
Don't know	6	6	2
N.A.	19	20	4
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 20

CHINESE YOUTH VISITS TO NEW ZEALANDERS

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%Error</u>
Frequently	50	52	5
Infrequently	45	46	5
Never	2	2	1
TOTAL	97	100	

conducted in 1970 'Frequently' refers to visits made at least once a month, while 'infrequently' is several times a year. 52% ($\pm 5\%$) of the Chinese youth visit New Zealanders frequently compared to 46% ($\pm 5\%$) infrequently. In turn, basically the same pattern of visiting of New

Zealanders to the homes of Chinese youth, applies (see Table 21). These results indicate that there is a two-way movement in patterns of visiting in one group while those Chinese youth who seldom visit their New Zealand friends are in turn, rarely visited.

A constant theme of this dissertation is the high value Chinese place on family and so it is not altogether surprising to find that Chinese youth do tend to reinforce this value by maintaining constant contact with those who they identify as their relatives. Table 22 shows that 63%

($\pm 5\%$) made frequent visits while 37% visited their relatives infrequently.

Only two youth stated that they avoided visiting relatives. Visits to relatives is affected by marital status.

Young married Chinese visited their

relatives more frequently than the single Chinese youth. The correlation was a highly significant one at the 0.01 level of confidence.^a

TABLE 21

NEW ZEALANDERS VISITING CHINESE YOUTH

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%Error</u>
Frequently	40	42	5
Infrequently	51	52	5
Never	6	6	2
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 22

CHINESE YOUTH VISITING RELATIVES

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%Error</u>
Frequently	61	63	5
Infrequently	36	37	5
TOTAL	97	100	

SUMMARY

Structurally Chinese youth are not rapidly entering into the life of the host society. The reasons for this lie not with the more traditional Chinese Associations or the two Chinese Christian Churches, but rather with peer group clubs with ethnic identity and sport as the common bond. The former associations tend to be mutually exclusive, and cater mainly for the interests and needs of elderly Chinese and not the youth. Each realises that youthful members are needed to ensure their long-term survival but they have had limited success in gaining youth support. The most active Chinese district association, Seyip, has achieved this in part. The Churches come closest to building bridges between the generations outside of the immediate Chinese family group.

As in most modern youth clubs, activities are by definition mainly confined to the youth. Older people perform various directive tasks (such as sponsorship, semi-official instructors, recreation directors), but these people are clearly representatives of an adult society, who deal with young people and guide them, and generally not 'original' members of the groups.^a This is a characteristic of all modern youth groups. The Wellington and Chinese youth clubs fit this pattern. Furthermore, Chinese youth groups also have an exceptionally strong emphasis on the internal activities of the group, and an almost complete lack of regulation of the general behaviour of its members in the wider Chinese and New Zealand communities. The centre of their interest and activities is in the internal affairs of the organisation or group, and not outside its boundaries. The result is that Chinese youth groups reinforce the insular tendencies within the Chinese community. Discontinuity

a. 110 Eisenstadt (1956) pp. 226-229.

problems exist in the youth clubs as membership in general does not equip the individual to prepare for specialisation and achievement-oriented activities of the adult life in both Chinese and wider New Zealand communities. This is because the strong emphasis on internal relationships has resulted in the emergence of symbols of identification, values and power which are not interwoven with larger Chinese community, and have helped to demarcate the boundaries of the structural gap, between old Chinese groups and youth organisations. In this respect the roles of the Churches and the Seyip Association in spanning this gap are important to at least believers and potential believers of Christianity and members of the specific district association.

While Chinese community activities dominate the time resources of Chinese youth, the Chinese youth maintain frequent spontaneous contact with peers in the wider society. On the final analysis the establishment of an institutionalised Chinese newspaper in both the Chinese and English languages would greatly aid the desire of Chinese to achieve overall community unity and to intergrate youth activities with the older generation. The problems of achieving^{this} are in part illustrated by the case study of the Chinese community in conflict as it seeks to build Chinese Community Halls, which follows this summary.

A CASE STUDY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN CONFLICT

- THE CHINESE COMMUNITY HALLS

(a) THE PROBLEM

Proposals to build 'Chinese community' halls have been made at different times for various reasons and have been shelved until a resurgence of interest discernable from 1969. To illustrate: In 1972 the Poonyue Association has been able to overcome inertia which has prevented them from even having its own association buildings; the Tung Jung Association is considering to extend its facilities; the Wellington Chinese Baptist Church has plans to build a hall; the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church has had definite plans to build a Chinese Community Hall since 1956^a; the Seyip Association has had firm plans to build a 'Chinese Community Hall' since about 1968^b; the Eastern Chinese Sports Club informally proposed a building complex around 1964-5, and negotiations to obtain land from the City Council were made in 1971, to build a Community Hall. Currently, the Anglican Church, Seyip, and Eastern are engaged in projects to build halls and the problem remains of convincing the Chinese community within the Wellington area and elsewhere that each has a good cause that warrants financial, moral and active support needed to launch each project.

The recognition of a need for a Chinese community hall is universal in the Chinese community, especially in the 1970's, as parents fear that their teenage children will adopt the values and norms of New Zealand society and discard their

a. Pamphlet: "Wellington Anglican Chinese Mission - 50 years of Christian work amongst Chinese in New Zealand".

b. Eastern Suburbs Sentinel, Vol. 10, No. 22, June 10, 1970, page 1.

Chinese cultural heritage, the end process being inter-racial marriage.

For the sake of clarity only events since 1970 will be discussed. The three principal groups involved are: the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church, the largest and most influential Chinese organisation in New Zealand and cuts across the sectional interests of the three Chinese district associations; the Wellington Seyip Association; and the Eastern Chinese Sports Club, the largest Chinese youth club in New Zealand.

(b) THE COURSE OF EVENTS TO BUILD THE HALLS SINCE LATE 1969

(1) In September 1969, a middle-aged Hong Kong Anglican Chinese minister^a and his young family arrived in Wellington. Within three months of his arrival the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church announced a proposal to build an Anglican Chinese Centre Community Hall (hereafter called the Anglican Chinese Centre Hall), and a public meeting attended by interested individuals from all sections of the Chinese community was held in January the following year. This meeting had a catalytic affect on the Wellington Chinese in that the Chinese community leaders were stimulated into action.

To fulfil its role in the Chinese community both within the Wellington Province and New Zealand, the activities of the Anglican Church have been divided into two distinct parts the spiritual and social (see diagram 5 page 112) - the social aspect of the Church's involvement in the Chinese community is carried out within the auspices of the Anglican Chinese Centre Hall at the present Church premises. No evangelising is carried out in the Anglican Chinese Centre activities. A two-fold scheme, devised by the Minister, was directed at both the Chinese community

a. Rev. Loong Gon.

and host society. Primarily, the Hall was to meet the immediate needs of a Chinese community which was increasingly concerned with the drift away from the Chinese way of living to the patterns of the New Zealand society. Hence, an international size indoorbasketball court was envisaged together with class rooms for teaching the Chinese language, plus conference and library facilities. Thus, the intended immediate effect was to instigate thought on the value of Chinese culture in a New Zealand cultural milieu, and then to either halt or slow-down the perceived alarming drift away from Chinese patterns of behaviour within an Anglican Chinese Centre. On the other hand, it was realised that Chinese were not isolated from the main stream of New Zealand life and so as an ethnic minority community, attempts should be made to promote Chinese culture in the wider New Zealand society. The Anglican Chinese Centre Hall was to be part of a larger project^a called the Chinese Centre which also included: a nursery, old peoples home, students hostel, and landscaping along Chinese traditional patterns. This Chinese Centre scheme proved to be a catalyst which revealed the diverse factions within the Chinese community, as after the meeting, two groups strengthened their own desires to build a hall, the Seyip Association and Eastern Sports Club, the majority of active members of whom are not Christian.

(2) The Wellington Seyip group is the closest knit of the three district associations and lobbying by the Wellington Seyip Chinese for modern premises had been a centre of minor controversy within the New Zealand Seyip Association which has its headquarters in Vivian Street, Wellington. Preliminary plans were later published in a suburban newspaper^b in which the accent was to be on providing

a. Publication "Anglican Chinese Centre" 1971, page 1.

b. Eastern Suburbs Sentinel.

amenities for social functions and sport, such as indoorbasketball and badminton - recreation, mainly for the younger members of the Chinese community. The funds raising campaign was conducted with very surprising efficiency and organisation. A brief series of Chinese films were shown and seats were often 'sold' to Seyip people at prices well above prices to the other members of the Chinese community. As well as the screening of some Chinese films, an annual ball was arranged featuring a Chinese food banquet. However, the peak of this funds raising campaign was the five week tour of a Chinese cooking expert from Hong Kong, Mrs Maria Lee.^a This was a unique funds raising idea in more ways than one. It demonstrated how New Zealand foods could be substituted for hard-to-come-by Chinese ingredients in many Chinese dishes. The tour throughout the major urban centres in New Zealand included about 75 cooking demonstrations, a wide publicity promotion, as well as the sale of a special "Kiwi Chopsticks" Chinese recipe book. Mrs Lee also made six television Chinese cooking programmes which were screened on the New Zealand network.

(3) The Eastern Chinese Sports Club exists as a sports (and social) group with membership restricted to mainly Chinese, especially to the younger youth. Plans to build a Hall for its main activity, indoorbasketball, were discussed from as early as 1965. In March 1970, a special meeting was held to discuss the question of tendering for a club hall, but the meeting eventually called for the formation of a policy regarding club house facilities.^b Within a year the Eastern Sports Club was instrumental in the launching of an extensive campaign to build a Chinese

a. The Dominion, Thursday 29 October 1970, page 33.

b. Minutes of Extraordinary Special General Meeting, 9 March 1970.

Community Recreational Hall, and to this end began raising funds by showing Chinese films. It was seen at the March meeting that the support of the Chinese community would have to be gained before their goals could be achieved and so a series of meetings of representatives of all major Chinese groups were held at the end of 1971 to discuss: the need to build a hall; the question of land acquisition; and the obtaining of the support of the Chinese community.

(4) The Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church established an Anglican Chinese Centre Hall with related activities (see diagram 5 page 112) in the current Church hall, a multi-purpose structure. With the establishment of the Chinese Drama Club, comprised mainly of youth, and a Chinese Music Group the aim to promote Chinese culture began with the presentation of the first of a series of 'China Night' concerts to which admission was free. The annual Church Bazaar funds were earmarked henceforth for the Chinese Centre Hall Building fund, and film shows were begun in 1971, as part of a nation-wide link-up of New Zealand Chinese (non Anglican) to screen Chinese films in and around the four main centres in New Zealand, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.

It was not until May 1971, that the dual aims of the promotion of Chinese culture and raising funds were combined in one major undertaking, "Orient Evening 1971", a Chinese concert, dinner and ball, which involved a wide cross-section of the Chinese community.

(c) RELEVANT FACTORS

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 1, of the reuniting of Chinese families in the 1940's and the movement towards a more humane treatment of Chinese immigrants in New Zealand and the problems of maintaining family solidarity,

the Chinese language, and ultimately the problem of preventing inter-racial marriage. In 1948 with the institution of the Double Tenth Celebrations, Chinese youth were given the opportunity to meet other youth from the length and breadth of New Zealand at one annual sports festival. Indoorbasketball quickly became the most prominent sport and remains today as the most important social cement which binds youth together, and the primary means of achieving social acceptability for the majority. As a result the Wellington Seyip Association and Eastern decided that the solution to the complete problem lay in the simplistic solution of building a recreational centre. The Wellington Chinese Anglican Church however realised that a solution would not be so simple as the movement away from the Chinese ways and thinking was due to many reasons related both to the host society and Chinese community.

The Seyip community in Wellington is known among New Zealand Chinese for its group cohesiveness. In Wellington, Seyip affairs are kept very much within their own group and exist as an encapsulated group within the Chinese community. Of the three major Chinese district groupings in Wellington, the Seyip Chinese have most successfully retained their conservatism and localism of origin. There are four major reasons which account for their strong identification. The first reason is related to their origins in China. The Wellington Seyip Chinese come mainly from the Toisarn district, one of the four districts from which the name Seyip ("4 districts") is derived, and the settlement in Wellington today has been the result of chain-migration where the family and relatives of original migrants were brought out to New Zealand. This chain-migration was directly encouraged by New Zealand's immigration policies especially since the 1940's by

uniting Chinese families.^a A second reason lies in the existence of an identifiable group of males of similar middle-age related either by descent or marriage, and who are actively interested in preserving a Chinese identity. Their wives tend also to be China born or have retained many Chinese cultural and social characteristics, and as a result their children tend to associate together as a group. This group of parents was responsible for the establishment of a Seyip Youth Club in the 1950's which was revived for their children in 1968. Related to these factors is a third major reason, that of leadership. Of the three District Associations the Seyip one is the most active and relevant association for promoting its own interests, the central core of which includes about 20 to 30 males. (see Table 8 page 103) This group provides the necessary drive and enthusiasm to achieve its goals of solidarity. The fourth reason is the incorporation of youth into the power structure, particularly one outstanding male individual who is by natural ability a generally accepted leader, representing Seyip youth and respected by other Chinese youth. The easy acceptance of Seyip youth into the affairs of the Seyip community is plainly a result of their parents' continued interest. Seyip youth however do not mix exclusively among themselves in the Chinese community. Unity is maintained between generations, between young and old of both sex as by various social activities such as picnics, socials, private parties, mah-jong and card sessions, weddings, 21st party celebrations, and other family gatherings. More recently, the funds raising efforts for a Hall have generated even more

a. Immigration Department, April 1970 "Immigration to New Zealand" page 4
 "The test of close relationship is used to limit the number of Asian entrants, particularly Chinese and Indian."

Photo 14 ORIENT EVENING 1971

The photo shows a court scene from a Chinese opera presented by Chinese youth of the Anglican Chinese Centre Drama Club at Orient Evening - a Chinese concert, Chinese dinner, and ball - held to promote Chinese culture in the host society.

PHOTO 15 FAN DANCE

Chinese youth who are members of the Anglican Chinese Centre. The fans and costumes were made by local Wellington Chinese, the majority of whom were church members.

a. Discussions held with members of the following organizations: N.Z. Seyip Association, Auckland Chinese Hall Inc., Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church, Eastern Chinese Sports Club.

co-operation. For these reasons the Seyip community has been able to distinguish itself from the other District Associations and to actively organise and promote its own plans to build a hall.

The Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church remains the oldest surviving Chinese organisation both in Wellington and New Zealand. Active since 1896, but established in 1907, the Church has historically played an important role in the affairs of Wellington and adjacent areas, as well as other Chinese in New Zealand. Today the Church is the largest Chinese organisation in Wellington and its influence cuts across the sectional interests of the District Associations. Mention in Chapter 1, has been made of the establishment of the Wellington Chinese Mission Church and it was seen later how efforts were made to teach Chinese adults the English language. Attention was diverted to teaching the Chinese language to local born children, especially during the 1950's and onwards at both the Baptist and Anglican Churches and at various intervals at the Tung Jung and New Zealand Chinese Association. At first the concern was that the youth should retain their Chinese culture but when it was realised that the attempts to teach Chinese would not stop an alarming drift by the youth away from their Chinese upbringing, informal discussions were held to discuss the building of a hall or halls throughout the community in Wellington and in Auckland. Of all the plans studied, the Chinese Anglican one is the most comprehensive.^a Previous to the Anglican aim to keep alive the interest in Chinese culture, especially language and drama, attempts had

a. Discussions held with members of the following organisations: N.Z. Seyip Association, Auckland Chinese Hall Inc, Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church, Eastern Chinese Sports Club.

been made in Auckland to revive interest in Chinese culture, especially music and opera. Efforts in this direction resulted in the staging in 1957 and 1970 of two major Chinese operas throughout the main centres in New Zealand, the cast comprised almost entirely of Auckland Chinese. On each of those two occasions the leading part was played by a Hong Kong star while the music was directed by a Hong Kong musician.

Following an invitation from the Auckland Chinese community, to perform the Anglican Chinese Centre drama group went to Auckland in January 1971. In May of that year, the campaign to raise funds for the Anglican Chinese Centre Hall was officially inaugurated with the staging of "ORIENT EVENING" 1971^a which included a Chinese concert, an eight course Chinese dinner, followed by a ball (included to attract non-Chinese). The entire concern programme, which included a Chinese operetta, the first staged in New Zealand by an entirely Chinese cast comprised of youth (16-29) was later presented to an open audience, as a response to many invitations to perform. Whenever possible, frequent invitations to perform have been accepted. Later in 1971, the entire net proceeds of the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church's Bazaar were directed to the Anglican Chinese Centre Hall Building fund.^b

A third element in the building of a community hall is the involvement in the Wellington Chinese community of the Chinese Embassy of the Republic of China, and in particular, of its energetic Ambassador.^c The Eastern Chinese Sports Club

a. See photos 14 and 15 page. 136 & 137.

b. Just over \$7,000 was raised from ORIENT EVENING 1971 and the Bazaar in one year.

c. Mr Konsin C. Shah, arrived in New Zealand in August 1968. Official diplomatic ties between Taiwan and New Zealand ceased on 22 December 1972.

proposals were in reality initiated by the Ambassador.

Before the involvement of the Embassy in the community is outlined, the writer feels obliged to delineate the scope of this brief discussion. An attempt is made to emphasise social effects of the participation of the Embassy as it affected the Chinese community hall project.^a

Prior to 1969, social involvement by the Chinese Embassy tended to be restricted to a minimum. The one major event has been traditionally an annual buffet reception held in honour of the founding of the Republic of China on the Tenth of October, or 'Double Tenth'.

A basic departure from a policy of minimum participation is discernable from 1969, when activity emanating from the Embassy increased.^b For example, the Kuo Min Tang and the New Zealand Anti-Communist Union in association with the Wellington and Hutt Valley Chinese Associations held a special film show in March that year. In April, a special committee of Chinese was formed from the Wellington area to organise a reception and to entertain personnel on an inaugural goodwill visit of ships of the Republic of China Navy. In 1970, the Embassy was instrumental in the founding of the Wellington Chinese Language School^c (Mandarin) and to the negotiations related to securing the services of a trained female Chinese teacher from overseas, on a part-time basis. Later, classes^d were opened in Otaki, the centre of a small Chinese market gardening community, located about 40 miles north of Wellington on the West Coast. And in 1971 the first China Youth Day annual

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- a. The analysis of the impact of the Chinese Embassy as it affects New Zealand Chinese particularly in Wellington is beyond the scope of this dissertation.
 - b. This discussion does not preclude the contacts and friendship developed by individual legation members and their families with a small number of New Zealand Chinese.
 - c. The Wellington Language School teaches Mandarin and Cantonese.
 - d. Enrolment figures about 80 in Otaki; 60 in Wellington (1970-71).

indoorbasketball tournament was held, sponsored by the Embassy, and conducted by the Eastern Chinese Sports Club.

The developing relationship between the Embassy and the Eastern Chinese Sports Club is important. This was the first overt move to build a community hall by the Embassy, and as the Ambassador is patron of the Club it was a natural platform to make preliminary statements and to attempt to get the support of at least a section of the Chinese in Wellington.

It was noted in the introduction to this case study that the Club had discussed the desirability of building a hall, and as Eastern Sports Club has never had its own club rooms this aim has been constantly in the minds of the keener members. After the unsuccessful special meeting of club members was called (in March 1970) to discuss an attractive proposition to gain club rooms, alternative preliminary negotiations had begun by the middle of the year to obtain land from the Wellington City Council, and sketch plans for the proposed Eastern Chinese Sports Club hall were prepared. The problem of selling the idea to the Chinese community was left to an experienced diplomat, the patron, as he was a prime initiator and certainly the subsequent driving force behind the project. The first half of 1971 was spent preparing the way for a series of 'community' meetings. Every opportunity was made to publicise the fact that the Eastern Sports Club wished to be partners to this community hall project: in public at the frequent indoorbasketball gatherings and other social occasions; in private interviews and conversation; and by letters to the diverse Chinese groups. Emphasis was placed on how quickly and cheaply the hall could be built on land to be provided by the City Council. In September and October 1971 two meetings were held which eventually established the name of the project as The Wellington Chinese Sports and Cultural Centre. A

committee, consisting of local Chinese with strong links with either the Eastern Sports Club or the Chinese Embassy, was established.

(d) THE ANALYSIS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNITY HALL PROJECTS

The attempts to build halls for the Chinese community reveals very clearly the diversity of interest groups, their strengths and weaknesses, and the complex inter-relationships between each group as they compete against each other and yet strive to live in harmony. The analysis will deal with three major factors which have emerged: the justifications for the halls, leadership, and the participation of the Chinese youth.

(1) Justification for the Hall

In each case the justification for building a hall has been primarily to provide cultural and recreational facilities for the youth. However the underlying motives differ considerably. As the New Zealand Seyip Association already owns its buildings and steps have been undertaken to renovate the interior of at least a section of the premises, the desire by the Wellington Seyip Association to provide recreational and cultural facilities is really a justification to have an enlarged Seyip Association headquarters which will also be able to cater for the major sport which Chinese youth participate in, indoor basketball. The cultural activities of the Association are more obscure as there are no real Chinese cultural activities carried out within the group - rather, the promotion of Chinese cuisine in New Zealand by the Hong Kong Chinese chef at the various balls was primarily a gimmick to raise funds for the hall project. If the Chinese language was to be taught at the Seyip Association a fundamental problem would be raised - in what speech group

would the children be taught? The Seyip local speech or the more general Cantonese speech? (Mandarin has no direct relevance to the New Zealand Chinese). As in the case of the other District Associations, the New Zealand Seyip Association has yet to redefine its objectives to suit the new social situation in which its members and especially their children have to adapt themselves. Its approach to the problem of preventing 'mixed marriages' has basically been a single facet solution - to build a hall for sport which can be seen as an over-simplistic approach. This is because the question of adjustment of any ethnic minority group is a complex one which depends upon both the host society and the ethnic group, and upon political, social and economic factors. Recreational needs are only one aspect of the social factor which also includes at least cultural educational and psychological considerations. However, in the absence of other policies in the Chinese community, in the past, sport has helped to slow down the rate of inter-racial marriage by providing a means for Chinese youth throughout New Zealand to be acquainted with each other.

In contrast the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church has a multi-facet policy which is even more comprehensive than the combined policies of both the Seyip and Eastern. It has a dual approach to the problems of youth, as defined by the Chinese. The activities carried out under the auspices of the Anglican Chinese Centre are directed at both the Chinese community itself and to the wider New Zealand society. For example, the existence of the cultural clubs (such as Tiy Kik, drama, music) and the Chinese School have the important effect of bringing together those who have cultural interests and at the same time Chinese culture can now be presented for the benefit of both non-Chinese and Chinese. And as the youth clubs associated with the centre are sport oriented, the Church's justification for a hall

are impressive as the need has been demonstrated by the social activities already conducted. The spiritual motives are a hindrance to the appeal of the Centre, but as there is no evangelising conducted within the Chinese Centre activities, non-Christian Chinese can and do in fact support the Church social work. Identification with the Church is also made easier by the fact that the moral basis of Christianity coincides with the Confucian moral precepts on which Chinese civilisation is founded. Chinese Churches in New Zealand are the most outspoken organisations which actively promote moral behaviour in the Chinese community. The stress on correct behaviour has traditionally been the primary concern of the Chinese family, but now, increasing numbers of Chinese are realising that if the better Chinese traditions are to be preserved, community effort is essential. In the minds of Chinese, the Church symbolises good morals and therefore may be supported, irrespective of one's religious opinions.

The Eastern efforts to build a hall, really should be attributed to the Taiwan Ambassador. His efforts to build "The Wellington Chinese Sports and Cultural Centre" have been motivated by political and personal considerations which have never been publically stated, but admitted in private. To achieve the aim of creating a strong 'pro-Nationalist China' backing in Wellington, a hall project has been given immediate priority, and a two-pronged campaign was effected. The Embassy had never been seriously involved in promoting Chinese culture especially with the teaching of Chinese to children, and so it took steps to establish a third Chinese School, to teach Mandarin and Cantonese. The other prong was to actively encourage the Eastern Chinese Sports Club to build a hall, and so prepare the way for the establishment of a hall project with which the Embassy could identify itself. The effect on the Chinese community of the establishment of the Wellington Chinese Language School

was suspicion and rivalry. Why did the Embassy establish the school? This question was asked frequently. Was it because of political motives or dissatisfaction with the existing schools? The other was to adversely affect the attendance of the other schools.

Direct involvement and support for the Eastern Sports Club tended to have a stimulating effect on the Club's activities and the interest of members, both past and present.

The Embassy's relationship with the Anglican Church was seriously impaired by events leading to and the subsequent publication of an article in a leading Taiwan newspaper in June 1971^a which claimed that the Orient Evening presented by the Anglican Church was held in "answer to a calling to build a 'Mun Hon' Centre (Sports and Cultural Centre)..." and claimed that net proceeds were to be given to this Cultural and Recreational Centre. In response to the further publication and analysis of this article in other overseas Chinese publications, the Church issued a reply^b which claimed that the sports and cultural Centre was a fictitious one^c and strongly denied that Orient Evening 1971 was held in answer to an invitation - rather it was held to raise funds for the CHINESE CENTRE HALL as part of the Church's own commitment to the Chinese Community. Furthermore, the Church article stated that the money raised was not going to be donated to the fictitious Cultural and Recreational Centre. The Church interpreted the article as persecution. In fact

a. Central Daily News, 7 June 1971.

b. Chinese Anglican, November 1971.

c. The Sports and Cultural Centre remains fictitious (October 1972)

the name of the "Eastern" initiated hall project was not officially established until September 1971, some three months after the Taiwan newspaper article. The sequel to this was the publication of the correct description and objective of Orient Evening 1971 in the December issue of the official Taiwan Government newspaper, Central Daily News.

(2) Leadership in the Chinese Anglican Mission Church and Eastern Chinese Sports Club.

In Wellington the movement towards the dominant society may well be slowed down considerably, or even arrested with the continued presence of two dynamic personalities: the Anglican Minister, an immigrant and the Ambassador of the Republic of China.^a These two men in pursuing separate paths, have inspired fervent social and cultural activity within Wellington. The continued inflow of "immigrants" can and has in this instance, helped to revitalise and mobilise the community, especially in the promoting of Chinese culture. This was why a personal invitation was sent to the Minister by the Chinese Anglican Mission Church. By achieving the social and cultural work in Wellington and presenting Chinese culture in Auckland the Minister has won the support and admiration of the Chinese in New Zealand. On the other hand, the Ambassador in supporting the Eastern Sports Club and creating a new Chinese School, has made the majority of the Chinese community wary. The relationships between Embassy and Wellington Chinese community have not been improved by the former's involvement in community affairs, and have taken a step-back in public relations with the Wellington Chinese community.

In project and organisation, leadership, based upon the feeling and

a. The Ambassador left New Zealand soon after the N.Z. Labour Government's decision to recognise Communist China on 22 December 1972.

motivation of the community, is of prime importance. In Chinese eyes the personal qualities of the leader count just as much, if not more than the actual cause he stands for, and so the outcome of the community hall projects hinge greatly on the personalities and integrity of two men, and in the Seyip case, on a small group of men.

(3) Participation of Chinese Youth in the Hall Projects

Although the various halls are to be built for the youth, in general, youth have not participated in the decision-making process which instigated the move to funds-raising campaigns, primarily because Chinese youth depend upon their elders. This was the case in the Seyip and Anglican Church projects. Also, in the Chinese scheme of living, age and material wealth and social status take precedence over youth. Chinese youth tend to accept their lower status in the community and group activities, and obey their elders - this is showing respect, or filial piety to parents and elders. However, in both the Seyip and Church groups young and old combine efforts naturally in the social gatherings and funds-raising campaigns. To the non-Chinese, especially white New Zealanders this authoritarian relationship between young and old is old-fashioned and stifling to individual freedom, but to most Chinese youth who have been brought up the Chinese way, it is the accepted norm. Eastern Sports Club executive members have only been too willing to take back-seat with the activity of the Taiwan Ambassador for this reason and also for self-interest as much of the organising and initiating is done by the Ambassador. Because the hall project instigated by the Embassy is primarily the concern of the Eastern Chinese Sports Club, its Executive members are obligated to participate at all levels of decision-making. The success or failure of the project will depend on their ability to raise funds, and on the respect the Eastern leaders and associates

can command in the Chinese community at large. As the Eastern Chinese Sports Club has been granted land as a Sports body from Council for a hall, and the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church has purchased land in Wellington, the outcome of the hall projects will be of more than academic interest.

SUMMARY OF CASE STUDY

The structural diversity of the Chinese social organisations has been a factor in the resurgence of activity within the Chinese community in Wellington. Undoubtedly, the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church has acted as a stimulant for social action especially in the various attempts to build community halls. The District Associations persist in thinking in terms of a narrow identification which has, on balance, a disunifying effect on the Chinese community in Wellington. Because of the small size of the Chinese community and the rapid social adaptation to the New Zealand way-of-life the logic of the situation indicates a need for increased co-operation within the Wellington Chinese community. However, the strength, influence and continued growth of each group paradoxically have the continued effect of strengthening the identity of the Wellington Chinese community as a whole.

The case study shows the drama of the community in conflict and how little influence youth exert in the community. Age plus money is power. Also shown is the would be participation (with a secondary political motive) of the Chinese Ambassador in Wellington Chinese community affairs and how existing group rivalry can be brought out into the open. By actually initiating an "independent" project, the respect of the Chinese community at large has been forfeited in preference for the admiration and support from a small section, who have all to gain, in a hall

if the project succeeds. It also reveals how youth in the Eastern Chinese Sports Club have allowed themselves to be allied with politics.

CHAPTER 3

CHAPTER 3 CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT

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Photo 16 LION DANCE

The Lion, a traditional Chinese symbol of strength, participating in a major Christmas parade in Wellington. Paradoxically, Chinese youth in Wellington are culturally more akin to the host society than to traditional Chinese attitudes and patterns of behaviour.

CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT OF WELLINGTON CHINESE YOUTHIntroduction

The previous chapter dealt with the structural aspects of the Chinese community in Wellington with the emphasis on structural diversity, the dominating influence of the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church, and conflict. The total effect of their interaction has been to make the community and especially its leaders consider the direction they wish the Wellington Chinese community to move in and the role their respective associations will have in the process. The Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church is the only Chinese social institution which combines two opposing philosophies - to consolidate a sense of Chinese identity and to promote Chinese culture in the wider New Zealand society.

This chapter is devoted to analysing the cultural aspects of Chinese youth's social adjustment, mainly in terms of changes within the Chinese family and answers the question: - to what extent have Chinese youth progressed away from the traditional values and patterns of behaviour within the family group? In the process of selection and rejection of the component parts of the Chinese culture, the definition of a Chinese youth, in New Zealand, has changed considerably within two generations. The outlook and behaviour of the Chinese youth in Wellington is predominantly western oriented. Evidence of this movement away from the Chinese may be seen in the cultural aspects studied, which include: language, Chinese festivals, Chinese medicines, Chinese food respectively. An assessment is made of their importance to the adjustment process.

1. THE DECLINE OF CHINESE LANGUAGE

(a) Language Continuity and the Importance of Cantonese

There are two basic and distinctive functions of language.^a In the first place, a means of communication, and secondly, as one way in which a new culture^b is acquired and learned. It follows that a person who develops knowledge of a specific language may also understand the culture of that society better. In China the Chinese education was assigned the highest value in society and the scholar was worthy of the highest respect, if not for the incumbent social status, reverence, economic rewards and security, then for the fact of persevering over a very difficult task of learning the Chinese characters. The high value placed on Chinese education was reinforced by the fact that it was seen in the Chinese society to be the basis for the Confucian ideology on which Chinese civilization has been based for about 1,500 years.^c

Most Chinese parents in Wellington, at some stage, at least attempted to teach their children how to speak Chinese and have sent them along to Chinese School. In Wellington, most Chinese youth have had a period of formal Chinese language education at an after day-school, "Chinese School". For instance, only four of the subjects had never attended Chinese School, although the time spent at the classes varied tremendously, with only

-
- a. Defined as "... a system of defined meaningful verbal forms which is the medium of social relations..." Warner & Srole (1945) p.20, cited in 124(4) Johnston, R. (1967).
 - b. Culture may be defined as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". Tylor, Edward B: "Primitive Cultures", 3rd ed., John Murray, London 1891, p. 1, cited in: 5, Brooks & Kawharu (1967) in article by Metge, J. p. 46.
 - c. 84. Ping-Chia Kuo (1965) p.104.

25% ($\pm 4\%$) attending for five years or over, as shown in Table 23. As 16 (16% $\pm 4\%$) of the subjects were classified as first generation Chinese, that is, they migrated to New Zealand over the age of nine, the number of 19 who received Chinese education in Hong Kong is not surprising. The difference is accounted for by three youths who had spent a year each learning Chinese in Hong Kong, a practice which is not common to New Zealand Chinese. Table 24 reveals that 6% ($\pm 5\%$) received their Chinese schooling by the age of 12, and only 33% had attended over the age of 12. At the time of the survey in June-August 1970 only (7) 7% ($\pm 3\%$) were still attending Chinese school aged 16 or over. Of those who did attend the Chinese classes, Table 25 indicates that only (51) 55% ($\pm 5\%$) received any benefit at all while

TABLE 23 ATTENDANCE AT CHINESE SCHOOL

No. of years	No.	%	% Error
0-1	23	24	4
1-4	31	31	5
5+	24	25	4
Hong Kong	19	20	4
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 24 AGE OF ATTENDANCE AT CHINESE SCHOOL

	No.	%	% Error
12 yrs & under	49	64	5
Over 12 yrs	25	33	5
TOTAL	73	100	

TABLE 25 DID SUBJECT BENEFIT FROM CHINESE SCHOOLING?

	No.	%	% Error
Yes	51	55	5
No	42	45	5
TOTAL	93	100	

18% (+ 4%) stated that they benefited greatly from their Chinese education (see Table 25). In effect this means that most Chinese youth, although bilingual, cannot speak Chinese fluently beyond elementary conversation.

To a large extent the parents have shown a desire for Chinese youth to attend these classes when their children are young but when the child showed little interest, he was not forced to go, especially at the college level. The reason for this attitude to Chinese education lies basically in the thoughts that it is much more important to learn English in New Zealand and that learning Chinese will hinder the progress of the child. But irrespective of the arguments for continuing or discontinuing a Chinese education (82) 85% (+ 4%) of the subjects stated that they would send their (future) children to Chinese school, revealing a certain continuity of their parents' attitudes to the Chinese language. One of the single Chinese youth subjects poignantly remarked that:

"If you're not going to speak Chinese to your parents,
who are you going to speak Chinese to?"

It would appear to the writer that the reasoning of Chinese parents, who desire their children to at least speak Chinese, and allow their children to stop attending Chinese School solely because they are afraid that their children will not be able to perform well at the college level, really defeats the purpose which made them send their children in the first place (to retain their cultural heritage). If a Chinese child has not mastered the English language at primary school it is doubtful that he will do so at college, even if he ceases to attend Chinese School because progress in the English language at secondary school is largely determined by the background of English at primary school. Assistance from the home could be given once the child has commenced schooling at the age of five to learn English without sacrificing the Chinese language.

The effort in achieving bilingual expertise is more than compensated for by its undoubted advantages.

Table 26 shows that the majority of Wellington Chinese parents (80) 82% (+ 4%) preferred their children to speak Chinese at home which agrees with Johnston's findings on the Polish families in Western Australia,^a Lee's (1960) on Chinese in U.S.A.,^b

and Inglis's (1967) on Chinese in Darwin.^c However, the preference by the parents was partly governed by necessity—(43) 45% (+ 5%) of the subjects stated that at least one of their parents, usually a mother, couldn't understand English. The numbers where both parents could not speak English well, were (19) 20% (+ 4%). Even though the youth tend to share the same attitudes as their parents to the Chinese language, the effect of an English-speaking environment has resulted in changes.

TABLE 26 LANGUAGE PARENTS PREFER SPOKEN TO THEM AT HOME

	No.	%	% Error
All English	2	2	1
English & Chinese	15	16	4
All Chinese	80	82	4
TOTAL	97	100	

(b) Language Discontinuity (Learning English)

Chinese youth who have grown up in New Zealand have experienced a discontinuity in the transmission of their Chinese culture. They have not had the benefit of a Chinese environment in which the learned patterns of Chinese behaviour may be reinforced by the cultural

a. 124. (1) Johnston (1967) pp.278-281.

b. 78. Lee (1960) p.244.

c. 73. (1) Inglis (1967) p.98.

milieu; and their grandparents, the majority of elderly immigrants who are from illiterate peasant backgrounds, only know the oral traditions of their Chinese culture. This has resulted in a "parting-of-the-way" between the elderly and the young generation, the latter only knowing Chinese in a New Zealand environment. Furthermore, it has already been argued that the elderly generation identified themselves continually with China but a basic change occurred in 1949. The real effects of this radical shift in identification are evident in the attitudes of the parents of Chinese youth today. With no immediate hope of returning to China, and because Hong Kong is overcrowded, they have resigned themselves to regarding New Zealand as their home. Hopes of keeping alive the Chinese traditions have gradually been eroded away in the midst of an overwhelmingly Western and materialistic society. Parents, who have a firm grounding in Chinese and who have had the benefit of a Chinese education, are caught between conflicting actualities - should we try to instil Chinese language into our children, or should we just forget about it? Most parents have attempted to teach their children to speak Chinese to maintain some sort of continuity. Table 27 reveals that the majority of Chinese youth cannot speak Chinese well: 78% ($\pm$ 4%) Chinese youth can only communicate with their parents in the Chinese language on an elementary level, while only 22% ($\pm$ 4%) can be thought of as being proficient enough to carry on a fluent conversation. Not surprisingly (89) 91% ($\pm$ 3%) would not be able to read a newspaper or a letter written in Chinese characters (see Table 28).

TABLE 27 CAN SUBJECT SPEAK CHINESE?

	No.	%	% Error
Little	25	26	4
Fairly well	51	52	5
Very well	21	22	4
TOTAL	97	100	

Today a criteria for social success in New Zealand is the ability to have a mastery of the English language, and from the time a Chinese youth commences his formal education almost invariably at the age of 5^a the predominant language is naturally English. Often, if the child has brothers or sisters already at school, or the parents have decided not to stress the Chinese

language the child may even be at no real disadvantage at the onset, by emerging from a Chinese family. An example of some of the problems of attempting to inculcate the Chinese language in New Zealand is revealed in the vignette on the traditional Chinese girl:

"Sometimes I think parents shouldn't try to bring their children up in the Chinese way and in doing so lessen their own children's chances of competing in their English education. Some Chinese children have quite a difficulty at school to learn how to grasp English. Their grammar is not so good and they find it hard to understand what's going on....I know a couple of Chinese boys who do very well at school, but their English has pulled them down a lot."

In fact the initial disability in communication may be supplemented by other important factors such as the ability to concentrate, to show a willingness to learn, basic intelligence and obedience.

TABLE 28

CAN SUBJECT READ CHINESE

	No.	%	%Error
None	51	52	5
Little	38	39	5
Very well	8	9	3
TOTAL	97	100	

a. The compulsory age limit for commencing formal education is 7 years of age, but most New Zealand children commence at the age of 5.

It is often difficult for the youth to express themselves solely in Chinese.

(55) $57\% \pm 5\%$ of the youth speak a mixture of Chinese and English to their parents, while only (35) $36\% \pm 5\%$ speak only Chinese. This tendency to mix-

in English words is a result of the

overwhelming influence of the

predominantly English orientated education system which results in a sub-conscious preference for English because it is easier to think of an English word, especially when the Chinese vocabulary is limited.

This cultural borrowing of words is common to all ethnic minority groups. To some Chinese youth whose parents especially mother could not speak English, there was no alternative but to speak Chinese. There were only a few cases in this category.

The preference and ease of communicating in English is obvious from Table 30 where (92) $95\% (\pm 3\%)$ of the subjects spoke mainly English with their brothers and sisters, while the language spoken to other Chinese youth followed a similar pattern (88) $90\% (\pm 5\%)$ depending on what language their Chinese friends preferred to speak.

In the preceding analysis in this chapter it was found that Chinese youth have a limited Chinese vocabulary. The limits and basic flaws of its transmission from parents to children is evidenced in the following two situations:

TABLE 29

LANGUAGES SPOKEN TO PARENTS AT HOME

	No.	%	%error
All English	7	7	3
English-Chinese	35	36	5
Mostly Chinese	20	21	4
All Chinese	36	36	5
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 30

LANGUAGES SPOKEN BETWEEN BROS. & SISTERS AT HOME

	No.	%	%error
All English	40	41	5
English-Chinese	52	54	5
Mostly Chinese	5	5	2
All Chinese	-	-	-
TOTAL	97	100	

1. Mention has been made in Appendices A of the importance of names and status in the Confucian ideology. The stress on a person's station in life is easily illustrated in the form of greetings in which Chinese are accustomed. A general greeting is made, then the relationship between the two strangers is established by asking for name as well ^{of} village and district of origin. Thus a young child, reared according to traditional Chinese principles, would be able to answer the questions of: "Who are you?" and "Where do you come from?" In Wellington (9) 9% ($\pm$ 3%) did not know their father's district of origin while (56) 58% ($\pm$ 5%) did not even know their father's village of origin. An outstanding example of discontinuity is the observation of a youth who stated that:

"I think older Chinese are nosey. When they first meet you they want to find out all about you - who your parents are, where they come from."

As expected too, those youth who could speak Chinese fluently, tended to know their father's village of origin, spoke more Chinese with their brothers and sisters and felt more at ease with Chinese elders. Conversely, those who could not speak Chinese well tended not to know their father's village of origin, spoke more English with their brothers and sisters, and felt uncomfortable with Chinese elders. A detailed analysis follows:

TABLE 31

CORRELATION: CAN SUBJECT SPEAK CHINESE
AND FATHER'S VILLAGE OF ORIGIN

	Little		Fairly		Very		Row
			well		well		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Knows	8	32	16	31	17	81	41
Don't know	17	68	35	69	4	19	56
Column Totals	25	100	51	100	21	100	97

$$\chi^2-16.44, df=4, p(0.01) = 13.3$$

(a) It was also found that the ability to speak Chinese and one's age were strongly correlated with knowledge of the father's village of origin. In Table 31 68% (16 out of 25) of those who could speak a little Chinese did not know their father's village of

origin, whereas 81% (17 out of 21) who could speak Chinese very well knew their village of origin. 72% (38 out of 53) aged between 16-20 did not know of their father's village of origin whereas 62% (18 out of 29) aged between 25-29 did know, as revealed in Table 32.

(b) The ability to speak Chinese was statistically significant at the 5% level of confidence with the languages system between brothers and sisters at home, and, feeling at ease with Chinese elders. In other words most Chinese youth at home spoke English with their brothers and sisters. 92% (23 out of 25) youth who could speak at least a little Chinese spoke all English or mostly English with their brothers and sister, while 86% (44 out of 51) who spoke Chinese fairly well spoke all-mostly English. Brother and sister will tend to speak Chinese between themselves only if they can speak Chinese very well.

The ability to converse fluently in Chinese is important to feeling at ease with elders. Table 33 shows that 60% (15 out of 25) of those who could only speak a little Chinese only felt comfortable with Chinese elders, sometimes, whereas 67% (14 out of 21) who could speak Chinese very well were always at ease.

2. A further factor contributing to discontinuity in the Chinese language lies at the

TABLE 32

CORRELATION: AGE GROUP AND FATHER'S VILLAGE OF ORIGIN

	16-20		21-24		25-29		Row
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Knows	15	28	8	53	48	62	41
Don't know	38	72	7	47	11	38	56
Column	53	100	15	100	59	100	97
Totals							

$$\chi^2=9.65, df=2, p(0.01)=9.2$$

TABLE 33

CORRELATION: CAN SUBJECT SPEAK CHINESE AND FEELING AT EASE WITH CHINESE ELDERS

	Little		Fairly		Very		Row
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Always	1	4	14	28	14	67	29
Sometimes	15	60	25	49	4	19	44
Never	9	36	12	23	3	14	24
Column	25	100	51	100	21	100	97
Total							

basic problem of spoken Chinese communication between the three dialect or district groups to which New Zealand Chinese largely belong. New Zealand Chinese generally speak a Cantonese dialect, a name derived from where the standard is taken from Canton City and generally spoken in Hong Kong. In New Zealand the Chinese from the Jungsing and Tung Kuan districts or from Canton City itself, speak closest to the New Zealand local Cantonese standard. People from the Poonyue district although closest to Canton, (see Map 3 p. 34) have a very different accent which is difficult for those from the Tung Jung to understand, especially when spoken quickly. But the Seyip dialect is like a foreign language to both the Tung Jung and Poonyue peoples. The Seyip dialect may then be classified as a totally separate speech group.^a Most Chinese from both the Seyip and Poonyue districts can converse in Cantonese, whereas those who can speak in Cantonese do not necessarily know the more localised Seyip speech and Poonyue dialect.

It is natural for parents to teach their children their own village or district dialect, but this continued stress places youth wishing to travel to Hong Kong in the unenviable position of having to speak in a "village" dialect in a society where the linguafranca is Cantonese. The crux of not being able to speak Cantonese Chinese is a source of embarrassment to some New Zealand Chinese youth, especially when overseas. The problem of speech groups is largely overcome by the use of Cantonese, and by speaking mainly in English, among the youth. The decline in use of the Chinese language has not in itself contributed to a movement away from

a. In general the writer agrees with 85 Skinner (1957) p.35 and 90 Willmott (1960) p.98 for the use of the term speech group instead of dialect group. The problem of using the term speech group remains in defining the particular dialect in relationship relative to other dialects. Thus where dialect A may be defined as a speech group with B, it may not be so defined with C as in the case of the Poonyue dialect and its relationship with the Seyip speech group and Tung Jung dialects.

associating with Chinese. It may be argued that the English language helps to maintain solidarity among Chinese youth by facilitating easier communications between three traditionally separate and distinct groups and would also help Chinese people to cope with problems arising from living in the host society. Within the Chinese community in New Zealand, the problems of different speech groups is to a limited extent overcome by the Chinese schools which teach Cantonese and by increased intermingling of Chinese in general. Previously each speech group tended to circumscribe an individual's social relationships to other Chinese within the group.

(c) Original Language and Assimilation (learning English)

The role of original language in the assimilation of immigrants is not conclusively proven to be a very important aspect which influences a persons ability to assimilate into the life of his new country.^a The assumption that language is the key to assimilation has been supported by Berry (1951)^b who argued that the rapidity with which the Irish were assimilated into the American society can largely be explained by the fact that they already had a command of English upon arrival. However, Duncan (1933)^c regarded British immigrants as the least assimilated immigrants in the United States. The Irish and British entered the country prepared linguistically the same and yet their rate of assimilation proved to be different. The conclusion is that some variable other than language must be responsible for the difference. Hughes and Hughes (1952)^d

a. This section is based on 124(1) Johnston (1965) pp.214-216.

b. Berry, B. (1951) "Race Relations" Boston; Houghton, cited by 124(1) Johnston (1965) p. 214.

c. Duncan H.G. (1933) "Immigration and Assimilation," New York: Heath cited by 124(1) Johnston (1965) p. 215.

d. Hughes, E.C. and Hughes M.H. (1952) "Where People Meet" Glencoe, Illin: Free Press cited by 124(1) Johnston (1965) p. 215.

also found language to be a poor measure of assimilation in application to French Canadians in America, as some of them spoke fluent English and were less assimilated than those who spoke practically no English. Johnston (1965) hypothesised that a prior knowledge of a language may even hinder rather than assist subjective assimilation. Immigrants who are linguistically equipped have the opportunity of learning the new culture more quickly, but if they find it (or aspects of it) incompatible with their own, will erect a barrier against the adoption of the new culture (or parts thereof) from the start. The vital point about Johnston 's hypothesis is the clarification of subjective and external assimilation. Sharing a common speech is only one means of facilitating participation in the community life and not a guarantee of assimilation in itself. The ability to converse, read, and write may not be synonymous with assimilation. This survey of Chinese youth supports Johnston 's hypothesis. Although Chinese youth in Wellington are linguistically equipped to be assimilated they have in fact selected the level of their participation in the Wellington community life. They have assimilated structurally into the economic and political life but not socially. The extent to which Chinese youth may be assimilated in New Zealand is a function of the two basic factors of their Chinese upbringing and the attitude of the receiving New Zealand society, together with a third major factor of visibility making total assimilation impossible. The rate of the movement away from the Chinese culture is governed by the individual-by his perception of whether he is accepted by the host society and on whether he has the extroverted personality which often makes the process easier.

Photo 17 THE FAMILY ALTAR

(1) The photographs of the two deceased males replace the traditional inscribed wooden plaques. The male on the left is the son, the middle one the father, and the photograph to the right is the surviving wife. The plastic flowers are on permanent display while the fresh fruit is changed regularly so that the spirits never go hungry.

The Altar is not a permanent piece of ceremonial furniture like the western Christian one.

(2) The Chinese food to appease the appetites of the dead include: barbecued pork; roast chicken; egg-fuyung; 3 bowls of cooked rice and chopsticks; and three wine egg-cup holders. The food is later eaten by the gathered extended family.

Photo 18 MONEY OFFERINGS

Incense sticks are held in a special brass container. Painted gold paper money imported from Hong Kong is burnt so that the spirits have 'money' to spend in the other world. The table is an "acting" altar emphasising the informality of the occasion, but, the ancestor worship ceremony is carried out seriously.

Photo 20 ANCESTOR WORSHIP: CHOONG YEUNG (重陽)
 The Wellington Poonyue Association representatives at their main grave site. The young boy is holding a tray of Chinese cakes. Joss-sticks are burning in the flower holder, while others hold unused joss-sticks to be lit and distributed on graves to appease the spirits of Poonyue people by the fragrance. Notice that there is an absence of Chinese youth denoting a large generation gap between the elders and middle-aged with some children, and that the group is relaxed and cheerfully informal.

Photo 21 REWARDS

The cakes are first distributed to the children, who obviously enjoy the occasion, and then to the adults.

a. 71 Hsu, P.E. (1955) p.14 in 70 Pien (1955) p.14 on Overseas Chinese.

b. 99 Willmetts, S.E. (1960) p. 137.

2. THE DECLINE OF TRADITIONAL CHINESE FESTIVALS

In Wellington the observance of Chinese traditional festivals by the older generation was a paramount duty not to be neglected. Only 41% (+ 5%) of Chinese youth in Wellington participate in the activities associated with their observance. The traditional Chinese festivals are unlike Christian festivals as the former largely occur in the home and not in a public Chinese temple or Joss house. There are no Joss houses in Wellington or in New Zealand.

This section begins by outlining the meaning of the major festivals in terms of the framework of Chinese supernatural belief then briefly describes the origins and significance of ancestor worship and the observance of the associated festivals in Wellington - Ching Ming and Choong Yeurng. Mention is also made of the Chinese New Year day and Double Tenth celebrations.

(a) Chinese supernatural beliefs: religious acculturation

From the beginning of recorded history mankind has had a belief in the supernatural, of the existence of good and bad spirits which exist apart from the physical world. Traditional Chinese religion had three component parts: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, now all mixed together so that it is possible to discuss not three religions but a "Chinese system of supernatural belief."^a The approach to Chinese supernatural beliefs is a point of controversy. Willmott (1960)^b approaches the subject from a structural basis and argues that it is

a. 71 Hsu, F.K. (1955) p.63 in 70 Fried (1958) Colloquim on Overseas Chinese.

b. 90 Willmott, D.E. (1960) p. 197.

"unrealistic to deal with them (Chinese beliefs and practices) as a single religion" indicating that "there is a large body of common beliefs and practices which do not stem directly from any of the three."^a Hsu (1958)⁶⁶ argues that it is a methodological mistake to ask: "What are the declensions?" The researcher should ask "Are there any declensions?"^b The concern in this study is not with the methodological approach but with the basic forms of ritual behaviour, and here, both note that there exists basic forms of ritual behaviour, which are common to all three streams.^c Briefly, the ritual behaviour occurs in the home before a semi-fixed alter and incense, food, wine, paper money and, in South East Asia paper models of material possessions, are offered to appease the ancestors and other spirits according to varied procedures. Traditional Chinese believe everything on earth has a spirit, so there are believed to be tree spirits, bird spirits and so on, as well as human spirits. According to the superstitions these spirits can and do influence life on earth and so they must always be appeased, especially at the festival times. Because of the variation of the practise of ritual, only the major and general steps of the ritual observance at home are outlined in this study (see photographs 17 and 18).

1. The Alter in the home - this varies from a simple table or shelf to expensive and elaborate shrines. On every alter there is at least one incense

a. 90 Willmott, D.E. (1960) p.197

b. 70 Hsu, p.63 in Fried (1958).

c. This analysis is basically structured along Willmott's format.

urn, and usually vases and other ornaments. The traditional family alter is supposed to have ancestor tablets placed upon it, one for each deceased ancestor or married couple, on which is inscribed in Chinese characters the name of the deceased. In New Zealand a variation has occurred in which photographs of the deceased are used, replacing the tablets. The alter is also usually either fixed to the wall or situated on a small table in the living room.

2. The offering of incense in the home - the worshipper usually lights three incense sticks (also used for lighting fireworks) which are raised and lowered to the face a number of times. An attitude of reverence is maintained even if no quiet prayers are offered in praise, respect or for information and aid. When the ritual is completed, the incense sticks are placed upright in the alter censer.
3. The prostrate bow - the 'Kowtow' (叩頭) is performed by the worshipper who kneels before the altar and bows his head to the ground a number of times.
4. The ceremonial material possessions offering^a - paper models of material possessions, such as houses and cars are made prior to the ceremony and burnt as offerings to the deities and ancestor spirits.

a. 90 Willmott (1960) does not mention this.

While this practice is common among the Chinese communities in S.E. Asia^a, New Zealand Chinese have largely dispensed with the time-consuming chore of making these models which are often very elaborate. Instead, 'gold-painted' paper is burnt so that the spirits can have flexibility to purchase their requirements.

5. Ceremonial food offering - these offerings range from simple items such as Chinese tea and rice to more elaborate arrays of food. When the offering is ready the deities and/or ancestors spirits are invited to participate in the meal usually in the prayer during the offering of incense (see photos 17 and 18). At the conclusion of the rituals, the food is then eaten by the family and/or distributed to family members, neighbours, friends or visitors. In New Zealand the occasion is one which reunites the local members of the extended family which is usually geographically dispersed.
6. Ceremonial procedure - the procedure is to first offer incense at the same time remembering by name specific ancestors, 'kowitz' and then offer the material needs followed by the food and drink. Each member of the family goes through the rituals and then offers the food by slightly raising each receptacle and takes, one at a time, three small wine containers and tips a little wine into

a. The writer would like to thank Mr C.J. Chua for his comments.

the burning 'gold' offerings. The ceremony ends with the 'kowitz'.

Nearly all the items used in the rituals have symbolic meanings which are often not understood by the participants but who treat them with respect. For instance, the red alter candles signify righteousness and spiritual enlightenment; the ceremonial offering of wine symbolises the purity of the worshipper in body and spirit and 'moon cakes' symbolises long-life.

(b) Chinese Ancestor Worship

Appendix 1 on the Chinese traditional family emphasises the Confucian social philosophy. Its success as the social ethic governing Chinese patterns of behaviour lay in its fusion with the supernatural beliefs and especially on the demands of loyalty the maintenance of these beliefs requires of the sons to fulfil their filial duties. According to traditional Chinese perception of the spirit-world, a person's spirit after death lives on. Nearly every physical object also had its spirits like the Maori "mauri" (life force in trees, stones, houses, canoes etc). Thus the people with traditional beliefs felt a strong obligation to their ancestors, the present family members, and the future generations as spirits could influence life in the physical world. The obligations of the filial son and sons were to ensure maintenance of the elaborate ancestor rites at the prescribed times: on the anniversary of the death of a deceased parent; visits to the grave sites at the traditional festival times of Ching Ming, Choong Yeurng and sometimes Chinese New Year, and other occasions.

(1) The annual Ching Ming (清明) or the festival of 'Pure Brightness' occurs about 5 April. In Wellington the period is not a festive occasion but sacrifices are

made at home and at the graves of ancestors. Ching Ming was probably a festival marking the renewal of life and mating in spring, gradually changing to a festival for the care of the spirits of the dead, who from the next world would protect the physically living.^a

(2) The annual Choong Yeurng (重陽) alternatively called the 'hill-climbing' or Double Ninth Festival as it is held on the ninth day of the ninth month of the lunar year. In the Southern Provinces of China people used to go to places such as the Temple of Heavenly Peace, Joyful Pavilion to recite poetry, drink wine, roast meat, distribute cakes to celebrate their joy.^b In New Zealand it is an occasion for grave visiting. The legend which explains this hill-climbing ceremony is as follows:

"During the later Han Dynasty (AD 25-22) there lived a certain Fei Chang-fang, noted for his knowledge of magical arts, who had a friend named Huan Ching. One day Fei said to Huan: "On the ninth day of the ninth month a great disaster will happen in your family. But if you have the members of your family make a sack for you out of red silk gauze, fill it with dogwood, and bind it on your arm, and if you climb to a high place and drink the wine of chysanthenums (which are supposed to have special life-giving properties because their appearance is suggestive of the sun), the calamity will be lessened".

Huan Ching followed his advice, and on returning in the evening of the ninth day, found that his oxen, sheep, chicken, and dogs had all suffered a violent death. Therefore Fei told him: 'They have suffered the disaster which would have befallen you'.^c

a. 88 Tun Li-Chen (1965) pages 26-27.

b. op. cit. p.69.

c. op. cit. p.69.

(3) Moon Cakes (月 餅) are made for the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month each year to worship the moon goddess, Chang O, who was transformed into a toad. The full moon is the most prominent at this time of year, and so it has become a traditional Chinese home festival. The cakes have egg yolks to symbolise new life.

(4) Chinese New Year's Day , occurs between January 21 to February 19. Incense is burnt to appease the spirits, fire-crackers are lit to show them respect and visits to the graves are made by living relatives and friends to wish them New Year happiness. "Goong He Fat Choy" (恭喜發財). The traditional Lion Dances, Dragon Dances, Dragon boat races maybe held as part of the major festivities. There is no official celebration in Wellington or New Zealand.

(c) Chinese festival observance in Wellington

The observance of Chinese ancestral duties in Wellington have declined considerably with the passing on of older members of the community. When the question was asked and the names of the festivals given, the replies were that 69% (+ 5%) of the parents still maintained some of the festivals.^a From the writer's personal knowledge of the observance, only families with strong links with traditionally-minded grandparents observed the ceremonial ritual described earlier. The observance today is modified to a large degree and largely consists of visiting graves and burning incense sticks at home (See photos 19, 20 and 21). Significantly

a. 73(1) Inglis (1967) p.108 found that 75% of the respondents celebrated one or more of the traditional Chinese festivals.

21% ($\pm$ 4%) do not observe any Chinese festivals at all, including a local Double Tenth Celebration as shown in Table 34. Discontinuity is evident among the parents of youth. Chinese youth participation is varied and demonstrates further discontinuity. Table 35 only 41% ($\pm$ 5%) observe Chinese festivals compared to 71% ($\pm$ 5%) of parents. Some Chinese youth who participated in the rituals did what they were told to do, or just joined in the activities without enquiring into the symbolism and spiritual content of their actions.

It is significant that 28% ($\pm$ 5%) of the youth participate in Double Tenth

TABLE 34

DO YOUR PARENTS CELEBRATE CHINESE FESTIVALS?

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%error</u>
All	26	27	4
Some	41	42	5
Double Tenth	10	10	3
No	20	21	4
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 35

DOES SUBJECT CELEBRATE CHINESE FESTIVALS?

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%error</u>
Yes, have to	12	12	3
Some	28	29	5
Double Tenth	27	28	5
No	30	31	5
TOTAL	97	100	

celebrations compared to 10% ($\pm$ 3%) of their parents. This illustrates that Double Tenth has become a new New Zealand Chinese festive occasion for maintaining contact with other Chinese youth. Chinese in Wellington have shown a reluctance to continue with the tradition of ancestor worship with all the elaborate ritual. There is no Joss House or public temple for ancestor rites as in Darwin. The rituals associated with the traditional festivals have also been streamlined.

3. THE DECLINE OF CHINESE MEDICINES

To the older generation of Chinese, Chinese medicines were virtually the only acceptable medicine. Western prepared mixtures were thought to be inferior. The Chinese in Wellington have adapted to and taken advantage of the free drugs available on prescription under the social security scheme, but have not completely discarded the use of Chinese medicines, most of which are imported from Hong Kong. Little is known about the herbal medicines and their curative properties, but the ordinary Chinese peasant acquired a great deal of valuable lore. The pharamacopoeia which contains many useful drugs and the methods of treatment not infrequently produces excellent results. In China today, it has been common to acknowledge the introduction and value of Occidental Surgery, but for internal remedies they still prefer practitioners trained in the native fashion. In Auckland, there is an Acupuncture Specialist whose procedure is to diagnose the complaint and to treat it by piercing the flesh with needles, as well as a Chinese herbalist.

In Wellington, Chinese can and do obtain herbal medicines and linaments from the three Chinese importing firms or obtain them direct from Hong Kong. Not surprisingly, Table 36 reveals that 84% ($\pm$ 4%) of the Chinese parents use Chinese medicines sometimes. Practical considerations

TABLE 36
DO PARENTS USE CHINESE MEDICINES?

	No.	%	%error
Always	3	3	2
Sometimes	81	84	4
No	13	13	3
TOTAL	97	100	

mean that western drugs are also used. Whereas, the youth diverged from their parents pattern in the observance of Chinese festivals, the correlation between the youth and parents use of Chinese medicines was statistically a very strong one at the

0.01 level of significance. (Table 37).

TABLE 37

YOUTH USE OF CHINESE MEDICINES

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%error</u>
Always	1	1	1
Sometimes	60	62	5
No	36	37	5
TOTAL	97	100	

4. THE RETENTION OF CHINESE FOOD^a AND ITS ROLE IN THE FAMILY

Mention has already been made of the ceremonial use of Chinese food in ancestor worship and this part discusses the importance of ordinary Chinese meals.

Johnston (1965)^b reports that there is a general prevailing opinion that immigrants are on the whole reluctant to change their food habits, and that food patterns seem to be among those most resistant to acculturation (the process of giving-up and adopting the cultural aspects of the dominant society). This study confirms this view as did Lee's (1960)^c and Inglis's (1968)^d.

Table 38 reveals that all Chinese families ate Chinese foods and 97% (+ 2%) have a balance of half Chinese meals in a week to half English food and all Chinese food. It was decided to ask a further question to determine if the Chinese youth actually got the sort of meals they preferred. Table 39 shows that they did.

TABLE 38

FOOD EATEN AT HOME

	No.	%	%error
Mostly N.Z.	3	3	2
Half & half	24	25	4
Mostly Chinese	58	60	5
All Chinese	12	12	3
TOTAL	97	100	

The preference for Chinese food is especially understandable if only for the popularity the wider society has for Chinese cuisine. For instance - in Wellington there were

-
- a. Chinese foods here refers both to dishes comprised solely of Chinese ingredients and to those meals cooked the Chinese way using indigenous meats and vegetables but with Chinese spices and flavourings.
 - b. 124(1) Johnston (1965) p.214
 - c. 78 Lee (1960) p.244
 - d. 73(2) Inglis (1968) p.51

thirteen Chinese restaurants in 1970 and 1971; Chinese cook books are on good demand; the New Zealand Seyip Association was able to successfully promote Chinese cuisine and film a television series; and various Chinese Balls have been successful offering Chinese food as a drawcard. On the other hand European

food is eaten by almost 90% of Chinese families. Invariably the 'European' meals will be prepared with Chinese flavourings. For instance the meat especially roast beef, lamb or Chicken, and steak maybe prepared by marinating it with seasoning of Soyabean sauce, sherry, ginger, and garlic. While there are variations to the number of courses taken in the European meals prepared by Chinese it is usual to have the main meal followed by either pudding and/or Chinese tea, English tea or coffee. Sandwiches are commonly eaten for lunches but where possible cooked meals are generally preferred.

TABLE 39

FOOD PREFERRED

	No.	%	%error
Mostly N.Z.	9	9	3
Half & half	33	34	5
Mostly Chinese	43	45	5
All Chinese	12	12	3
TOTAL	97	100	

SUMMARY

The survival of the cultural characteristics of an ethnic group are that they are an index to the degree of the survival of the group's culture. The Chinese community in Wellington demonstrates the process by which it is evaluating its culture and life ways. At times the decisions are very difficult because of the complex nature of the problem, as in the case of language, and on other occasions the choice is clear-cut and a simple matter of preference, such as food and medicine. Ancestor worship is declining for natural reasons with the passing away of the China born elders and because younger China-born Chinese know the rituals imperfectly and do not have the same zealous stubbornness to resist change. Chinese youth in Wellington observe the rites as they are so directed, out of respect and obedience to their parents and elders. Very young children enjoy doing so. Preferences for Chinese food indicate that this will be the most resistant to acculturation. There is also a strong persistence of Chinese medicines.

The Chinese language presents Chinese elders with the most difficult problems. The majority ideally desire to retain knowledge of both written and spoken Chinese. Very few local born Chinese in Wellington can write Chinese (this applies for Chinese youth in New Zealand), and most only have an elementary knowledge of colloquial Chinese. Inevitably, the decreasing use of the Chinese language already has discontinuity problems - the primary medium through which a culture is synthesised is being discarded by Chinese youth. An interesting development is the use of English to facilitate greater youth involvement with

each other by allowing a common language to discuss this process between one another in the group, and with the need to deal with the host society. English could also be used, although it is an imperfect medium, to promote Chinese culture and an understanding of the basic Chinese way of life, just as this dissertation attempts.

The predominant feature of the cultural adjustment of Chinese youth is the degree of adaptability. Inevitably, the process of selection and rejection of the component parts of the Chinese culture results in a change in the definition of a New Zealand Chinese youth, such a definition being delineated by socio-cultural factors as well as by ethnic origin.

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 4 MARITAL & IDENTIFICATIONAL ADJUSTMENT
OF CHINESE YOUTH

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Photo 22 YOUTH - Whither?

This photograph looks very much like a 'still' taken from a television advertisement. It is not. It was posed but reflects the road Chinese youth pattern their lives upon today - the television, westernised image, build upon a Chinese foundation which is being eroded away.

INTRODUCTION

The historical background to the homogeneity of Wellington Chinese Youth was outlined in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 discussed the survival and adaptation of Chinese social organisations, and Chapter 3 analysed the complexity of cultural adjustment. This chapter will analyse the inter-relationship of courtship and marriage, and, the question of self-identification. The first part generally describes the liberal attitudes of Chinese youth to 'mixed-dating' and 'mixed-marriages' but as Chinese youth prefer each other's company they are not prepared to tempt romance with a non-Chinese. The second part seeks to analyse the major factors which influence the resolving of cultural problems, and the resultant behavioural patterns.

1. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

To an immigrant group which has a different culture from that of the receiving society, and which seeks to maintain its own ethnic identity, the confrontation of inter-racial dating and ultimately inter-racial marriage is a heart-burning issue. No other issue can arouse the intense conflicts of loyalty within an individual who threatens to step outside the sphere of influence of both his family group and ethnic community. For there, the individual is confronted with weighing-up the consequences of an action which is fraught with many imponderables. Will the families accept my partner? Will the host and the ethnic community bless the union? Will future children be ostracised? and so on. Because of prevailing racial conservatism of the New Zealand society and of the ethnic homogeneity of the Chinese community in Wellington, change towards increased inter-racial marriages has been slow in spite of a lessening of racist attitudes by youth in general. The dating pattern of Chinese youth reflects the conservative nature of the youth as well as their homogeneity.

Dating as defined in this study refers to a specific private outing, and not to a group outing. Table 40 reveals three categories of Chinese youth:

1. Those who prefer to date New Zealanders
12% (± 3%)

2. Those who gravitate more to dating Chinese
32% (± 5%)

3. Those who have dated only Chinese, 30% (± 5%)

TABLE 40

Dating Pattern

	No.	%	%error
Mostly N.Z.	12	12	3
½/½	6	6	2
Mostly Chinese	25	26	4
Only Chinese	29	30	5
Never dated	23	24	4
Decline to comment	2	2	1
TOTAL	97	100	

The 24% ($\pm 4\%$) who have never dated is quite a surprisingly high percentage, given the social acceptability of dating in the general New Zealand society which reflects the isolation of the Chinese family from the main stream of New Zealand society and the strength of Chinese upbringing which puts more stress on female modesty, domesticity and propriety (especially in the under 20 age group) and, male conservation.

When this number is combined with those who have dated 'only Chinese youth' the percentage is 54% ($\pm 5\%$), as shown in Table 41. Of this percentage, 40% were in the 16-20 age group. (91% of those who had never dated were also in this age group). We can draw the following conclusions:

TABLE 41

Dating pattern within each age group

	16-20		21-24		25-29		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Only N.Z. - $\frac{1}{2}/\frac{1}{2}$	7	23	1	8	10	36	18
Mostly Chinese	7	23	8	61	10	36	25
Only Chinese	17	54	4	31	8	28	29
TOTAL	31	100	13	100	28	100	72

(1) Younger Chinese tend to associate more with Chinese while the older Chinese youth tend to have a higher incidence of mixed-dating. Only 54% ($\pm 5\%$) in the 16-20 age group dated only Chinese compared to 28% ($\pm 4\%$) in the 25-29 age group.

(2) If Chinese youth are not married by the age of 25 they tend to widen their field of choice by dating non-Chinese. The 21-24 age group shows the strength of the desire to marry a Chinese person as 92% ($\pm 3\%$) dated mostly Chinese or only Chinese.

The desire to associate with and to date Chinese is one of preference and contiguity, and not because of Chinese youth feel uncomfortable with youth of another race as Table 42 reveals that 65% ($\pm 5\%$) of the Chinese youth feel at ease with youth regardless of their origin. Those youth who dated mainly New Zealanders did so

because they felt more at ease with them. Dating or courtship does not necessarily mean that the people involved will end up being married. Often subjects stated that they went on dates with non-Chinese to 'help friends out', or 'just to try it out'. A probe question was asked if the subjects thought that they would like to marry a non-Chinese with the results, shown in Table 43, that 50% of the youth rejected the possibility because there would be too many problems especially with their parents, or they just did not think it right to. 33% replied to the affirmative but only if they loved the person very much. The chances of this happening on

a large scale in the next 10 to 15 years do not seem great as Chinese youth in Wellington tend to mix together, to look for a marriage partner in the New Zealand Chinese community or alternatively in Hong Kong, before they are willing to take the drastic step of seriously considering marriage with a non-Chinese. Chinese youth appear to want to retain their identity despite the weakening of community activities. In the relatively small New Zealand Chinese community the choices of marriage partner available to youth are very limited and so Table 44 reveals that 91% (+ 3%) would marry another Chinese from another district group, a practice which has been traditionally taboo. This fairly strict taboo in pre-Communist China has been relaxed in New Zealand and the taboo has been transferred to marrying a non-Chinese. A relatively inflexible taboo is the avoidance of marriages of Chinese bearing the

TABLE 42

Feeling at ease with Youth

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%error</u>
N.Z.'ers	13	13	3
No difference	63	65	5
Chinese	20	21	4
Not stated	1	1	1
TOTAL	97	100	

TABLE 43

Would subject marry a non-Chinese

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%error</u>
Yes	32	33	5
Not sure	16	17	4
No	49	50	5
TOTAL	97	100

Photo 23 CHINESE YOUTH WEDDING

The boy is from Wellington and the girl from Auckland. All Chinese weddings in New Zealand are European style and are held on Saturday afternoons. If the parents of either or both sides are 'old-fashioned' some Chinese customs of servitude may be observed by the girl, such as a simple Chinese tea making ceremony on the day after the wedding at the new husband's parents' home. Otherwise, proceedings are westernised.

The wedding ceremony was held in a Christian Church in Wellington as is the accepted custom in the Chinese community, even though neither of the couple need be Christians.

Photo 24 600 WEDDING GUESTS

Chinese friends and relatives came from all parts of New Zealand to this social event, as the father has extensive relatives, and is a respected elder of the Chinese community. It is customary for Chinese to invite all the members of the nuclear family so defined as relatives.

Photo 25 A WEDDING DANCE

Decidedly a preoccupation best suited to youth. As is the custom in Wellington, the wedding dances are open to all Chinese youth, who take advantage of such occasions to strengthen or make contacts with the opposite sex. The band is non-Chinese, the main reason being that there are no professional all-Chinese bands.

Photo 26 THE OLD - Chinese home, Newtown, which is **not** identifiable from the host society homes around it.

... is an exclusive
 ... like the
 photograph of the old Chinese home, is not
 identifiable from the surrounding host society
 homes.

Photo 27 THE NEW CHINESE HOME

A Chinese youth's executive home in an exclusive housing estate in Wellington which, like the photograph of the old Chinese's home, is not identifiable from the surrounding host society homes.

Photo 28 MOBILITY

For Chinese youth, new life-styles result in a marked change of status symbols. In the previous generation the transport status symbol was the ubiquitous truck; now it is the sports car or a new car.

same surname. Today youth attitudes indicate a possible break with this marriage taboo as 59% (+ 5%) stated that they would. In actual practice marriages of the same surname are rare.

The desire to marry another Chinese person has resulted in the acceptance of long distance dating and courtship^a by young people who reject the old custom of arranged marriages as in old China. There is now innovation in New Zealand of introductions by the parents, who then would allow the relationship to project along naturally. Young Chinese prefer to "go-it-alone", or to leave the introductions to the peer group which reveals the acceptance of at least one custom of the host society. The desire to retain a strong Chinese identity by marrying another Chinese is best expressed in the desire to mix socially with other Chinese youth in both formal and informal associations, although this in-group socialising is due in part to inexperience in mixing with the host society youth. The attitudinal problems relating to the contradictory replies given to the following questions dramatically illustrate the divergence of attitudes and behaviour, or between subjective and behavioural assimilation. For instance - Would you marry someone who wasn't Chinese? Invariably the answer was "Yes, if I loved him!" But when this reply is compared to the question of the actual dating pattern relatively few were prepared to give themselves the chance to "fall-in-love" with a non-Chinese. The implications of this will be discussed in the next section.

TABLE 44

MARRIAGE SAME SURNAME

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%error</u>
Yes	57	59	5
Not sure	17	18	4
No	23	23	4
Total	97	100	

a. This practice is mentioned by 78 Rose Hum Lee (1960) p.237.

2. IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

The question of identification is commonly discussed by sociologists and social psychologists in association with such topics as "cultural conflict", "identity crises", "identity problems" or "cultural dilemma." To Chinese youth In Wellington the question of identification becomes a personal issue when the problem of dating is raised, especially at the adolescent age (20 years plus). Why shouldn't I date a non-Chinese? This question marks the conscious assessment of identity most dramatically and the steps taken to resolve the question can have traumatic repercussions in both the individual's life and that of the family. The writer's own experience of a series of identity crises which were eventually solved is related in Appendix 4A.

This part begins by analysing the types of identification and the existence of cultural conflict: it is followed by a discussion into the source of the problems:-

1. Two contrasting ways of life between the other directed, group orientation of the Chinese way of thinking and behaving, and the self directed, individually oriented western ways.
2. A discussion on the generation gap which exists between the China born older generation and the Chinese youth who, as they have grown up in New Zealand share more in common with the host society, especially peer youth groups.

IDENTIFICATION

Almost all of the Chinese youth were able to identify themselves ranging from completely New Zealander to completely Chinese. Table 45 reveals that 40% (± 5%) identified themselves as "mostly New Zealanders".

TABLE 45

(a) Cultural Conflict

Cultural conflict, as the name suggests "involves a dilemma of choosing between two cultures within which an individual lives"^a, a choice which actually involves choosing between two identifications. Culture conflict situation is revealed when a person has a "cultural response" to a situation and finds that it does not work in the host society. For example, an old Chinese in business traditionally relies on the trust of his customers to honour their debts. No records need to be kept. In Western Society such a trader would soon go bankrupt, and experience cultural conflict until such time as he realised that the Westerners did things differently, and depended upon formal contractual agreements.

Another situational example is the difference in behaviour patterns which a child learns at home with those of the school situation. In the classroom the child may be taught to fend for himself and to make decisions on his own (independence and self reliance) but the ingrained attitudes of his parents teaching maybe of passiveness and seeking answers to problems by discussing them in a group situation. Such a child can experience cultural conflicts or inner turmoil as he seeks to adjust to the diverging philosophies. Once the individual decides upon a course of action he may be said to have overcome this cultural conflict.

Johnston reveals two faulty assumptions which underlie the concept of cultural conflict and its causes, the first assumption is that only second generation

a. 124(1) Johnston (1965) p.3.

immigrants can become victims of such conflict. If this dictum is accepted then it follows that first generation immigrants are devoid of the possibility of conflict of assimilation and can be treated as being always "deeply rooted" in their own culture. No way has been developed to measure social anchorage in specific culture, and one may ask at what stage may a person experience cultural conflict? Johnston (1965) found that first generation immigrants may move away from their own culture towards that of the receiving country and that both first and second generation Polish immigrants suffered indecision and frustration (cultural conflict) before making a final choice, thereby resolving the conflict. The writer found in the process of interviewing the Chinese youth, and in general extensive involvement with a large cross-section of Chinese families, especially in Wellington, that first generation parents may indeed be indecisive regarding their identification. Their anxieties and confusion were starkly revealed in the ambivalent attitudes towards learning the Chinese language, both spoken and written. While the prevailing opinion was that it was an advantage for the children to learn Chinese and often necessary for them, many did not translate these thoughts into action and take the necessary steps to ensure that these wishes would be fulfilled even though facilities were available.

The second assumption is that all second generation immigrants suffer from cultural conflict, become "cultural hybrids" and are lost and confused in the search for a cultural identity may also be validly criticised. Johnston found that Polish children in Western Australia experienced no apparent difficulty at any stage of their cultural development in making up their minds as to where they stood on the bi-cultural continuum.

This study confirms Johnston's findings. The Chinese youth also ordered themselves along one of the three possible paths of selection: those who strongly

identified with the New Zealand culture; those who identified with the Chinese culture; and those who accepted trends from both cultures. Sociologists and social psychologists such as Brody (1968), Johnston (1965), assume that immigrants, and especially their children, usually live in a continuous state of cultural indecision, and so experience occupational instability, general social and psychological disorientation and mental disorders. It is believed that these problems manifest themselves in a high rate of crime and so crime rates are accepted as an indice of culture conflict. The problem remains however of selecting the type of crime which can conclusively illustrate the argument of culture conflict. It has yet to be demonstrated that the process of culture conflict, though painful, is so frustrating as to be dramatic and causes aberrant forms of behaviour considered offensive to both host and ethnic group cultures. For instance, Johnston compared and substantiated the prevalence of crime among second generation immigrants with other young people of receiving communities and found that Polish children who experienced very little culture conflict showed a lower incidence of delinquency than comparative groups of children in the Australian community. The inference is that the greater the incidence of culture conflict the higher the incidence of delinquency. This reasoning assumes a causal relationship between culture conflict and delinquency which has not been proved. All Johnston proved was that there is some cultural or other reason such as family upbringing, why Polish children are better behaved than their host society peers. Evidence of overt personality disorientation among Chinese and Chinese youth in Wellington and New Zealand revealed in crime records is lacking as shown in Table 46.

It can be easily seen from Table 46 that compared to both the native born of other foreign-born groups, Chinese are the best behaved of immigrant groups which may be associated with the degree of non-assimilation into the New Zealand society.

TABLE 46

Convictions per 1,000 males by birthplace and type of offence (Annual averages 1951-1963)

Birthplace	Sexual offences	Assault	Burglary theft and fraud	Conversion and wilful damage	Vagrancy and drunkenness
N.Z. (Non-Maori)	0.43	0.5	5.38	1.08	5.4
N.Z. (Maori)	1.58	3.79	25.5	8.11	16.0
Western Samoa	2.44	13.13	7.26	6.08	31.7
Poland	0.25	2.29	5.37	2.46	22.4
Scotland	0.28	0.84	3.51	1.12	15.8
England	0.31	0.68	3.67	1.33	7.6
Yugoslavia	0.12	1.05	2.38	0.49	2.7
China	0.15	0.32	0.67	0.13	0.96

- table from Trlin (1968)

Chinese rank lowest for each of the offences listed with the exception of sexual offences - second to last. The rate is statistically insignificant. This extremely fine record of citizenship is as a consequence reflected in the behaviour of the children. Although there are no specific records of Chinese appearing in the Children's Court (under 16) the actual numbers of Chinese and Indians (including Fijian Indians) and part Chinese and part Indians appearing in the Children's Court would not have exceeded 30 in 1968, representing no more than 0.4% of Children's Court appearances.^a Furthermore, this rate

- a. As already expressed the writer has reservations of the validity of crime statistics as a measure of cultural conflict. This is because neither psychologists nor other human behavioural scientists have verified the causes of criminality. To what extent is crime due solely to cultural conflict in immigrant groups? What then are the causes of crime in the host society? The answers to these and other related questions will be multi-facet, not uni-factoral.

is lower than the rates for Maoris, Islanders or Europeans.^a The absence of apparent anomie, or social disorientation, as seen from crime statistics among the Chinese community throughout New Zealand gives only a partial picture. In Wellington, Table

TABLE 47

DO YOU EXPERIENCE CULTURAL CONFLICT?

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%error</u>
Yes	36	37	5
No	53	55	5
Not sure	8	8	3
TOTAL	97	100	

47 reveals that 37% ($\pm 5\%$) of the youth stated that they experienced cultural conflicts. The question: 'Do you experience cultural conflicts?' was illustrated with open-ended questions such as: 'If there were two girls you liked, one Chinese and one Pakeha, which would you take out?'

If Chinese youth experience cultural conflicts and yet are able to easily identify themselves we are left with the problem of explaining this apparent contradiction and, furthermore, there is no statistical evidence to indicate that these cultural conflicts have serious implications to the individual. Sollenger (1968) sought to analyse the absence of delinquency in New York's Chinatown and discovered two major reasons for the peaceful behaviour of Chinese children.

1. Chinese families gave their children acceptance and protection which developed trust and emotional security.
2. Within the family inter-relationships aggressiveness was disallowed.

The traditional Confucian family moral up-bringing stresses respect for the Law, obedience, self-control, passive resistance, stoic patience, respect for elders

a. Correspondence from Miss Joan Flemming, Senior Research Officer, Department of Education, Child Welfare Division, 22 December 1970.

and authority. Chinese youth are not encouraged to be aggressive nor to indulge in anti-social acts, and, ideally lead self-disciplined lives and so it is not unnatural to find an absence of delinquency in these circumstances. Probably too, the youth overcome their conflicts in discussion with each other and then decide upon a course of action. Once such a decision has been made then the individual may be subject to external pressures both from the family or host society. For instance, if the Chinese youth wishes to break the taboo of inter-racial marriage and seriously dates with the view of marriage, the family may intervene and discourage the relationship. Such a situation produces what is termed cultural tension within the individual.

(b) Cultural Tension

So far, the discussion has been based upon the concept of cultural conflict. But what happens when a person solves the problems of identity? Johnston distinguishes a very important analytical term, that of "cultural tension". Whereas cultural conflict occurs primarily because of conflicts which arise within the individual, cultural tension arises between the individual and other people. Once the individual has definitely determined his cultural identity then he may be said to have resolved his cultural conflict, and thereby becomes subjected to cultural tension or external pressures which seek to change the person's decision. Two groups are involved: the ethnic groups, especially the parents, and, members of the host society. White receiving nations usually regard their own culture as being superior to that of immigrants and exercise considerable pressure on the immigrant to completely assimilate as quickly as possible. This is certainly true in New Zealand, Australia and the United States. In comparison, Chinese immigrants see the culture of the immigrant country as less desirable to their own and refuse on the whole to discard their own cultural heritage which is about 5,000 years old. The

second generation immigrant is caught between the loyalties to both cultures, and as with the Polish children in Australia, Chinese youth are under strong and subtle pressure from the New Zealand society to assimilate, yet are held back by most parents from doing so. Tensions may be experienced by the child from the host society, the family or combinations of both. However, an important difference exists between the Polish child and Chinese. Once the Polish youth has achieved the accent and gestures of the host society he may be assimilated, but the Chinese youth still has the problem of acceptance of his physical traits.

Chinese youth in Wellington do experience culture tensions to varying degrees. The writer suspects that the 55% ($\pm$ 5%) who stated that they did not experience culture conflict, actually did not realise that many of their problems originated from this cultural source because they did not consciously relate their problems to the difference in cultural upbringing. This may be illustrated in the inclusion of the probe question which served to gauge the subject's ability to understand the cultural forces which influence his life. The writer knew of the inadequacies of including such a complex question, but the scope of this research dissertation and the time allocated to the administration of the interview schedule, did not allow in-depth questioning. In fact the 55% ($\pm$ 5%) who replied "No cultural conflicts" probably had not been able to isolate the cultural factors from the multitude of problems experienced in the growing up process. The writer has, only in the last few years managed to reconcile many conflicts as he developed the analytical tools vital for such a conscious assessment. What then are the basic differences between the Chinese culture and that of the pakeha society to which Chinese youth have to adjust to? This question is answered in the following section.

Two Contrasting Ways of Life

This section is based on the book by Francis Hsu (1955)⁷¹ "Americans and Chinese" in which Hsu argues from the premise, accepted and discussed at length by sociologists and anthropologists, that Chinese have a situation (group) centred-way of life while that of the American is individual centred. The argument is developed on the analysis and comparisons of: art, especially paintings; fiction; patterns of conduct between sexes; and certain forms of aberrant behaviour such as alcoholism, drug addiction, mental illness and suicide. Each of these aspects are related to the premises. The writer agrees with Hsu that the two life-styles of Chinese and Americans are basically different and that this difference is equally applicable to Chinese living in the predominantly Anglo-Saxon (Say yun) society of New Zealand. The writer is of the opinion that it is only by understanding the differences between the two cultures that the problems experienced by the majority of Chinese youths, their successful social adjustment, and their personalities can be fully appreciated. But in attempting to delineate the major differences between the Chinese culture and the European host society generalisations are resorted to. This has been unavoidable and it is hoped that the benefits from such an exercise outweigh the disadvantages. This section briefly analyses: art, literature, sex, alcohol, heroworship, the home.

a. Art

Where people are involved Western art generally focuses on inner turbulence or peacefulness. This is especially so in scenes where two opposing forces are depicted - thus there are sharp distinctions between good and bad, between temptation and an effort to overcome the evil. Beauty of the human form even in its nude state

can be admired without undue embarrassment.

Chinese however stress the individual's place in the world, of harmony between men and nature. This is seen where man is relatively insignificant in comparison to nature, or in drawing the "ideal" of beauty in women where features and form tend to be stylised and flowing. Sexuality is almost totally absent except in pornography and in the Chinese concept of fine arts there is no fashion in the same sense as in the Western Society.

b. Literature

Literature in the West is concerned with what characters do, think or feel as individuals. The Chinese traditionally concentrate on the roles characters have and how they should best fulfill these roles as in the Medieval morality story, play or poem. For instance, the role of a woman in a family would emphasise the social obligation she has to her husband's parents, her own parents, her husband, her children, and other kin. Within such a society a woman or man must subjugate his personal desires to those of the group. Social duties are deliberately emphasised in literature as an important vehicle for maintaining social continuity of the Confucian ethic.

c. Sex

The predominant theme of sex in the Western world is found in varying interpretations of the word "LOVE" and the free expression of this love between sexes. Love to the Westerner is passion (emotion and physical) whereas to Chinese^{it is similar to} the Maori concept of love, AROHA, which means regard, compassion, respect and even pity.

Relative to the Victorian ages and to the Chinese outlook it must be conceded that the western world is one of permissiveness, where love is defined and interpreted by the majority as being equivalent to sex. Sex is exploited in advertisements (both

male and female) frontal nudism is the major factor which attracts many people away from their television sets to picture theatres; pornography in books and magazines abound; fashions since the advent of the mini-skirt and body-hugging outfits tend to focus attention on the female bosom and crutch. The traditional Chinese lovers shied away from all public showing of affection; sex and all its associated activities being restricted to compartments of life where it is socially appropriate. According to the proper Chinese ways, natural expression of sex must be discreet and subordinated to the moral requirements of the group. It is the strong moral upbringing governing sexual behaviour and in a wider sense, treatment of the generalised other (respect for authority, elders, property etc) which has basically contributed to the persistence of modesty between Chinese youths. The desire for more freedom is expressed very well by the vignette on the "mixed-marriage" Appendix 4D: the Chinese male stated that:

"I never felt comfortable with (orthodox) Chinese girls. Everytime I'd want to go out with a certain Chinese girl she'd have to go out with her sister and boyfriend. It was hopeless. I'd rather go out with European girls."

The dangers of dating and the weaknesses of human nature are to be tempered by the group according to Chinese traditions. The attitude against the public showing of affection or of public bodily contact is reflected in the Chinese attitudes to social dancing. In China social dancing, introduced by the West, was a recreation enjoyed between prostitutes and their customers in a brothel or between lovers and married couples. To the pragmatic Chinese, social dancing, or close contact between the opposite sex was a preliminary to intercourse and not an end in itself (e.g. as an art form) as in the Western culture. To traditional Chinese eyes good daughters did not dance. In New Zealand the attitudes to dancing have

been adapted, as the social gatherings at sports meetings, 21st birthday parties, weddings are seen by the elders as the few opportunities where children have the opportunity to mix freely with other Chinese youth. Dancing at such occasions is now an acceptable means to obtaining a Chinese spouse, so Chinese youth are acculturating with the cognisance of their elders.

d. Alcohol

In New Zealand alcohol is an integral part of social life and enjoyed by both male and female and acts as a social lubricant for friendship. But when taken in excess the effects on Chinese differ from that of Europeans in general. The effects of alcohol on the individualistic New Zealander tends to make him become aggressive - to pick a fight, to dance licentiously, or to make himself more evident in public. Emotionally, the individual tends to be more aggressive and daring. The affects of alcohol on the traditionalistic Chinese is quite the reverse. A Chinese drunk seeks privacy or wants to go home to bed. In other words, the Chinese tend to act true to the Chinese way of life by becoming socially even more pliant and emotionally more docile. The affects of alcohol on Chinese youth today vacillate between either of these two extremes, depending upon the youth's attitude to alcohol, the degree of self-control, and the extent of inner turmoil. Assuming that one of the reasons for drinking, besides its social acceptability in the wider New Zealand society, is to bolster a Chinese male's courage at a social occasion (orthodox Chinese girls seldom drink intoxicating liquor, at least in quantities) then the male who already has personality problems relating to his inability to communicate with others especially of the opposite sex, invariably becomes aggressive and emotionally daring. However, the Chinese youth who is strongly rooted in Chinese upbringing

and who does not experience the same amount of cultural conflict usually becomes very placid. This is easily observable at Chinese social occasions such as weddings twenty-first birthday parties (a western tradition which has been adopted by New Zealand Chinese) and private youth parties. These observations are equally applicable for the host society.

e. Hero Worship

Western leaders and "pop" idols must maintain frequent contacts with the public in order that the public can be given the opportunity to identify themselves with the object of worship. Mass communication has enabled this image-projection to be exploited to the fullest possible extent. The idolising of John F. Kennedy, Elvis Presley, the Beatles and other famous public figures is part of the American and New Zealand cultures. In contrast traditional Chinese celebrities have little inclination to show themselves at all, nor is there any need as the achieved or ascribed social position demands reverence and respect. Emotional needs of the individuals are already cared for and are relatively stable in the Chinese family. Chinese people are not renowned for mass hysteria or hero worship because of the family anchorage, and so such behaviour is outside their frame of reference, their experience.

f. The Home

Since cultural conditioning begins in the family, it is most important to distinguish major areas of difference in upbringing where ways of life are taught and propagated, where the individual learns of the rewards or punishments in his family and his society for acceptable patterns of behaviour or otherwise.

a. The most obvious difference is that the Westernised home is individualised

and primarily is an essential part of the way of life. In contrast, the Chinese family life never ever stressed the importance of the individual, but rather his roles in relationship to the family and society, a premise stated in the introduction of this section.

- b. The social climate within the home is also different. In the Westernised family parents commonly ask themselves how they can satisfy their children's predilections, whereas in the Chinese family, children are inculcated with the opposite values and are taught to ask what they should do for their parents. An example of cultural conflict can easily be seen in the situation where a Chinese youth or elder wishes to marry a non-Chinese. If the Chinese child was taught individualism and so only satisfy self, then there would exist no problem. But, because the Chinese child is taught to have a primary concern for parents the result of marrying "out" often comes in direct conflict with the wishes of the parents. In every such situation known to the writer the cultural conflicts (within the individual) and the cultural tensions (between family members) become highly intense at some stage, irrespective of age or sex.
- c. The Western family tends to be nuclear, or composed of mother, father and children, whereas ideally to the Chinese, family includes three generations, including grandparents, son(s) and wife(s), grandchildren.
- d. The Western child perceives the environment to be altered to his own needs, to be controlled whereas the Chinese child has to be in accord with his environment. The multitudinous social duties and social roles ensure that

the child learns the ways of moderation and develops an introverted character which lacks self-expression.

- e. General differences between the two cultures may also be reflected in different styles of learning how to adjust to others. It is common for Western families to encourage children to experiment and do things for themselves. If the children should get into a fight they should learn to fend for themselves. The command 'belt him back' is foreign to the ears of most Chinese who are taught to run home if there is trouble. So strict is the taboo to fighting that both children get spanked if there is such a disturbance.
- f. New Zealand parents, like their American counterparts, tend to refuse to allow children to enter the adult world. Children are left at home with a baby-sitter while the parents go to the party, or if they are entertaining at home, children are put to bed before guests arrive. However, Chinese children go along with their parents to wedding feasts, funerals, religious celebrations, ancestor worship and other social gatherings. The emphasis is on the family evenings and gatherings where children can learn future roles and obligations by participant observance with the parents just like the Maori and Islanders.

To summarise the major effect of the family on the individual in the Westernised society is that the child is encouraged to be inquisitive, to follow individual predilections, and to foster skill and self-expression. Such a child is taught to be unrestrained by the family group and to be self-reliant. In direct contrast the Chinese child learns to respect and revere his parents and Chinese tradition at home. There is a lack of emphasis on self-expression while there is a greater consciousness of the status quo and to tone down any desire to transcend the group.

The child is taught mutual dependence because the exercise of obligations and duties are essentially reciprocal social contracts which last for life.

h. The Double Generation Gap between Chinese youth and their elders, and the host society

The generation gap exists between young and old in the host society. But, Chinese youth have to contend with building two bridges to span the host society generation gap, as well as the generation gap which exists in the Chinese community made more pronounced by Chinese youth's elementary understanding of the Chinese language.

In the New Zealand society the emphasis on the individual, as opposed to the group, the value of self-reliance, on small nuclear family groupings, the separation of adult activities from those of the children, and the lack of respected status of old-age contribute to social isolation within the family. If a child desires to leave school then he would normally be encouraged to 'pay-board' and be self-supporting especially as today with "margins for skill" so small that a son can equal his father's income. Thus family ties are not strengthened as the child grows older and in fact his obligations to parents tend to diminish as he grows older. The reverse is true in the Chinese family. The child is not expected to pay board as long as he remains at home, and as he grows older, obligations and responsibilities increase as the child matures. It is not surprising that with the world-wide post-World War II "baby boom" the sudden increase in an unprecedented number of youth peers has resulted in the development of a distinct youth culture in both New Zealand and other West European countries, including the United States. Youth culture is distinguished by an obvious age difference; the 'pop-culture'; the continued questioning of the direction in which the adults are steering Western

society (materialism, national and multi-national self-interests); an uninhibited attitude to sex and morality; by its informal dress; and by the fact that a generation has emerged which knows only affluence in the Western industrialised world. Formerly the personality of the youth developed by identification with their father and/or mother. Today it develops by identification with friends of the same age group (peers) and with teenage idols. (This point is illustrated in Appendix 2B in the vignette of the 'Westernised' Chinese girl). The lines of demarcation between young and old in West European countries have been facilitated by the development of mass media newspapers, television, radio, air travel, and unprecedented rise in affluence, urbanisation, technological development including the fields of health, industry and agriculture. A generation of youth have emerged who are probably superior to any in the history of mankind - they enjoy better health, a higher standard of living, better education than previous generations.

It is to such a rapidly changing milieu that Chinese youth and other ethnic minority groups have to adjust themselves, an adjustment complicated by the fact that they have a different cultural background, and in terms of the host society, a restricted background.

Because the majority of Chinese parents were not born in New Zealand there exists a distinct generation gap between the former and their children. This gap is made clear by the different social matrix youth grow up in; the relative inability of Chinese youth to converse fluently with their parents and elders in the native tongue about more heart-felt problems - a communication barrier; the wide gap in education; the absorption of many non-Chinese values and norms which may conflict with the Chinese ones; the lack of understanding of Chinese customs and life-ways because of the pervasive and at times overwhelming influence of an Anglo-Saxon culture.

The generation gap is increased both by Chinese youth and their elders. Parents cannot be confided in as friends, Chinese youth may not even understand the Chinese way of going about life, and Chinese parents are unable to realise the extent of change in the host society by staying home, and so their adjustment falls behind as time moves on, as revealed in the following three instances:

One female subject remarked:

"Yes, there is a generation gap. I don't really confide with Mother. We wouldn't talk about intimate things."

As quoted before, a male subject, displaying his ignorance of basic Chinese formality, remarked:

"Chinese are nosey. They seem to know each other. They want to know who your parents are...."

Or again, another Chinese girl stated:

"Yes, they (the parents) didn't go out so much. We have more freedom and people are starting to go out younger and have more money to spend. In the old days you had to help in the fruitshop. Now, we are independent. The gap is big because we associate mainly with New Zealanders and therefore go home with different views from our parents. We have arguments now and then."

To the orthodox Chinese a younger person arguing with an elder would be unthinkable. Today, in Wellington, it is common.

Summary

The question of inter-racial marriage and identity do not allow simplistic answers. 'Mixed-marriages' among Chinese and non-Chinese are not great in New Zealand. Only 12% (1,228 out of 10,283) of Chinese were of mixed-blood. In comparison, the Indian Community which was largely built-up after World War I, in the last 50 years or so, had 17% mixed-bloods (1,197 out of 6,843) despite similar female shortages at the early stages of immigration.^a It is possible to conclude that the factors of past racial discrimination (and to a lesser extent existing discrimination), Chinese ethnic homogeneity and a more balanced stable community will act as social-brakes to prevent too rapid increase in the rate of inter-racial marriage.

Without a doubt, the 55% who replied 'no culture conflict' is not a representative sample of the true state of Chinese youth and this question would be a worthwhile topic for further research. It is hoped that the inclusion of the comparison of the two basically divergent cultures, which are now converging, will enable Chinese youth to better understand the cultural forces which help shape their lives in New Zealand as well as allowing non-Chinese to understand the background and personalities of Chinese youth who are increasingly moving into the wider society, socially, economically, occupationally and culturally.

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- a. A comparison of the female/male balance between Indian and Chinese reveals that both groups had similar imbalances. In 1936 there were only 24 female Indians to every 100 male Indians, while the corresponding Chinese numbers were 21 females to 100 males. In 1966 the Indian ratio was 63 females to 100 males compared to the Chinese ratio of 80 to 100.

CONCLUSIONS

Photo 29 THE DEMOCRACY OF THE PLAYGROUND
The Chinese girl is seen with her happy playfriends.
The multi-racial world of the playground where
constant personal, uninhibited and amicable relation-
ships prevail is sharply contrasted with the world
her parents know.

Photo 30
Democracy in the playground does not always denote
harmony. Here a Chinese boy gets involved in a
'scrap', an incident which is part of growing up.
The question arises of how the Chinese girl in
Photo 29, and this Chinese boy, will be moulded by
the educational system in the process of adjustment.

This premise is at variance with the dominant attitude of the dominant group. "The problems of assimilation of any minority group are determined by the attitudes of the dominant group." Photo 30

BELLIGERENCE IN THE PLAYGROUND

Democracy in the playground does not always denote harmony. Here a Chinese boy gets involved in a 'scrap', an incident which is part of growing up. The question remains of how the Chinese girl in photo 29, and this Chinese boy, will be moulded by the education system in the process of adjustment.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The major finding of this study of the Chinese youth in Wellington is their homogeneity, which has been the result of two major factors:

1. Resilience of the Chinese family and social organisations.
2. Racialistic attitudes in New Zealand.^a

This dissertation develops the argument along these two lines. Chapter two, three and four are concerned with the structural diversity of the Chinese community, the cultural aspects of the adjustment experience, and the attitudes of Chinese youth to mixed-marriages and identificational problems, respectively. The attitudes of the New Zealand society both past and present are analysed in Chapter one.

a. This premise is at variance with Fong's who stated that: "The problems of assimilation of any immigrant group is primarily a problem relating to the attitudes of the dominant society.". Ng Bickleen Fong (1969) p. 128.

1. Resilience of the Chinese Family and Social Organisations

New Zealand Chinese people today have a sense of pride in their deep historical roots, a consciousness of Chinese civilisation, of a cultural heritage, and a view of the world in which China was in the centre position just as Westerners regard their civilisation as being superior. With the traditional emphasis placed upon Chinese family solidarity it is understandable that the original immigrants came to New Zealand as sojourners who came to New Zealand to earn money with the hope of returning to China, and not as permanent settlers as in the case of the Anglo-Saxon colonisers. The homogeneity of the Chinese youth in Wellington may be traced to the fact that it is really only since the Japanese War in China and the accession to power of the Communists in 1949 that attitudes of Chinese in New Zealand have changed to those of permanent settlers and wives and children were allowed entry into New Zealand to form a permanent Chinese community with a balanced demographic structure (male/female ratio). This accounts for the reason why there is a preponderance of second-generation Chinese youth in Wellington and the deep influence the family still exerts on their lives. Notwithstanding the family influences, Chinese youth have rapidly acculturated to the New Zealand society at large.

Culturally, Chinese youth cannot be said to be well-equipped to fulfil traditional roles as Chinese people. The pervasive influences of the prevailing White society ensure that the English language becomes the more important language and because of this, affects the attitudes, personalities and patterns of behaviour of Wellington Chinese youth and other Chinese youth in New Zealand. Primarily because of the limited knowledge of the spoken Chinese and very elementary knowledge of written Chinese, the

process of inculcating the Chinese cultural heritage is rendered extremely defective as evidenced by the existence of the double generation gap where the host society generation gap is added to by the cultural generation gap between Chinese youth and their elders. Such problems of communication and different life styles are not improved by the process of adaptation where Chinese patterns of thinking and behaviour are being reinterpreted or discarded to suit the new environment. The decline in ancestor worship, and its perfunctory observance by youth whose families are traditionalistic is symptomatic of the emergence of a newly defined Chinese family. The change in attitudes towards social dancing is governed by the necessity to find another Chinese marriage-partner. Double Tenth Celebrations, commemorating the founding of the Republic of China have lost their political significance and have become an established unofficial Chinese holiday period for sport.

Social change could be a bewildering experience, but the existence of diverse Chinese social organisations acts as a second stabilising factor to that of the family as the former enable Chinese youth to mix together. Efforts by the family and Chinese organisations to retain Chinese culture are governed by four major factors: (1) the size of the community; (2) demographic factors; (3) visibility, and (4) the growing disinterest by acculturated children.

(1) The New Zealand Chinese community is numerically small, and even though it tends to be located in urban areas the concentration has not seen the development of any Chinatowns. In Wellington, the Chinese community is not distinguished by a monolithic structure gauged by appearance, but rather, is fractured by dialect, religion, diversity of clubs and associations, and distance. This means that all problems of acculturation are resolved by each family group and not

by the community as a whole.

The wide spatial distribution of the Chinese families has not coincided with a dramatic loosening of ties, primarily because of the motor-car and telephone. In a suburban milieu, a person's close neighbour need not live next door, but many miles away, frequent contact being maintained in each other's home or at the club. To illustrate, the writer was offered a ride, and later discovered that the Dutch samaritan used to live in a house backing onto the writer's place of residence. The structural diversity of the Chinese community tends to promote participation in the Chinese community life at the expense of co-operation by attracting the loyalty of youth to each particular group, thus, the total effect is to increase participation while promoting division. The Wellington Chinese community is tackling the problem of the social adjustment of its future generations on "four legs" - the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church; the Wellington Seyip Association; the Poonyue Association; the Eastern Chinese Sports Club in conjunction with the Chinese Embassy and the Wellington Tung Jung Association. The role of the Wellington Chinese Anglican Mission Church in promoting Chinese culture in New Zealand is a vital and unique one because of its comprehensive nature, and because the Church has acted as a catalyst for social action and caused many Chinese in New Zealand to reassess their place in New Zealand society. Most important of all though, is the stimulating influence one charismatic leader can have on a group who desire such a revival yet lack the leadership, and the importance of immigration as a source of maintaining Chinese identity and social institutions, a trend seemingly desired by Chinese and coinciding with the Government's policy of integration of its ethnic minority groups. The case study of the Chinese Community Hall projects illustrates these points.

(2) The Chinese community in New Zealand in 1972 is characterised by an almost equal distribution of the sexes; a relatively young age structure; and a predominance of second-generation Chinese youth in Wellington. The policies of Governments have been to allow an influx of wives (and children) of Chinese residents to redress a serious sex imbalance and then to severely curtail immigration of Chinese people to allow the population to grow by natural increase. Although the Chinese have adapted to the New Zealand society there has been a predictable Chinese cultural back-lash to the past Government aims to assimilate Chinese. The host of China-born wives have raised children, and youth to have a strong anchorage in Chinese life-ways. The colour discriminatory administration of immigration laws has also helped to acutely drive-home ethnic differences even before a coloured migrant arrives onto New Zealand shores. The direction third and fourth generation Chinese youth will travel and the speed at which they go is difficult to predict because of the diverse factors which can affect social adjustment. At the moment, youth activities especially sporting ties, Chinese films, weddings, deaths, family celebrations and the resurgence of interest in Wellington Chinese social organisations all help to create a buffer to wholesale inter-racial marriages as well as intra-group marriages.^a It is however, noteworthy that although Chinese youth prefer to associate with each other, their patterns of friendships and associational affiliations are not exclusively Chinese. From youth's point of view the combined effects of family and Chinese peer group provide a sound emotional anchor as they seek to adjust to the cross-currents of pressures from

a. Between Seyip, Poonyue or Jung Sing

family, and Chinese community, and New Zealand society. As a result of their upbringing the Chinese youth peer group is not radical in the host society sense but radical in the Chinese view and faithfully reflects in part the conservative natures of their parents. Externally, many youth adopt the flamboyant fashion and hairstyles of the current trends, but their natures remain basically introspective. This is the dominant characteristic of both the Chinese people and their social institutions in Wellington and New Zealand. But the relative ease with which Chinese youth appeared to have adapted to the New Zealand society indicates that they have learnt to role take - that is, in Western society they act and think like Europeans, and at home adopt a New Zealand Chinese role.

The re-emphasis on New Zealand Chinese district affiliations acts as a serious structurally disunifying factor to a Wellington Chinese community which is already numerically weak. The case study on the Community Halls illustrates the seriousness of the dispersal of efforts. Clearly, there exists no effective institutional framework of co-operation outside the family (and district) affiliations.

(3) Racial distinctiveness is a major stumbling block to the idea of ultimate assimilation of New Zealand Chinese. Chinese youth are aware of this fact that they look different just as non-Chinese are. True integration will occur only when racial differences are given the same significance as cultural differences (such as: hair, eye-colour, body-size, and form, elegance)^a. Racial prejudice and discrimination will disappear only when this occurs.

a. 94.Banton (1967) p.281.

Because of the strength of and resilience of Chinese social institutions, the Chinese youth have not experienced serious personality disorientation as they adjust to living in New Zealand.

(4) Growing disinterest by Chinese youth to Chinese cultural attributes such as language, etiquette, supernatural beliefs, ancestor worship, Chinese festival observance, and the decline in use of Chinese medicines has resulted in a need to redefine a New Zealand Chinese youth. Certainly he has progressed rapidly away from the New Zealand Chinese traditional norms culturally, except in a preference for Chinese food. Structurally however, Chinese youth prefer to associate with each other and to find marriage partners with the New Zealand Chinese community or else in Hong Kong, because of their family up-bringing and racial distinctiveness. However, because of the geographical dispersal of the Wellington Chinese community and omnipotent influence of the host society, neither family nor Chinese community censure acts as an effective deterrent to errant Chinese youth who date non-Chinese or even inter-marry with them. In the process of adaptation the Chinese family in separating into nuclear units and isolating the social from the economic role has lost much of its control on members. Follow-up studies on the identity conflicts of Chinese youth and other groups such as the Samoan, Cook Islands, Tokelau Islanders, Indians etc would be an important and challenging research topic. The writer's own experience of the problems of establishing an identity were traumatic, and whenever a person is caught between two divergent cultures the result will be a certain amount of conflicts or crises, especially after secondary school or university, in the open host society.

2. Racialistic Attitudes in New Zealand

Chinese and Chinese youth today are not overtly objects for discrimination

and so are able to move without too much hinderance in all spheres of the New Zealand society. This does not mean however that racial discrimination does not exist in New Zealand, especially against Chinese - the writer's case study of the unlawful declaration procedure applied to "appropriate cases" of Chinese visitors from Hong Kong, the instance of housing discrimination quoted by the integrated Chinese youth in Appendix 2c, and the writer's own experience of identity conflicts support the assertion by Vaughan (1972)^a that New Zealand society is basically racist. Furthermore, research on racial attitudes in New Zealand appears to confirm, however, Government immigration policies up to 1972 which differentiate between white and non-white and that racial prejudice is deeply woven into the fabric of New Zealand society. In the most recent nation-wide^b public opinion poll in which 1,000 people were interviewed by the Heylen Research Institute at the six main centres, 26% of the sample thought the immigration policy was too restrictive and should be liberalised. However, 55% of the sample felt that the white European majority should not be upset by immigrants of other races. The disturbing factor of this racial discrimination however, is the role Government plays in the issue. Government is striving to make people aware of the repugnance of racial discrimination in the Race Relations Act 1971 and yet it is practising

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- a. ed. G. Vaughan (1972) Racial Issues in New Zealand: problems and insights Akarana Press.
- b. The survey was conducted in September 1972 for the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation. When asked "What nationalities make desirable immigrants and what don't?", the ranking was British; Canadians; Australians; North-west Europeans; Americans; Pacific Islanders; Japanese; Southern Europeans; South East Asians; Indians.

racial discrimination in the administration of the Immigration Act 1964. Clearly, Government has not accepted moral responsibility to lead the campaign against racial discrimination, mainly because there is no one policy to the ethnic minority groups. The Labour Department Immigration Division thinks in terms of assimilating the immigrants while the Government has a policy of integration of its ethnic groups in New Zealand.

In May 1972, the Prime Minister explicitly reaffirmed a policy of 'integration'. When asked by the New Zealand Maori Council to comment on fears that the Race Relations Act 1972 would produce racial or cultural uniformity, he stated:

"We believe that every group should be free and should be encouraged to maintain and develop its own heritage, traditions, and associations"^a.

(underlining by the writer)

Because of the relative small numbers and geographical dispersal of Chinese throughout New Zealand the achievement of a policy of 'modified integration'^b is more realistic and can be made on three levels: effective Government leadership in publicising these aims; active support by the ethnic group leaders; and participation by the members of the ethnic groups and host society.

(1) The promotion of this policy of modified integration must be consistent and must

a. The Evening Post, Monday 8 May, 1972 p.1.

b. The term was coined by McGee (1961) p.252 because of objections to the alternatives of integration and assimilation. Complete assimilation of the Chinese people is not possible because the Chinese resist pressures to give up their cultural heritage, and mixed-marriages. Complete integration is not possible because of the New Zealand racial attitudes and the smallness of the Chinese community.

first be directed to relevant Government agencies, such as the Labour Department, Immigration Division, and then to the host society to persuade it to accept the fact that a significant minority of New Zealanders are coloured and have rich cultural heritages which they should be encouraged to retain.

New Zealand society attitudes to the cultures^a of White and Coloured nationalities are ambivalent. The Scottish people maintain their traditions with the blessing of most New Zealanders even to the extent of fostering an organisation such as the pipe-band. The 'pipes' are an accepted part of New Zealand's cultural scene and the Maori haka, often militant is accepted. On the other hand, immigrant coloured peoples are expected to toss over-board their cultures - "after all, you're living in New Zealand....." The Chinese community in Wellington does not want to be totally assimilated as evidenced by the persistence of selected elements of the New Zealand Chinese culture and the structural strength of the social organisations.

(2) McGee (1961) commented that the Chinese who moved into the upper-social strata made little impression on the middle and lower class structure.^b This has been disastrous for the Wellington Chinese community because these individuals, in the past, did not carry their education and experience of New Zealand back into the community, and so potential leaders are lost to the host society. This is still largely true today, but with the renewed vigour of the Chinese community, especially in Wellington and Auckland, more Chinese people may be willing to contribute skills back into the Chinese community. As interest increases and needs are brought to

a. The writer is indebted to Mr R.H. Wheeler for his comments on the New Zealand society.

b. 26 McGee (1961) p. 248.

notice, more opportunities will be open. The participation of youth in the Chinese clubs and informal groups and their penetration into all sectors and occupational groupings of New Zealand society will ensure that, with guidance, more cultural ambassadors will emerge to act as bridges between the two cultures. Such cultural ambassadors would be able to give to the Chinese community the benefit of their education, life-experience and knowledge of how the host society functions as well as to promote the Chinese culture.

(3) The ethnic groups themselves have an obligation to help with the process of re-education of New Zealanders attitudes to coloured cultures by promoting the better aspects of the Chinese heritage. Chinese people can make many positive contributions from the vast pool of experience of its 5,000 years of history, to help fashion and mould New Zealand's developing culture. For instance by sharing techniques of child rearing which are proven by the test of time, which emphasise ethical behaviour, self-discipline, obedience, patience, tolerance, diligence, respect and other positive character-building attributes. New Zealand is faced with many of the social problems endemic to Western civilisations and to westernising nations, such as increasing drug abuse, alcoholism, crime, illegitimacy, and venereal disease. In New Zealand, 1971, 1 in 4 brides were pregnant at marriage. In 3 out of 4 married teenage mothers, the first-born baby was conceived out of wedlock and just under 15% of all live births were illegitimate in 1971 compared to 5% in 1960. These statistics put New Zealand among the highest in western societies.^a The writer believes the solutions to such problems do not lie in stricter laws, sex education

a. Trends in Health & Health Services 1969 pages 6-8. The statistics are of course relevant to Western countries where statistical data is generally reliable.

or in providing more information about the problems - the remedies lie in preventing such problems beginning at the family level. The emphasis by Chinese on family life, moral values, and self control in child rearing could well be studied by the host society.

In the final analysis, New Zealand attitudes to Chinese people and South-East Asians will, of necessity, have to be rigorously re-defined as economic and political links with Communist China increase. As a result of the need for new markets for dairy products and wool with the imminent entry of Britain into the European Common Market, New Zealand will be forced to recognise that although the majority of its inhabitants have strong emotional and historical links with West European countries, New Zealand remains geographically a Pacific nation whose future will increasingly be related to the Asian continent.

APPENDIX 1

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1

THE TRADITIONAL CHINESE FAMILY

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INTRODUCTION

The writer has included Appendix 1 on the traditional Chinese family as background material to enable the reader to better understand how the character of Chinese people is successfully moulded by the inculcating of moral precepts and why the Chinese people tend to identify with each other and Chinese civilisation. Furthermore, it is hoped that the keys will be proved for the reader to develop greater empathy to Chinese people and especially Chinese youth as they continue to adjust Chinese values (thinking and cherished beliefs) and normative patterns (ways of doing things) to the often conflicting Anglo-Saxon values in New Zealand as explained in Chapter 4. The emphasis is given to the "traditional" because this is what the majority of New Zealand Chinese parents remember - the many changes which have occurred since they left China, prior to the communist take-over have resulted in the formation of a hard-core of New Zealand Chinese who remember a way of life which neither exists in the 'home country' nor in Hong Kong.

THE TRADITIONAL CHINESE FAMILY

The reason for the continuous 5,000 years of Chinese civilisation, a source of pride to New Zealand Chinese, lies basically in the importance of the family system. The stress placed on the "family" in its widest meaning of a group of people related either by ties of blood or of marriage, has probably been unequaled in recorded history.

Commentators of Chinese society such as Ng, B (1959)³⁴ Kulp (1966)⁷⁴ Freedman (1966)⁶⁹ Lang (1968)⁷⁶ accept the existence of strong links between "individual-family-state", as theorised by Menius (c 372-289B.C.) the greatest philosopher of the Confucian School:

"The root of the Empire is in the State
The root of the State is in the family
The root of the family is in the individual"

Lin Yutang (1941)⁸⁰ and Yang (1945)⁹² however argue that in practice the Chinese family was an imperfect link between individual and state and that the family became a miniature state in itself to which the individual gave total allegiance. The links between families were non-existent. The analysis of the traditional Chinese family in this Appendix 1 is based mainly upon Lin Yutang's book, "My Country and My People".

A. The Confucian Doctrine of Family Status and the submissive contributive role of the Chinese individual

Chinese society is based primarily upon an elaborate system of social

status^a crystallised by Confucius (孔子) who lived about B.C. 551-479. The doctrine of family status, or Confucianism, is the social philosophy which expresses the hierarchy idea that the individual has no status but a role and that if every man knows his place and acts in accordance with his role and position, social order will be ensured. The social lubricant of this status system is embodied in the alternative name for Confucianism, namely, the "religion of names". A name is a title which gives a man his definite status and respect in a society and so defines his relationship with others. Of the five principal human relationships, four are occupied within the extended family. The five relationships are: between King and subject; between father and son; between husband and wife, between brothers, between friends. This last relationship between friends may be identified with the family, because friends are those who can be included in the family circle as "family friends".^b

Confucius envisaged the extended family to be the starting point for all moral conduct. The moral training in the family was to be a general one, and he planned that from this general moral training a society would emerge which would live happily and harmoniously thus practising love and concern in society. This social ethic was crystallised in the family by the ascribed duties and obligations embodied in filial piety.

B. Filial Piety

This concept may be understood by analysing two statements made by Confucius:

-
- a. 80 Lin (1941) uses the term social status which commonly has a technical meaning for the individual. In the Chinese concept of the world the individual is not important but his role status is, so the writer uses the term "family status" which more accurately reflects the Chinese attitude that the family not the individual is the pivot of society. The writer is indebted to Mr R.H. Wheeler for his comments.
 - b. 80 Lin (1941) pp. 169-172.

"Those who love their parents dare not show hatred to others. Those who respect their parents, dare not show rudeness to others."^a

In this sense of showing love to parents, Confucius instructed Tsengtse (曾 子) a disciple, that:

"Filial piety is the base of virtue, and the origin of culture. Sit and let me tell you. The body and hair and skin are received from the parents, and may not be injured; this is the beginning of filial piety. To do the right thing and walk according to the right morals, thus leaving a good name in posterity, in order to glorify one's ancestors; this is the culmination of filial piety. Filial piety begins with serving one's parents, leads to serving one's King, and ends in establishing one's character....."

(underlining added by the writer)

Filial piety demanded utmost and primary loyalty to parents such that the individual did whatever he could to ensure their happiness. It demanded of the individual correct moral behaviour; the individual was made acutely aware of his family's name and all his actions were directed to this end. Chinese history and literature reveal that the Confucian ideas were carried out in practice. How was this achieved? How were ^{Confucius's} ideas instilled into the minds of Chinese over a period of about two thousand years? The answer lay in the education system and the social importance assigned to education. In reality, Confucian principals embody political and social ideologies which were ingeniously combined in the five principles already outlined.

a. 80 Lin (1941) p.171.

Success was measured in terms of education. If a person could gain academic honours he achieved the highest social status. The rank-order of Chinese society was divided into two major groupings and four tiers, or "classes"

It should be noted that the Chinese "class" structure did not have the connotation of separateness and different life style as in the Western sense because a scholar would ideally converse with a farmer or merchant over a cup of Chinese tea. It is also interesting that the "class" rank order was the opposite to the Western one. There are two basic reasons for this: In the first place the rank order is gauged on the group mostly likely to uphold Confucian ethics - thus a merchant is placed fourth as he is often willing to compromise on principles for economic gain. Secondly, China has traditionally been an agricultural country and the farmer gained a natural pre-eminence. The scholar was separated from the remaining three classes by virtue of the fact that he epitomised Confucian principles. His formal training, often extending over fourteen years, required among other things, "immense drudgery, a prodigious learning and an almost superhuman memory" to master the "Thirteen Confucian Classics"^a and other requirements. If he chose political

a. 80 Lin (1941) pp.213-4

candidacy, rather than scholarly research, or literature in the classical sense, then his training achieved the desired goal of linking the state to the ethical basis of Filial Piety. The effect of the long years of training produced successive generations of conservative public administrators who helped to ensure the continuance of Chinese civilisation along Confucian lines. Such education was however reserved for a very select and small percentage of Chinese population. The majority have been traditionally, farmers, so how were they taught Confucian principles? The most pertinent aspect of Confucious' teachings for the illiterate masses was the translation of the moral ethic of filial piety from the abstract to practical level. This was done in "The 24 Examples of Filial Piety". For instance:^a

- "1. Wu Mang (吳 猛), who let himself be eaten by mosquitos in order to divert them from his parents.
2. Lao Lai-tze (老 萊 子), who at the age of 70 put on gaily coloured child's clothes and played with toys to make his parents happy.
3. Wang Hsiang (黃 香) who during the summer fanned his father's bed, and during the winter warmed it with his own body.
4. Kuo Chu (郭 巨) was a poor man burdened with a wife, mother and a child. One day he said to his wife:-

"We are so poor that we cannot even support mother. Moreover, the little one shares mother's food. Why not bury this child? We may have another; but, if mother should die, we cannot obtain her again."

a. Quoted from: 76 Lang (1968) pp. 25-26.

The wife did not dare to contradict him. He began to dig the grave and suddenly discovered a vase full of gold - a gift from heaven to the filial son."

Although the first and fourth examples are cruel, the point that the parents come first is easily understood. The stress of children's obligations to their parents are emphasised throughout Chinese literature, much more than those of parents towards children. Children were taught lessons in social obligations between man and man; the necessity of mutual adjustment; self-control; courtesy; a sense of duty which is very well defined; a sense of obligation; gratitude and devotion to parents; and a sense of awe and respect to elders, especially teachers. These social duties were to be performed with an attitude of warmth and reverence rather than cold formality.^a It made it rude for a young couple to close the door of their room in the family house in the daytime, privacy being an unknown word. It made wives give birth to grandchildren not children; it gave the Chinese man a multitude of household obligations to attend to; it instilled sobriety; it bred family honour to the detriment of the village, district, provincial or national honour - despite Mencius' five principles of human relationships. The filial son stayed home whenever possible and only travelled if there was a definite destination. Theoretically, adventure was ruled out. It placed in the Chinese male a sense of social survival and family continuity and mutual helpfulness, where no sacrifice was too great for the family, even to the extent of migrating temporarily overseas in search of riches

a. 76 Lang (1968) p.24.

to support those at home, or of giving one's life to fulfil the requirements of filial piety. It was with such an upbringing that the individual peasants, who represented their unsuccessful families, arrived in New Zealand, not to stay permanently, but as sojourners. Later immigrants taught their children these Chinese ways, and this moral upbringing basically accounts for the almost total absence of crime among the Chinese in New Zealand and other countries.

Certain social characteristics arise from the family system which may be summed up as the lack of social discipline or "civic consciousness". Chinese courtesy is dependent upon the relationship of the person to the family. Chinese are not bad-mannered to their friends and acquaintances, but beyond that limit the traditional Chinese person as a social being fails dismally. This is because the Chinese family system developed into exclusive units, inside of which no sacrifice was too great and co-operation was paramount. But, no real bond of unity existed between each family unit. The links with the state were also distant. The introversive aspects of the Chinese family are also prevalent in New Zealand today, and, largely explains why Chinese in New Zealand do not easily participate in public activities where voluntary co-operation is essential. The reasons for this serious fault lie in the omission by Confucius of a sixth social obligation - to the stranger. Its pre-emption had catastrophic results on the actions of the individual as a social being.

As a direct consequence, when Chinese are outside the influence of their family group they lack civic consciousness. It is true that in New Zealand Chinese do tend to have large weddings and birthday celebrations - a wedding to which 500-800 guests are invited is not uncommon. Absent in Chinese civilisation are the great sporting groups, political pressure groups and a host of other clubs and associations which stamps the wider New Zealand society and binds

people together in voluntary and informal activities. This propensity for Chinese to be individually competitive in games is an aberration and is reflected in the Chinese card games where each person plays for himself. Chinese generally prefer to play poker rather than bridge, and mah jong is both a social game and an individualistic one where each individual plays against the other three. So far we have discussed the family as it influences the individual. Attention will now be focused on the individual. What is his philosophy to life? The answer lies in the Doctrine of the Golden Mean.

C. The Doctrine of the Golden Mean

The Classical Chinese education always aimed to cultivate the reasonable man as the model; an educated man should be characterised by common sense, a love of moderation and restraint and an aversion to abstract theories and logical extremes. In other words the aim has been to be reasonable, to do things in moderation or, as the English vernacular states: "steady-does-it." The effect of this doctrine on the individual was to instill certain virtuous national Chinese characteristics: industry, frugality, contentment, simplicity, humour, fecundity; and, relatively passive traits such as patience, indifference and pacificism. These virtuous passive qualities have been consciously developed emphasising calm and passive strength rather than vigorous risk-taking dynamic activity valued by 'Western Countries'. Chinese upbringing teaches the young to be seen and not heard while elders are speaking. Elders traditionally do not smile at the enthusiasm of the young to change society, for, why has the civilisation lasted so long ask the elders? Thus the attitude is quickly instilled where youth learn to be pessimistic and to comment unfavourably upon any new scheme, pointing out all the difficulties. The relatively "passive" traits will

be analysed first.

(1) Patience: Indifference: Pacifism

The quality of patience has developed as an adjustment to conditions where problems of over-population have been the rule of Chinese history, and as a result have been accepted as "being-in-the-nature-of-things". Endurance of suffering and pain has inevitably been inculcated as a high moral virtue. The Chinese saying is "A man who cannot tolerate small ills can never accomplish great things".

The training school for the development of this virtue was of course the family where the ideally large three generation family of daughters-in-law, brothers-in-law and children, fathers, mothers and sons try to endure each other. In a big family where a closed door is an offence, parental instruction stresses the need for mutual toleration and continual adjustments in human relationships. Because of the inward looking nature of the family a certain indifference to the social environment developed naturally and became a political necessity in the absence of legal protection of individual rights. The total effect on the individual personality is definitely not an inspiration to change the world, but to accept life for what it is worth, to work peacefully, endure nobly and live happily surrounded by many sons and male grandchildren. (Sons were a source of social security as they could be relied upon to contribute to the economic survival of the family group whereas females would on average leave the family; ensured the continuation of the family name and were able to maintain the ancestor worship). Passiveness is consciously taught. For instance, whenever Chinese children get caught fighting irrespective of who is in the right, both get spanked. They are taught that it is better not to fight. To a large extent these cultural traits have been ingrained into Chinese youth in Wellington and taken in context of a typical New Zealand attitude seen in the expression

"She'll be right" the value of pacifism and this happy-go-lucky attitude help to keep Chinese youth as a homogenous group. Rebel reactions are discouraged by both the Chinese and New Zealand frames of reference. The undesirable aspect of these three Chinese traits (patience, apparent indifference, pacifism) tend to paralyse Chinese people from organised action and partially explains the acceptance of hostile acts and attitudes of the New Zealand society, prior to World War II.^a To a people conditioned to Confucian standards of moral behaviour it was easy to accept that "discretion is the better part of valour". Inured to hardship, the hostilities were just another problem to be suffered and the colour discrimination today, by the Labour Department, Immigration Division something to be accepted.

(2) Positive traits: conservatism, industry, frugality, humour, contentment.

The majority of the Chinese people were traditionally of the peasantry class because of the agricultural base, and because of the conditions of poverty and the strength of the family group with its demands of self-sacrifice and unselfishness, the values of industry and frugality received utmost priority. If a family was adequately provided for, a person could well afford to be contented.

"A well-filled stomach is indeed a great thing
All else is a luxury of life."^b

This simplistic but shrewd philosophy is really part of the counsel for moderation, for pragmatism.

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- a. As Chinese never really intended to settle in New Zealand and wanted to earn money to send to China, they took the line of least resistance.
 - b. 80 Lin (1941) "My Country and My People" p. 59.

"When good fortune comes do not enjoy all of it:
when advantage comes do not take all of it."^a

To the Chinese, the problem of achieving happiness was relatively easy, as happiness was defined in utilitarian terms - the welfare of the family and a full stomach. This is in sharp contrast to the often elusive search for happiness in western society via materialism and hedonism and spiritualism. Once the basic needs were fulfilled the major aim in life was for the children to become educated and if possible to attain scholarly distinction and hence status, power and material prosperity. Success meant both family and individual power.

Mention has been made of the four tiered structure of Chinese society, and it could be expected that a rigid "class" antagonism and social snobbery would thrive. In fact it did not. In the best social tradition of China, a rich merchant or a high official may ask a woodcutter to have a cup of tea and chat sociably with him with little or no condescension. The farmers, artesans and merchants were all humble, quiet, self-respecting citizens. They realised that they were dependent upon each other and especially upon the farmer. They also looked up to the scholars as the class entitled to privilege and extra courtesy, and with the difficulty of acquiring a knowledge of Chinese written characters, this respect came from the bottom of their hearts. Also the status of scholar brought, among other things, economic security, in a government position, power, status and respect.

The strength of this traditional value of education has helped the Chinese

a. 80 Lin (1941) "My Country and My People" p. 56.

to adjust to and settle in New Zealand most successfully but enabling them to penetrate to the professional status, and thus demand respect and power. As well, the reverence for elders, irrespective of social class, for teachers and scholars coincide neatly with the better values of New Zealand society and enables the Chinese child to be an attentive pupil.

The uninterrupted continuance of 5,000 years of Chinese civilisation has been based upon the stress of education - not of knowledge as an end in itself as in Western Countries and in New Zealand - on the inculcation of moral virtues, of courtesy, orderliness, humour, kindness, righteousness, meekness, patience, and above all respect for old-age and authority, as taught too by the Puritans. The emphasis was on moral behaviour. A husband and wife walking hand-in-hand, father and daughter kissing - in public, is traditionally regarded as taboo. Such behaviour belonged in the privacy of the bedroom. A student never answered back at his teacher unless invited to; a son never questioned his father's decisions; a daughter prized her chastity to the extent that it became something of a "psychological obsession"^a for she was to be responsible for the education of social morals in the home, as well as the development of the personalities of her children. The idea of female exposure was indecorous to the extreme, which is in sharp opposition to the permissiveness and flood of pornographic literature and films characteristic of Western civilisation today.

A woman had three obediences; when a woman was in her maiden home she obeyed her father; when married, her husband; and when her husband died, her son. The last was never practised because of the superior position the Confucian

a. 80 Yutang (1941) p. 134.

System placed on the woman in the family. This obedience was submission to autocracy but, in reality, the home was run by the woman.

SUMMARY

Confucian ideology was the unifying social stability of the Chinese family, and whole fabric of Chinese society for about the last 2,500 years. Just like the Church of Rome before King Henry VIII, it was the foundation of the educational system, the standard of orthodoxy to which aspirants to public office were measured, the body of thought which provided the intellectual and ethical framework of the Chinese people and their civilisation. It is only by understanding the social philosophy embodied in Confucianism that the behaviour of the original Chinese sojourners, the later settlers and the subsequent social adjustment of the Chinese families and youth in New Zealand can be understood.

APPENDIX 2

APPENDIX 2

VIGNETTES: Four selected and recorded
representative case studies

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INTRODUCTION

The vignettes are incorporated into the framework of the study to provide a counter-balance to the inferential statistical analysis. It was realised from the inception of this research that a highly sophisticated statistical approach relied heavily on the assumption that individual human behaviour may be classified into interrelated component parts which may be labelled to give a close approximation to the sum characteristics of that person. Social science is concerned with grouping these psychological characteristics to find patterns of human behaviour. The studies by Johnston (1965);¹²⁴⁽¹⁾ Taft (1966);¹⁴⁸ are just two examples of highly sophisticated statistical analyses. Such approaches assume unjustifiably, that human behaviour is both predictable and rational. It can be observed that a person's behaviour and attitudes are the sum total of often contradictory actions and thoughts, and as a consequence that the value of a statistical analysis is extremely limited as the only basis for predicting human behaviour. At best, the results can only indicate general trends, and inferences from the statistics can be made only with intimate (anthropological) knowledge of the group of people in question.

(a) Method of Presentation

The vignettes are basically edited, transcriptions of the taped interviews. This style of presentation was chosen as the most effective way to reveal the subject's personality, anxieties, problems and methods of resolving them. Thus, slang or colloquialisms are retained along with repetitions to preserve the spontaneity of the conversation with each of the subjects. In all cases the talks were a means of self-revelation to the individuals.

Continuity between each interview is maintained by presenting the vignettes

in the order as outlined in the special interview schedule.^a In all cases, as in ordinary conversation, there were detours from the major topic or when the interviewer had finished, the subject continued the conversation. In general such points have been collated into the appropriate section.

(b) Methods of Personal Interview

In order to gain maximum co-operation and confidence the following assurances were given to the subjects: that the case studies were a vital aspect of the research; that only fictitious names would be used; that every effort would be made to conceal the identity of the subject; that the subject would be given a copy of their vignette in its draft form for vetting. The interviews were conducted with the single female subjects in private, at their own homes while the two male participants preferred the company of their wives, who generally remained in the background of the interview-conversation. A cassette tape-recorder with the maximum two hour cassette was used and as the conversations lasted less than one hour, the interviews were uninterrupted. In all cases, the recorder caused a little embarrassment initially, but as the conversation developed any sign of self-consciousness was soon forgotten. This was made possible too, by placing the recorder and microphone away from the subject's line of vision and yet within easy reach of the interviewer.

(c) Method of Selection and Findings

The subjects were selected from those already interviewed by questionnaire. A list of four types of Chinese youth, was established and names of the more

a. Appendices: interview Schedule p. 247

articulate subjects of both sexes, were rank-listed by the writer, in each of the categories. The types include: a traditionally oriented Chinese girl; a "liberal" Chinese girl; an "integrated" Chinese boy; a Chinese male whose wife is European. All four of the subjects had received either advanced education after leaving school or attended special classes necessary for work promotion.

The vignettes highlight the major problems of social adjustment which are experienced by the majority of Chinese youth, as well as the general ease with which the Chinese youth have adapted to the New Zealand way of life.

Cultural tensions rather than cultural conflicts prevail in the vignettes.^a The process of growing-up is the solving of cultural conflicts, or choices between a Chinese and New Zealand frame of reference. This is revealed in all four cases. All four cases reveal the existence of cultural tensions, having resolved cultural conflicts. It is not known how much of these were revealed because of the conversation which often required great effort on the part of the subject to verbalise emotions and reactions to events in childhood. In all four vignettes this was the first time each person had attempted to relate to another person their life-experiences in the process of growing-up. The "integrated" male displayed the least cultural tension evidenced by observable reactions and by the researcher's sensitiveness to the subject's emotional responses to questions. Of the remaining three, the "traditional" female exhibited the greatest amount of tension while the "liberal" female displayed some signs of tension over the question of her inability to converse in Chinese. The male with a European wife had resolved great conflicts (evidenced by heavy drinking) but still experienced

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- a. Cultural conflict: involves a dilemma of choosing between two cultures within which an individual lives. The conflicts arise from within the individual.
- Cultural tension: arises between the individual and other people once the individual has selected a course of action to resolve the cultural conflict.

some tension. This was probably due to the feeling that "mixed" marriages were still not socially accepted by both the New Zealand society and Chinese communities. The four people were in the 20-29 age group and their maturity and distinctiveness in being able to express themselves set them apart from the 16-20 year old group and others of their same age. The younger group generally had not been exposed to the problems of living in a working society; as most were schooling and so did not have the burdens of responsibility. Ninety-one percent (21 out of 23) of those who had never dated were in this younger age group, representing 24% of the total sample.

Vignette Interviewing Schedule

I BACKGROUND

1. Family Tree History of father/grandfather (paternal) - social origins, village, district, education, occupation. Present day occupation(s) of father
2. Classification Number of shifts parents have made, occupation.
What have been the main reasons for the shifts? or the reasons for staying?

II PRESENT Social Relations

1. How close do you feel to your relatives? How far do they live? Is there any relationship between 'feeling for' your relatives and the effort needed to visit them or to maintain close contacts? Do you feel closer to your father's relatives or your mother's?
2. How often did you go out with New Zealanders when you were a teenager at school? Was there any change when you left school? And what about now? What clubs do you belong to? Why?

Attitudes to Chinese way of behaviour

3. Learning Chinese language in New Zealand, and for children or future children.
4. To the Chinese ways of behaving (etiquette) manners, customs, eating, of mixing with Chinese friends, visiting graves and thinking.
5. To what extent have your parents influenced your attitudes to these and other ways of behaving (e.g. attitudes to mixed marriage, dating, language

use of both Chinese and English, respect and obedience to parents).

6. What are your thoughts on dating and intermarriage and intra marriage? Do you think that if you would marry someone who wasn't Chinese, that there would be any special problems?
7. What do you think the attitude of New Zealanders is towards Chinese and other nationalities living in New Zealand. Quote examples. Do you like the New Zealand way of life? Do you want to be like a New Zealander?
8. Do you think that Chinese youth have any problems in living in New Zealand, such as the person with old-fashioned parents or the person with fairly modern parents who don't teach their child any Chinese customs or ways of thinking?

A. 'TRADITIONAL' NEW ZEALAND CHINESE FEMALE

- born in New Zealand, single, 16-20 age group.

Background

I don't know my father's history or the name of his village as he died before I was born. My mother has never mentioned him and I don't want to ask. I think my Uncle (father's brother) came to New Zealand first, then went back to Hong Kong and brought my father out. Mum came out to New Zealand in the late 1940's from China. She's a machinist now, though we've always had businesses - laundry then a grocer shop. I've always had to help after school. I've got 3 brothers and a sister. My eldest brother is 40 and I didn't find out until I was a teenager - and that was by accident. One of the reasons for shifting around here is that we are close to my sister. All my brothers and sister are married with their own families. I'm the youngest. I see them every week.

Present

1. I don't have many real uncles and aunties in New Zealand. I have them but they are the Chinese type and only distantly related because we come from the same district. I see them, but not too often - only when there are functions on. If we still lived at the shop we'd see them more often but as we are now living away we don't see them so frequently. I make a special effort to see my brothers and sister, but I haven't seen my other relatives for quite a while. I've got a lot of relatives but not according to the European sense, but I'd suppose I would regard my father's relatives with the same name as my close relatives. A lot of my mother's relatives are in Canada, New York and San Francisco.

Most of my father's blood relatives are in China, but the relatives in New Zealand are only of the same surname.

2. I have never gone out a lot with Europeans. I have been out with New Zealanders but not very often. In the weekends I saw mainly Chinese friends. In my own class I had some very close New Zealand friends, because there weren't many Chinese. At one stage there was only one other Chinese in my class. There were from 6 - 10 other Chinese in the same form as myself every year that I was at school. It wasn't through school that I knew the Chinese girls but outside. Some were my cousins. After I left secondary school I maintained contact with a couple of New Zealand friends. My best friends were mainly New Zealanders at school. Now I've got more Chinese friends than pakeha.
3. I would make the effort to let my children learn Chinese, as long as it wouldn't hinder their English. Although I shouldn't think it would in my own family because I speak English good enough to teach them. Sometimes I think parents shouldn't try to bring their children up in the Chinese way and in doing so lessen their own children's chances of competing in their English education. Some Chinese children have quite a difficulty at school to learn how to grasp English. Their grammar is not so good and they find it hard to understand what's going on. They can talk, no doubt about that but to compete.....I know a couple of Chinese boys who do very well at school, but their English has pulled them down a lot.
4. I wouldn't necessarily teach my children all the Chinese customs. Some of them are unnecessary. Some of them are quaint. I suppose I would teach my children to behave in the Chinese way, but sometimes I think its a very

reserved way of behaving. You don't really let your emotions go. I think I'm like that. I hide everything. Not open. I think that Chinese tend to be reserved and not show everything. Sometimes I do wish that I could "let-my-hair-down" but not always.

5. I think Mum has influenced my thinking to a great extent. I often anticipate what she would think rather than do something first and then wait for her to judge. I wouldn't do something if I knew she'd disapprove. That's the way I've always been. My own brothers and sister and relatives influence my thinking too. To a large extent it's family pride and indirectly even though your mother may say it's all right; she'd say what do other people think. I try to direct all my actions this way. I'm not even allowed to fail my exams. New Zealanders like to have a good fling, a good-time. They live and care only for themselves. They are brought up this way. But a Chinese is part of a family and you've got to be aware of your position. Sometimes I think that I am more Chinese than I ought to be. It's because my mother is the only parent and this makes a lot of difference. If I had two parents my mother would have someone to rely on, she would have somebody close to look to for support. Underneath, I carry these Chinese feelings with me when I mix with European friends. Sometimes I feel that if I'm the only Chinese in a group of pakeha's that's all right and I can let myself go to a certain extent. But if there are other Chinese there I'm more reserved.

If I've got two ways of looking at things often it can cause conflict in my mind. I realise that there isn't just one way of living. However, I think it's possible to merge the two ways of life. A lot of Chinese

families now speak English and the only time when they speak Chinese is when their Grandparents visit them. I'd suppose eventually (I don't know how long) a lot of the Chinese customs will be lost, especially so in New Zealand.

I think the reason for the strength of our District Association lies in the families more than anything else because there are a lot of big families. Take our own family - I have quite a few nieces and nephews. There are 20 or so of us - and this is only our immediate family. By the time you've got other families together then you have quite a few contacts. The young members of the Association could be as active as us, but it's hard to say. Even though people say you shouldn't keep strictly to each Association, the success of many of our functions depend on others. For instance, the New Year baseball and indoor basketball tournament was organised more as something for everyone to do. We wanted it to be a success in that way. We wanted everybody to come along and to enjoy themselves. We didn't just want our group of kids to be together. We wanted to do it and we enjoy doing it. There weren't many New Zealanders there. I think we would have welcomed a few but I don't know if we would have been able to control them - there is a difference. If they come along to any of our functions we might not be able to control them. That's the problem of having Europeans. They could have a real fling - some don't have the respect for the fact that those who look after it have a responsibility. The other Chinese who come know that they can't throw bottles around the place or wreck the place at will to give themselves a thrill. We are only a young group. Perhaps if, we were older we might be able to control such a situation. Put it this way - if 20 kiwis turned up at one of our dances and only 30 Chinese,

I don't think we would be happy. We put these functions on for the Chinese. At the meetings it's just accepted that the functions are mainly a social occasion for Chinese to mix together - money is secondary. It's a different story if you're out to raise funds like at a Ball. That's fine. And you find that it's mostly Europeans who go to a Ball because there are not enough interested Chinese. But when it's an ordinary dance when we may even lose on it, and it's purely for enjoyment then it matters. If the youth club didn't have enough money to back it I suppose the old ones would support it. A lot of the supper is donated - once the band is paid for the rest is just 'profit'.

6. I have been out with New Zealand boys but very very seldom. It's my Chinese background. Even if I did go out I wouldn't be seen - only to a school dance or something like that. When I continued on with my education after secondary school, I could go out but only on the quiet side and I didn't really make any effort to try and let anything serious develop - in fact I'd avoid it for a number of reasons. The effort was much greater and it would have been a great strain if the relationship between myself and a New Zealander did develop. I'd find the strain on myself too because of the way I think and my obedience to my parent. If I was interested in a European, he would have to be someone really marvellous, someone really mature, terribly competent and confident. I'd have to be pretty mature too. A Chinese girl I know who is going out with a European doesn't seem to really care.

B. "WESTERNISED" CHINESE FEMALE

- born in New Zealand, single, 16-20, flatting

Background

I don't know what village my father came from, nor the district. I don't know my proper Chinese surname. I did ask my Aunty but I've forgotten. My father was born in Australia and came out to New Zealand when he was young. He went back to China for a holiday, came back then got married. Mum died not long ago. She was born in New Zealand. My Grandfather (paternal) had a fruitshop near Wellington but it's now run by Dad's brother now. As far as I know we have had only one shift and that was away from Wellington to our home on the East Coast. Dad was the only one who shifted away. I don't know why. I think Dad was market gardening for a while but now he is a salesman.

Present

1. I feel quite close to my relatives, especially to the ones on my father's side. I have more to do with them, partly because they are just on the way home, and I drop in to see them. I'm not quite so close to my mother's ones - I don't make a point of going around to see them though I do go every now and then. It's mainly because my Uncle and Aunty can only speak Chinese and we don't have anything in common - I can't speak to them. I don't believe in going to see them just because they're my Uncle and Aunty. It's very strained. I just sit there and nothing much happens. I see my father's brothers and sisters more mainly because my way of life and theirs is more similar. Dad doesn't have much contact with Mum's side. They never seem to get on. I'm not quite sure why. Dad's brothers and sisters are around Wellington here and one of my Aunties

will be shifting down here fairly soon. I think I would have more contact with my relatives if they were younger, like Dad's youngest sister and her husband - we get on very well together. I hardly have anything to do with Mum's relatives - I hardly know anything about them. I think a lot of Mum's relatives are in China. There are a few here. I mix with practically all Dad's brothers and sisters. (There is one sister who is the black sheep of the family - she disappeared) and there is one in Auckland who I don't see very often - I try to see them if I get up there. I don't always 'drop in' to see the ones on my father's side and it is an effort to see Mum's ones - it's a bit awful. I should go and see them but I usually just stay at home. There isn't terribly much time when I go home for the weekend.

2. When I was very young (6-9) I used to go to a Chinese Sunday School run by an English lady (she could speak Chinese) and I used to mix with Chinese then. And as I grew up I stopped going for some reason, then I went to a Baptist Church just down the road, because I think the English girl next door used to go and I went with her. This was when I was in my early teens. Then I went to an Anglican Bible Class, became confirmed in the Anglican Church and I'm Anglican to this day.

I wasn't able to make friends with many Chinese. Our house is out of town and we are miles away from the majority of the Chinese, and so the only contact I had with Chinese was for a short-time each week. And when I left the Chinese Baptist, of course I never saw them again. There was no occasion for us to meet except for a wedding or other social occasion. They kept very close together anyway - small Chinese community on their own.

Most of them were related. Mum's relatives never ever had children our age - Mum used to have some very close friends but we didn't go that often - but when we did go we'd stay for a very long time. There were never very many Chinese children around because we lived so far out of town. At every school I went to I was the only Chinese girl, primary, intermediate, secondary and it sort of made it extremely difficult to meet other Chinese people, such as at a club or something. But then they didn't have any clubs, then. I don't really mix much with Chinese. There's one family I know and the two children are girls about my age. Everytime I go home I ring them up to see if they are at home. I don't know many down here in Wellington. I don't know if I really want to meet any Chinese down here. I'd like to meet more Chinese people to get a "feeling" about them but then, the ones that I have met or most of them, haven't been my type. I think its not the fact that they're Chinese, but more that we don't seem to have anything in common. The Chinese clubs and groups seem to be hard to get into and youth tend to mix within that group, exclusively. I'm not too keen on that sort of "regulated friendship" - I'm probably exaggerating the situation but that's how I see it. I should meet more Chinese, because I'm Chinese. Unfortunately, the ones that I have met haven't made a very good impression on me. I think that I may be slightly unfair - I'm not sure. I just can't seem to communicate with them. For instance went to a 21st birthday party in which the majority of the guests were Chinese and I tried to make conversation - I was determined to make the effort to mix and to talk - and I started talking to these boys and all, they could take about was "so-and-so's got a new car" or something like this. If I started talking about books or something cultural, I felt that they wouldn't know what I was talking

about. I wouldn't like to try, really. I get on fairly well with the girls. I know most of them - we can always talk about sewing.

I don't belong to any clubs - that's bad. I don't really get enough time. I do a lot of overtime at work because they are short-staffed. When I do overtime I don't usually get home till after 7p.m. and I work on Saturday morning as well - it breaks the weekend up. Then I've got night school which takes up a couple of nights. I don't go out much at all. I just like to stay at 'home'. I did enrol for a pottery class mainly because I felt I needed to do something relaxing, and also because it's something I really want to do. I've always been interested in pottery.

3. I definitely do want to learn Chinese because I think that if you are Chinese you should try to speak Chinese, especially now that I'm older - I'd be able to mix with older Chinese who can't speak English. If I could speak Chinese I would probably visit my mother's sister, even if it was just to ask her how she was, or just small talk - I can't even say that. I would definitely teach my children Chinese if I could speak it. It's tricky really. It's quite possible that I'll marry a European - I don't think any of my relations would be surprised if I did anything as drastic as that. They think I'm a strange person anyway. In that case I'm not sure whether I would teach them Chinese because if my children were "half-caste" I don't think it's fair that they should be handicapped by any awkward situation and so develop a complex about it. I still like them to have an idea - I'd still cook Chinese meals.

4. We never celebrated the Chinese New Year, we just stuck to the English New

Year, Christmas etc. The only thing Chinese we ever celebrated was "Bai Sarng" (拜山) (visiting graves) and I went a couple of times with my mother. I can remember eating Chinese cakes but not at any special time of year. If it was at a special time of year I didn't realise what it was for and I just ate them because I like them. But mother never explained "this is for such and such, this is why you've got Chinese cakes". They just sort of appeared. I never thought twice about them. I'm quite happy with my pattern of friends. I don't go out terribly much, so don't go to many parties.

5. I've always been annoyed and disappointed that my parents didn't speak Chinese at home - because they can both speak it very well and I feel that if they had spoken Chinese it would have been more like a Chinese home. But as it was it didn't strike me as being a Chinese house. Other Chinese families that I know are Chinese households with a western influence but ours struck me as being a western household with a Chinese influence. That was the difference. It's just that we had Chinese people living in it. Apart from that it was just like every other English home. I think probably this influenced me a lot, in that I don't feel to be very Chinese.
6. I think on the whole the New Zealand attitudes to Chinese is very good. I think the Chinese have worked hard here and made a name for themselves as an industrious race and I think they've earned it because they have worked hard for everything that they have got. The Chinese are always polite compared to Europeans. I don't know if its due to deference. They maintain an equilibrium. They never get too close - they

are polite. I think this is why the New Zealanders respect the Chinese. New Zealand attitudes distinguish Chinese from other immigrants. It's funny, people don't often call Chinese 'foreigners' and yet Czechs, Poles, Greeks are. I know this because at work I am never called a foreigner. If they are going to say anything they just say I'm a Chinese while the Eastern Europeans are grouped together as foreigners or 'wog'. Most of my friends don't regard me as a Chinese - I'm just me. It's really funny because I said to my girlfriend once: _

"Oh, my sister's coming to stay with me for a week."

And she said, "Is she Chinese, too?"

"Pardon?"

"Oh, of course she must be!"

"What on earth did you say that for?"

"Well, I never think of you as a Chinese."

And that same girl asked me quite out of the blue another time: "Are your parents Chinese?" I thought it was very funny, but it shows that they don't really regard me as being a Chinese person. It's sort of rubbed on to me. When I'm at home I think I'm Chinese or when I'm in a group of Chinese. When I'm the one and only among a crowd of Europeans (Pakehas) I feel that I'm a Chinese too but if they were my friends (Pakeha) I wouldn't feel like a Chinese. It just comes over me. It's very subtle. But it's quite strange. When I was younger I used to have a complex about being different - I'd ask my school friends - "Do you think I'm different at all?"

"no."

I could never understand, nor believe that I was just accepted for what I was.

7. A lot of problems are related to your upbringing and what your younger life was like. I probably feel at ease with Europeans because I've mixed with them all my life and I don't feel strange with them. If they had a lot of Chinese in them, they'd be bound to hunt out the Chinese people. If I saw a group of Chinese my initial reaction would be "I hope they don't speak Chinese to me." I must admit that I'm not completely at ease with older Chinese because I'm never really sure of what I should say or what I should do. Actually, I haven't thought about these things at all. I've just realised that I have a problem, but I haven't done anything about it. It's because I prefer it this way, and I doubt if I'll change very much. If I really wanted to meet more Chinese youth I would have made a greater effort. I have had the opportunities to.....I think the Chinese concept of family is quite divorced from the European concept of the family unit, in that affection is not displayed openly - on the surface it all looks very detached. My mother and I never used to sit down and talk about our wardrobe, just feminine things like that. She never used to ask where I was going or who I was going with. There are just some things you'd like to talk about but you wouldn't.

C. "INTEGRATED" CHINESE MALE

- born in New Zealand, married, Chinese wife, 25-29 age group, one child

Background

1. I don't really know much of the history of my Grandfather (paternal). He was a sailor during the first world war. He must have been really progressive because he married a pakeha, and he was a seaman - quite a guy.

I knew my Grandmother (paternal) that's all. I don't know how she met him, but she was born in the South Island. I do know that she lived for a period in China - a couple of my father's brothers were born over there. My Grandmother died about seven years ago. I wasn't particularly interested in their history then, but when I think about it now, I am. She was teaching English in China, and when she came over here she was teaching Chinese, the English language. To us she was just 'Granny' and she was 'Granny' to just about everyone we met. A lot of people about my father's age just called her Granny. She learnt Chinese. She spoke Poonye very well.

2. Dad went back to China, met Mum and brought her back. She was about 18 when she arrived. I haven't got a clue where he was born. All I've seen is photographs when he got married. Dad worked at Oamaru (South Island) market gardening, then a Chinese grocery shop in Tory Street. Next we went out to Eastbourne (fruitshop), then back into town in Island Bay (fruitshop) then market gardening near Wellington. We lived on the shop premises. I remember Granny talking about Dad and his brothers when they were working at Eastbourne. They used to be quite wild and she could hear

them coming home at night on motor bikes.

Dad was the youngest of four, three brothers and a sister. The second brother had a fight or argument, so that's why Dad left the Island Bay shop and he went market gardening in 1952. Number one brother is dead. He never married. Number two brother who is married is still alive. Today, there's only the two brothers and an Aunty. Mother did have some schooling. She didn't have to work in China but she's worked all her life here. Most of our relatives that I know of are from my father's side.

Present

1. It's funny really. There have been so many fights within the family that, well, I don't know if we were really close. But the kids made it close because at Christmas time and that, the families would get together - one uncle, aunty and family with the other uncle who never married. We were quite close when we were small because they would take us out, races and that and we would stay at their place. But since the break at Island Bay, that strained relationships a fair bit. We also drifted apart when Granny died and since one uncle died there was a big fight and that split the family up even more. We kids are fairly close and we still kick around together - but the adults are a bit strained. Because the parents fought, you get the feeling of animosity in the family. Naturally the kids feel it. You get a bit worried, scared, you don't know what's happening and you get a bit reserved towards them - it's just carried on and it's never sort of healed.

I'd suppose Mum never really got on with the other uncle's wife - they had fought a long time ago - they don't communicate at all - we kids do though.

We hardly ever go to visit them, but I suppose we shall start doing it a bit more now because the kids have grown up, they have married and have families too and so we tend to have the same interests, same status.

2. When I was at school, sometimes there were other Chinese and sometimes there weren't so I had European friends mainly. But then it didn't matter. In fact you're closer to your European friends than to your Chinese classmates even though I was in the same class as my cousin until secondary school. At secondary school it seemed right for me to move around with my cousin - we used to sit together in class - it just seemed right. I sort of teamed up with him. I didn't really have many close Pakeha friends not like at primary school. When I left secondary school I lost contact with the Chinese crowd because I went to varsity at Auckland. I didn't know any Chinese at varsity. (I just started making contact with the Wellington Chinese then through playing basketball). I picked up European friends again. When I came to Wellington, it was funny as I didn't know any Chinese well enough to call my friends - just casual acquaintances. I met Chinese in Auckland through the Basketball Club, because when I was in Auckland there were no Chinese in my classes. There was one two years behind but that didn't worry me. There was a Malaysion, but again there was nothing special between us. I didn't mix with him at all just because we were Chinese.

When I was at College, my dates were mainly with Europeans. There were Chinese girls at college but they didn't strike me at all. I didn't consider them. When I left college that changed again. Most of the classes I was in were all males any way and so you have very little chance to meet girls. Because I played basketball for Auckland I mixed with the girls at the sports club - Chinese girls. At college the European girls were easy

to meet because the class was half full of them. Basically you find that there's more chance of meeting a female at a club - you meet girls after the games.

The only club I belonged to outside of school activities was a basketball one when I was in the 4th or 5th form. A local Chinese guy who had played basketball still felt like playing and so he decided to form a team. We got a team of guys about the same age and that was how we formed the team. Most of the way up college most of my friends were Europeans. When the basketball club got strong and we organised our own functions - they were mixed ones too. In fact more Europeans than Chinese because there are more Europeans than Chinese where we live.

3. I learnt Chinese up to Standard 3 and 4, up to the time I left Wellington for three years. I can remember taking home books. I could read them. I can just write my Chinese name and no more - that has just stuck because it was 'drummed in' but the rest has just gone. I would be happy if my children could speak Chinese but it's a bit difficult though as I can't. I've never really spoken it and I've always felt at a disadvantage visiting people especially when dating and when you meet the parents and that - you feel a big 'Joe-Hunt' - "well, he looks Chinese anyway" they say to themselves. I don't want my children to go through the same things anyway. It's funny how this lesson has come home. I can remember Mum teaching us Chinese etiquette and she'd explain to us the correct terms to call people and all that - by the correct title. Lately I noticed that my brother took a Chinese girlfriend home and she didn't even say boo - she was shy but she steered clear of Mum. I felt this was a bit poor. I feel that it is correct to

Speak to her even if all you say is 'it's fine'. I feel that this is correct even though I didn't use to believe in Chinese things before. Even if you don't speak Chinese at least you can speak English to them. You can just go up and talk to them. I'd say now that I would make the effort to take my kids into Chinese School but I might find at the time that it's too much effort.

4. We eat mainly Chinese food. As far as custom goes, we'll only rub off what we know. We don't visit graves - we haven't been told to do this. When we go visiting we take something but if someone comes to visit us and they bring us something we don't go to the extent of giving something back. I think it's silly.

- 5 & 6. All my Chinese training has come from Mum. Dad doesn't appear to bother about it at all. She can speak English fairly well. She learnt from the shops. She's 'soft'. She not old-fashioned - adapting all the time. I never thought that I'd marry a non-Chinese. When I was at Auckland I went out with the Chinese crowd. I never had contact with European girls. At primary and secondary school I felt more European - I wasn't really aware that I was Chinese until I went to Auckland. It was just convenient to mix with Chinese. It was probably laziness on my part. I didn't really even consider marriage. It was easier to arrange a date with a Chinese because I knew more - I know very few European females at university. I just didn't even come into contact with them. I didn't even try. So I must have had a leaning towards my Chinese friends, I'd suppose. But I don't think I'd mind so much if there was a mixed marriage, provided the girl was a decent type. At any rate Mum always wanted us to marry a Chinese girl - "I'll take you back to Hong

Kong and pick you out a wife" - It was always there.

7. The attitudes of New Zealanders varies. I find that at work I get on very well with the people. If you're looking for a flat I found it different. This is what I found anyway in Wellington. I was looking for a 'better' flat with a Chinese friend and we were making fairly good money and we could afford to 'splash' a little bit - we could afford a little luxury. So we shopped around a bit. But we got 'brassed-off' when we saw the flats we were shown - they were nothing like we wanted. We were shown run-down places like Newtown, Aro Street. It was crazy. You go along to a land agent and he says alright. "I like Roseneath, Brooklyn, Wadestown, that sort of area". And then they say: "I've got a house you can look at in Aro Street". - No where near the area you specified, or Newlands. Yeah. "You'll like it at Newlands - it's something". I didn't tell them my professional status, I just told them I wanted a flat and left it at that.

They were grouping me 'you know there are a lot of Chinese there, and you'll be happy there' - this sort of thing. That's the last place where I'd go. The Chinese are too nosey. They'd look to see who all the visitors were. They just do it naturally. Take Newlands where there are many Chinese. It doesn't seem right to be surrounded by unrelated kinsmen, Chinese, but I don't really know. I wouldn't really mind living in a Chinese community. I look at the way I lived at home. There are a group of houses all clustered together - it was 'helluva good'fun. There was a group of Chinese down the road (about three families) and then another group further down. The houses within each group were right next door to one another. Even with us. We have a garden and the garden is right at our back-door. This

is good I liked this but in the city it's a bit different.

In the country you are unrestricted. You can walk in your garden and still not meet your neighbours even though your gardens are next to each other. I don't mind if the neighbours here look out to see who's coming, but with Chinese it's big business. In the country it seems right. You've got the older members of the family mixing up with the younger ones. It's very good all mixing together.

I feel that there is discrimination within certain groups of people. I think the higher up the classes you go it disappears. It's only in the lower classes and yet in fact the lower you go the better it gets too - the labourer is "helluva" easy to get on with. It's probably the lower middle-class group I think. They resent the Chinese up-grading themselves from the lowly rated jobs to the professions - I think it's this lower middle-class group who think "they're-getting-more-equal-than-we-are".

In Auckland I flatbed with some local and Fijian Chinese. I didn't know anyone when I went up there and my brother-in-law knew of this bloke and he got me into it - And bang, I was into it - it was good. There were five or six of us. Later on when there were two of us left (one guy got married etc) I moved out and got a flat on my own. Then after that I moved back to a Chinese group again. A bloke I knew up there bought a house and so I moved in with him. I didn't try very hard to find a good place in Auckland. All I was interested in was cheap accommodation. In Wellington I wanted a good standard of flat that I knew existed but I couldn't find one - something was wrong somewhere. I've been to some of these flats you know where these

guys live.

My attitudes to Europeans comes mainly from my mother - you've got to distrust the Europeans. You're going to marry a Chinese girl or we'll get you a Chinese girl so they encourage you to mix with the Chinese crowd. It wasn't anti-European, but I wasn't encouraged to mix with them. When you're kids it doesn't matter so much as at the marrying age. Naturally these attitudes rub on to you. When you're young you go all over the place and play with who you like, it doesn't matter. But when you start dating then they start indoctrinating you. I think I get on well with Europeans. I don't think about it.

I don't want to become like a New Zealander at all. I'm just happy as I am. There's nothing that a European was that I want and in fact I've often considered myself very lucky that I have this Chinese background of two nationalities, because I like the Chinese culture and customs and that. You know, I must be looking at it from a distance. I enjoy it, I don't know. It must look as if I'm looking at everything from a European point of view. I'm European, but I've got contact with the Chinese. I like it. Things like respect for parents and looking after the old ones - you don't send them off to homes or welfare institutions, and the families sticking together too. There is no facet of European life which is comparable. I think I'm getting more out of life - it's probably because I know more about the Chinese way of life than the European living. There may be things I don't know about.

8. I can't speak much Chinese and this gives me some problems and also I'm getting more aware that I'm definitely a Chinese and not a European and this is

why I think that I am a little bit shy of European girls because I'm not sure how they will react to me - to accept me, and I'm wary because I'm a Chinese and this awareness went with me through varsity. I was afraid to get my fingers burnt so I didn't try too hard to make contact with the Europeans. I think there was a little bit of a conflict there. Your parents tell you to mix with Chinese - somethings "rubbed-off". There's two conflicts -

(1) With the old fashioned family. (2) The same with modern family. If they don't keep their children in Chinese customs I think there is going to be conflict there because at some stage of his life the person is going to realise that "of course I'm a Chinese". I've often been confused and mixed-up mainly because I can't speak Chinese. In the same way I can't think I'm European because I'm Chinese. With European girls not so much now, but for a while when I was dating I was very conscious of the way they would act towards me and now it doesn't matter. Perhaps it's because I'm married now and I'm out of the hunt. It's just that you don't feel you belong. You take a Chinese girl out. You go to their home and you can't talk to the parents. I've often gone to family parties where the old men cook outside on 40 gallon drums, and the old men squat on the ground, stoking the fire. I've always been envious of a certain Chinese youth because he can talk Chinese fairly well. He would walk up to them 'crack-a-joke' - I would think that I would like to do that - I could only squat on the ground - but I can't talk to them. I can't communicate. I want to be part of it. And I can't. You're on your own. I'm happy just to be there, to be at such a gathering, to absorb the atmosphere. And another youth from Auckland came down, jabbered away to Mum. After he'd gone Dad said: "Very nice boy you know"

(Dam it all he's just a big lump!) They think the world of him and naturally I want to be thought of in the same way.

D. A 'MIXED-MARRIAGE'

- Chinese male (to European), born in China, 25-29 age group arrived in New Zealand at age of 8.

Background

1. I don't know much about my father. He is from a village in Jung Sang. He came out when he was young and went back to Hong Kong in his twenties and after he married, and died in China. Mum is a Seyip from the Toi Sarn district. She was born in Canada. I was born in China and came out to New Zealand when I was 8. Mum's parents were from one of the richest Chinese families in Canada - I'd say her father owned about two-thirds of Chinatown. I think Dad met mum in Hong Kong or China before the second world war started. In those days you could move very freely to and fro. Mum left Canada when she was about 14. She went back to Hong Kong to get a Chinese education. She's 64 now and she's more Chinese speaking than English speaking, but she's got enough English to get by.

We lived in Newtown first and then moved to an outer area and now here. The reasons for the shift was because when we first came here Mum was given a fruitshop to run. It was too much for her and then she bought another shop and then she was in there for 15 years and when she made enough money, she finally bought a house. We lived behind the shops when we had the businesses.

Present

1. I know my relatives here. I didn't know my mother's side all that well until I went to Canada and they didn't know me except that I was my mother's

son. I have been much closer to my father's side than my mother's side. I don't go out of my way to go and visit my father's relatives. If it's someone's wedding or someone's 21st, or a family gathering I feel obliged to go. You just go. I see my other relatives but we all know each other and where we live but everyone has their own life to lead. We only meet each other at the gatherings. I know that we are of the same 'blood' that's all. My Grandfather (maternal in Canada) married three times and each wife had a fair-sized family. An uncle and aunty over there were about my own age and so we could mix easier. But the other ones were much older. The first was Mum's mother and she died when Mum was young. The second wife has seven children and the third wife has four. They are all in Canada.

2. When I was eight I had to speak English and mix with New Zealanders. I have a few Chinese acquaintances but I wouldn't call them my friends. I don't knock around with them that much. I don't share the same interests. I've got a lot of English acquaintances. My best friend is Italian. At primary and secondary school you count on your fingers, the Chinese in one school. I was the only one in my class and there were a few Chinese in the same form. I used to belong to a sports club while I was at school. I played two sports.
3. When we do have children my wife can't talk Chinese. I'd be able to talk to them a little bit - just half and half, that sort of thing but I won't go out of my way to teach them, or send them to a Chinese School. It wouldn't be fair to them of course. I know it's an advantage to have two languages but when you're a half-caste I don't think it's necessary. I'd try to teach

them a little bit of Chinese manners but it would be up to them to accept it or not.

4. I'd try to bring them up more like New Zealanders than Chinese. When the child is in a Chinese environment it's up to the child to pick up their "Chinese" that way, like when they would be with my mother or sister. It would come naturally. I don't go visiting graves at all. Mum does. I never met my father. He died when I was a baby. Mother takes the flowers along to other relatives. She has Dad's photo at home with joss sticks.

When I was young the nuns used to look after me. I got married in a Catholic Church and I've been to one midnight mass. I've never been to any other Church for a service. I don't believe in it and then again I don't disbelieve either. While you're on this earth, you live the way you want to - you haven't got time to honour someone who you are not sure is there or not. I'll tell my kids what the majority of the world thinks. They are bound to ask questions. But if they want to believe in something I'd rather they believe in the Catholic faith than any other faith. At least the Catholics do more as a church than many of the others. It's debatable if I'd send my kids to a Catholic school, because I think they spend too much time on religion. If I only had two children I'd send the boys to a boarding school. A girl, I wouldn't. You get a better education at a private school as the classes are smaller. Just because you're Catholic or you believe in something doesn't make you any better. A lot of my friends are Catholics and some of them are the biggest 'bums' out. The character of the child is moulded in the home more than at Church.

5. I had a mind of my own. I did what I wanted to do. Even if Mum went to me with a broom, mop or anything else. She even went to the extreme of going back to Hong Kong in the early 1960's to find me a wife. If she grew up in New Zealand I'm sure she wouldn't think of it. She wanted me to go back but I wanted to go on my own. I said I'd do a trip with my own money. All she wanted me to do was to go back to Hong Kong, get a wife, come straight back and start a family. I wouldn't have minded going back for the trip but the price was too much to pay. And I still had some time to finish my apprenticeship. I could've held it back but I didn't want to.

I never felt comfortable with Chinese girls. Everytime I'd want to go out with a certain Chinese girl she'd have to go out with her sister and her boyfriend. It was hopeless. I'd rather go out with European girls. The Chinese don't accept you for what you are. You've got to have a bit of money and do everything right, the Chinese way. The Chinese girls are ~~are~~ fault too. They let their parents rule them. This shows that the younger generation is weaker, not quite mature. I don't mean that they should revolt against their parents completely - after all there has to be some respect somewhere along the line.

Where my wife comes from, it's just like a village. She's been brought up in a normal family life, with a father and mother. It didn't enter into my mind to look for someone like her. In fact when I was overseas I had booked a passage to move on to Mexico, but when I got married all those plans got bamboozled.

There isn't really much going on here. There's just enough to cater for one

way of life. In Europe and America there are many things going on to suit everybody, not just 'money-talk' - there is a different type of entertainment. There are a lot of places that don't cost much. On a Sunday morning in London you can hop into a tube and shoot over to a market place, to stop at a speakers corner and listen to 'Commo-talk' or just sit in Trafalgar Square. If you go down town on 'Sunday afternoon in 'pigeon park' you'll be the only one sitting there. Or you can go to the pictures. But that costs you money so you might as well stay at home and watch T.V. Life is so interesting overseas. In this country, you marry and then start bringing a family up, work and that's your life. It's not a bad one but it's not much fun for a single person. It's the same routine right through.

6. You get discrimination everywhere. Sometimes without realising it. I don't discriminate against people whose skin is darker than mine, nor even Europeans. The Chinese do it in their own way without realising it. At a party you see Chinese talking to each other while the Europeans stand alone. That's discrimination. I think the foreigners in this country discriminate even more than the European does. You take the Greeks and Italians, they're all the same - they stick together. You can't forget you're Chinese. If you're Chinese that's it. You should never be ashamed of your own race. By the same token you can be a good Chinese-New Zealander, and be part of society. After all you live in the country, especially as it's the country you adopt and then you've got to live - everybody does. If you don't then you wonder why everyone is against you. You're not in China now, so when you live in a foreign country you have to adapt to their ways. Dating European girls never worried me. I enjoyed it. If the girls didn't think I was worthwhile going out with

they wouldn't have gone out with me. Then if I didn't like the girl I wouldn't have gone out with her.

7. I drink because I enjoy it. Not to be big or anything. I used to get around when I was younger - parties and other silly things.

Wife interrupts:

"When I first met you, you had been drinking and you said to me that I wouldn't like you when you're sober and that's sort of a complex - you find it hard to talk. After a few drinks you just sort of relax. He didn't have enough confidence in himself but after going on the trip it has brought it out of him. The Chinese upbringing teaches you to be reserved whereas the Kiwi way is not being reserved. He could have been unable to tie the two ways together.

In New Zealand people are fascinated when they learn that I'm married to a Chinese. They say "well how about that!" (You stand there and look at them) People think it's romantic these days. My parents didn't have much say and learnt that I had a mind of my own, as I was away from home when I first met my husband.

I learn a lot of how his mother thinks not so much the customs.

I'm fortunate that he looks at things the same way as myself. We both make adjustments. His sister teaches me how to cook the Chinese way, and so he hasn't got the Chinese ways either. There probably is more conflict between her mother and herself than with my husband.

'Mum' understands that he is going to be this way because of me. She doesn't realise that it's not really because of me at all. Then afterwards she can pass it all off as being "Oh well, he's married

to an English girl so he's got to be like that". But as for his sister - she is expected to do things the Chinese way. I feel comfortable at Chinese functions. Everyone goes out of their way to be nice to me. When they start speaking Chinese then I feel a bit - you don't know what to do - it's embarrassing more than anything - you don't know whether to sit and smile or That's the only time, when I feel embarrassed. I can understand a little Chinese."

We're not the only ones in the family of a mixed marriage. My cousin married an English girl. He was the first one and she was accepted into the family and then when my wife came along I was just another one to follow. Really I should have more Chinese than I've got as I was born over there. But from the time I went to school here, I could never sort of feel at ease with the Chinese. Like, every time I'd say something or they'd say something to me it wouldn't interest me. Their way of fun is not my kind of fun. They'd think something is hilarious and I'd think it wasn't as funny as they thought it was - not my kind of joke.

When I first came to school 98% at school were Europeans. For me to pick up English the fastest possible way, I mixed with Europeans and that might have been the biggest step influencing my whole attitude and the more I'd mix with them the more I'd know their ways, the more I liked their way of life. Maybe if I was born here it might have been different. I tried to mix with Chinese for my mother's sake but it landed me in more trouble than when I mixed with Europeans. All they wanted to do was play cards. I didn't mind it, but weekend after weekend on a Saturday. Well, I wanted to do something more than play cards till morning and lose my pay packet in the same token.

Five years ago that was their great enjoyment. To me it's all right if you've got nothing else to do but you sit there all Friday night, Saturday just when I could be doing something else. There was nothing else going, the pub closed at 6.p.m. (7 - 8 years ago) when I started working. After all that gambling, Mum said "You'd better go with the other friends."

The Chinese like to gossip behind your back or to talk about the past - "two or three months ago you did this or this!" It's not my kind of conversation. I'd rather talk about things that are happening now.

Wife interrupts:

"Chinese don't speak to one another's face very much. Never have anything out. I've found this in the family. If there's a problem it's not brought out. It's kept to the background. They're sort of sulking. To me it's better to just come out and say what you mean. A lot of family togetherness is on the surface only from what I've seen of it. They go around all nice but they aren't really interested in you as a person - to the old Chinese it's not right to talk about themselves, their own problems. I think it's just different generations. My mum wouldn't believe in it.

My husband's father died when he was young and I think this has made a lot of difference. I don't think he realised the role of a wife so much - as a husband and wife, because his mother was both man and woman - she did both things and I

think he expected much more from me than most husbands. Not through his fault but he got used to seeing his mother do everything. He sort of automatically assumed that I'd do everything that she did. This is natural to him.

He had to do a lot of adjusting. He'd never do the dishes at first because he didn't think that a husband should help. A man doesn't do too much in the way of house work - that's the Chinese way. My parents didn't have much say and they learnt that I had my own mind as I was away from home, when I first met my husband."

APPENDIX 3

APPENDIX 3

IMMIGRATION LETTERS

RESTRICTION OF CONFIDENTIAL EVIDENCE

In order to protect the people involved, the information prepared for this section cannot be included here.

The author will be pleased to make this information available to genuine researchers on request.

Inquiries may be directed to:

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APPENDIX 4

APPENDIX 4: THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CHINESE YOUTH
& ASSOCIATIONS

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A. RESEARCHER'S BIAS

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A. THE RESEARCHER'S BIAS

No social researcher can remain completely emotionally detached from his objects of study. At all stages of research the attributes of the investigator are important, not only as he affects the actions of the group studies and chooses the methods of study, but also as he reacts to the situation and interprets the material. Full objectivity is not humanly possible. The most a researcher can do is to be aware of his own biases and then guard against them constantly. Furthermore, an individual researcher's biases are not only a matter of individual personality, but may include such factors as age, class affiliations, education, religious or philosophical beliefs and familiarity with other peoples and cultures.^a The difficulties are compounded when the researcher is studying people of his same age group, ethnic origin, and general socio-cultural background. The field of study becomes a gigantic mirror to one's own life history, revealing facets and explanations to some attitudes and behaviour which were previously hidden from the conscious mind.

Three major events stand out in the writer's experience which have profoundly affected this research. Firstly, the gradual knowledge of the full meaning of being of a different colour from the dominant "white" society in New Zealand. Secondly, the experience of "colour shock" of actually going into a new situation where the people are of a different colour and, thirdly, a growing sense of humiliation and indignation on discovering the truth of past injustices to the Chinese and continued discrimination against Chinese especially by the Government Labour Department as

a. 131. Patterson (1965) p.40.

briefly outlined in Chapter 1 Section 1D (2), and in Appendix 3.

(a) The Role of Theory and Personal Experience

It is possible to gain knowledge from books, from films, by listening to people, but it is all to no avail if it does not inspire the seeker and produce changes in his attitudes to previously cherished beliefs. The writer experienced such change. I was more than aware of racial injustices, poverty and other global problems, for who could fail to be in an affluent society such as New Zealand where among other things, television sets, radios and newspapers abound? I had, furthermore, studied the general aspects of these problems in the liberal four years of study at Victoria University in Wellington, and yet, these problems did not personally mean anything to me. We are truly in God's own country here in New Zealand where life is so easy, and untainted by glaring social injustices and economic inequalities compared to the majority of the world. Even the accounts of racial discrimination related to me by old and middle-aged Chinese, the temper of economic frustrations during the Great Depression years and the 'scape-goating' experienced by many religious and ethnic groups such as the Chinese, Jews, Roman Catholics - all were outside the experience of the writer. I was also impressed by the books "Dark Ghetto"^a, "Black Power"^b, and "Race and Racism"^c. But I could not relate the problem of race to New Zealand as basically we enjoy harmonious race relations. My thoughts continually went back to Fong's "Chinese

a. 103 Clark (1965)

b. 100 Carmichael, and Hamilton (1967)

c. 151 Van Den Berghe (1967)

in New Zealand"^a which gave details of racial hostilities directed against Chinese in the past and yet seemed to advocate assimilation. About 1970, Maori nationalism was beginning to be exerted and to force itself onto a New Zealand society unwilling to take the movement seriously at its initial stages. Why were the so-called Maori Wars in the 1800's not referred to as the Pakeha Wars by the historians? The problem of race in New Zealand was revealed, but it still had no meaning to me personally.

Then I turned my attention to my own education, and analysed the type of influences which contributed to my sub-conscious rejection and denial of the realities in New Zealand which gave birth to this new nationalism by a vocal group of Maori people. I, like they, had been subjected to a systematic process of "white-washing". The process was embodied in the educational system. It taught its students a European point of view. The more intelligent absorbed much of the cultural standards and judgments, the literature, the view of history, and, subtly, society reinforced this by advocating that all ethnic groups were expected to toss-over board their heritage. The only Chinese cultural heritage I had was an ability to converse colloquially in Cantonese, and a relatively sound Chinese up-bringing. However, I was more oriented towards the Pakeha society. The reappraisal however resulted in some uncomfortable conclusions - I had adopted the Pakeha way of looking at the world and other Chinese, without even realising it: most of my friends were Pakeha; I was embarrassed by the presence of other Chinese, something I had known since my secondary school years, and now I knew exactly why.

a. 34 Fong (1959) Ng, B.

(b) "Colour Shock"

Sheila Patterson^a relates an experience in the South London district of Brixton where she was immediately overcome with a sense of strangeness on first entering the "coloured quarters", even though she had spent years in Africa and the West Indies and knew from the press that several thousand West Indians had settled in Brixton since 1950. This experience was later explained to her as "colour shock".

I experienced a similar reaction whilst on a three week holiday in Fiji early in 1970. I knew that Fiji had a predominantly coloured population of Fijians and Indians with some Chinese and some White-men. I had seen movies and pictures of Fiji and even studied the Island group and yet when confronted with the situation of brown faces, I also experienced "cultural shock" as I had been accustomed to seeing mainly "white" faces. This experience reinforced the surprise felt after my self-analysis. It also ended the compromising I had indulged in by regarding the hostilities against early Chinese settlers, and blatant racial discrimination experienced by my Grandparents and parents, as something better forgotten, and certainly not very prevalent in New Zealand today.

(c) Reaction

My association with overseas students, especially Malaysians and Chinese had revealed that New Zealand's immigration policies were possibly more racist than the "White Australia Policy". I however, only took an academic interest in their complaints, and what could I do about it? I chose just to listen. However, mid-way through 1971, I became concerned over an immigration case involving a cousin from Hong Kong who had entered New Zealand on a temporary entry permit. An application

a. 131 Patterson (1965)

for an extension to a six months holiday was refused on the grounds that he and his sponsors had signed declarations that they would not apply for extensions. On analysis of the Immigration Act 1964 and amendments, and on further evidence, it was a clear case of colour discrimination. My initial reactions were of shock and humiliation, and the subsequent correspondence with the Associate Minister of Immigration revealed at least the administration's negative attitudes to Chinese people, which are condoned by Government, despite an outstanding record of citizenship in New Zealand by the Chinese people.^a Subsequent enquiries relating to fact finding revealed the deep-seated fears of hordes of the Yellow peril descending upon New Zealand - racial prejudices held by even some senior members of Cabinet and parliamentarians.

Further influences affecting this study and providing motivation to complete the research have been the desire to discover and understand the forces which have shaped our social adjustment and then to share the discovery with others in my peer group of Chinese youth. (This alone has justified the study). I am also a Christian and devoted two years to serving the Church as a full-time voluntary worker, which is in part a reason why this project has been extended over three years. The time spent in the Church was invaluable as it enabled me to be intimately involved with the community which otherwise would not have been possible, especially as the Wellington Anglican Mission Church is the most influential Chinese organisation in Wellington and New Zealand. This was especially advantageous in collating and synthesising material for the case study on the "Chinese Community Hall."^b As

a. Appendix 3: Immigration letters.

b. See case study in Chapter 2 on the Chinese Community in Conflict pp. 129-149.

Private Secretary to the Minister from the end of 1969 and then as Church Secretary (English) from mid 1970, I had free access to official letters and information, as well as being on the "grape-vine" to events within the Wellington Chinese community. I have constantly guarded against bias towards the Anglican Church, but because of its profound impact on the Chinese community, especially in Wellington, its activities naturally feature in the Case Study, and in the dissertation. On reflection its impact on the Wellington and New Zealand Chinese community has been under-rated and only briefly referred to in this study as a direct result of the writer's sensitivity to bias.

B. THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CHINESE YOUTH (16-29)
IN WELLINGTON 1970

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1. Procedure and Public Relations

In mid 1969 the writer sent a probe letter to the New Zealand Chinese Association notifying them of the writer's intention to conduct a social survey on the Chinese youth in Wellington and in which the proposed scope, major aims and the types of questions were outlined. Financial support and help to establish the names and addresses of Chinese youth was requested. Receipt of the letter was not officially acknowledged but private inquiries to some members led to the ultimate decision to exclude the economic aspects of social adjustment. This proposed aspect of the research was not favourably received by the Association.

It was clear then that the public relations and publicity sides of the project would be of paramount importance, and so a two-pronged approach was adopted. In the first instance, all the Chinese clubs, associations, Churches and groups which had anything at all to do with Chinese were contacted by letter in April 1970^a. The main purpose of this letter was to solicit their help by advising their members that the writer was conducting research on Chinese youth. Already though, many Chinese youth in the community especially those who were members of Chinese clubs, knew of the project as the writer had already started to collect the names to establish a survey universe. As a complementary procedure, the writer also contacted the 397 Chinese youth who were in the 16-29 age group, in May 1970, with an introductory letter,^b about a month after writing to the associations. Two weeks after this introductory letter a follow-up letter^c was posted together with a reply-paid envelope and form to

a. Appendix 4d.

b. Appendix 4d.

c. Appendices pp. 351-356.

the 120 youth selected at random, to advise them of their selection and to request them to indicate preferences of time and day for an interview. After one week each of the subjects was either contacted by telephone or visited to arrange an interview. If the subject was hesitant then contact was maintained at weekly intervals until there was a definite decision either to participate or to refuse. A letter of introduction from the Head of the Geography Department was included with each of the letters to the Associations and to the individuals.^a

The bulk of the interviewing was completed within 5 weeks from the 1st week in June to the end of July. After preliminary results had been analysed, four subjects were contacted in November for in-depth interviews. These provided the basis of the vignette studies.^b

2. Method of Establishing and Selecting the Sample

The major problem at the onset of this social survey was the complete absence of a comprehensive record of the names and addresses of Chinese families and Chinese youth in Wellington. The minimum and maximum age limit was set between 16-29. The minimum age chosen as this is close to the legal school leaving age of 15 in New Zealand, when teenagers may legally exert their independence. Another reason was that the New Zealand Census age specific data below the age of 16 was not available. The maximum age limit was set at 29, as by then, the individual would have reached full maturity and be established with responsibilities whether in marriage and/or career. An estimated population size, or total number of Chinese

a. Appendices pp. 351-356.

b. *ibid* pp. 244-246.

youth aged 16-29 was established by comparing the percentage of this age group to the total numbers of Chinese in New Zealand in the 1961 and 1966 Censuses, and it was found that this age group represented 23% of the Chinese population. This percentage was applied to the Wellington and Hutt urban area, with the finding that there were approximately 530 Chinese youth aged 16-29 in Wellington (Wellington and Hutt urban areas)^a

The writer then set about compiling a comprehensive list of Chinese youth thought to be in this age group as at May 1971. Letters were sent to Chinese clubs for member lists. Letters were sent to all Secondary School and Business Colleges in the Wellington area requesting names, date of birth, place of residence and racial mixture.^b Additional names were collected from friends and relatives, wedding usher lists and social occasions. A total of 376 names and addresses and where possible, telephone numbers were collected and filed by May 1971 when the sample was drawn. The total number of Chinese youth listed was 397 by the end of the survey.

The next step was to determine the minimum sample size in relation to the population size of 530. This was calculated to be 100.^c

a. See photo/map 1

b. Appendix 4d.

c. Dornbusch and Schmid (1955) p. 155 "A Primer of Social Statistics", McGraw-Hill series in Sociology.

The formula to determine the standard error of a proportion including population size is as follows where n = sample size and

N = population size

$$\sigma_p = pq \left(\frac{1}{n} - \frac{1}{N} \right)$$

A sample of 100 would then yield at the 95% level of confidence, an estimate within 1% of the true proportion if the sample proportion were 50% and the size of the population 530.

A random number of 120 was selected from the 376 names of Chinese youth, by an independent person. Of the 120, 14 declined to participate, leaving 106 interviews, of which 9 were invalid because they were either outside the age-limit or immigrated to New Zealand after the age of nine. This left 97 as a survey sample.

3. The Personal Interview Schedule

As the writer is a New Zealand born Chinese youth and is acquainted with many of the Chinese youth in Wellington it was quite normal to adopt a personal approach, by administering the interview schedule, rather than posting it. It was thought that this would ensure maximum participation. The personal interview has some very important advantages over the postal questionnaire.

1. In several questions many different examples had to be given before the subjects really understood the implications of the questions. For example: the subject was asked - "Do you experience any cultural conflicts?" Examples were given in view of sex of the respondent and according to what the interviewer knew of the subject's background and which was revealed in the course of the interview, so that the examples were immediately relevant. If the girl was rather quiet and seldom went out an explanation would be - "If you really wanted to go out with an English boy and Mum was against it what would you do?" If, on the other hand the girl dated often the question would be framed - "Does Mum or Dad object?" If yes, then - "Does it worry you?" In the question relating to marriage to non-Chinese the writer frequently had to reassure the subject that the answer would remain anonymous and that no names appeared on the questionnaire or in the final report.

2. In the course of the interviews many of the subjects enquired how they were

selected, despite the explanation in the follow-up letter.^a In the two letters sent out to the subjects the aims were explained and yet only a few had actually studied the letters. Furthermore, only 26% (31 out of 120) responded by sending back notice of a suitable time and date for an interview. It can be assumed that a mailed questionnaire would not have received a very high response rate. The response rate to the administered questionnaire was 88% (106 out of 120).

3. One of the greatest advantages of the interview situation is the rapport which is established between interviewer and the subject, especially when 'open-ended' questions are included in the interview schedule (as opposed to pre-coded questions). The 'open-ended' questions helped to create a congenial and relaxed atmosphere.

The impressions gained of each subject helped in the evaluation of the interview as a whole and in interpreting responses to specific questions. For instance, if a subject refused to comment on the nationalities of those whom they dated, then it was possible to observe the reactions such as sudden furtiveness, restlessness, rapid eye movement, fidgeting which revealed whether or not the subject was experiencing cultural tension. The content and nuances of the replies were also noted, especially to more sensitive questions such as "Do you want to help your father?". "What nationality are the people you date?" "Would you marry someone who wasn't Chinese?" Often the question on cultural conflict was predictable - the subjects tended to supply examples of their own instances of it.

Techniques of interviewing were developed in the writer's final undergraduate

a. Appendices pp. 355-356.

year,^a and in the following year with the intensive anthropological studies of 5 Chinese families^b. The previous experience was invaluable in selecting an approach to interviewing the different subjects. For instance the interviewer was sensitive to the subject's mood, temperament, mannerisms, personality, intelligence, comprehension and to changes in inflexions in the voice. The speed in which the interview was conducted was varied to accommodate for these factors.

4. The presentation of the 13 page questionnaire was made visually attractive by using 4 different colours, as shown in the appendices. A large red CONFIDENTIAL sign was stamped on the front page and each subject was shown this when the interviewer displayed the questionnaire, before commencing the interview. Some answers were revealed in preliminary conversation and so were omitted from the actual interview and filled-in by the interviewer at the conclusion. On the whole the interviews were classified as very good where the subjects answered the questions sincerely and candidly.

4. Absence of a Pilot Study

This is a methodological weakness of this social survey and stems from the fact that the writer intended to develop the intensive case studies previously researched.^c However this was not a serious handicap as the questions were largely compiled from questionnaires in other research (Moench, 1963;⁸¹ Johnstone, 1965¹²⁴⁽¹⁾ Inglis 1967⁷³).

a. Survey on High Rise Flats in Wellington 1967 by T.G. McGee

b. 52 Wong (1968)

c. *ibid.*

The absence of a pilot study does not imply that the questionnaire was untested. For instance the writer was asked to justify the question "Who are your ten best friends?"^a The number ten was chosen to allow a range of friends to be included. In no instance did a subject say he did not have ten best friends.

a. 'Friends' is defined as people whom you know very well and on whom you can trust. 'Acquaintances' is defined as friendship out of politeness.

147 Survey of Youth in Victoria p.59.

C. SEVEN MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS AND HYPOTHESES

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C. THE SEVEN MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDIED GROUP

1. Wellington Chinese youth (16-29) tend to be a homogenous group.
2. The youth prefer to mix together in formal clubs and informal groups.
3. Chinese youth prefer to marry Chinese.
4. Chinese youth identify themselves as both Chinese by ethnic origin, and New Zealand citizens.
5. Few Chinese have experienced prejudice and discrimination as teenagers and young adults.
6. Chinese youth have synthesised some Chinese cultural patterns with those of the dominant society.
7. Chinese youth have easily adjusted to living in New Zealand and do not experience serious identity conflicts.

Sub-Findings

The major finding of this social survey is that Wellington Chinese youth tend to be a homogenous group. This result was derived from the correlation of eight major variables with about 37 indices of social adjustment (see Table 48 Appendix 4c, following).

1. Survey Area

Hypothesis: Chinese youth living in the inner city are less assimilated than those in the outer areas.

Findings: This hypothesis was rejected. Chinese youth are highly mobile as they either own cars or are able to have easy access to the family car or their friend's car and contact can also be made by phone (private phone calls in the Wellington area are free of charge). Also Wellington city dominates the social life of the surrounding housing estates in the Hutt Valley and Porirua Basin. Outward movement does not denote social adjustment.

2. Sex

Hypothesis: Females are less assimilated than males

Findings: There was no observed statistical difference. As Chinese female life is centred more around the home, and males have relatively more freedom, it was thought that there would have been a difference. The reasons for similarity lie in the levelling influence of the same educational opportunities and in the sexual equality ideal prevalent in the wider New Zealand society and the strong Chinese family upbringing.

3. Marital Status

Hypothesis: Married youth tend to revert more to Chinese values and norms than single Chinese youth

Findings: This was not proved. Although there is a tendency to visit relatives more on marriage, married youth status does not affect the social adjustment process

4. Age Group

Hypothesis: Younger Chinese youth are more assimilated than older Chinese youth

Findings: Although there has been undoubted change in attitudes and life experiences in New Zealand, younger Chinese tend to be as conservative as the older youths. For instance, younger Chinese (16-20) do not usually go out on dates. Change is evident - most youth under 21 do not know their father's village of origin.

5. Generation

Hypothesis: Third generation Chinese youth are more assimilated than 1st generation youth.

Findings: There was no difference. The common experience of growing-up in New Zealand reduces the generational gap between youth.

6. Speak Chinese

Hypothesis: Chinese youth who speak Chinese are less assimilated than those who cannot.

Findings: This was not proved conclusively, although indications are that the ability to speak Chinese undoubtedly enables the Chinese youth to know more of the family history (e.g. village of origin) and to feel more at ease with elders and peers. The language variable in itself does not affect a person's decision to give-up entirely the Chinese cultural heritage (This is strikingly revealed in the vignette of the mixed-marriage. See Appendices 2. 1)
Language is an independent variable.^a

7. Association Type

Hypothesis: Chinese youth who are member of Chinese clubs are less assimilated than those who are not.

Findings: There was no observed difference. This is because Chinese youth clubs are not identified with traditional Chinese behavioural patterns. Other informal groupings are also important.

8. Identification

Hypothesis: Youth who identify themselves as Chinese are less assimilated than those who say they are New Zealanders.

Findings: There was no observed difference. Chinese youth who feel to be more like New Zealander than Chinese still tend to mix with other Chinese youth, and identify themselves with the Chinese heritage.

a. 73 Inglis (1967) found that food is an independent variable of assimilation.

TABLE 48(b) Characteristics of the Valid Interviews (97) - from survey sample of 120

<u>Sex</u>	Male:	57% (55)	<u>Ethnic classification</u>	Chinese	98% (95)
	Female:	<u>43% (42)</u>		Chinese-N.Z.	<u>2% (2)</u>
		100 97			100 97
<u>Marital Status</u>	Single :	79% (77)	<u>Age Group</u>	16-20	55% (53)
	Married:	17% (16)		21-24	15% (15)
	Engaged:	<u>4% (4)</u>		25-29	<u>30% (29)</u>
		100 97			100 97
<u>Generation</u>	First	16% (16)	<u>Survey Area</u>	Inner City	32% (31)
	Second	52% (50)		Outer City	35% (34)
	Third	<u>32% (31)</u>		Porirua Basin	3% (3)
		100 97		Hutt Valley	<u>30% (29)</u>
					100 97
<u>Place of Birth</u>	Wn & Hutt Valley	58% (56)	<u>Type of Family</u>	Nuclear	87% (84)
	Other N.Z.	22% (21)		Extended	<u>13% (13)</u>
	Overseas	<u>20% (20)</u>			100 97
		100 97			
<u>Size of Family</u>	Average	4.8	<u>Place of Residence</u>	Home	90% (87)
				Other	<u>10% (10)</u>
					100 97

(c) Major Correlations from Survey Data

(continued from page 345)

0.05. An observed difference which is significant at the 0.01 level would occur only once in one hundred selections of samples from two populations which were actually the same. An observed difference with such a small probability of chance error is worthy of considerable confidence. At the 0.05 level an observed difference is considered interesting and relevant, but not conclusive. Of the 7 significant correlations, 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7 were significant at the 0.01 level of confidence. 5 and 6 were significant at the 0.05 level.

EXPLANATION OF TABLE 49

The major computer correlations presented in this table summarise the results of the 1970 social survey of Chinese Youth in Wellington. The reason why other hypotheses were not tested, that is, why only 8 variables were tested was because of the methodology adopted in the preparatory computer analysis stage. In the process of preparing the results of the social survey the information was punched onto computer cards and then major hypotheses were tested through a card sorter and then chi square tests were calculated by electronic calculator so that the writer could gain a first hand understanding of the computer process and a preliminary insight into the results. The homogeneity of the Chinese youth was obvious at this early stage. The computer analysis confirmed the preliminary results.

Only 7 variables were statistically significant, and these are numbered in the table. Whenever^a a comparison of two variables or groups is based on the results of a sample, differences may only be apparent, that is, samples drawn from two groups may be different when the actual groups may not be. Standard statistical formulas make it possible to calculate the probability that each observed difference could be due to chance variables alone. Only when this probability is very low (0.01, or 0.05, that is, one chance of of 100 or 5 chances out of 100 respectively) is the difference considered real or 'significant'. No confidence can be placed on an observed difference if such a difference is due to an element of chance involved in selecting the sample.

The 'levels of significance' referred to in the text are 0.01 and

a. Paraphrased from 90 Willmott (1960) p. 365.

TABLE 49 MAJOR CORRELATIONS FROM SURVEY DATA

	1	2	4	6	8	10	12	15	18	21	24	27	28	29	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	41	43	45	51	53	54	57	58	59	60	61	62	64	67	68	74	75	Variable
Survey Area	1	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x			
Sex	2	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x			
Marital Status	4		x	x				x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		1		x			x		x		x	
Age Group	6			x	x			x	2	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	?	x	x	x	x			
Generation	8				x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	
Place Residence	10					x													x	x							x						x	x					
Father's Occupation	12						x																																
F. District Origin	15							x																															
F. Village Origin	18								x																														
Attendance Ch.Schl	21									x	x																												
Send children Ch.Schl	24										x																												
Speak Chinese	27					x		x	4	x	x	x	x	5		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		6	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Lgs Spkn Prts Hm	28	x	x	x	x	x							x	x																									
Lgs Spkn Bros & Sis	29													x																									
Prt Chns Festivals	33														x	x																							
Sbjt Chns Festivals	34															x																							
Prts Chns Med	35																x	?																					
Sbjt Chns Med	36																	x																					
Food Eaten Home	37																		x	x																			
Food Preferred	38																			x																			
Attd Wn Ch Assoc	39																				x																		
Attd Dist. Assocs	41																					x																	
Attd Eastern	43																						x																
Attd Church Clubs	45																							x															
Assoc. Type	51	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Natnty 10 Best Friends	53																									x	x							x	x				
Osre Contact NZ'ers	54																										x	x											
Visiting NZ'ers	57																											x											
NZ'ers visiting Subjt	58																												x										
Visiting Relatives	59																													x									
Flg Ease Youth	60																														x								
Ease Ch. Elders	61																																						
Dating Pattern	62																																						
Marry Non Chinese	64																																						
Gen. Gap	67																																						
Same Surname	68																																						
Identification	74								x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Cult. Conflict	75																																						

APPENDIX 4d

SOCIAL SURVEY LETTERS

LETTER TO WELLINGTON COLLEGES

August 1969

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am an honours graduate student of Victoria University, Wellington, currently engaged in research on the Chinese youth (16-29) in both urban and rural areas in the Wellington province, to complete a Master of Arts degree in geography.

As I am going to conduct a survey, I must collect the names of all the Chinese youth, or as many as possible, so that I can select a random sample to investigate the nature of their social adjustment to New Zealand society.

Could you help me by supplying the following information on the Chinese youth at your college?

1. All the names of the Chinese Youths at your college.
2. Date of birth.
3. Address(es)
4. The length of residence in New Zealand if not born in New Zealand.
5. Racial status - "Full-blood", and "Mixed-blood" (Chinese-Maori, Chinese-European).

The information will be regarded as confidential and I would appreciate it very much if you could let me have this information at your earliest convenience.

If you do not have the time to supply the information I am willing to do

the research at your college.

To date I have the names of about 270 Chinese youths out of an estimated total of 530, and your information will help me immensely.

Yours sincerely,

(signed)

Lawrence Wong

LETTER TO WELLINGTON CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS,
CHURCHES AND CLUBS REQUESTING SUPPORT

April 1970

Dear

As you are already aware I am currently engaged in research on the adjustment of Chinese Youth in Wellington and the effect that Chinese families, clubs, association and churches have on this process.

I would be grateful if you will help me by mentioning in your newsletter that I will be conducting a survey of Chinese Youth in Wellington within the next few months and that I would like to talk to as many youths as possible about my work.

Enclosed with this letter are copies of correspondence which I will send out in connection with this study. I know that your endorsement will help me to promote greater interest and participation in this survey which concerns our future and that of other New Zealanders.

I have written to other clubs, associations and churches, asking for their support and I intend to contact all the Chinese Youth that I know of by letter, within the next month.

If you have any suggestions and comments, or if further information is required, could you please contact me at the above address or phone:-

Victoria University - 46-040 (ext. 596) or
42-785 after 5 p.m. or

Upper Hutt - 87-354

I will be most happy to discuss my proposals with your executives if you wish this.

Thank you for your co-operation and interest.

Yours sincerely,

(signed)

Lawrence Wong

Encl: 1. First Official cover letter from the Geography Department
2. Introductory letter to Wellington Chinese Youth

FIRST OFFICIAL COVER LETTER TO INTRODUCTORY SOCIAL SURVEY
LETTER TO WELLINGTON CHINESE YOUTH
(on headed paper)

Geography Department

April 1970

Dear

One of our graduate students, Mr Lawrence Wong, is preparing a thesis on the social adjustment of Chinese youth in Wellington this year, to complete the requirements for a Master of Arts Degree.

His study is concerned with their experience of living in New Zealand and the effect the Chinese families, clubs, associations and churches have on this process.

The Department of Geography would be grateful for any help you may be able to give him in completing his preliminary enquiries and in any subsequent interview work he may undertake. It should be emphasised that all data will be treated as confidential and that no names will be published in the completed thesis.

Yours faithfully,

(signed)

Keith Buchanan
Professor of Geography

INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO WELLINGTON CHINESE YOUTH

April 1970

Social Survey of Chinese Youth in Wellington

Dear

You may have heard by now that I am engaged in the above study and I am writing this letter to ask for your help.

Altogether there are about 550 young Chinese in Wellington, and ideally I would like to discuss my work with everyone, but total numbers make this quite out of the question. However, I shall be selecting scientifically at random about one-fifth of the youth with whom I shall wish to discuss my work. These young men and women will receive a further letter from me soon.

The importance of this study rests upon the candid and frank opinions of as wide a cross-section of Chinese youth as I can cope with. I am sure that you know the real value of this type of study for our future and of other New Zealanders. For instance, we will all have a better idea of what the Chinese youth will be like in the future. To what extent will we become like other New Zealanders? What type of food do most Chinese Youth prefer - will Chinese cooking eventually be something of the past? What will happen to the Chinese language in New Zealand - will it die away?

If you are not included in my cross-section and wish to contribute to the study or if you require more information, please contact me at my home

address and/or phone numbers listed below.

Thank you for your continued interest.

Yours sincerely,

(signed)

Lawrence Wong

SECOND OFFICIAL COVER LETTER TO LETTER TO
RANDOM SELECTED CHINESE YOUTH
(on headed paper)

Geography Department

April 1970

Dear

One of our graduate students, Mr Lawrence Wong, is preparing a thesis on the social adjustment of Chinese youth in Wellington this year, to complete the requirements for a Master of Arts Degree.

His study is concerned with their experience of living in New Zealand and the effect the Chinese families, clubs, associations and churches have on this process.

The Department of Geography would be grateful for any help you may be able to give him in completing his preliminary questionnaire analysis and in any subsequent interview work he may undertake. It should be emphasised that all data will be treated as confidential and that no names will be published in the completed thesis.

Yours faithfully,

(signed)

Keith Buchanan
Professor of Geography

FINAL LETTER TO RANDOM SELECTED
WELLINGTON CHINESE YOUTH

Social Survey of Chinese Youth in Wellington

Dear

By now you will have received my introductory letter, so this one will be no surprise to you.

In my first letter I stated that the young men and women who were selected by a scientific random sample would receive a further letter. By chance you have been chosen to participate in this study and naturally, I would greatly appreciate your views on a number of questions facing us today. For instance: what are your views on the Chinese language - would you want your children to learn Chinese? What do you think about mixed-marriages? What do you think of the Chinese Associations and clubs in Wellington? What nationality are your friends? Do you think Chinese youth should give up the 'Chinese-way-of-doing-things'?

As you can see, this pioneer study is about our hopes and aspirations, your ideas on the way we adjust to New Zealand society, in short, your problems.

Naturally, your privacy will be respected and all information will be confidential. No names will be mentioned.

Please complete the enclosed form and return it to me in the stamped and addressed reply envelope which I have included with this letter.

I shall try to contact you within the next few weeks or so, to confirm a suitable time for discussion, but if you're hard to get hold of you could ring me at the following numbers:

Victoria University, 46-040 (ext. 596) or
42-785 or

Upper Hutt 87-354

I am looking forward to meeting you.

Yours sincerely,

(signed)

Lawrence Wong

Encl.

NAME:

Surname

Christian Names

ADDRESS:

PHONE: Bus.

Private

DAY AND TIME THAT WILL SUIT YOU TO HAVE A DISCUSSION

DAY

TIME
(Please circle x)

A.M. P.M. Night

1st Preference

x x x

2nd Preference

x x x

Other

x x x

x x x

x x x

APPENDIX 4E

CHINESE ASSOCIATION QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ASSOCIATIONS

1. NAME

2. ADDRESS (place of headquarters)

3. PRINCIPAL FUNCTION

4. OTHER FUNCTIONS

5. MEETINGS: 1. Place (if same as 2 circle - x)

2. Day

3. Time

- 2 -

6.	<u>NUMBER OF MEMBERS:</u>	1. Male	)	
			)	
		2. Female	)	
			)	TOTAL

7. NEWSLETTER: 1. Yes _____ x
2. No _____ x
3. If YES what is the total number sent out?
(In Normal Conditions)
Other (state) _____

8. LIST OF PRESENT OFFICERS AND OFFICES THEY HOLD

1. If possible state number of years each has been in office
2. Outstanding workers

1. President

2. Vice-President

3. Treasurer

4. Secretary

5. Other

- 3 -

9. RATIO OF ATTENDANCE TO MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership _____ Year _____)

2. Attendance average each meeting _____)

AVERAGE ATTENDANCE _____

10. IS THE ASSOCIATION GROWING?

1. Membership _____ Year _____

GROWING _____ x

2. _____

STATIONARY _____ x

DECLINING _____ x

11. WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR THE TREND?12. IS MEMBERSHIP BY:

1. Family X

2. Individual X

3. Both X

- 4 -

13. TO WHAT EXTENT IS MEMBERSHIP REPRESENTATIVE OF INCOME GROUPS?
NAME THE INCOME GROUPS/OCCUPATIONS

1. Fruiterers	1. High income
2. Professionals	2. Medium income
3. Other	3. Low income

14. DESCRIPTION OF THE AGE GROUPS THAT ATTEND

	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Old (50 years +)		
2. Middle-aged (30-49)		
3. Youth (16-29)		
4. Below 16+		

15. WHERE DO THE MEMBERS LIVE?

	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Wellington Inner City		
2. Wellington Outer City		
3. Outer areas: Hutt Valley Porirua/Tawa		

- 5 -

16. WHAT SPECIAL PHYSICAL FACILITIES DOES THE ASSOCIATION OFFER?

17. WHAT SERVICES ON COMMUNITY MATTERS IS IT CAPABLE OF PERFORMING?

18. WHAT IS ITS PROGRAMME? ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS?

1. Chinese Language

2. Promotion of Chinese Culture

3. Community Improvement Projects

4. Other

(see 18)

1.

2.

3.

4.

GROUP?

NATIONAL x

IN WHAT WAYS?

1.

2.

3.

4.

1. Yes x

2. No ☒

- 7 -

23. IS IT AFFILIATED WITH AN ORGANISATION OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY AS AN AUTONOMOUS UNIT IN A LOOSE FEDERATION WITH POLICY DETERMINED LOCALLY?
OR AS A BRANCH OF A LARGER ORGANISATION WITH A POLICY DETERMINED ELSEWHERE?

-
24. OUTLINE STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANISATION

APPENDIX 4F

CHINESE YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY OF CHINESE YOUTH (16-29)
OF THE WELLINGTON AND HUTT URBAN AREAS
CONDUCTED BY
L. WONG
of
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
(Geography Department)
1970

Survey Area..... C1

Questionnaire No. C2-4

PERSONAL DATA (circle where applicable)

1. Sex of subject	Male No. 1	
	Female 2	C5

2. Classification

Full-blood Chinese	1	
Chinese-Maori	2	
Chinese-New Zealander	3	
Other (please state)		C6
Decline to comment	0	

3. a. What is your marital status?

Single	1	
Married	2	
Divorced	3	
Widowed	4	
Separated	5	
Decline to comment	0	C7

- b. If you are married or have been married, please state the classification of your spouse.

Full-blood Chinese	1	
Chinese-Maori	2	
Chinese-New Zealanders	3	C8
Other (please state)		
Not applicable	9	
Decline to comment	0	

4. What is your age group?

under 16	16-20	21-24	25-29	30+	
1	2	3	4	9	
					C9
					Decline to comment 0

5. Where were you born?

In Wellington	1	
In the Hutt Valley	2	
Other part of New Zealand (Please specify town and locality, e.g. Masterton/Wairarapa)		C10
Outside New Zealand (specify country)		

6. Which generation group do you belong to?

1. FIRST GENERATION

a. Immigrated to New Zealand as adults	1	
b. Immigrated to New Zealand as children (under 16 years) and grown up in New Zealand	2	

2. SECOND GENERATION

a. Born and reared in New Zealand but parents not born in New Zealand	3	C11
b. Those born in New Zealand who are still children (under 16) but parents not born in New Zealand	4	

3. THIRD GENERATION

Those born in New Zealand whose parent or
parents were also born in New Zealand

5

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

7. Are your parents living?

Father alive	Mother dead	1
Father dead	Mother alive	2
Both dead		3
Both alive		4

8. Who lives with you and has their meals with you?

		Paternal	Maternal
Mother	x		
Father	x	Grandfather	
Brother(s) c	x	Grandmother	
Sister(s)	x	Uncle	
Other (state)		Aunty	
		Cousins	
		No One	

9. Where do you live?

Home	1
Flatting	2
Other (state)	

If subject does not live at home, why?

No applicable	9
Decline to comment	0

10. a. What is your father's full-time occupation?
(or guardian's)

b. If he owns or manages a business are you required
to help him?

Yes	Y
No	X
Decline to comment	0

c. If Yes, do you want to help him?

Yes	Y
No	X
Decline to comment	0
Not applicable	9

OCCUPATION

11. What is your full-time occupation?

12. a. If you had a choice would you:-

Stay in your present occupation	1
<u>or</u> Choose another one?	2

b. Are there any special reasons why?

EDUCATION

13. Are you schooling at present?
(excludes Adult education)

Yes; full-time	Y	C20
Yes, part-time	1	
No	X	
Decline to comment	0	

14. To what level have you been educated?

Primary	1	
Up to three years secondary but not School Certificate or comparable educational attainment overseas	2	
School Certificate	3	
Form Six	4	
University Entrance	5	C21
Teachers Training College	6	
Higher education: Technical institute	7	
Business college	8	
University, part degree	9	
degree	0	
Other (specify)		

LANGUAGE

15. a. Have you ever attended Chinese language classes?

Yes	Y	C22
Yes, schooling at present	1	
No		
Decline to comment	0	

b. If yes, Where and when did you attend? (give locality
e.g. Petone) C23

c. If applicable, in what way have you benefited?

No benefit at all	8	C24
Not applicable	9	

16. a. Would you send your children to 'Chinese School'?

Yes	Y
No	X
Not sure	1
Decline to comment	0

C25

b. If applicable, why?

17. Can you read Chinese?

None at all	1
A little with difficulty	2
Fairly well	3
Very well	4
Excellently	5

C26

18. Can you speak Chinese?

None at all	1
A little with difficulty	2
Fairly well	3
Very well	4
Excellently	5

C27

19. What languages do you speak at home:-

a. to your parents?

All English	1
Nearly all English and some Chinese	2
Half and half	3
Nearly all Chinese and some English	4
All Chinese	5

C28

b. Between your brothers and sisters?

All English	1
Nearly all English and some Chinese	2
Half and half	3
Nearly all Chinese and some English	4
All Chinese	5
Not applicable	9

C29

c. With other Chinese youth?

All English	1
Nearly all English and some Chinese	2
Half and half	3
Nearly all Chinese and some English	4
All Chinese	5

C30

20. a. In which language do your parents prefer you to speak to them?

Only English	1
Nearly all English and some Chinese	2
Half and half	3
Nearly all Chinese and some English	4
Only Chinese	5

C31

b. If "only English" could you say why?

Not applicable	9
No, don't know	X
Decline to comment	0

C32

FESTIVALS

21. Do your parents celebrate any Chinese festivals?
(prompt: Ching Ming; Choong Yeurng; Chinese New Year;
Double Tenth Celebrations)

All	1
Most	2
Some	3
Double Tenth only	4
None	X
Decline to comment	0

C33

22. Do you celebrate any Chinese festivals?

Yes	Y
No	X
Decline to comment	0

C34

MEDICINE

23. Do your parents use Chinese herb medicines?

Yes, always	1
Yes, often	2
Yes, sometimes	3
No	4
Don't know	5

C35

24. Do you use Chinese herb medicines?

Yes, always	1
Yes, often	2
Yes, sometimes	3
No	4

C36

FOOD

25. What kind of food do you eat at home?

All New Zealand	1
Nearly all New Zealand and some Chinese	2
Half and half	3
Nearly all Chinese and some New Zealand	4
All Chinese	5

C37

26. What kind of food do you prefer?

All New Zealand	1
Nearly all New Zealand and some Chinese	2
Half and half	3
Nearly all Chinese and some New Zealand	4
All Chinese	5

C38

ATTITUDES TO CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS AND CLUBS

Chinese leaders often state that: "Chinese youth should join Chinese clubs and associations".

In light of this statement would you comment on the following clubs and associations by:-

1. Indicating with each whether you agree or disagree with this statement, and;
2. Where applicable, stating your reasons for your answer.

27. a. The Wellington Branch of the New Zealand Chinese Association.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neutral	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
Decline to comment	0

C39

b. If applicable, what are your reasons?

Not applicable	9
Decline to comment	0

C40

28. "Chinese youth should join Chinese clubs and associations". In light of this statement would you comment on:

a. The District Associations - Seeyip, Tung Jung, and Poon Yue.
Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Neutral	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5
Decline to comment	0

C41

b. If applicable, what are your reasons?

Not applicable	9	C42
Decline to comment	0	

29. a. The Eastern Chinese Sports Club

Strongly agree	1	
Agree	2	
Neutral	3	C43
Disagree	4	
Strongly disagree	5	
Decline to comment	0	

b. If applicable, what are your reasons?

Not applicable	9	C44
Decline to comment	0	

30. a. The Chinese Baptist and Anglican Church youth clubs.

Strongly agree	1	
Agree	2	
Neutral	3	C45
Disagree	4	
Strongly disagree	5	
Decline to comment	0	

b. If applicable, what are your reasons?

Not applicable	9	C46
Decline to comment	0	

31. What do you think of Chinese associations and clubs in general?

Decline to comment	0	C47
--------------------	---	-----

LEISURE PURSUITS

32. How have you spent your leisure time in the last month?
 (prompt: pictures; sport; card sessions; in coffee bars,
 pubs; playing mah-jong; reading-comics, books; television)

C48

33. Would you say your leisure activities are rather New Zealand
 or Chinese in character?

Completely New Zealand	1
More New Zealand than Chinese	2
Half and half	3
More Chinese than New Zealand	4
Completely Chinese	5
Decline to comment	0

C49

SOCIAL CONTACTS

34. a. Do you belong to any voluntary associations?
 (prompt: sport; church; cultural; charity)

C50

List separately for New Zealand, Chinese and other.

Only New Zealand	1
Mostly New Zealand and some Chinese	2
Half and half	3
Mostly Chinese and some New Zealand	4
Only Chinese	5
No, do not belong to any	X

C51

- b. If applicable, could you state reasons for participating
 in one kind or another?

Not applicable	9
Decline to comment	0

C52

35. What nationality are your ten best friends?

Only New Zealand	1	
Mostly New Zealand and some Chinese	2	
Half and half	3	
Mostly Chinese and some New Zealand	4	C53
Only Chinese	5	
Not applicable	9	
Decline to comment	0	

36. Would you personally prefer to have more contact with New Zealanders than you do now?

Yes	Y	
Not sure	1	C54
No	X	
Decline to comment	0	

37. With what nationalities do your parents prefer you to have contacts with?

Only New Zealand	1	
Mostly New Zealand and some Chinese	2	
Half and half	3	
Mostly Chinese and some New Zealand	4	C55
Only Chinese	5	
Decline to comment	0	

If applicable, could you state your parent's reasons for wanting you to mix with New Zealand people?

Not applicable	9	C56
Decline to comment	0	

38. How often do you visit New Zealanders in their homes?

At least once a day	1	
At least once a week	2	
At least once a month	3	
Several times a year	4	C57
Less than once a year	5	
Never	6	
Decline to comment	0	

39. How often do New Zealanders visit you at home?

At least once a day	1
At least once a week	2
At least once a month	3
Several times a year	4
Less than once a year	5
Never	6
Decline to comment	0

C58

40. How often do you visit your relatives?

At least once a day	1
At least once a week	2
At least once a month	3
Several times a year	4
Less than once a year	5
Never	6
Decline to comment	0

C59

41. Do you feel more at ease with Chinese youth or New Zealand youth at home?

New Zealanders	1
Both, makes no difference	2
Chinese	3
Decline to comment	0

C60

42. Do you feel at ease with Chinese elders at home?

Yes, always	1
Yes, sometimes	2
No	3
Decline to comment	0

C61

MARRIAGE

43. What nationality are the people you 'date'?

Only New Zealand	1	
Mostly New Zealand and some Chinese	2	
Half and half	3	
Mostly Chinese and some New Zealand	4	C62
Only Chinese	5	
Not applicable	9	
Decline to comment	0	

If applicable, why do you date New Zealanders?

Not applicable	9	C63
Decline to comment	0	

44. Would you marry someone not of Chinese ethnic origin?

Yes	Y	
Yes, depends	1	
No	X	C64
Decline to comment	0	

If applicable, could you state your reasons?

45. Would you marry a Chinese from a different dialect group?

Yes	Y	
Depends	1	
No	X	C65
Decline to comment	0	

If applicable, what are your reasons?

46. Would you marry someone of the same surname?

Yes	Y	
Depends	1	
No	X	C66
Decline to comment	0	

OPINIONS ABOUT NEW ZEALAND

47. What do you think the general attitude of New Zealanders
is towards Chinese?

Extremely favourable	1
Favourable	2
Unfavourable	3
Extremely unfavourable	4
Decline to comment	0

C67

48. Have you personally experienced any prejudice (or ill-feeling) or discrimination (actions) in New Zealand?

Yes, always	1
Yes, often	2
Yes, but hardly ever	3
No, none	X
Decline to comment	0

C68

If applicable, please specify where and when.

Not applicable	9
Decline to comment	0

C69

THE FUTURE

49. Do you think Chinese youth should give-up the "Chinese-way-of-doing-things"?

Yes	Y
Should compromise	1
No	X
Decline to comment	0

C70

If applicable, what are your reasons?

Not applicable	9
Decline to comment	0

C71

50. Do you feel to be more New Zealander than Chinese or reverse?

Completely New Zealander	1
Very much a New Zealander and some Chinese	2
Half and half	3
Very much a Chinese and some New Zealander	4
Completely Chinese	5
Decline to comment	0

C72

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS

1. What district in China does your father came from?

Jung Sing	1
Poonyue	2
Seeyip	3
Don't know	X

C73

2. What village?

Knows	Y
Don't know	X

C74

3. How many are there in your family? No.

C75

4. What religion are you?

Anglican	1
Baptist	2
Other (state)	3

C76

5. a. Do you think there is a generation gap between you and your parents?

Yes	Y
No	X

C77

b. If yes, then can you give me any examples?

6. Cultural Conflict

Do you find that you have trouble being a Chinese, that is taught Chinese ways, and living in New Zealand?

Yes	Y
No	X

C78

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

- oOo -

INTERVIEWER'S CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENT

Informant responded:

hesitantly	1
freely	2
excellently	3

C79

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