

Becoming Kiwi Chinese: A 140 Year History of the Overseas Chinese in Otago

Edward W. Tennant
University of Florida
July, 2005 – Under Review

Introduction

The story of the overseas Chinese in Otago¹ begins 140 years ago. Their story embraces sorrow and joy, success and failure, acceptance and rejection. Since the Chinese reached Otago in the 1860s, they have remained a vital part of the region. The first Chinese arrived in the region with large numbers of Europeans, in search of gold. However, the establishment of small settlements by British immigrants in the region two decades earlier was used to legitimize the arrival of Europeans on the goldfields. The Chinese who arrived were considered nomadic workers imported to the area because of labor shortages, and most Europeans believed that the Chinese would eventually return to China (Ip 2003:4).

While the numbers of overseas Chinese dwindled by the early twentieth century, the connections established during the gold-mining era remain strong even today. For instance, Chinese business men, such as Choie Sew Hoy, left a lasting impression on both the economy and history of Otago. Inter-marriages, occurring as early as the 1870s, created linkages between Pakeha² and Chinese settlers in Otago that exist today. Throughout the twentieth century increasing numbers of Chinese arrived and joined the growing communities established during the gold-mining era.

A large amount of literature has surfaced chronicling the Chinese during the initial gold-mining period, approximately 1865 – 1900 (see Butler 1977; Ng 1993 & 1995; Ritchie 1986). The gold-mining era encompasses only a quarter of the time overseas Chinese have lived in Otago. Separate literature has grown that explore the twentieth century (see Ip 1996 & 2003). Indeed, most literature that examines the New Zealand Chinese deals with either the gold-mining era or the mid- to late-twentieth century, rarely combining the two. A recent exception is Dr. James Ng's three volume history of the overseas Chinese in New Zealand, which successfully presents a continuous picture of the Chinese in New Zealand from 1860s until today. Numerous themes have developed to culturally explore the Chinese in Otago; these include assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, integration, and racialization by Otago's white majority.

Terminology related to the Chinese outside the geographical domain of China can often be confusing. Wang Gungwu, of the National University of Singapore, summarized four general patterns for the overseas Chinese in his 2003 *China and the Chinese Overseas*. These patterns were: trader, coolie, sojourner, and re-migrant. These patterns are fairly straightforward and easy

¹ The Southland Region was split from Otago in 1861 and was re-joined to Otago in 1870. This chapter includes portions of Southland as they were included in Otago from 1870 - 1974.

² Pakeha is the Maori (New Zealand's native Polynesian population located mostly on the north island) term for Europeans, it simply means "white".

to understand. The trader pattern refers to Chinese who ventured abroad, largely in Southeast Asia for short periods of time to affect trade agreements or set up trading facilities. The coolie is characterized as transitional, and refers to Chinese typically of peasant origin whose labor was contracted overseas (this pattern was dominant in South America, and briefly in parts of North America). The sojourner pattern is the most recognizable for researchers into the overseas Chinese in Australia, New Zealand and America where large numbers of Chinese traveled with the intention of returning home to China within several years; ideally with enough money saved abroad to begin a better life in their native provinces of China. The fourth pattern outlined by Wang, that of re-migrant, refers to ethnic-Chinese born outside of China who then migrate to another country. Wang uses the example of ethnic-Chinese born in southeast Asia who are recently migrating in considerable numbers to western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and North America.

Wang's four patterns of overseas Chinese are useful for understanding the general motives of the Chinese who migrated to New Zealand over the past 140 years. However, as Wang points out, the development of local, ethnically-Chinese communities in various countries often follow different lines. Dr. James Ng, in a paper at the 1998 *Chinese in Australasia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change*, defines five groups that the Chinese population of New Zealand can be divided into. The first group is the long-established families who are linked through chain migration to the gold seekers of the nineteenth century, these families are relatives of many sojourner Chinese who first arrived in New Zealand (totaling 12,500 in 1986). Next, those of mixed ethnicities are defined, most commonly resulting from Chinese-European, Chinese-Maori, and Chinese-Polynesian marriages (totaling 6,300 in 1986). The third group arrived in New Zealand as refugees in 1975 (an estimated 6,000 or so). The fourth group is composed of the recent Chinese migrants who began arriving in 1987 after immigration law was restructured in New Zealand (an estimated 55,000 Chinese migrated to New Zealand within ten years of the new laws). Finally, the large numbers of Chinese students who attend high school and university in New Zealand (in 2002, nearly six hundred overseas Chinese were enrolled full-time at the University of Otago, as compared to 125 US students). Of course, Ng's groups do not include the refugees allowed into New Zealand from China in the 1930s and 1940s or the constant migration of new Chinese the continued throughout the twentieth century. However, since these migrants often took advantage of relatives in New Zealand for contacts, it is logical the Ng would probably consider these part of his first group in relation to chain migration.

In other words, the first generation of Chinese who arrived in New Zealand were overseas Chinese. These first migrants considered China their home and most wished to one day return there. However, over time, many of these overseas Chinese were unable to secure the necessary money or simply chose not to return to China. As the overseas Chinese in New Zealand were naturalized and many became citizens, their identity began to shift from overseas Chinese to ethnic Chinese, mirroring a broad shift around the world (Yen 1995:Introduction). In New Zealand, these ethnic Chinese, their descendants and communities, formed the basis of the Kiwi Chinese. The Kiwi Chinese are ethnically-Chinese, but many were born and raised in New Zealand. In fact, some Chinese families have historical roots that stretch as far or farther into the past than do many Pakeha families.

The purpose of this chapter, besides providing a synthetic overview of the overseas Chinese and their shift to Kiwi Chinese in Otago, is to demonstrate that interactions between Chinese (continuously the largest minority in the region) and Europeans (the majority of largely British Isles descent) are more complex than previously thought. The history of the Chinese in Otago is perhaps better understood through the viewing lens of integration, or creolization and hybridization, rather than overly Eurocentric ideas of cultural assimilation which suggests the conquest of one culture by another. However, before launching into a theoretical discussion of what it means to be Kiwi Chinese in Otago, the fascinating history of Otago's overseas Chinese must first be explored.

1860s & 1870s – Arrival and Dispersal into Otago

The Chinese who arrived on the Otago goldfields in the mid-1860s were not part of the initial gold mining rush (Ritchie 2003:31). Gabriel Read, a miner who had worked in California and Australia previously, published his discovery of a goldfield located in central Otago in May, 1861 (AJHR 1861 D6:1-6). This goldfield quickly became known as Gabriel's Gulley, and by the end of 1861 nearly 3,000 miners, largely from the goldfields of Victoria, Australia, had moved in (AJHR 1862 D6:3). These numbers continued to grow rapidly, and by 1864 approximately 10,000 men were searching for gold throughout the Otago Region. In fact, the population of Otago in 1861 was 13,000, while by 1865 it had reached 67,000 (Ritchie 2003:31). The gold rushes attracted businessmen and new settlers in addition to the miners.

The resulting prosperity allowed Dunedin to emerge as New Zealand's wealthiest city, briefly considered as a candidate for the capital of the country. Also, the wealth of the region produced the Bank of New Zealand (Bristow 1994:9). By 1865, the number of gold miners was dropping from the high mark of 10,000 in 1864, and by 1867 had fallen to 6,000 (New Zealand Census). The majority of the miners left for the West Coast in the late 1860's and early 1870's, where the gold rush was less intense but longer lived. The gold rushes were directly responsible for the development of roads and infrastructure throughout the Otago Region, including a stagecoach, and the well-maintained roads and power generators brought civilization to remote regions. In Otago, the drain of miners to the West Coast left a hole in the economy, and in 1865 the Otago Regional Council invited Chinese miners, at first from Australia, and later from China, to come and work fields abandoned by Europeans.

The initial influx of Chinese from Victoria, Australia created small enclaves in Dunedin. The first Chinese visitors to Dunedin were mainly business owners. For instance, Mr. Ho Ah Mei came from Victoria to Dunedin in 1865 to investigate the goldfields. His intention was to return to Australia and begin signing Chinese miners there for work in Otago (Otago Witness 23/12/1865). The invitation of Chinese into Otago was a milestone in itself, since similar petitions had been unsuccessfully presented in other part of southern New Zealand during the previous decade (Ritchie 1986:13-14). The Dunedin Chamber of Commerce made their request to the Otago Provincial Council in 1865 stating that previous complaints (centering largely on racist opinions) were not justifiable.

The first miners in Otago were attracted by placards in Victoria, placed by business-minded entrepreneurs like Mr. Keong. However, with low interest expressed by the overseas

Chinese in Victoria, the invitation was quickly extended to the Canton region of China. In the following years, thousands of Chinese from this region moved to Otago; and over the next several years, Chinese camps were forming throughout the Otago region.

The camp at Lawrence was established outside the city limits most likely due to a resolution by the Borough Council that Chinese were not welcome to settle within the city limits. While this resolution did not prohibit Chinese settlement within city limits, the opinion expressed probably played a large role in the final location for New Zealand's first wholly Chinese settlement. When the camp had been firmly established, it received positive descriptions from many Europeans, including a correspondent for the Otago Daily Times who described the dwellings as "sufficiently comfortable, and are fitted up in a creditable manner" (Otago Daily Times 8/7/1868). The Lawrence Chinese Camp became a supply stop for most miners – Chinese and European alike – as they headed for the central Otago goldfields.

By 1870, the Chinese miners had begun mining at numerous locations, generally arriving at fields previously worked by European miners. The central reason for inviting the Chinese to Otago was the expectation that they would work goldfields previously visited by European miners. The fact that the Chinese did rework many of these fields helped to initially calm negative feelings towards their presence on the fields. Also, the fact that most Chinese were hard working and quiet endeared them to many Europeans. By 1870, Chinese miners had established mining camps at the following locations (population numbers from Otago Witness 15/1/1870:4)

Queenstown	350	Arrowtown	70	Nevis	300
Bendigo	40	Cromwell	60	Bannockburn	300
Mt. Ida	250	Blacks	50	Dunstan Creek	30
Macraes	150	Waipori	450	Waitahuna	150
Lawrence	300	Beaumont	40	Switzers	20
Dunedin	80				

The largest Chinese community in Otago (located in Southland today) was at Round Hill – approximately 50km west of Invercargill. This largely Chinese community of gold miners boasted a hotel and several shops. Also, many mining claims in the area boasted names of Chinese. In fact, the population of Round Hill hit a high mark in 1900 with nearly 500 Chinese living and working here.

During the 1870s overseas Chinese became the most populous, non-European group in Otago, and they have remained such until the present day. Unfortunately, anti-Chinese sentiment began to resurface during the 1870s as Chinese gold miners and businesses organized and prospered. This situation really had two fronts. The first existed on the goldfields themselves, where the organization of Chinese miners caused concern among many Europeans. The failure by many Chinese to pay miner's rights helped to substantiate negative claims (Otago Witness 1/12/1871). The second front was in the towns and centered on competition between businesses. The central issue, from the European's point of view, was that Chinese merchants and miners traded in wares not offered in European stores and their ability to undersell European businesses. However, one Dunedin-based Chinese merchant countered in a letter to the editor of the Otago Witness that he had paid in excess of 2,000 pounds to customs and harbor dues (Otago Witness 8/7/1870).

Anti-Chinese support was further strengthened during the 1870s when the government of New Zealand changed. The replacement of provincial councils by a Wellington-based federal government in 1876 severely hurt the overseas Chinese in Otago. In essence, this new government and the party politics it created eliminated many regional sympathies towards the Chinese, resulting in less understanding and stronger anti-Chinese legislation (Sedgewick 1982:74).

These economic and political factors continued to make life difficult for the Chinese in Otago, and throughout New Zealand in general (Ritchie 1986:24). The 1870s ended with several unsuccessful attempts by politicians to impose poll taxes and other limitations on the immigration of Chinese into New Zealand. While attempts in 1877, 1878, and 1879 were stalled, the 1880s begin with successful, anti-Chinese legislation being enacted.

1880s & 1890's – Legislated Racism and Population Decline

The story of Otago's overseas Chinese is not simply a tale of racism and reaction. There was also success for overseas Chinese during this time period. Stories of successful Chinese businessmen, many of whom arrived during the previous two decades, are well-known. However, they certainly represent the minority experience of the overseas Chinese in Otago. Overall, the end of the nineteenth century began a dark chapter for the Chinese in Otago.

The goldfields of the 1880s were not the same, prosperous grounds known during the 1860s and 1870s. The easily won gold was running out and the days when an individual or small group of miners could find large sums of gold were gone. A Chinese businessman named Choie Sew Hoy developed an improved gold dredge for extracting gold located at the bottom of river beds. A dredge is basically a large boat with a chain of buckets that scoop gold-rich sediments up from the river channel. These sediments are then separated onboard and the gold is stored while the other sediments are dumped back into the river channel. Sew Hoy developed a new design for the bucket chain, employed it on the Shotover River, and began pulling 40 pounds of gold out of the river per day! Sew Hoy's new design quickly spread throughout New Zealand, and eventually was employed as far away as North America. This venture allowed Sew Hoy to expand his other business interests (which included textiles, fungus harvesting, and scrap metal sales to China). His descendants still enjoy a prominent place among Dunedin's businesses.

The success of Sew Hoy was certainly not enjoyed by all of his countrymen. In fact, it was industries like dredging that provided the majority of jobs for most gold miners until the early twentieth century. The new capital intensive methods for collecting gold (i.e. digging mineshafts, dredging, hard-rock operations) meant that most gold miners who had managed themselves during the previous twenty years became hourly employees for the growing corporate interests on the gold fields.

While the Chinese had little to do with the economic conditions that drove miners into hourly jobs, anti-Chinese sentiment continued to grow during this period. The most obvious expression of this was the successful creation of a poll tax in New Zealand. Based on unsuccessful attempts in 1878, 1879, and again in 1880, the final introduction of the Chinese Immigrants Act of 1881 placed specific limitations on the numbers of Chinese who could enter

New Zealand. The act stated that only one Chinese passenger per ten tons of cargo could enter the country, with a ten pound fee. This initial act, in fact, did little to restrict the numbers of Chinese who entered New Zealand. While the poll tax's goal was to deter Chinese from immigrating, it only meant that most had to stay longer to pay off their debts (Ritchie 1986:24).

The affects of the 1881 act were felt throughout Otago. Reverend Alexander Don, whose famous diaries record the comings and goings of more than 3,000 Chinese in Otago from the 1870s until the early twentieth century, reported that Chinese miners often asked him if the Chinese were being driven out of Otago. These fears were reinforced in 1888 when only one Chinese was allowed per 100 tons of cargo. In 1893, newly-elected Prime Minister Seddon, renowned for his hatred of Asians, unsuccessfully introduced a bill to ban all Chinese from working on the goldfields. While this bill was stopped, the 1881 act was strengthened in 1896. The tax was raised to 100 pounds and one Chinese passenger per 200 tons of cargo, this shameful prohibition was not lifted until 1952 (ibid.:26)!

The affects on Chinese immigration into New Zealand is best illustrated with a table detailing the numbers who entered the country following such legislations (years denoted * indicate anti-Chinese legislation):

Year	Number of Chinese	Year	Number of Chinese	Year	Number of Chinese
1876	112	1883	44	1894	278
1877	162	1886	239	1895	214
1878*	1,025	1887	354	1896*	173
1879	329	1888*	308	1897	13
1880	296	1889	16	1898	20
1881*	1,029	1890	18	1901	75
1882	23	1892	58		

Certainly, the imposed legislation was not the only reason Chinese migration dropped during each of these years. However, it is impossible to ignore the sudden drops that occur after each new act was passed.

Three types of entertainment have been immortalized in stories of gold mining era towns: prostitution, smoking and drinking, and gambling. Prostitution, while present on the goldfields of Otago, never reached the exaggerated levels present in America (Simmons 1998). In fact, there were no Chinese prostitutes in New Zealand (Ritchie 1986; Ng 1993). The small numbers of prostitutes on the Otago goldfields were European or Maori. This situation was at least partially the result of few Chinese women being present on the Otago goldfields. Equivalent numbers, in respect to men, of Chinese women and children did not begin entering Otago until the twentieth century.

Perhaps the other most notorious aspect of the overseas Chinese during this time period was the use of opium. The use of opium was carried from China to Otago, but it would be incorrect to state that every Chinese smoked opium or that they tolerated it. In fact, as will be seen in the next section, it was the organization of overseas Chinese in Otago (and Wellington) that raised public awareness, resulting in opium use being outlawed throughout New Zealand in

1904. The Chinese in Otago were not the only importers or users of opium. In fact, many patent medicines of the day, shipped from England and America contained large amounts of opium. Apparently, giving opium to one's child in the form of 'medicine' was seen as proper, but smoking it to find a few hours of relief from a harsh existence on the goldfields was not.

Gambling establishments, sometimes located in a Joss House (e.g. meeting halls for the local Chinese community) provided another form of entertainment for those working the goldfields. These establishments quickly became popular among overseas Chinese and the local European miners as well. Attempts to use gambling as a tool for anti-Chinese sentiment were usually unsuccessful due to the European interest in the games. Also, gambling among the Chinese was exaggerated since most Chinese went to the Joss House to socialize, but not always to gamble.

1900s & 1910s – Increasing Prejudice and the Movement to Cities

The late nineteenth century proved a successful time for gold mining in Otago, particularly the dredging industry. However, by 1902 dredging and hard-rock mining began to slow and fail. This situation directly affected the Chinese miners in Otago, whose population had shrunk from nearly 4,000 in the mid-1870s to only 789 in 1901 (NZ Census). There were two courses Chinese miners had available to them as gold mining ended: find other jobs or return to China.

The Chinese in Otago who looked for jobs outside gold mining did not have many choices, with the notable exceptions of those who had prospered as business owners. Storekeepers and greengrocers were able to maintain their business throughout the region, especially if they were located near cities. Dunedin, as the capital city of Otago, attracted considerable numbers of Chinese. The Chinese gathered in downtown Dunedin, known locally as the "Devils Triangle" where substantial numbers of Lebanese immigrants were also settling (Pawakapan 2003:208). Chinese jobs were of two varieties: self-employed, or hourly-pay. The self employed jobs included leasing land for gardening, opening a business such as laundry or grocer, or selling items door-to-door such as meat and vegetable (Lee 1977:65-66).

One of the greatest tragedies to befall the Chinese community occurred early in this period. Chinese from the southeast of China who came to the goldfields shared a desire to return to China, alive or dead. If a Chinese miner died on the goldfields, it was hoped that their bones would eventually be returned to their home village. In the 1870s, several remains were returned to China by individuals, and shortly a benevolent society called the Poon Fah Association began mass exhumations in 1883 (230 dead) and again in 1902 (474 dead). These exhumations were almost entirely comprised of dead miners from the Otago goldfields. Calamity befell the 1902 shipment, carried onboard the *SS Ventnor* (Ng 1993:10). The ship struck a rock off the coast of Hokianga and all aboard was lost, including nine elderly Chinese acting as attendants and the body of Choie Sew Hoy. The majority of remains were never recovered, only a few washed ashore and were eventually returned to China.

Sympathetic voices for the Chinese did not materialize out of this catastrophe. Instead, the Chinese communities, which were steadily growing in both Dunedin and Wellington at this time, were faced with further barriers to establishing themselves in New Zealand. The death of

the self-avowed, anti-Asian Prime Minister Seddon in 1906 might have provided some relief if he had not been replaced with Prime Minister who continued Seddon's persecution of all non-White peoples in New Zealand. In 1907, the newly elected Prime Minister Ward followed Seddon's lead and passed a bill which stiffened the literacy test required for immigrants. Ward's public comment published in newspapers throughout the country stated that he wanted to rid the colony of all "Asiatics" (Grief 1974:27).

However, the greatest legislative hardship came in 1908 when the Chinese were excluded from naturalization (Ng 1995:263). During the previous forty years many Chinese had become naturalized citizens. Louis Gay Tan may have been the first Chinese naturalized in New Zealand, gaining his papers in 1870. Other Chinese had been naturalized, mainly from the Round Hill area mentioned previously. By 1907, 297 Chinese had been naturalized in Otago (Ng 1999:152).

Even though a poll tax of 100 pounds and an increased literacy test were imposed, this did not stop Chinese from entering New Zealand. During the 1910s Chinese women began arriving in New Zealand: 37 in 1911, 41 in 1916, and 166 from 1916-1920. These arrivals were mainly split between the growing Chinese communities in Dunedin and Wellington. Of course, the number of men already in Otago and the new arrivals meant women typically comprised less than 10-15% of the total Chinese population during these years.

The legislative movements described above became part of a larger opinion within New Zealand, and led to the 'White New Zealand Policy'. Unfortunately, racist policies did not stop, and new laws and prohibitions were placed upon the Chinese in New Zealand throughout the coming decades. However, Chinese citizens managed the 100 pound poll tax – often assisted by family and friends – and pass the increased literacy test. The common method for passing the literacy test did not involve tricks or bribes, but hard work and perseverance. Typically, Chinese spent time in Hong Kong or Guangzhou preparing for the test, and were allowed two attempts to pass after arriving in New Zealand.

As the 1920s approached, the Chinese community in Otago, centered in Dunedin, had begun to establish themselves financially. Uncles were welcoming nephews from China to work in their laundries and shops (Pawakapan 2003:206). While land ownership and naturalization were denied and racist attitudes predominated in legislative bodies, the Chinese who sought to escape the trouble of an increasingly turbulent China not only survived but began to build lives for themselves. After all, if naturalization was no longer granted, Chinese immigrants could always remain Chinese citizens and apply for permanent residency in New Zealand. Throughout Otago Chinese had left gold mining operations and were working in the regions growing fruit industry. In places like Roxburgh and Alexandria Chinese were intermarrying with Europeans and beginning families, or paying for their families to join them from China. To many, the legislated racism occurring in Wellington seemed far away, if they were even aware of it. The Otago Chinese, many who gained entry during the gold rush days, were unaffected by the poll tax if they maintained the proper paperwork detailing their original entry into New Zealand. The poll tax was not levied against returning or naturalized Chinese. Therefore, as overseas Chinese established themselves financially during the early twentieth century, they were able to help finance the arrival of family and clan members who sought a life in Otago.

1920s - 1940s – A Place of Their Own?

The 1920s began with a new type of Chinese migrant in Otago. The Chinese who arrived in the nineteenth century and remained during the early twentieth century planned on returning to China at some point. The classical idea of a Chinese sojourner gold-miner, looking to save 100 pounds or so and return to China was replaced by a new generation of Chinese who wanted to migrate to New Zealand permanently, to become New Zealand or Kiwi Chinese. The factors that had driven some new Chinese to arrive in the 1900s and 1910s, such as political turmoil and violent warlords in many southern Chinese provinces, intensified throughout China until the 1950s.

Dunedin's Chinese population continued to grow during this time period, although not as quickly as it had previously. The difficulty of migrating to New Zealand created by the poll taxes, cargo prohibitions, and increased literacy test slowed, but never stopped, the movement of Chinese into Otago. The Chinese who arrived in Otago beginning in the 1920s, largely men, were in their teens or twenties (Pawakapan 2003:209). These young men joined family businesses, often buying them from older relatives who had decided to finally return to China.

The Chinese market gardens became a recognizable fixture in Dunedin, and throughout Otago, during the 1920s and 1930s. These farms, which at first were only an acre or two, began to grow as urbanization swelled the cities and suburbs of Dunedin. Informants interviewed by Niti Pawakapan stated that many of these market gardens were located in South Dunedin and St. Kils. Of course, working in a market garden was not easy, and could often entail more than twelve hours a day of work in the summer months, the feeling of independence and self-sufficiency seemed a powerful incentive to maintaining these types of businesses (Pawakapan 2003:215).

Two other recognizable Chinese businesses appeared during this time period: the fruit and vegetable shop, and the laundry. Again, these businesses were largely located in and around the growing area of South Dunedin. Other Chinese business locations included Sawyers Bay, Port Chalmers, and St. Kilda. The basic trend for a shop owner was to lease a shop after saving money as an apprentice at another shop. In Dunedin a system called 'buy-leasing' developed due to the fact that Chinese were not allowed to own property. The establishment of laundries during this time period represented the most costly endeavor for the overseas Chinese in Otago. Some estimates place the necessary start-up capital required at 500 pounds (Sedgewick 1982:323). Since Chinese immigrants in Otago were not allowed to borrow money from banks, laundries were usually opened through partnerships, with two or more Chinese providing the start-up capital. By the 1930s there were ten to twelve Chinese laundries in Dunedin, several of which used modern machines and electricity from the city grid to complete work. This situation was considered advanced for the time as all of the laundries in Christchurch used manual labor at the time (Pawakapan 2003:221).

Some of the above businesses can trace their roots to the goldfields and the previous century. The overseas Chinese who opened groceries at Lawrence, Cromwell, Arrowtown, and Round Hill were able to transplant their businesses to more developed urban areas as the gold supply dwindled. However, the businesses being opened during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s

were owned by men who wanted to permanently settle in New Zealand, were business savvy, had better educations, spoke English, and were able to compete in a European-business model. By the 1940s, the largest Chinese-owned company was Sew Hoy and Sons Limited. This company was mostly involved in exporting and importing (textiles, steel, mushrooms, etc.) and operated stores on George and Stafford streets that sold imported Chinese products. These stores also employed many new Chinese and helped foster the other Chinese businesses around Dunedin, and ultimately Otago.

Several Chinese civic groups began to appear across New Zealand, and Otago was no different. In 1936 the Otago-Southland Chinese Association was begun (Ng 1999:169). The main purpose of this and similar organizations was to organize the Chinese in New Zealand so that their voice could be heard in community and political venues. The New Zealand Chinese Association was organized in 1936 and annual meetings were held thereafter in Wellington. These meetings brought Chinese from across New Zealand to promote Chinese issues and dialogues between the growing communities. New Zealand Chinese publications began operating during the 1940s: namely the N.Z. Chinese Weekly News and the Q-Sing Times both of which survived until 1946, the N.Z. Chinese Growers Monthly Journal ran from 1949 until 1972, and the Kiu Pao (Overseas People's News) began in 1950. Indeed, the successful Chinese community in Otago had joined voices with Chinese throughout New Zealand to work for a better tomorrow.

In 1937, the families of two Dunedin Chinese were permitted to come to New Zealand and join their husbands, setting a precedent that allowed wives and children to join husbands and fathers in unprecedented numbers (Ng 1999:182). Increasing popular opinion, supported in part by the efforts of the New Zealand Presbyterian Church and the newly forming Chinese Associations and Consulate, the New Zealand government allowed Chinese men to bring their wives and Children to New Zealand after the Japanese invaded south China in 1939. The ability of New Zealand Chinese to share in the concern with White New Zealanders over loved ones in war torn areas was further strengthened as Chinese began purchasing war bonds. While the tragedy of war touched many, the solidarity it created among New Zealanders of all ethnicities helped change attitudes over the coming decades.

Unfortunately, the institutionalized racism of the legislative bodies throughout New Zealand was not effectively addressed during this time. A general rule, not legislated, throughout the immigration service of New Zealand was responsible for the cessation of all permanent residency visas granted to Chinese from 1926 until 1946, although the poll tax was finally dropped in 1932 (Ritchie 1986:27). Once recognized and brought to public attention, both the ban on naturalization and permanent residency visas was lifted by the late 1940s. The above mentioned New Zealand Chinese groups were partially responsible for these movements forward.

Other Chinese communities in New Zealand began to take on more significant roles throughout this era. The establishment of a Chinese consulate in Wellington helped to bring Chinese concerns to politicians. Also, internal politics within China began to manifest within the overseas population in New Zealand, especially the divisions between the KMD and Communists. Ultimately, as the 1950s approached, a new era was opening for the Chinese that

promised better treatment under the law. Also, the first Chinese graduates from New Zealand universities in 1946 helped ensure that the following decades would be better for the overseas Chinese, who had finally become New Zealand Chinese.

1950s - 1986 – The New Zealand Chinese Find a Home

The thirty-seven year period from 1950 until 1987 was a time of change for the New Zealand Chinese. Of course, change did not occur overnight for the Chinese in Otago, some of whom were now third or even fourth generation New Zealanders. Racist attitudes remained among politicians and were still encountered in everyday situations. But generally, the mid- to late-twentieth century proved a time of acceptance and progress for the New Zealand Chinese and those who migrated to New Zealand during this time.

The right of Chinese to be naturalized was re-instated in 1951. This remains a curious aspect of New Zealand history, a country that often prides itself for its 'egalitarian' qualities, considering that America did so in 1943 followed by Canada in 1947. In 1954 Chinese men were allowed to bring their wives into the country as naturalized citizens (married in Hong Kong), 1964 witnesses a further relaxation of exclusion towards the Chinese, and in 1971 Chinese professionals allowed to migrate to New Zealand. Finally, growing out of a general relaxation of restrictions in the mid-1970s, a review of immigration restrictions in 1986 results in equal conditions for all immigrants regardless of origin. The true scope of this will become clear in the next section.

As legislated restrictions against the Chinese entering and establishing their legal rights in New Zealand matured throughout this period, a well-established overseas Chinese community in Otago matured as well. George and Princes Streets in Dunedin boasted not fewer than seven Chinese fruitshops, with numerous Chinese laundries on many of the side streets – a situation mirrored in other Otago towns such as Oamaru (Ng 1999:209-210).

By the 1950s, minority populations who had formed the majority of overseas Chinese in Otago retained their provincial identities. These three minorities grouped into different occupations as well: the Panyu Cantonese were market gardeners, Zengcheng Cantonese worked in fruitshops, and the Seyip Cantonese were laundrymen (ibid: 211). While the older generations were intent on maintaining these divisions, the younger generations quickly outgrew their parents and grandparents viewpoints and began to intermingle, eventually intermarrying. A strong economy and generally prosperous times of the 1950s and 1960s provided jobs for the new Chinese arrivals. Trade unions were open to Chinese employment and refugees who fled China after World War II and their children were able to find employment in factories, on docks, and even in textile plants.

The men who had moved to Dunedin in the 1920s – as gardeners, greengrocers, and laundrymen – had married and were having children. One of these children, Peter Chin, born in 1940, would be elected to the Dunedin City Council in 1995, and as mayor of this city in 2004. Of course, the days when the Chinese had an established voice in local and national government were still years away. However, as the Chinese communities in New Zealand grew, as naturalizations increased steadily throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s the thought of self-

representation grew in the hearts of many New Zealand Chinese. Of course, there were remarkable stories from around New Zealand, such as William Wong, who was elected a Borough Councilor in Carterton from 1956-1971, and deputy mayor from 1965-1971. As experiences like these grew in numbers, the Chinese community in Otago – many of whom now had naturally born grandchildren by the 1960s and 1970s – truly felt that New Zealand was their home.

Throughout this time intermarriages occurred, although not at the rate perhaps expected by the gender differences in the New Zealand Chinese population (see table below). Throughout the mid-twentieth century intermarriages that did take place were largely between male Chinese and female Pakeha. While intermarriages remained minimal in Otago, they increased dramatically in areas where Chinese and Maori populations mixed. Examples of numerous Chinese-Maori marriages occurred during the late 1960s and 1970s in this region (Lee 2003). Today, Bic Runga, the internationally-recognized pop singer is a child from one of these Chinese-Maori intermarriages.

1951	5,723
1956	6,731
1961	8,524
1966	10,263
1971	12,818
1976	14,860
1981	16,653
1986	19,506

Estimated Populations of Chinese in New Zealand (source: Shueng 2002)

Refugees continued to comprise a solid portion of Chinese immigration into New Zealand during this time. In 1962 forty Chinese orphans were adopted by Pakeha parents as part of a humanitarian effort in the Presbyterian Church. From 1975 until 1986 approximately 6,000 Chinese refugees were allowed into the country. Members of the Chinese community in Otago, while praising the humanitarian efforts of their fellow New Zealanders, couldn't help but remember the hardships – poll taxes, restrictions on naturalization, prohibitions against bringing family members from China, etc. – they had faced just one generation earlier (Ng 1999:244). The New Zealand Chinese and Pakeha alike began to think about immigration in new ways as the economy picked up and the 1980s promised a time of prosperity.

1987 - Present – Immigration Barriers Finally Removed and Poll Tax Apologies

By the mid-1980s a long established chain of Cantonese descendent New Zealand Chinese had substantial roots in Otago. These families and their community numbered approximately 13,000 full-blooded Kiwi Chinese, 4,000 Chinese-European, and approximately 2,000 Chinese-Polynesian (including Chinese-Maori) by 1986 (NZ Census). The immigration of Chinese from communist China during the 1960s and 1970s improved as Mao's government became more lenient towards overseas Chinese in general. This combined with relaxed restrictions in New Zealand itself allowed increasing numbers to migrate to New Zealand.

However, the numbers that trickled into the country prior to 1987 were nothing compared to what followed in the late-1980s and throughout the 1990s.

The final barriers to Chinese immigration, and indeed immigration from all countries to New Zealand were removed in 1987. The Immigrants Act of 1987 was a landmark move by the Labor Party that equalized immigration from all countries around the world. This is not to say that immigration became automatic, but immigrants from Asia and Africa now had equal rights to immigrants from North America and Europe. Beginning in 1987, people were finally allowed to immigrate to New Zealand based on merit, without any restrictions based on race, ethnicity, religion, and so forth.

Looking back almost twenty years later, the affect of this act are immediately clear. The population of the New Zealand Chinese in 1986 was 19,506. Ten years later the New Zealand Chinese numbered 82,320! It is also during this period that the number of female Chinese finally surpasses the number of male Chinese. In 1996 there were 42,696 females of Chinese descent in New Zealand, and only 39,624 of male descent. As James Ng pointed out in 1999, this recent influx had created two distinct Chinese New Zealand populations in the country. The long-established community who traces their families back to the gold rush or early twentieth century (the Kiwi Chinese); and the recent immigrants who vastly outnumber the earlier population and have migrated mostly to the north island (Ng 1999:249).

This influx of new Chinese sometimes caused severe reactions among the Pakeha and Maori populations. While these reactions – ranging from calls for stricter immigration laws to outright racist treatment – were centered in the larger cities, residents of Otago were not oblivious to the increase of Asians apparent in Dunedin. The appearance of Asian children in the local secondary and tertiary institutions became the most obvious expression of this new population. Of course, many of the children who attend schools in Dunedin were not accompanied by parents. Instead, these new students represent a new type of transnationalism which first appeared in the 1970s. These students are not accompanied by parents or family and live with ‘host parents’ whom they pay for room and board. Unfortunately, it is often these schoolchildren who receive the blunt of face-to-face racism in the streets of Dunedin today. It is not entirely clear where the racist attitudes of Pakeha children represent attitudes in their home environments or an adolescent way of defining themselves by degrading those of different ancestry.

In 2002, a victory for the New Zealand Chinese whose families arrived during the poll tax years occurred. Prime Minister Helen Clark spoke to the entire country through a televised broadcast and personally, on behalf of her country, apologized to the Chinese whose families had paid the poll tax (Wong 2003:258). The apology met with opposition from seemingly unlikely places: the New Zealand Chinese descendants, their representative organizations, and MP Pansy Wong. These protests centered mainly on the fact that few New Zealand Chinese were actually consulted prior to the announcement, including MP Wong. Also, concerns that such a move might increase racism against the Chinese were not unfounded. This second concern is easily understood as attitudes against the new Asian immigrants, especially the children. These concerns were based on situations like the one that arose in Auckland in 1996 between the Epsom Normal Primary School and the proposal of new policies regarding immigrant children.

In essence, these new policies targeted five to seven year old children and demanded a one-year residency plus an English exam before they would be allowed into school (Pang 2003:236)!

The 2002 apology included a monetary settlement. This was partially based upon the amounts of money collected by the poll tax, approximately 200,000 pounds in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s alone. The solution reached by the Chinese community was not to award monetary grants to individuals, but instead spends the money on raising awareness of the Chinese who had to pay the tax. This result was a renewed interest in the early Chinese in New Zealand, and funds were channeled into museums, cultural exhibits, and archaeological sites. In essence, the story of the Chinese in New Zealand had turned full circle. The New Zealand Chinese in Otago used funds and worked with the Department of Conservation and various educational facilities and museums to prepare their families for the future by better understanding their past. The story of the Chinese in Otago is not simply a minority's story, it is the story of interaction between ethnicities, it's a story of survival and adaptability, and most importantly it's a story of success.

Discussion – Assimilation/Acculturation or Integration/Hybridization?

The proceeding section provided an overview of the Kiwi Chinese in Otago. I tried to relate incidences in the region to related situations throughout New Zealand to provide context. In the earliest period this was less necessary as the majority of New Zealand's Chinese population lived in Otago and Southland. However, as the twentieth century progressed, the Chinese communities in Wellington and Auckland eventually eclipsed the Otago population in size and numbers. In the early twentieth century, Haining Street in Wellington held enough Chinese to almost warrant the term 'Chinatown', although it never reached the level of insularity or size that characterizes Chinatowns in Australia or North America (Shum 2003). The time-depth and ancestry of New Zealand Chinese in Otago, as opposed to these other communities, lends itself to deeper analysis. Several of the authors referenced in this chapter talk about assimilation (see Ng 1999, 2003) or acculturation (see Ritchie 1986, 2003) of the Chinese into Otago and New Zealand society. I have not mentioned these themes until now for a specific reason. I believe the use of these concepts does not successfully explain how the overseas Chinese in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries became Kiwi Chinese.

The term assimilation suggests the partial or total dissolution of one culture as its members adapt to a dominant culture. In New Zealand, acculturation/assimilation has been looked at in a variety of ways. For instance, historical archaeologists such as Neville Ritchie attempt to establish the level of assimilation/acculturation with material culture. Artifacts recovered from sites inhabited by the overseas Chinese are analyzed, and the percentages of Chinese versus European items are used to establish the 'Chineseness' of the inhabitants. This approach has been criticized by a number of historical archaeologists over the past twenty years (Greenwood 1993:377-384). Unfortunately, an improved method of measuring cultural hybridization through material remains has yet to present itself.

Historians typically make use of the assimilation/acculturation model in a similar way. This model, in relation to cultural blending, often requires the active destruction of cultural identity. Acculturation, while a 'gentler' concept, implies an adoption of cultural identity. In relation to Otago's overseas Chinese community who have become Kiwi Chinese, these terms do

not accurately explain how this transformation occurred. The assimilation of the overseas Chinese in Otago into ‘mainstream’ New Zealand society has been used as a core concept by Dr. James Ng. In essence, this argument suggests that the overseas Chinese became Kiwi Chinese out of their desire to blend with the dominant, European-derived society. Dr. Ng states that it was the Chinese who “preferred to speak English, wanted New Zealand food, and made New Zealand friends” (Ng 1999:229). Such a statement has two meanings: that the Chinese community and especially their children desired to acculturate into New Zealand society at the cost of their own cultural identity, and that the overseas Chinese had an active voice in doing so. These meanings are not inherently ‘good or bad’ and both demonstrate intelligent, thoughtful decisions by the Chinese. However, this model still suggests that the ethnic Chinese in Otago occupy a kind of outside or transitional identity until they surrender their Chinese identity. Of course, the ethnic Chinese retain the features of their ancestors, and this aspect continually affects their daily lives.

Sociologists often examine racist attitudes of the dominant New Zealand (read:European) society in Otago as the reason that many overseas Chinese wished to ‘blend’ into their new cultural surroundings. The desire to make a living and provide for one’s family is a powerful motivator. Of course, racial attitudes in other locations have produced very different results, such as the large Chinatowns in North America. Niti Pawakapan discusses the desire of the new Chinese immigrants to Otago during the 1920s, 1930, and 1940s by demonstrating that language barriers and a desire to establish businesses may have played a more dominant role than racist attitudes (Pawakapan 2003:205). While Pawakapan accurately portrays the role the Chinese had in defining their new community in New Zealand society, it rests upon the idea that the Pakeha and Chinese population had little interaction. This may have been the case in Sydney, San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Toronto where large Chinatowns developed and insulated subsequent migrations of Chinese from the dominant society. In Otago nothing like a ‘Chinatown’ ever developed, unless one counts the settlements at Round Hill and Lawrence during the gold rushes. However, both of these towns were locations of increasingly friendly interaction between the Chinese and European populations. For instance, eleven Chinese-European intermarriages took place at the Lawrence Chinese Camp in 1879 alone.

Some researchers have recently begun looking for new models to explain how overseas Chinese populations blend into the larger society of their new homes. Dr. Neville Ritchie has recently revisited some of his previous statements on acculturation by responding to Jane Lydon’s 1999 study of the Sydney Chinese in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Ritchie reconsiders statements he made twenty-five years earlier and agrees that sites such as Lawrence and Round Hill, sites where different ethnicities interact, and “stressed that differences are often the foci of interaction rather than representing social isolation and distance” (Ritchie 2003:44). Ritchie continues by stating that these initial overseas Chinese were not able to acculturate into the dominant Anglo-European population of New Zealand. Ritchie’s comments describe the experiences of the first generation of Chinese. Of course, the ‘dominant Anglo European’ population had themselves only been established in Otago for a generation by the time the first Chinese began arriving in the 1860s. I would suggest that, at least in Otago, the Chinese did not assimilate/acculturate, their numbers and the youth of Otago’s European population allowed for the generation of a unique situation.

Kiwi Chinese who actively research their own past and culture in New Zealand are beginning to express their desire to develop a new understanding of how the transition from overseas Chinese to Kiwi Chinese took place. For instance, Henry Chan, in his paper at the 1998 *Chinese in Australasia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change* conference, stated that he preferred to think of himself as a cultural hybrid rather than a multiculturalist. I believe he was suggesting that his own identity is not a case of European or Chinese in relation to certain circumstances, but that his identity was the result of combining European and Chinese aspects into his everyday view of himself, New Zealand, and the world. While historians and archaeologists continue to employ ideas of assimilation and acculturation in their attempt to understand the development of Kiwi Chinese culture in New Zealand, psychologists and some sociologists, especially those who work with migrant populations in the modern era, are developing new models to explain this transformation.

Elsie Ho, Yunn-Ya Chen, and Richard Bedford also presented a paper at the same 1998 conference as Henry Chan, and elaborated on these new ideas. In brief, these authors stated that using the assimilation model, especially among recent adolescent migrants, is flawed because many recent migrants draw upon their Chinese and newly-found New Zealand identity to define themselves. The new model discussed by these authors is termed the 'integration model' and states that migrants are able to integrate into their new host societies without surrendering their own cultural identity. These authors draw upon recent work in migration studies that look at the affects of migration upon recent immigrants and their children (see Aronowitz 1984), particularly the work of Hurh and Kim. These authors really define the 'integration model' that Ho, Chen and Bedford are working within. In brief, Hurh and Kim look at the ability of Korean immigrants in Los Angeles to selectively choose elements of their traditional Korean culture and American society to create new identities. While all of these authors focused on late-twentieth century migrants, I believe that the integration model can be projected into the past. In fact, similar to the way creolization and hybridization have been used to talk about cultural blending historically in other locations around the globe, especially Latin America and the Caribbean.

The first known use of the word 'creole' occurred on 2 April 1567 by Garcia de Castro in Peru (Fleischmann 2003:XV). At that time, the word had already come to represent people, regardless of ethnicity, who had grown up in a different environment. In this case, the full-blooded children of Spanish relocated to South America who had been born in the new world. Over time the terms creole and creolization have represented linguistic concepts, racialized minorities, new ethnicities, and most recently new communities. At the heart of creolization is the idea of blending, the idea that two distinct languages or cultures (and often both) have mixed to produce something new and unique.

A different, less ethnically-charged idea to surface in recent years is the idea of hybridization. Hybridization, like creolization, centers on "the encounter with difference and with power differentials" (Kapchan and Strong 1999: 241). The difference between Chinese and Pakeha in Otago is internal and external. The internal differences are related to cultural backgrounds while the external is often represented by the physical differences between the two ethnicities. The power differential, typically expressed economically and politically, has been negotiated by Chinese throughout the history of Otago, by businessmen like Choie Sew Hoy or politicians like Peter Chin. The boundary between Chinese and Pakeha in Otago has been and

remains distinct, but permeable. The negotiation and transcendence of this boundary represented a powerful re-definition of one's identity. Typically, the first Chinese to make this transition were those Chinese born and raised in Otago, the second generation children.

I believe the transition from overseas to Kiwi Chinese occurred in the early-twentieth century. Other researchers tend to place this event towards the mid-twentieth century, or later. The second generation and new migrants of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s began integrating with the Pakeha community in increasingly more complex ways, drawing on the earlier overseas Chinese in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Intermarriages, while still low in numbers, continued throughout this time period. The products of these unions, children, were powerfully situated. Their power did not derive from inherited fortunes or political influence, but from their ability to negotiate ethnic boundaries, shared with their friends, the 'full-blooded' Chinese and Pakeha children they interacted with on a daily basis. As these early-twentieth century children grew up, they began to successfully negotiate and transcend the ethnic boundaries propagated by their European and Chinese parents.

Chinese-Pakeha hybridization in Otago is complex and not well understood. However, its affects and history can be seen in numerous places. For instance, the Chinese New Year's celebration in Dunedin is one of the largest public gatherings in Otago. The expressions of interest among both the Pakeha and Chinese communities in their shared past, especially on the goldfields, is apparent throughout central Otago. Numerous roadside parks and interpretive centers attempt to tell an unbiased history of both ethnicities. A casual walk along Dunedin's business district towards the Octagon reveals equal numbers of Asian and European restaurants, with even more Asian restaurants opening as new migrations occurred after the 1987 New Immigrants Act. Increasing numbers of intermarriages continue to the present day, producing subsequent generations, fully capable of drawing upon their diverse heritage to define their, and Otago's, identity. The most important aspect of this idea is the fact that each person has the power to define who they are, that individuals are not powerless in the face of globalization or democratic capitalism. Instead, while factors such as globalization and internationalization influence individuals and provide them with ready-made templates of identity, the individual still retains the power to define themselves.

Conclusion

The above discussion is unfinished. I believe that the history of Otago, the constant interactions between Pakeha and Chinese, has been more ethnically interactive than previously thought. Concepts such as assimilation and acculturation obscure the power of these earlier residents. These ideas suggest that one was either Pakeha or Chinese, and to succeed in Otago required adoption of Pakeha society, regardless of ethnicity. However, history contains increasing numbers of examples where the combination of these cultures resulted in success. The early combination of European business strategy and knowledge of Chinese tastes lead businessmen like Choie Sew Hoy to create successful export/import businesses.

I say the above discussion is incomplete because much research remains. For instance, a clear understanding of the Cantonese migrants who moved to Otago in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century does not exist. Researchers such as Dr. James Ng have talked at length

about certain habits of the Chinese: such as their preference for boiled water and fresh produce and the healthy affects these afforded on the goldfields, or the clan and provincial relationships responsible for subsequent migrations. However, what does not exist is a full understanding of these and other key concepts. For instance, did the Cantonese who traveled to Otago typically mix with other minorities in China? If not, why? If so, to what degree? What were the basic lifeways of eighteenth and nineteenth century Cantonese? Where did Chinese material culture (i.e. soy jars, porcelain, opium bowls, etc.) used in Otago originate? What were the basic farming practices of the Chinese in Canton, did it change significantly in Otago? In fact, anything beyond a cursory understanding of Cantonese lifeways is missing. Sophisticated comparative studies between overseas Chinese and nineteenth century populations in SE China have yet to occur. Also, studies into overseas Chinese in New Zealand continue to rely on models developed largely in North America (especially the archaeological investigations), where the experiences between Anglo-Europeans and Chinese were different.

As the twenty-first century begins, new models of understanding need to be created in order to truly understand the experiences of overseas Chinese. Regional models that describe the overseas Chinese in New Zealand, Australia, Japan, North America, South America, Europe, Africa, and so forth should be explored. Ideas such as integration and hybridization suggest that each location will have varied cultural combinations. Also, locations such as the Caribbean and South America, where creolized populations existed when the Chinese arrived would provide distinctive comparative studies to clarify these ideas. Ultimately, the forms of cultural identity that develop among the Chinese and their descendants in each locality should be treated as independent. The search for universal laws to describe overseas Chinese experiences is flawed and impossible to create. The Kiwi Chinese in Otago, while sharing many traits with overseas Chinese elsewhere, have actively created their own modern identity. To define this identity as assimilation and acculturation denies, in part, individual power and choices. Therefore, I hope to engage in and encourage others to find ways to project recent ideas on integration and hybridization among modern migrants into the past, and in the process generate a more complete understanding of Kiwi Chinese identity in Otago.

Works Cited and Referenced

- Appendices to the Journal of the Houses of Representatives (AJHR). 1861. Goldfields Warden's Reports, Section D, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Appendices to the Journal of the Houses of Representatives (AJHR). 1863. Goldfields Warden's Reports, Section D, Wellington, New Zealand
- Aronowitz, Michael. 1984. 'The Social and Emotional Adjustment of Immigrant Children: A Review of the Literature.' *International Migration Review*, 18(2):237-257.
- Bristow, Peter. 1994. *Archaeology and Ethnicity of the Remote Otago Goldfields*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Otago, New Zealand.
- Butler, Peter. 1977. *Opium & Gold*. Waiura, New Zealand: Alister Taylor Publishing.

- Chan, Henry. 1998. 'Rethinking the Chinese Diasporic Identity: Citizenship, Cultural Identity, and the Chinese in Australia.' Paper presented at the 1998 *Chinese in Australia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change* meetings of the Association for the Study of Chinese and Their Descendants in Australasia and the Pacific Islands (ASCKAPI). Dunedin, New Zealand.
- Fleischmann, Ulrich. 2003. 'The Sociocultural and Linguistic Profile of a Concept.' In *A Pepper-Pot of Cultures: Aspects of Creolization in the Caribbean*, edited by Gordon Collier & Ulrich Fleischmann. Matatu (27-28), Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Grief, Stuart W. 1974. *The Overseas Chinese in New Zealand*. Singapore: Asia Pacific Press.
- Ho, Elsie, Yunn-Ya Chen, and Richard Bedford. 1998. 'Integrating Dual Identities: The Experience of New Chinese New Zealanders.' Paper presented at the 1998 *Chinese in Australia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change* meetings of the Association for the Study of Chinese and Their Descendants in Australasia and the Pacific Islands (ASCKAPI). Dunedin, New Zealand.
- Hurh, Won Moo, and Kwang Chung Kim. 1984. 'Adhesive Sociocultural Adaptation of Korean Immigrants in the U.S.: An Alternative Strategy of Minority Adaptation.' *International Migration Review*, 18(2):188-216.
- Ip, Manying. 1996. *Dragons on the Long White Cloud: The Making of Chinese New Zealanders*. North Shore City, New Zealand: Tandem Press.
- Ip, Manying, ed., 2003. *Unfolding History, Evolving History: The Chinese in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Kapchan, Deborah A., and Pauline Turner Strong. 1999. 'Theorizing the Hybrid.' *The Journal of American Folklore*, 112(445):239-253.
- Lee, Jenny Bol Jun. 2003. 'Eating Porkbones and Puha with Chopsticks: Maori-Chinese Constructions.' In *Unfolding History, Evolving History: The Chinese in New Zealand*, edited by Manying Ip. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Lee, John A. 1977. *Early Days in New Zealand*. Martinborough: Alister Taylor.
- Ng, James. 1993. *Windows on a Chinese Past Vol. 1*. Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books.
- Ng, James. 1995. *Windows on a Chinese Past Vol. 2*. Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books.
- Ng, James. 1998. 'Social Differences between Kiwi-Chinese and Chinese Newcomers.' Paper presented at the 1998 *Chinese in Australia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change* meetings of the Association for the Study of Chinese and Their Descendants in Australasia and the Pacific Islands (ASCKAPI). Dunedin, New Zealand.

- Ng, James. 1999. *Windows on a Chinese Past Vol. 2*. Dunedin: Otago Heritage Books.
- Ng, James. 2003. 'The Sojourner Experience: The Cantonese Goldseekers in New Zealand, 1865-1901.' In *Unfolding History, Evolving History: The Chinese in New Zealand*, edited by Manying Ip. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Pang, David. 2003. 'Education, Politics and Chinese New Zealander Identities: The Case of the 1995 Epsom Normal Primary School's "Residency Clause and English Test".' In *Unfolding History, Evolving History: The Chinese in New Zealand*, edited by Manying Ip. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Pawakapan, Niti. 2003. 'No Longer Migrants: Southern New Zealand Chinese in the Twentieth Century.' In *Chinese Migrants Abroad: Cultural, Educational and Social Dimensions of the Chinese Diaspora*, edited by Michael W. Charney, Brenda S. A. Yeoh, and Tong Chee Kiong. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Ritchie, Neville A. 1986. *Archaeology and History of the Chinese in Southern New Zealand During the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Acculturation, Adaptation, and Change*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Otago, New Zealand.
- Ritchie, Neville A. 2003. 'Traces of the Past: Archaeological Insights into the New Zealand Chinese Experience in Southern New Zealand.' In *Unfolding History, Evolving History: The Chinese in New Zealand*, edited by Manying Ip. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Sedgewick, Charles P. 1982. *The Politics of Survival: A Social History of the Chinese in New Zealand*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Canterbury, New Zealand.
- Sheung, Wong Liu. 1998. 'The Changing Face of Chineseness.' Paper presented at the 1998 *Chinese in Australia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change* meetings of the Association for the Study of Chinese and Their Descendants in Australasia and the Pacific Islands (ASCKAPI). Dunedin, New Zealand.
- Simmons, Alexy. 1998. 'Bedroom Politics: Ladies of the Night and Men of the Day.' In *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, edited by A. Bernard Knapp, Vincent C. Pigott, and Eugenia W. Herbert. New York, Routledge.
- Shum, Lynette. 2003. 'Remembering Chinatown: Haining Street of Wellington.' In *Unfolding History, Evolving History: The Chinese in New Zealand*, edited by Manying Ip. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Yuan, Sylvia Yang. 1998. 'The Implication of Multicultural Citizenship for New Zealand Chinese.' Paper presented at the 1998 *Chinese in Australia and the Pacific: Old and New Migrations and Cultural Change* meetings of the Association for the Study of Chinese and Their Descendants in Australasia and the Pacific Islands (ASCKAPI). Dunedin, New Zealand.

Wong, Gilbert. 2003. 'Is Saying Sorry Enough.' In *Unfolding History, Evolving History: The Chinese in New Zealand* edited by Manying Ip. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Yen, Ching-hwang. 1995. *Studies in Modern Overseas Chinese History*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.