# Kiwi Dragon

Unlike the European dragon (Welsh or Wagnerian perhaps), which is a dangerous beast associated with fire and destruction, the Chinese dragon is a creature of water and air, which assists in bringing peace and prosperity, knowledge, poetry and art.

# Kiwi Dragon

## The Chinese in Aotearoa New Zealand

## History, Culture, Hope

**Bill Willmott**

The Quaker Centennial Lecture 2009

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# *Who or what are Quakers and why a Centennial Lecture?*

The Religious Society of Friends (known world wide as Quakers and referred to amongst themselves as Friends) was formed during the upheavals of the mid 17th century and around the time of Cromwell and civil war in England. George Fox, recognised as founder of the Society, believed that all people could have a personal experience of direct encounter with God as revealed in Jesus Christ, without the help of any person, book or writing. The conviction that Christ can speak to the condition of every person spread rapidly among the seekers of the 17th century. Fundamental to the belief of Friends are their Testimonies of Simplicity, Peace, Integrity and Equality and the concept of "that of God in every person". Quakers are therefore pacifists, prison reformers, social justice advocates and activists/lobbyists for the causes they take up.

Quakers in New Zealand have their roots in England. Friends' affairs here used to be under the care of an administrative committee of London Yearly Meeting (now called Britain Yearly Meeting). Following initial visits to these shores by Friends, from about 1836 the numbers of Quaker settlers grew. For local Meetings to function effectively it became necessary to hold a Friends' Conference, which was the first national meeting for Friends' affairs in Aotearoa New Zealand. This occurred at the Wellington Town Hall in July 1909, and is the event we are marking here with this lecture.

Quakers' concern for social justice and equality, and also the fact that there is a strong link with China through New Zealand participation in relief work involving activities with the Friends'

Ambulance Unit from 1945–1951, makes the topic of Chinese immigrants to New Zealand an appropriate one.

Bill Willmott, born and educated to high school level in China, is well qualified to speak on this subject. Having attended Oakwood School, a Quaker school in New York State, he has degrees from McGill University, Canada, in Sociology and Anthropology and a PhD in Social Anthropology completed in 1964 at the London School of Economics, based on research among the Chinese in Cambodia. He was president of the New Zealand China Friendship Society for ten years and is currently a member of the National Executive of that body and holds several public honours from a variety of sources, including Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit (CNZM).

**W.V. (Bill) Robinson**
Yearly Meeting Clerk
July 2006 – July 2009

*Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come, that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one.*

***George Fox, 1656***

# Kiwi Dragon

It is indeed an honour to have been asked to present this Quaker Centennial Lecture, and I hope it becomes the first of a series that will provide Quaker perspectives on some of the important issues facing our society, our country, and our world. Not that I can claim any special insight into how Quakers view my topic tonight, but I do hope to provide information and ideas that might contribute to informing such a view.

And I wish to thank those who selected me for this task because it has been rewarding for me. Reviewing the history of the Chinese in New Zealand and discovering different approaches to issues of racism and intercultural relations have been exciting and have increased my respect for scholars and thinkers I knew only too superficially. They deserve the credit for anything worthwhile that I can say here, and I apologise to them if I have in any way misrepresented their views through my own ignorance.

Quaker engagement with China has a long history, a small part of which I experienced personally. As a ten-year-old in 1942, I went with my older brother to the Friends Ambulance Unit garage in Chengdu to clean out the hoppers of their charcoal-burning trucks. During the war, when petrol had to be flown into China over the "Hump" (the Eastern Himalaya) from India, many trucks were converted into charcoal-burners, with a small furnace that produced carbon monoxide to fuel the engine. The furnace hoppers had to be raked out regularly, a mucky job that we enjoyed, and we loved being among the heroic young men in their overalls who had come from Britain, Canada, and New Zealand to maintain and drive the trucks.[1]

Long before the Friends Ambulance Unit, of course, Quaker missionaries had been working in China. In the 1880s, British Quakers, including four Davidson brothers, established a station in remote Sichuan Province.[2] Together with three other missions – the Canadian Methodist Mission, the American Baptists (Northern Conference), and the American Methodist Episcopal Mission – they founded in 1910 the West China Union University in Chengdu, where I was born and grew up and where my parents worked for over 20 years.

New Zealand Quakers have maintained connections with China through good times and bad. They led the ecumenical move to found the Council of Organisations for Relief Service Overseas (CORSO), which began as an agency to coordinate voluntary aid to Greece and then after the war to China. CORSO sent nurse Isobel Thompson to China in 1947.[3] It was also heavily involved in supporting Rewi Alley's school in Shandan with personnel and supplies. During the Cold War, when China was considered "Enemy Number One" by Western governments, Quakers were led by their peace testimony to maintain friendly relations in every way they could. And now the arrival of significant numbers of Chinese immigrants presents Quakers with yet another concern through their testimonies for equality and community. So I am indeed

**Quakers were closely involved in setting up CORSO, which supported the work of Rewi Alley (above) in China.**

pleased that this topic has been chosen for the Quaker Centennial Lecture.

Not long after I arrived in New Zealand in 1973, I took my family for a "Chinese meal" at the Mandarin Restaurant in Christchurch. We sat down to a table covered with a white tablecloth, the places set with side-plates, knives and forks, a cruet with salt and pepper and soy sauce in the centre. The waiter brought menus, glasses of water and a plate of buttered white bread. We had to ask for chopsticks and bowls, and the four dishes we ordered (chicken, beef, pork, fish) all tasted the same. Coming from Vancouver, with its rich Chinatown culture and cuisine, I wondered what accounted for the huge difference.

The answer, of course, was primarily a matter of scale: in 1973, Vancouver had a resident Chinese population of about 40,000, Christchurch less than a twentieth of that number. But the answer is also found in geography and history. Years ago, Richard Thompson pointed out that New Zealanders' opposition to Chinese immigration was not based merely on racism but also had a pragmatic cause:

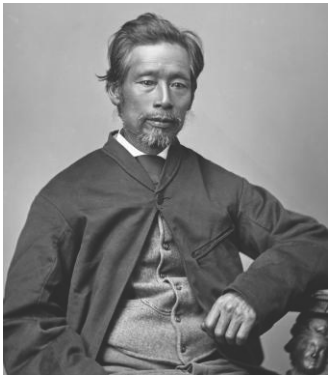
> *New Zealand's remoteness from Europe meant that … the bulk of the settlers had to sever their connections with their home country while still ignorant of future prospects. To these settlers, Asian immigration was a serious threat. The youthful, mobile, male character of the Chinese labour force, unencumbered by dependents and constantly rejuvenating itself, could tackle the tasks of pioneering with an efficiency the European settlers could not hope to match.*[4]

The result was that a predominantly British population in these islands was hostile to Chinese settlers and pressured them to assimilate to their British ways far more vigorously than occurred in North American centres like Vancouver, New York or San

Francisco. Then, and for a century after, the dominant ethnic group in New Zealand firmly held to an Anglo-New Zealand image of our culture that excluded both Tangata Whenua and non-British immigrants.[5]

While this may be part of the reason, the history of Chinese migration and its opposition does manifest some strong racist overtones as well, more widespread in the early years but still evident, alas, in our society today.

# I



**Appo Hocton.**

The history starts with a remarkable young Cantonese man named Huang Xueting, Wong Hok-ting in Cantonese. So far as we know, he was the first Chinese to settle in New Zealand. Born in Zhongshan County (then Xiang-shan), he went to sea at the age of nine and was a steward on one of the ships bringing colonists to Nelson in 1842. With the help of the ship's surgeon, Dr. Thomas Renwick, he jumped ship and worked for the doctor for five or six years before setting up his own carting business.

In those days, one had to be a British subject to own land in New Zealand, so he became naturalised in 1852 under the name of Appo Hocton. In 1856 he married Jennifer, widow of one William Rowling, and they had a son, William Rowling Hocton. When Jennifer died, Hocton married Ellen Snook and had four more children, one of them adopted.

Appo Hocton had a long life as a property developer. He died in 1920 and was buried in the Dovedale cemetery. I have visited his

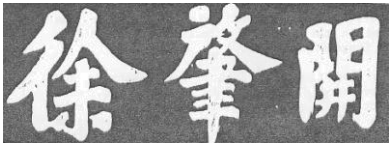
grave, where the stone says he was over 100 when he died, and his descendants say he lived to 103.[6]

More than twenty years after Mr Huang arrived, Chinese began to come to the Otago goldfields. I think it important to note that the first group came by invitation, because of their reputation for working hard and living frugally. In 1865 Otago was facing a crisis, with miners flocking westward across the Southern Alps to Hokitika and northward to Nelson as the richest fields in Central Otago were mined out. With Dunedin receiving less than half the gold that had been bought only two years before, the Otago Chamber of Commerce was alarmed that Otago's economy would collapse. Having heard that Chinese in the Victorian fields were willing to mine on a much lower margin than other miners, even to re-work the tailings of more cavalier prospectors, they hired an agent to recruit miners from Australia and convinced the Otago Provincial Council to guarantee their safety in New Zealand, a condition the Chinese insisted upon because of the attacks they had suffered in Victoria.[7]

**The huts of Chinese miners in Central Otago during the 19th century gold rush.**

The first dozen Chinese arrived in Otago in December 1865. A year later there were more than a thousand Chinese in Central Otago. By 1871 the number had risen to 2,500. The number peaked at 4,700 in 1872, when some 2,000 more came to New Zealand

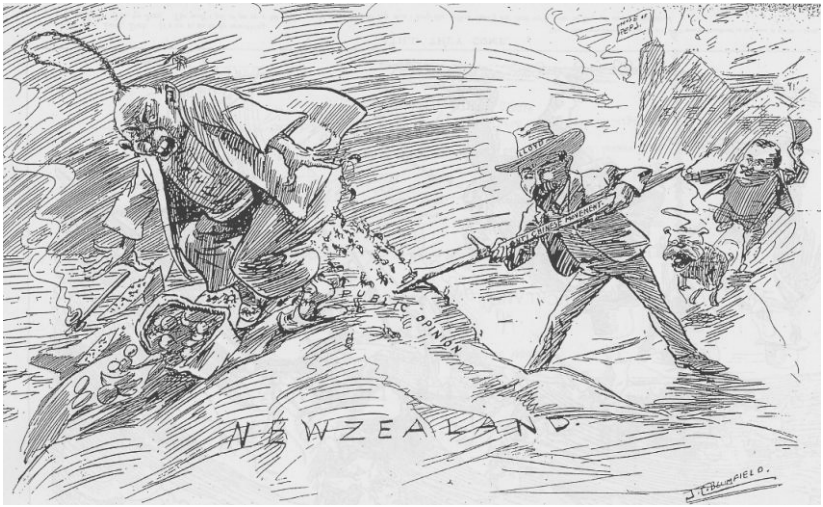
**Above: Sew Hoy.**
**Below: Sew Hoy's name written in Chinese.**



directly from China. They were all men[8] and all Cantonese, the first group mainly from Panyu County near Canton (Guang-zhou). Later arrivals came from Dongguan and Zengcheng Counties closer to Hong Kong and from the county of Taishan (Toysan in Cantonese), which has sent more men abroad over the centuries than any other county in China.

As with all goldminers, many of the Chinese miners were not successful. Some, like the great innovator Sew Hoy[9] became rich, but when the gold ran out some were trapped in the goldfields, living in hovels and unable to afford their ticket home. Others became market gardeners, laundrymen, and greengrocers. Prejudice and dis-crimination kept them isolated, however, and Chinese culture appeared almost threateningly exotic to most others. Anti-Chinese prejudice was rife, and reinforced by harassment and legal dis-crimination.

Richard Seddon championed the 19th century laws that limited Chinese immigration, and in 1881 the government imposed a poll tax on every Chinese entering New Zealand.[10] If King Dick had had his way, no Chinese would have been admitted to New Zealand and, indeed, the resident Chinese would have been expelled. I came




**An anti-Chinese cartoon which appeared in *The New Zealand Free Lance* in 1907.**

across him again in my research on Chinese in the Cook Islands. During his visit there in 1900, Prime Minister Seddon was presented with a petition asking for New Zealand to annex the Cooks. It was signed by "forty white residents" – including four Chinese traders! This did not deter King Dick from advising the authorities to exclude Chinese from their islands: "They bring evils among you worse than the bubonic plague," he told them. "They bring leprosy with them, gambling, immorality and opium-smoking."[11]

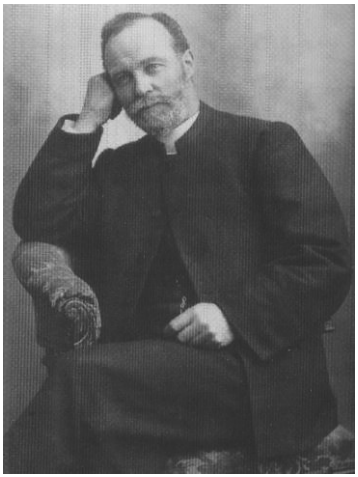
Seddon's racist statements were echoed in Parliament by William Pember Reeves, whom I had admired as something of a liberal socialist until I discovered what a racist he was.[12] Members of Parliament, notably those in the Liberal Party, continually expressed appallingly racist beliefs. In 1895 Mr. Rigg said in the House: "And these are the persons we admit among us for a poll tax of £10 whilst a highly bred Berkshire pig has to go into quarantine for six months."[13] Successive Prime Ministers – Stout, Seddon, Ward and Massey – all expressed sympathy with the six anti-Chinese

organisations that vociferously opposed Chinese immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[14] Even as late as 1936, Mickey Savage "said that New Zealand was faced by a rushing horde of Asiatics which it must try to stem."[15]

Racism even infected our school curriculum. A 1914 textbook had this to say about our immigration policy: "It would take too long to tell you why we keep out people belonging to coloured races, save to say that it is a question of ways of living and ideals, besides, of course, the desire to keep the blood of our people pure." And then it added the softener: "Some of the people we exclude have many fine qualities, and possess a civilization and a culture older than our own."[16]

Not everyone in New Zealand expressed such anti-Chinese sentiments. Even in the 19th century, there are stories of good will between individual Anglo-New Zealanders and Chinese and a few dozen intermarriages as well, with both Pakeha and Maori. The first institutional effort to bridge the cultural chasm between Anglo-New Zealanders and Chinese was made by the Presbyterian Church in 1868. At that time, a great wave of missionary effort in China was inspiring Christian churches all over the world after the French had forced the Chinese emperor in 1858 to allow missionaries freely into the Middle Kingdom. The Presbyterian Synod of Otago and Southland saw the "heathen among us" as an opportunity to join this great crusade and decided to add the Chinese miners in Central Otago to their other two missionary efforts in the Murihiku and the New Hebrides.

The Synod's first choice was a missionary who had worked in Xiamen, then known as Amoy. Alas, his Chinese language was Hokkien, completely unintelligible to the Cantonese miners,[17] so in 1878 the Synod decided to send someone to Canton to learn Cantonese. That man was Alexander Don. Born in a tent at Ballarat and inspired in Bible Class to become a missionary, he trudged for



**The Rev. Alexander Don.**

years around Central Otago to visit all the Chinese miners living there. They called him "Yesu Dong", "Jesus Don", and they trusted him with their letters and remittances to their families in China. Fortunately for history, he kept copious notes of his tours, and his records are the main source of our information on the Chinese goldminers.

It was Alexander Don's project, too, to establish a Presbyterian mission in China, the Canton Village Mission, whose most famous missionary nurse was Annie James, known to so many New Zealanders, including all the children who heard her speak at Sunday Schools whenever she returned to New Zealand on leave. Her stories inspired another

**Kathleen Hall.**

**Annie James.**

young nurse to go to China, the Anglican missionary Kathleen Hall.[18] Both carried out heroic work during the Japanese occupation of eastern China.

During my years in New Zealand, I've sensed a widespread interest in China and things Chinese among the older generation, and I think much of it stems from a combination of two quite common experiences here: contact with Chinese greengrocers and laundrymen in the pre-war years and the accounts of New Zealanders who lived in China and brought back such interesting stories. Despite the ugly manifestations of racism, there is a broad and sympathetic interest in China and the Chinese that has been manifest in both government and individual actions over the years, not just from missionaries.

The most outstanding government move before the war was the decision to admit a thousand Chinese refugees during the Japanese occupation of China, starting in 1939 with nearly 500 wives and children of Chinese residents in New Zealand.[19] As the Japanese armies moved south, threatening the home villages of many Chinese living in New Zealand, our government allowed their wives and children to enter the country for the duration, albeit on the strict provision that they and their children – including those born in New Zealand during their stay – would return to China when the war ended. No other Western country made such a magnanimous move at that time, and Chinese around the world acknowledged it with gratitude. After the war, in July 1947, the Labour Government of Peter Fraser granted permanent residence to all the refugee families.[20] In 1952, Chinese were again allowed to apply for naturalisation, a privilege that had been denied them since 1908.[21]

Until the war, the Chinese population in New Zealand had been almost entirely male, many of them with wives and children in China. They sent money home; some returned regularly to China and later brought their China-born sons to join them in New Zealand. Community was expressed in associations of men. The major

associations were the Chee Kung Tong, known in New Zealand as the Chinese Masonic Society and founded here in 1907, and the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), originally founded by Dr. Sun Yatsen and brought to New Zealand about 1913. They vied for power within the Chinese community during the pre-war years, the Kuomintang eventually eclipsing the Chee Kung Tong.[22] Both were focused on politics in China.

In 1936, there were only 125 families among the 3,000 Chinese in New Zealand.[23] By the end of the war, however, a Chinese community of families had emerged, with a majority of the community born in New Zealand rather than China. This was a major turning point, not just in the nature of community, but also in the thinking of Chinese about their identity.

Before the war, most Chinese in New Zealand thought of themselves as sojourners, temporarily away from their China homes but sure to return there eventually. I have a photocopy of the tattered

**Two fragments of a letter written in 1874 by his mother in China to Appo Hocton in New Zealand.**

remnants of a letter dated 1874 to Appo Hocton from his 90-year-old mother expressing the hope that he will not leave his ghost to wander overseas but will return "home" before he dies.[24] Dr. James Ng, who has written a comprehensive history of the Chinese goldminers, described his parents and their generation as "focused on family and the extended family in our ancestral village ... it was the centre of our parents' dreams, and there we invested in land."[25] Their children, however, saw themselves as settlers, Kiwis, albeit of a special kind. While their family life remained Cantonese, outside the home they mingled with non-Chinese, were educated as Kiwis, many entering the professions, and some even marrying non-Chinese. At least one Chinese, Arthur Fong, played representative rugby for the West Coast for six years and for the South Island team in 1933.[26] A fundamental shift had occurred in their identity.

Dr. James Ng suggests that the coincidence of four significant events facilitated this shift in identity. First, the establishment of communist power in China in 1949 separated the older generation from any thought of returning to their home villages. Second, the exposure of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) as "grossly incompetent and corrupt" precluded them looking at Taiwan as an alternative. Third, the New Zealand government's decision in 1947 to grant the refugees residence status, and in 1952 to permit them to become naturalised citizens, made it much easier for them to see New Zealand as their home. Finally, young Chinese entering the professions, as did Dr. Ng himself, transformed the Chinese into an outward-looking rather than inward-focused community.[27]

For the next forty years, the Chinese in New Zealand could be described as a relatively homogeneous community of Cantonese families, gradually growing in numbers through natural increase and immigration but always counting less than 1% of the census population.[28] By 1986, most of the Chinese in New Zealand were born here,[29] so many of the younger generation spoke little

**Eight children of the Kwok family, photographed in Wellington in the years before the outbreak of World War II.**

Cantonese despite the valiant efforts of their parents and the associations to keep up their Chinese language proficiency.

As the population grew, several associations emerged to structure the community, notably the New Zealand Chinese Association, which became the dominant community organisation as the Nationalist Party lost its power and mana. The Association had branches in each centre of Chinese population, served as the public face of the Chinese community and organised an annual sports tournament at Easter that rotated among the four main centres. In addition to this over-all community association, three smaller associations grouped Chinese from different localities in China.[30]

During those decades, the Chinese community was somewhat separate from the majority Anglo-New Zealand population. Continuing to face both private and public discrimination, many Chinese families preferred the company of other Chinese and urged their children to socialise within their own community. As one

woman told Prof. Manying Ip, "All my life I felt like a minority. Even though I was born here, I had very few European friends. We kept very much to ourselves. I never went to other children's places to play. Well, I don't remember being asked to birthday parties, and we never had birthday parties of our own to invite others." Another said, "Our generation was very secure, in a group …. We always kept close together. For us security was first."[31]

This separation was also apparent in the political sector, where Chinese, with few exceptions, tended to avoid any public statement of their political views and eschewed involvement in local politics. "Keep your head down" was the advice older Chinese gave their youth, and most complied. Prof. Manying Ip believes that experiences of prejudice and discrimination bring about this political passivity:

> *Asians … learnt to bow their heads, not to be tall poppies, and take a low profile in order not to arouse the unease or jealousy of the dominant culture. Keenly aware that their acceptance is 'conditional on good behaviour', many Asians are eager to 'fit in' and placate.*[32]

While the experience of prejudice was a powerful incentive for political docility, I believe it also stems from the Confucian ethic, a matter I shall discuss later.

## II

In the 1970s, a sea-change in New Zealand's own identity opened the way to a major shift in immigration policy. It happened just after I came to New Zealand in 1973. As a citizen of a Commonwealth country, I arrived without a permit, receiving permanent resident status as soon as I landed and the right to apply for naturalisation in

three years.[33] The very next year, however, for the first time in our history, British subjects required an entry permit like everyone else, and in 1977 the Citizenship Act abolished the distinction between "Commonwealth" and "foreign", recognising only New Zealand citizens and "others". This signalled the official abandonment of an Anglo-New Zealand identity for a more comprehensive identity embracing all citizens, including Maori and those from other countries than Britain. It marked the beginning of a bi-cultural identity leading to a multi-cultural one.

This major change in official identity was manifest most clearly in the 1986 White Paper that expressed a new philosophy for the Immigration Department. The purpose of immigration now was "to enrich the multi-cultural social fabric of New Zealand society through the selection of new settlers principally on the strength of their potential personal contribution to the future well-being of New Zealand ... without discrimination on grounds of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, sex or marital status, religion or ethical belief."[34] The previous quota system was soon replaced by a point system modelled on Canada's, with potential immigrants given points for education, work experience, language proficiency, age, and the ability to provide investment capital. This universalistic policy followed a proposal from Roger Douglas when he was Minister of Immigration and was adopted in 1991.[35]

The new policy led to an immediate and rapid increase in the number of immigrants arriving from Asia, notably from China, but from South and Southeast Asian countries as well. In the twenty years between 1986 and 2006, the Chinese population of New Zealand rose from 26,541 to 147,567, an increase of 456%.[36] Among the Chinese in New Zealand, the number born in China grew from 42% to 75%, so the new immigrants vastly outnumbered the older residents, considerably changing the social structure of the Chinese population here.

This great increase was the result of an immigration policy uninformed by any population policy. Our economy was booming, we needed labour of many different sorts, our government said we also needed foreign investment, so our doors were opened to immigrants from Asia, including China. The policy defined three categories of immigrants: those coming under the points system, those coming for family reunification, and those coming as investors.[37] Thousands of Chinese students also came in the early years of this century, swelling the visibility of Asians on our city streets. In 2003 there were 56,000 Chinese students among the 121,000 foreign students in the country. Then their numbers diminished suddenly due to a combination of several unfortunate events in New Zealand and a change in educational policy in China from encouraging students to go overseas to supporting them to study within China itself. Last year there were only 20,000 students from China. [38]

Looking back on those years now, we can see why some New Zealanders saw it as an "Asian Invasion". Public reaction was due not only to racist attitudes but also to the rapidity of the change. Racist attacks were publicised in our newspapers, and we were all aware of overt opposition to Asians from white supremacists as well as the more veiled attacks from the New Zealand First Party. However, there was a less visible form of racism operating as well, what Malcolm McKinnon calls "soft racism".[39] This was exemplified in statistical breakdowns that used the term "ethnic" for everyone but the Europeans, thus fostering a we/they dichotomy. It was reinforced, unfortunately, by the multitude of studies and books on "ethnic issues" that completely ignored the Anglo-New Zealand majority, implying that everyone else was "other", despite the more inclusive official definition of citizens. We still considered fifth generation Chinese as Chinese, while second generation British were already Kiwis.

Without doubt, there is a bit of racism in most of us. Very few, of course, are as vehemently racist as Kyle Chapman, former head of the National Front, who wants to build an all-white "unified mini-state" in North Canterbury for "like-minded Europeans" who want to protect their children from "the multicultural brain-washing" of the state schools.[40] Our racism is considerably softer, but possibly more insidious because of that. "Soft racism", as Malcolm McKinnon points out, subtly implies a hierarchy of values: "we" have higher values than "they", and ours are more sophisticated. That should remind us of the 1914 textbook that I mentioned before that said New Zealand excluded people with "many fine qualities" and "a civilization and culture older than our own" because we didn't approve of their "ways of living and ideals".[41]

Any sort of racism ignores individual differences by putting a group of people into a single category and assuming they all share the same characteristics. In New Zealand, "Polynesian" is one such category, and "Asian" is another. These words define "other" as a single entity and assign to it a common stereotype, usually derogatory.[42] To Malcolm McKinnon "The use of 'Asian' obscures more than it reveals by imposing a collective label; it fosters a belief in an illusory homogeneity and separateness." By contrast, he says,

> *Asian migrants are not a homogeneous group that sits alongside in parallel fashion an equally homogeneous majority community, but a group with many internal divisions and with many points of contact with the majority. It is an assemblage of individuals and families who have migrated as such, not as representatives of any one Asian nation let alone of a whole continent.*[43]

In their recent demographic study of Asians in New Zealand, Bedford and Ho list 26 different Asian countries and territories as

places of birth of our immigrants – and they include in their "Asia" only the countries stretching from Pakistan to Japan.[44] "Asian", then, is illusory, but so to some extent is "Chinese", for although they share many aspects of a common culture, the Chinese in New Zealand come from many different places and classes, not just peasants from a small corner of Guangdong Province, as was the case with the first settlers here. Chinese immigrants today are primarily urbanites rather than farmers. A major division today is between more recent arrivals and the descendants of earlier settlers, a "fault line" that sometimes produces tremors of antagonism.

Of the 150,000 Chinese in New Zealand today, just under a third were born in New Zealand – and a quarter of those are of mixed parentage. Of those born in Asia, about 80,000 come from the People's Republic of China, 11,000 from Taiwan, 8,000 from Hong Kong and Macau, and nearly 15,000 from Southeast Asian countries.[45] Although most Chinese in New Zealand can speak some Mandarin, their mother tongues include English, Cantonese, Hokkien (Min), Hakka and Shanghainese (Wu).[46] And their religious persuasions include Protestant and Catholic Christianity, Mahayana, Tibetan and Theravada Buddhism, Islam, atheism and various cults.[47] A plethora of associations has emerged to group Chinese of different origins and persuasions.

With all these diverse characteristics, it is difficult to speak of a Chinese community, and an Asian community simply does not exist. Using that term demonstrates a racist approach to our fellow citizens.

## III

The only antidote to racism is knowledge, preferably experiential, leading to a recognition that physical appearance does not determine values or personality. Personal contact and friendship across cultural

boundaries is profoundly effective in overcoming prejudice, but some knowledge of another's culture can certainly assist in bringing about understanding.

What, then, is the culture that the Chinese bring to New Zealand, with all its diversity? More, much more, of course, than the culinary delights we can now enjoy compared to thirty years ago, however important that is for many of us! There are cultural differences that sometimes bewilder and can even create rifts between us. A Kiwi friend living in Chongqing wrote:

> *Without understanding, I feel distant from those around me – perhaps not in heart but in head. The way we think is different, right from the toe-nails up. But I have such admiration for them – for their cheerfulness, industry, tolerance, humour, good sense.*

Differences "not in heart" because human sentiments are universal: we can all share the feelings of others. But their expression is culturally shaped, and how we think does vary enormously. And there is much we can learn from Chinese. My friend in Chongqing again:

> *China is a wise and generous teacher. The Chinese world … for all its avowed materialism, knows better than to honour only the observable, the expressible and the countable. It knows that contradictions can lie in the same bed and not fight, and that tolerance is a gracious way of accommodating valuable differences. In many ordinary lives, if not always politically, it allows different passions to co-exist.*[48]

Tolerance, industry, humour, good sense, cheerfulness – these are all characteristics I would ascribe to Chinese friends and

strangers alike. At the heart of them lies a self-confidence, a cultural assuredness that stems, I suppose, from being part of a traditional culture stretching back over three thousand years and in a huge country almost as old, one that is 36 times the size of New Zealand and carries a population 350 times as large.

Some years ago, while attending a conference in Canada, I was discussing national identity with two Americans, a Japanese, a Chinese from Hong Kong and another Canadian. One American said that he could never give up his American citizenship even though he had been teaching in Canada for years. The other American agreed wholeheartedly, and his Japanese wife said she could not become an American even though travelling with her husband was sometimes awkward because of their different passports. The two Canadians agreed that their Canadian passports were a non-negotiable part of their identity. Then the Chinese academic spoke. "How strange you people are! *You* know I am Chinese, *I* know I am Chinese, so why should it make any difference what passport I have? I have a British passport because it is so much more convenient." Self-assured in his cultural identity – and practical.

Apart from historical moments of fragmentation, China has been a single political entity for most of two millennia, ever since the feudal system was ended in 220 BC by Emperor Qin Shihuang, whose immense grave is protected by the Buried Army of Terracotta Warriors. For the next two thousand years, China was the dominant power in Asia and, indeed, technologically ahead of Europe right up until the late 18th century.[49] Chinese consider that the zenith of their traditional culture was in the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907), at a time when Europe was in the Dark Ages of primitive feudalism and tribalism. A history like that certainly gives one reason to be confident about one's cultural identity!

Despite the technological progress China achieved over those centuries, the Chinese tradition, whether it be Confucian, Daoist[50] or

Buddhist, eschews a linear view of history. For those of us brought up in the Judaeo-Christian tradition that defines history as a developmental process from creation to millennium, it is not easy to appreciate that the Chinese cyclical view of history had no eschatology, no doctrine of last things that suggested an evolutionary progression. And the cycle of one dynasty following another, and then another, through two millennia reinforced that cyclical view. The idea is also strongly supported by the central dialectic of Daoism, the unity of Yin and Yang.

**Above: The yin/yang symbol of Daoism. Below: A cartoon reflecting the puzzlement of Westerners about the principle of complementarity.**

Dualisms in the West are associated with moral judgments: we tend to see them as conflicts between good and evil, whether it be Christian and heathen, Jew and gentile, Muslim and infidel, spirit and matter, or white and black. The Canadian philosopher, Charles Taylor, calls this "strong evaluation".[51] In contrast, Daoist thinking sees opposites as complementary and balancing each other: female/male,

dark/light, soft/hard, wet/dry, plant/stone. The symbolic representation of the yin/yang complementarity demonstrates this in a far more complicated manner than is immediately apparent from its simple lines. The opposites have identical form, and each shapes the other, so it is impossible to define one except in terms of the other. Furthermore, the two dots suggest that each actually participates in the other to some degree. And we can also see this symbol as a dynamic cycle: as the yang grows and the yin diminishes, there comes a point where the yang disappears and the yin begins to grow – but always with a bit of the other. The sun at noon begins its journey to the sunset, but occasional clouds obscure it. As the sun sets, the yin grows at the expense of the yang.

The elegant simplicity of this diagram obscures the subtlety of the ideas it represents, sometimes difficult for us Westerners to grasp. Nevertheless, we might recognise it as worthy of study. As John K. Fairbank has written

> *Actually, the yin-yang concept often seems more useful than Western dualism for analysing nature and also human affairs. It neatly fits the rhythms of day and night, summer and winter, and the balancing roles of male and female …. One might say that Confucianism is the yang of Chinese thought and Daoism the yin.*[52]

Even if we have difficulty grasping these concepts, I think we can appreciate that tolerance is more likely to flow from a dualism perceived as complementarity than from one based on a struggle between good and evil. As my friend in Chongqing wrote, China "knows that contradictions can lie in the same bed and not fight, and that tolerance is a gracious way of accommodating valuable differences."


**The black lacquer plaque hanging over the entrance to a Christian seminar centre on Mount Omei which was donated to my father by a local Buddhist monk. It reads "Peak of Genuine Truth".**

As a child, I saw this tolerance beautifully demonstrated when our family went to the sacred Buddhist Mount Omei (*Emei Shan*). My father sought permission from the local Buddhist monk to build a hall where he could hold summer Jesus-study seminars. The monk not only gave permission, but presented my father with a black lacquer plaque to hang over the hall's door. The big gold characters read *Zhen Li Zhi Feng*, "Peak of Genuine Truth". A splendid statement of religious tolerance.

Perhaps an even more important difference between the Western and Chinese traditions is in their view of human reality. Roughly stated, the Western view is a psychological one, while the Chinese view is sociological. By that I mean that we in the West see individuals as the ultimate reality, and while we may not agree with Dame Margaret Thatcher that "there is no such thing as society", we think of society as a collection of individuals.[53] The Chinese view is a much more collective one: individuals are simply aspects of the institutions and categories they belong to, whether it be the family, the clan, the village, or a culture. There is therefore a strong communalism in Chinese thought.[54]

These disparate views of human reality produce quite different concepts of social evil. In Christian theological argument, the problem of how evil originated in a loving Creator's world is known as theodicy. Christian theodicy sees the world's evil resulting from individual sin, and individual salvation is the only escape from sin.

Of course, not all Westerners accept a concept of original sin, but I believe we do all think in those individualistic terms: the evil in society is the result of each of us pursuing our own selfish aims, so we always seek to blame individuals for any catastrophe or bad event. Briefly, bad individuals cause bad social relations.

In sharp contrast, Confucian[55] theodicy could be stated over-simply as the opposite: bad social relations produce bad individuals. Society, for Confucius, was made up of relationships, and morality lay in correct relationships between people, not in any injunction to treat everyone similarly, as "Love one another".[56] In his *Analects*, he set out the appropriate behaviour for the five basic social relationships: father/son, ruler/subject, husband/wife, older brother/younger brother and friend/friend.[57] The moral person was one who played the appropriate part in each of these relationships.

**Confucius (Kong Fuzi).**

"Let the prince be a prince, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son."[58]

Generally, this means that morality lies in loyal obedience to authority and benevolent justice towards subordinates. These values have been manifest in two significant ways in the past, whether in China itself or within the Chinese di-aspora. One manifestation was the avoidance of political activity unless pushed to the limit. The admonition "Keep your

head down" was based on the notion that acceptance of authority was the best policy in all situations, as any overt response to injustice made things worse for the victims. I believe the previous lack of Chinese participation in New Zealand politics can be traced in part to this value.

The other manifestation of Confucian theodicy was the reliance on relationships rather than legal or political principles to solve social difficulties. In the past, when Chinese had a problem, whether within or beyond the Chinese community, they were far more likely to rely on personal relationships with powerful people than on legal process. Chinese sought to develop personal relationships that could provide security in dangerous or dubious situations.[59] The negative side of this, of course, is that it fosters corruption, currying favour from those in power.

In Confucian thought, the father/son dyad is the model for all hierarchical relationships. It was a patriarchal tradition in every sense of the word, and it taught Chinese to respect authority of all sorts, whether of age, station, or gender.[60] Today we see this manifest in how young Chinese treat their parents and their teachers. Life decisions – such as where to live, even whom to marry – are usually taken with the welfare of their parents in mind. And anyone who has taught in China recognises the unquestioned authority teachers wield in the classroom.

This also relates to another aspect of the Confucian tradition that is still influential today. That is the singular importance of education. In the ideal society defined by Confucius, the "noble" was distinguished from "small people" not through right of birth but by education. Except for the emperor himself, the right to rule was attained through education. Three hundred years after Confucius, this principle became enshrined in the civil service examinations which determined who could achieve office in the imperial government. These examinations were open in principle to all men.[61] Throughout

2,000 years, then, education became the major means of upward social mobility.

The Chinese revolution did not change that: education continued to be the crucial factor in giving people the opportunity to improve their lot. Chinese parents therefore have always put a very high priority on their children's educational success, and, of course, our immigration points system makes educational qualifications almost mandatory. It is no wonder, then, that Chinese students achieve far better results in our schools and tend to take the highest honours.[62] One does not need a kind of reverse racism that states Chinese are smarter than Europeans to explain that!

Like all cultures, Chinese culture is changing rapidly today. One can watch the advance of a global MacCulture with dismay, but one cannot deny that both internal and external changes are transforming the traditional culture of China. Today a rock concert in China is not very different from one in New Zealand. Far more serious, however, there is a growing individualism in China's youth that directs them towards pursuing their own careers much more intently than did previous generations. Yet even among the most avid social climbers, many are thinking in family terms: how they can benefit their children, how they can look after their parents. While this leads some to seek dubious get-rich-quick schemes, most see dedicated hard work as the path to security and comfort – just as did their ancestors five generations ago in those miserable Central Otago winters.

In New Zealand, there is a positive side to this social change as it affects the Chinese community. No longer are Chinese New Zealanders "keeping their heads down" as more and more enter into the political life of our country. Not only such prominent public figures as our Chinese members of Parliament, mayors, and city councillors, but ordinary Chinese are taking an active interest in local issues and party politics. Leaders of Chinese organisations are speaking out on incidents of discrimination and prejudice rather than

remaining quiet. Chinese from Taiwan are often taking the lead in this new public profile, because they bring with them experience and values from a 20-year-old multi-party democracy, but new immigrants from Hong Kong and mainland China are also becoming more active. The older settlers and their descendants, who have the most experience of New Zealand ways, have taken the lead in publicly pursuing such issues as confronting anti-Asian comments by New Zealand First and moving the government to apologise for the discriminatory policies that Chinese suffered at the hands of the state, notably the poll tax.[63] The public apology to the Chinese from Prime Minister Helen Clark in 2002 was a major victory for them.

## IV

New Zealand is now entering a recession that may well become a serious depression. The economic insecurity that growing numbers of Kiwis are experiencing will cause some to look for scapegoats to blame, and there is a real danger that villains will be seen in racial categories. Whenever and wherever there are economic problems, racists begin to chant their shibboleths. It therefore behoves people of good will to do what they can to counteract their venom.

Many years ago Alan Paton, author of *Cry, the Beloved Country*, called for a liberal approach to the rampant racism in South Africa. "By liberalism", he wrote, "I mean a generosity of spirit, a tolerance of others, an attempt to comprehend otherness, a love of liberty and therefore a commitment to the Rule of Law, a repugnance for authoritarianism, and a high idea of the worth and dignity of man."[64] Richard Thompson has given us the key question: "How can we establish patterns of mutual respect and civility so that everyone, regardless of differences in appearance, social and cultural background, can feel valued members of our society?"[65]

Part of the answer lies in encouraging a shift in our New Zealand identity from an ethnic one to one of citizenship.[66] The majority ethnicity in New Zealand is, of course, the Anglo-New Zealand ethnic group. We need to shift from that identity to an acceptance that all citizens are Kiwis, including the Kiwi Dragon. Malcolm McKinnon points out that this is already occurring, thanks to the efforts of Maori activists in the 1990s who challenged the Anglo-New Zealand identity that has dominated our history from soon after the Treaty of Waitangi.[67] We can help to hurry it along.

Such an identity provides room for cultural diversity by not demanding conformity. Indeed, it encourages a two-way process of learning: as immigrants learn about New Zealand culture, so we learn something of the cultures that arrive on our shores. My own experience is that Chinese immigrants eagerly learn Kiwi ways; schools and cultural centres everywhere are full of Chinese (and other immigrants, of course) learning our language, our laws, our behaviour patterns. I am particularly impressed by how much they know about the Treaty of Waitangi and the issues surrounding it. Many Chinese see it as the first immigration document for New Zealand, the legal basis upon which we have all arrived here, as Tauiwi, over the generations.[68]

**Dunedin's Chinese Garden, *Lan Yuan*.**

Just as they are learning from us, we can learn from them – and be the richer for it, as anyone who has visited one of New Zealand's Chinese gardens, for example, can appreciate. Whether it be the splendid new *Lan Yuan* in

**In a corner of *Lan Yuan*, Dunedin's Chinese Garden.**

Dunedin or the much older and simpler Oamaru Chinese Garden, they manifest an aesthetic that fosters tranquillity and a different appreciation of beauty in nature. Philosophically, the Confucian ethics of respect for age and authority, of family loyalty, of education, of hard work, and of the importance of tolerance – all are admirable aspects of Chinese culture from which New Zealand could benefit.

Probably the most important thing we can do is take the initiative in making friends with newly arrived Chinese. Most Chinese families are good neighbours; they try to connect and are often generous in their neighbourly gestures. We need to respond as positively and as generously.

Earlier this year, when Chinese in Palmerston North experienced racist remarks and attacks, some of the older Chinese advised silent endurance. One younger woman, however, decided to do something about it. Melody Chang organised a concert to give the citizens of Palmerston North a taste of Chinese culture. She told a reporter:

> *I feel very sad about this situation. Yes, we did choose to come here and we seem like guests. But we try very hard to merge*

*into this community. We want to make friends. I realised Kiwis do not know us and do not understand us. If we introduce our culture to this community so they understand us, then we might have a better relationship. We want to show the interesting contribution we can bring to society …. We will do whatever we can to help improve the relationship.*[69]

It is surely up to us to do the same.

## ENDNOTES

[1] The FAU in China was a remarkable body of men, described by John Ormerod Greenwood in these words: "Of all the sections of the Friends Ambulance Unit, the China section was the most 'self-consciously democratic', Utopian, self-critical, and idealist. It successfully established a system of income-pooling: every penny received by any member … went into a pool from which every member received the same amount of pocket money. It sought to integrate the Chinese members, some of them Quakers or Quaker-educated, with the expatriates of various countries who made up the teams. Its pride resembled that of a crack Army regiment, and has marked those who served in it for the rest of their lives and helped shape their destinies …. If they could not actually become Chinese, yet China entered into them, as they lit their charcoal for the trucks at dawn with numbed fingers in the mountain passes, or dossed down for the night on the earthen floors of roadside huts, or, in remote villages of Yunnan, shared the food and lodging of the Chinese among whom they worked." They were described by FAU doctor Quentin Boyd as "a group of people sharing their material, cultural and spiritual resources, fully committed to God and to one another, in their common aim of carrying out His will in every sphere of life, without reservation or compromise" (Greenwood 1975, pp.292-3). Even as children, my brother and I sensed that these were remarkable men. The story of the twelve New Zealanders in the Friends Ambulance Unit and its successor after the war, the Friends Service Unit, is well documented in Caitriona Cameron's book (Cameron 1996).

[2] See Wood 2000, p.4 & passim. The Davidson brothers were Robert, Alfred, Warburton and Henry.

[3] Easton-Thompson 2002, p. 13. Isobel Thompson is a member of the Quakers at the Mt. Eden Meeting for Worship.

[4] Thompson 1963, p. 14. Richard Thompson was a long-time member of the Quakers of the Christchurch Monthly Meeting, which he served in many capacities, including elder and clerk but most importantly in his insightful and scripture-centred ministries.

[5] McKinnon 1996, p.9. Chinese, along with all coloured people, whether or not they were born on British territory, were categorised as "race aliens", a category included in the NZ census until 1945 (*ibid.,* pp.22 & 40).

[6] Hocton's life is recorded in the *Dictionary of NZ Biography* 1990, p.200.

[7] Ng 1993, pp.121-132. The story of the Chinese goldminers in New Zealand is available to us primarily through the splendid research efforts of Dr. James Ng, who has produced a four-volume work entitled *Windows on a Chinese Past.*

[8] The first Chinese woman arrived in Otago in 1874 (Ng 1993, p.156). The 1881 census showed 5004 Chinese in New Zealand, only nine of whom were women (Ip 1990, p.181, n.2).

[9] Sew Hoy's name in Mandarin was Xu Zhaokai (Tsui Siu Hoi in Cantonese). Like many Chinese immigrants, Sew Hoy was registered by the immigration officials with his given name in place of his family name, Tsui. In Chinese, the family name comes before the given name. There is a brief outline of Sew Hoy's remarkable career, from peasant child to wealthy merchant and mandarin, in Butler 1977, p.109.

[10] Fong 1959, pp.19ff. Murphy 1994, p.22. It was set at £10 in 1881, raised to £100 in 1896 (Murphy 1994, p.29).

[11] Willmott 2007, p.53. Apart from opium, these vices and leprosy were in the South Pacific before the Chinese arrived.

[12] In Parliament, Reeves described the Chinese as "a mass of corruption … a true alien element …. [an] inscrutable, industrious and insanitary race of gamblers and opium smokers ….. Despised, disliked, and dwindling, the Chinese are bound soon to disappear from the Colony" (Fong 1959, p.24f).

[13] Quoted in Ng 1993, p.7.

[14] Murphy 1994, pp.37f.

[15] McKinnon 1996, p.31.

[16] Quoted in McKinnon 1996, p.28.

[17] There was only one Hokkien-speaker among the thousands of Cantonese in Central Otago at the time (Ng 1993, p.11). See also note 46.

[18] Brief biographies of Annie James and Kathleen Hall are available in Newnham 1995. Newnham has also written a full biography of Hall (Newnham 1992 & 2002).

[19] Fong 1959, p.32. The refugees admitted included 249 wives of permanent residents, 244 of their children, and 93 Chinese men who had been on temporary visas.

[20] Fong 1959, p.33. Also included were 300 Chinese students who had been in New Zealand for at least five years and 437 children born to refugee women in New Zealand during the war; another 85 men were granted permanent residence during the following year, making a total of 1,408 altogether.

[21] McKinnon 1996, pp.19 & 41.

[22] Ip 2006, p.59. In Canada and the United States, the Chee Kung Tong adopted the name Chinese Freemasons and used the symbols of Freemasonry, not because it had any connection whatsoever with Freemasonry in those countries, but because the name gave respectability by associating it with an indigenous secret society.

[23] Ng 2007, p.2. The 1936 NZ census counted a total of 2,943 Chinese including 363 "mixed blood" (Fong 1959, p.133).

[24] I am indebted to Stephen Austin at the Nelson Provincial Museum for sending me a photocopy of the shreds of this letter and to Tian Ping for deciphering the characters and giving me the probable provenance and contents of the letter. The well-written characters suggest that Hocton's mother hired a professional letter-

writer, some of whom were located in every market town to assist illiterate peasants (for a fee) to correspond with their relatives abroad.

[25] Ng 2007, p.2. Dr. Ng also pointed out the discrepancy in status between the two places: "In this country we were mainly in three relatively lowly types of business — market garden, fruitshop and laundry — but in China, many of us were in the landlord class."

[26] W. Young, Letter to the Editor, *Christchurch Press,* 12 April 2005, p. A8.

[27] Ng 2007, p.3.

[28] Prof. Manying Ip has written two excellent and readable books about the Chinese during this period (Ip 1990 & 1996).

[29] McKinnon 1996, p.50.

[30] Locality associations (*tong-xiang-hui*) are found in many places in the Chinese diaspora where the population is large enough to diversify (Freedman 1960, p.47). In New Zealand, three locality associations emerged: the Szeyap Association (for those from Taishan and the three adjoining counties), the Tung-Tseng Association (for those from Dongguan and Zengcheng Counties), and the Poon Fah Association (for those from Panyu and Hua Counties).

[31] Ip 1996, pp.25 & 57.

[32] Ip 2006, p.160. Prof. Ip points out that prior to the war, New Zealand Chinese were actively focused on the politics of China and were anything but apolitical in that direction, as evidenced by the tremendous contribution they made to the war effort against the Japanese occupation of China (Ip 2006, p.161).

[33] Incidentally, had I been the wife of a New Zealand citizen I would have been granted citizenship upon application, but as the husband of a New Zealand citizen I had to wait three years to apply. This gender discrimination has disappeared in the move towards universalistic criteria.

[34] Quoted in McKinnon 1996, pp.45-6.

[35] McKinnon 1996, pp.46-7. I find it interesting that the policy originated from our most active neo-liberal, but he was unable to blitzkrieg a new immigration policy, so it was a National government that eventually introduced the points system in 1991.

[36] Bedford & Ho 2008, p. 11, Table 7.

[37] Refugees formed a fourth category of immigrant, but this was not relevant to Northeastern Asia, although the number of refugees from elsewhere contributed to the negative reaction of a minority among the public. The category of investor was particularly relevant to immigrants from Taiwan, where the average income is ten times as high as on the mainland.

[38] *Dominion Post,* 20 April 2009.

[39] McKinnon 1996, pp.60-69.

[40] *Christchurch Press*, 22 Jan. 2009, p.A3.

[41] Quoted in McKinnon 1996, p.28.

[42] An excellent definition of racism was issued in 1975 by the Commission on Faith and Order and the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches and is reproduced here in the Appendix.

[43] McKinnon 1996, p.56. Raj Vasil and Hong-kee Yoon made a similar statement in their study of Asian New Zealanders: "It is important to recognise that even though today migrants from Asia represent almost all countries of the continent, they do not (and are not likely to in the future) constitute an Asian community. Sharp inter-ethnic divisions among many of them … make it extremely difficult even for individual ethnic groups to unite and develop a strong sense of community. Immigrants from Asia will never be in a position to threaten the paramountcy of the Pakeha and the primacy of their values, language, culture and way of life. As such, New Zealanders have little to fear from their presence in New Zealand, even in terms of their fast increasing numbers" (Vasil & Yoon 1996, pp.11f).

[44] Bedford & Ho 2008, Table 3, p. 4. Of course, the concept "Asia" is a European construct, much like "Orient", that has variable content. For some it comprises everything from the Dardanelles to Hokkaido, while the UN includes only countries from Afghanistan to Japan; for the Asia New Zealand Foundation and the New Zealand Department of Immigration, it covers Pakistan to Japan.

[45] Numbers and proportions calculated and rounded by me from Bedford & Ho 2008.

[46] Because these all use the same written language, many Chinese insist that they are "dialects" of Chinese, but by the linguistic measure of mutual unintelligibility, they are separate languages, albeit all in the Chinese language family. Cantonese is as different from Mandarin as French is from English, with many common words pronounced differently and some differences in vocabulary and grammar as well. In 1947, my Sichuanese dialect of Mandarin was useless in Shanghai when I was trying to persuade the pedicab driver that I had paid enough! Today, of course, every school child in China learns Mandarin (called *putonghua*, "common speech"), whether or not it is their mother tongue.

[47] I am not aware of any Daoist temples in New Zealand, but there may well be informal groups of Daoists meeting privately, as there are, for instance, in the Solomons (Willmott 2005, p.30). Confucianism is not a religion and not readily exportable from China, Korea or Japan.

[48] Carswell 2010.

[49] Winchester 2008 summarises the technological achievements of China described by Joseph Needham *et al.* in the 25-volume study entitled *Science and Civilisation in China*.

[50] In most English writing on Chinese philosophy, Dao is spelt as Tao, due to an earlier form of romanisation of Chinese that used the t (Tao) and p (Peking) to represent the unvoiced Chinese d and b. Modern romanisation, called *pinyin* in

Chinese, more consistently transcribes the Chinese phonetic system, using the d (Dao) and b (Beijing) instead of t and p.

[51] Taylor 1989, p.4.

[52] Fairbank & Reischauer 1989, pp.49-50.

[53] In *Sources of the Self* (1989), Charles Taylor has written a magisterial study of the philosophical roots of Western individualism and how our modern concept of self has developed through the centuries.

[54] It is interesting that there is no Chinese word to translate "community"; one must use words that define specific communities, whether family, clan, village, or voluntary association. Similarly, the generic term "communalism" cannot be translated apart from the specific institutions in which it occurs, such as "family relationships", "working together" or "co-operating". The Chinese word for the state is *guojia*, 'national family".

[55] We can speak of the Chinese tradition as Confucian in the same sense that the Western tradition is Christian, not that any society adequately manifests Christian or Confucian values in its public life, but because the concepts that lie at the heart of philosophical controversy and have structured human thought in Western Europe stem from the Christian tradition, just as Confucian concepts have been at the centre of both general thought and philosophical debate in China through the centuries.

[56] Confucius did offer a version of the Golden Rule: "Do not do to others what you would not want others to do to you" (*Analects*, Book XII, No.2). However, this admonition appears in the context of advice on behaviour in specific relationships, indicating that it relates to roles rather than generically to social relationships.

[57] Dawson 1986, p.11. Some writers translate this last duo as patron/client to indicate that this relationship, like the other four, is an unequal one of authority and subordination.

[58] *Analects*, Book XII, no.11.

[59] The Chinese speak of establishing *ganqing*, sometimes translated as rapport. In the sociological literature, this is characterised as relying on particularistic rather than universalistic relationships. I have suggested elsewhere that the Chinese practiced 'conscious particularisation' of their economic relationships (Willmott 1972, p.5).

[60] This statement needs to be tempered somewhat by the fact that Confucian morality provided for the right of rebellion: a king who did not carry out his functions properly had manifestly lost the "Mandate of Heaven", so was by definition not a king but an impostor, and his subjects therefore had the right/duty to remove him from the throne.

[61] Since a family had to be able to spare its sons from working in order to study, only the wealthy could afford to sit the examinations. Nevertheless, even the

poorest family in traditional China aspired to have their sons educated and struggled to make it possible.

[62] 24% of Chinese in Christchurch have a university degree, in contrast to 15% of the total population. At the other end of the educational ladder, only 10% of Chinese over 15 have no high-school qualification, compared to over 20% for the total population (Friesen 2008, p. 13). In 1994, 40.8% of all Asian students achieved bursaries, compared to 19.6% of the total population (*Christchurch Press,* 29 August 1994, p.3).

[63] Ip 2006, pp.168-170.

[64] Quoted in Thompson 1998, p.19.

[65] Thompson 1998, p.40.

[66] McKinnon 1996, p.70. He points out ironically that this is the American model of citizenship, but perhaps it is closer to the Canadian, since Canada eschews the American "melting pot" in favour of a bi-cultural/multi-cultural citizenship.

[67] McKinnon 1996, pp.62-70.

[68] Ip 2006, p.170. Prof. Ip points out that young Chinese joined Maori in the anti-racist marches of late 2004 and in confronting the National Front.

[69] *Manawatu Standard*, 10 January 2009, p.1

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## APPENDIX: DEFINITION OF RACISM

*Racism is present* whenever persons, even before they are born, because of their race, are assigned to a group severely limited in their freedom of movement, their choice of work, their place of residence and so on.

*Racism is present* whenever groups of people, because of their race, are denied effective participation in the political process, and so are compelled often by force to obey the edicts of governments which they were allowed to have no part in choosing.

*Racism is present* whenever racial groups within a nation are excluded from the normal channels available for gaining economic power, through denial of educational opportunities and entry into occupational groups.

*Racism is present* whenever the policies of a nation-state ensure benefits for that nation from the labour of racial groups (migrant or otherwise), while at the same time denying to such groups commensurate participation in the affairs of the nation state.

*Racism is present* whenever the identity of persons is denigrated through stereotyping of racial and ethnic groups in text books, cinema, mass media, impersonal relations and other ways.

*Racism is present* whenever people are denied equal protection of the law, because of race, and when constituted authorities of the state use their powers to protect the interests of the dominant group at the expense of the powerless.

*Racism is present* whenever groups or nations continue to profit from regional and global structures that are historically related to racist presuppositions and actions.

**Extract from World Council of Churches Commission on Faith and Order and the Programme to Combat Racism (quoted in Thompson 1998, pp.35f).**

## PICTURE SOURCES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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p. 15 [Alexander Don] Kirkland Collection (From Ng, *Windows*, vol 4)
p. 15 [Kathleen Hall] (From Newnham, *He Mingqing*)
p. 15 [Annie James] Courtesy Margaret Moore (From Newnham, *New Zealand Women in China*)
p. 17 Nelson Provincial Museum B/12/2004 M1880 & B/12/2004 M1890
p. 19 Courtesy Kwok family (From Ip, *Dragon on the Long White Cloud*)

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The cover picture, of Dunedin's Chinese Garden, *Lan Yuan*, was taken by Diana Madgin.