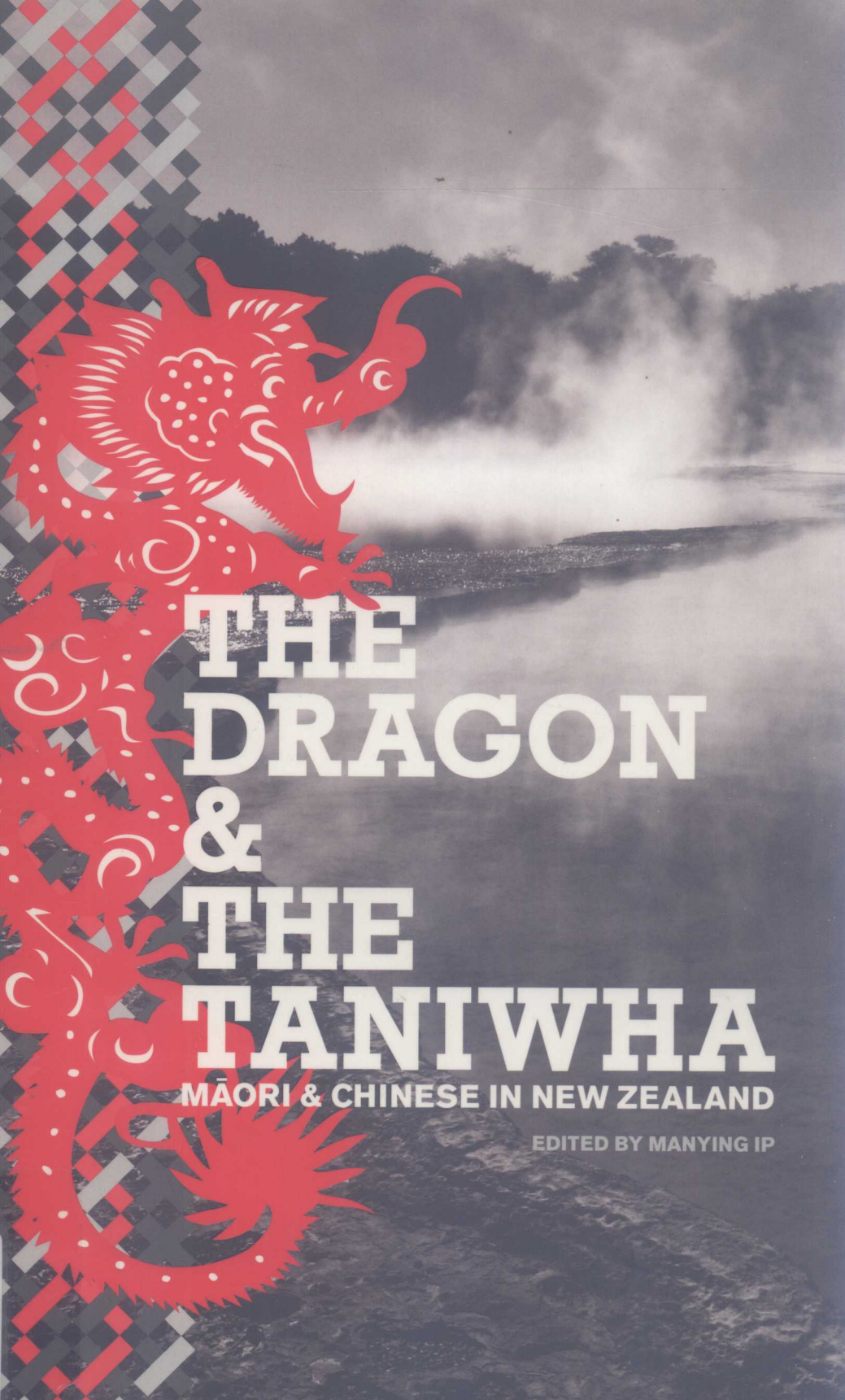
THE
DRAGON
&
THE
TANIWHA
MĀORI & CHINESE IN NEW ZEALAND
EDITED BY MANYING IP

THE DRAGON & THE TANIWHA

MĀORI & CHINESE IN NEW ZEALAND

EDITED BY MANYING IP

AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY PRESS

First published 2009

Auckland University Press
University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand
www.auckland.ac.nz/aup

ISBN 978 1 86940 436 9

Publication is kindly assisted by the School of Asian Studies,
Faculty of Arts, University of Auckland

National Library of New Zealand Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
The dragon and the taniwha : Māori and Chinese in New Zealand
/ edited by Manying Ip.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-86940-436-9
1. Chinese—New Zealand—History. 2. Maori (New Zealand people)
—History. 3. Minorities—New Zealand. 4. Immigrants—New Zealand.
5. New Zealand—Race relations. 6. New Zealand—Ethnic relations.
I. Ip, Manying.
305.800993—dc 22

Cover design: Spencer Levine
Printed by Astra Print Ltd, Wellington

FOREWORD

MARGARET MUTU

In 2002 I attended a seminar that Manying Ip was delivering on Māori–Chinese encounters. As she talked I found myself recalling many pleasant childhood and undergraduate student memories of my times with Chinese families in Auckland, especially during the 1950s, 60s and 70s. I recalled the lasting friendships that resulted, my Māori-Chinese cousin who married into her Chinese culture but never forgot her Māori side, and the number of times I had been struck by the common features that the Māori and Chinese cultures share, such as our respect for our elderly, our strong family orientations, and the importance of treating our guests well. Then, during question time in the seminar, someone made a bald statement about Māori not liking Chinese. I knew intuitively that the statement was wrong and I said so.

Soon after that, Manying invited me to be part of her Marsden-funded project research team on Māori–Chinese encounters. Although the research topic fascinated me, I considered others to be much better qualified to take part. It took Manying some time to persuade me to participate. I warned her that there was a huge amount I would have to learn and that large areas I needed to know about could not be fully understood by studying the literature, and, since this was an area which had not received much scholarly attention, literature was sparse.

From the outset my whānau and friends made it easier because they were also fascinated with the project and spent many hours with me recalling, talking about and explaining their experiences, and enduring my endless questions. Furthermore, the multidisciplinary research team, made up of postgraduate students who came from Māori studies, Asian studies, sociology and psychology, was strongly motivated and they searched out many references for me. But I had trouble understanding the references. There was something fundamental missing. I knew it was my lack of any real experience or knowledge of the Chinese world. For even though this was a research project on Māori–Chinese encounters and therefore had to be grounded in New Zealand, the missing link lay in China.

So Manying invited me to visit her home in Hong Kong. With great patience and endurance she completely immersed me in her heritage, its culture and history. She called on many friends, family and colleagues to show and explain their world to me, and to yet again endure my endless questions. Then she took me to Taiwan where we visited universities and museums, as well as indigenous communities in Southern Taiwan who are of Austronesian rather than Chinese descent, and therefore more closely related to Māori. And over many hours and days, she shared with me her and her people's experiences of the upheavals that have shaped the Chinese world of today. For me, the missing link had been found.

I also came to understand why Māori and Chinese in New Zealand have so much in common and why we are natural allies. Not only do we have shared cultural values and practices, we have similarities in our histories of contact with the British as a colonial power. Yet there is still antagonism there between Māori and Chinese. Finding the source of this animosity was not hard. White New Zealand policies were the norm in New Zealand until the 1970s, with both Māori and Chinese subjected to racism. But that same white supremacy which discriminates against non-Western cultures also tried to keep them apart. Evidence of the propaganda used to try to achieve that is easy to find, not only in the historical record but also today.

The effectiveness of that propaganda has been fascinating to study. Beyond the wall of white supremacy are Māori and Chinese communities who continue to live their own lives. Some are well protected from the wall's stark glare, and strong alliances have been built between Māori and Chinese families. In those communities, developing understanding and learning about each other's cultures is highly valued and the Dragon and the Taniwha enjoy each other's company. Others are still wary of the wall's dazzling white glare, but they try to ignore it. In those communities the Dragon and the Taniwha keep an eye on each other from a comfortable distance. Others again are dazed by the insidious racism and find themselves buying into criticism of each other. Here the Dragon and the Taniwha snarl and swipe at each other.

Chinese have been in New Zealand almost as long as the British. The many aspects of Māori–Chinese encounters that this book provides are long overdue and most welcome.

Ngā mihi mahana, ngā mihi aroha ki a koutou ngā kaituhituhi, ngā kairangahau, ki a koe hoki, Manying. Nā koutou i hanga tēnei taonga ātaahua, ā, mō ngā whakatupuranga kei te haere mai.

My warmest and sincerest greetings to you, the writers and the researchers, and especially to you, Manying. It is you all who have constructed this beautiful gift, and it will pass down to the generations to come.

Karikari, September 2008

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Dragon and the Taniwha has grown out of 'Māori–Chinese Encounters: the Indigenous and the Immigrant', a Marsden-funded research project. Several of the researchers in the original team wrote the chapters which have formed the core of the present volume. More contributors joined when I called a symposium in late 2006, and since then we have each worked on the particular themes collectively agreed upon. What joined us was a common vision that the subject area, which had not been seriously explored and suffered from a paucity of materials, was worth working on.

I thank all my fellow contributors for their hard work and professionalism, and particularly for their infinite patience towards my queries and requests during the long process of writing and editing. Their graciousness and good humour sustained my spirits in many down moments.

During the writing period, each of the individual chapters underwent an internal reviewing process. Besides mutually reviewing the chapters, we also received help from academic colleagues round the country. The following persons should be thanked for their generous support as our internal reviewers: Michael Walker, Richard Hill, Kirsten Wong, Paul Callister, Jenny Lee, Colleen Ward, Paul Spoonley, Paola Voci, Stephen Turner and Sarah Shieff. Their criticisms and comments helped to improve the quality of our chapters. We also thank the anonymous external reviewer who wrote very helpful detailed comments for Auckland University Press.

We thank the staff of the Auckland University Press. Elizabeth Caffin read the proposal and Sam Elworthy read the first draft. Annie Irving oversaw the production process; Katrina Duncan did the internal book design. John Huria, who copy-edited my earlier book *Being Māori-Chinese: Mixed Identities* so ably, again worked on this present volume. Ginny Sullivan produced the index. The production team was efficient, effective and friendly, a pleasure to work with. We acknowledge the funding support of the Research Committee of the School of Asian Studies.

We should thank all the interviewees, Māori, Chinese and Pākehā, who took part in our face-to-face interviews and online survey. We also acknowledge the

help given to us by staff members of Statistics New Zealand who pulled out specific demographic data for us and also answered our queries. During the three-year research period, a number of senior students worked on the project as assistants: Senka Bozic-Vrbancic, Te Aroha Rountree, Robin Tarau and Jack Nielsen. Their contribution enriched the data file resources on which our research was built.

Our grateful thanks go to all the persons mentioned above, and the editor and authors assume full responsibility for errors of fact and interpretation.

INTRODUCTION

MANYING IP

The Dragon and the Taniwha is the first comprehensive study of how Māori and Chinese interacted in New Zealand. This book examines the relationship between the Māori as New Zealand's indigenous people (the tangata whenua) and the Chinese, both as the country's earliest and most sizeable non-European (hence non-colonial) immigrant group, and also, in recent decades, as the most high-profile ethnic group in the 'Asian influx' which has aroused so much attention. We believe that knowledge of the interaction between these two groups holds the key to real insight into this country's race relations and national identity. While we acknowledge that the study of two particular groups of people, no matter how important they are, does not comprehensively cover all the divergent races which make up the national population,[1] we consider that Māori and Chinese are distinctive enough, both in their own particular histories and in their mode of mutual interaction through New Zealand's evolving sociopolitical saga, to exemplify certain crucial aspects of intergroup dynamics.

The relationship between Chinese and Māori is traced from the earliest encounters in the mid-nineteenth century – when it was characterised largely by peaceful and cordial coexistence – right up to contemporary times, when attitudes have become mutually wary and at times tense. The evolution of this intergroup relationship has not developed in a vacuum, but has mutated over long periods when the sociopolitical identities of both populations changed. Historically, both Māori and Chinese were severely marginalised communities in neocolonial New Zealand. The Māori were economically and socially disadvantaged, while the Chinese suffered the additional burden of legislative discrimination.[2] We wished to test the hypothesis that a certain affinity in adversity existed between the two groups,[3] when both were soil-tillers struggling for survival.[4] The early Chinese were never considered to be 'real New Zealanders' by the Pākehā (New Zealand Europeans), but Māori were largely friendly towards these down-trodden 'Hainamana'.[5] The Chinese regarded Māori as neighbours and friends, and

employed them as seasonal workers in their market gardens. Māori generally regarded Chinese as good employers who provided prompt cash payment as well as good meals. The socioeconomic status of these two groups was largely on a par. Their children played well at school while the parents traded vegetables for fish and eels.

Restrictive immigration legislation targeting the Chinese meant that most of them arrived as itinerant bachelor workers, leaving their families back in China. The severely unbalanced male–female ratio of the Chinese population led to Chinese men forming relationships with Māori women. Cohabitation and formal marriages resulted, leading to the formation of sizeable mixed Māori-Chinese families.[6] Chapter 8 of this volume explores such families with insider sensitivity. It is written by Jennifer Hauraki, who enjoys dual Māori-Chinese heritage.

While there is strong evidence to suggest that past relationships between Māori and Chinese had been largely cordial, even symbiotic, developments in the last two decades have indicated a deterioration of this relationship. In the most recent census of 2006, Māori constituted just over 14 per cent of the total population, at around 566,000. The population of ethnic Chinese numbered around 150,000 and it is projected to double by 2021, one of the fastest-growing communities in the country. In contemporary New Zealand, Māori are the country's indigenous people whose 'Treaty partner' status has been acknowledged since the 1980s, while Chinese still remain the classic 'essential outsiders'.[7] Among the recent chorus of shrill anti-Asian voices are some eminent Māori protagonists. In the current climate, both Chinese and Māori seem too ready to see each other as the archetypal 'Other'. Māori grizzle about 'those new Asians [who] are being mollycoddled, coming in, taking jobs, and pushing us to the bottom of the economic heap'. Chinese complain of 'Māori privileges' and express resentment towards Māori whom they see as being 'spoilt' by too many government benefits. Each group accuses the other of being welfare cheats and taking an unfair share of public money. What lies at the roots of this recent animosity? The chapters in part II of this book give a critical analysis of the phenomenon of two communities growing apart.

It has been widely assumed that the recent tension between these two groups is the direct result of the government's liberal immigration policy of 1987, which introduced a points system based on personal merits rather than country of origin, thereby enabling many Chinese and other Asians to come into the country. The 'Asian influx', therefore, has been blamed as the root cause of racial tensions in New Zealand.

While it is true that New Zealand social circumstances and demographics have changed drastically because of the highly visible emergence of the 'new Asians', we feel that it is highly questionable as to whether their arrival actually caused the social disruption. Rather, the advent of this new, apparently affluent and upwardly mobile social class has become a convenient target of jealousy and

criticism from both Pākehā and Māori. Asians have been blamed for a wide range of contemporary negative issues: environmental deterioration, social injustices brought on by the uneven distribution of wealth, and other adverse effects of globalisation.[8] Particularly in the highly politicised urban centres, Māori and Chinese seem to be placed in static and binary opposition.[9] However, if we blame the arrival of visibly different newcomers for social ills, then nation states can only keep a largely static, homogeneous population, which is clearly impossible and economically nonviable. The challenge therefore is: how do we build a cohesive national identity by ensuring that the resident 'host population', especially the indigenous people, accept immigrant groups?

In the decades before the Asian influx and the watershed years following the 1987 shift in immigration policy, Māori demographic and cultural landscapes had been changing rapidly. Māori used to be a rural people, living communally, but rapid urbanisation uprooted many and created social instability. This occurred long before the Asian influx. In 1945, less than 15 per cent of Māori lived in urban areas; by 1971 it was around 50 per cent; by 1981 it was nearly 60 percent.[10] From the 1930s to the 1970s, Māori, who had long suffered land loss and rights deprivation, were driven to nascent cities and there they interacted with the Chinese – who also flocked to urban areas to work in market gardens, laundries, fruit shops and grocery stores. While the number of Chinese remained small and static through several decades, the number of people claiming Māori ethnicity increased steadily. During these decades, the Chinese were climbing their social ladder through sheer hard work and education, fast becoming the country's 'model minority'. Māori were waking up to the civil rights movement, they brought land rights to the fore, and they worked to reclaim their endangered heritage language by building up the kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa movements.

In the 1990s, Māori and Chinese were once more thrown together in the big cities of the country, and this time the chance encounters engendered conflicts and anxieties.

By 1996 over 81 per cent of Māori lived in urban areas. The Chinese population was increasing very rapidly because of immigration; the Chinese were also predominantly urban; and many of the newcomers had no experience of interacting with Māori. Māori felt aggrieved, sidelined and overwhelmed. The new Chinese, who migrated after satisfying stringent immigration requirements, were surprised and hurt to find that they were treated more like gatecrashers than welcomed guests. It can be said that Māori and Chinese became highly aware of their numerical minority status in New Zealand, and both have yet to establish a strong sense of political and social security.

This book critically examines many of the interconnected issues – historical, social, political and cultural – which, collectively constructed, have continued to influence the relationship between Māori and Chinese. Why do Chinese, who philosophically sympathise with how Māori were colonised, hesitate to support

Māori efforts to right past wrongs? Why do Māori, who feel that they have many cultural similarities with Chinese, at times become so fiercely anti-immigrant? Is this the result of media hype? *The Dragon and the Taniwha* examines the role of media and literary representations of Māori and Chinese, especially the role of the Chinese language and Māori media.

Studies of New Zealand's race relations have been largely focused on the Pākehā–Māori relationship. The intergroup dynamic with the Chinese, the country's oldest non-white migrant group, has been largely ignored.[11] We boldly suggest that the 'Two peoples, one country' formula hitherto used as a gauge to measure New Zealand's race relations needs to be qualified with the addition of the Asian element. As the country's demographics continue to change rapidly, the old Pākehā–Māori dialogue needs to be expanded to become a Pākehā–Māori–Asian triangulation. This book also points out that the Asian element should have been there as part of New Zealand's social history, except for the fact that colonial New Zealand kept a blinkered view which ignored the Chinese who had been present since the 1850s.

The role of New Zealand governments – both colonial and modern – and the influence of the dominant Pākehā as the majority group are also examined in this book. New Zealand evolved into a modern nation state through a process of continuously negotiating race relations and identity politics. How mainstream society has treated the Māori and the Chinese, and how the relationship between these two groups was viewed by the dominant Pākehā, are questions which help illuminate the evolution of New Zealand's national identity.

•

Structurally, this book is divided into three main parts.

Part I, 'The Historical Context', sets the backdrop of Māori and Chinese interactions. The first chapter outlines the ancient ancestral links, gives a broad survey of existent literature and establishes the 'distant cousin relationship' between the two groups. Chapter 2 looks at the 'majority factor' (that is, the Pākehā factor) which shaped these interactions. The third chapter argues that the discourses of Māori and Chinese actually did much to shape New Zealand's national identity in the crucial formative years of 1890–1914. When the Pākehā majority fashioned the artificial construction of an ethnic hierarchy that pigeonholed where each community should fit within the national framework, it actually dictated the future mode of interaction between Māori and Chinese. Chapter 4 examines the legislative and spatial factors from the 1920s to the 1980s that threw the two groups together. Legislatively, the anti-Chinese laws which hampered female migration brought about a Chinese male bachelor community in New Zealand. The laws were originally designed to prevent Chinese procreation, but they inadvertently created opportunities for Chinese men to form sexual relationships with Māori

and Pākehā women. During the same decades, Māori, who were deprived of their communal lands, flocked into the cities and townships as labourers, and the process put them into close contact with the Chinese.

Part II, 'The Contemporary Scene', examines aspects of current Māori–Chinese interactions from different perspectives, using different methodologies. Chapter 5 examines the demographic profiles of the two groups, particularly examining what their profiles are like when the populations intersect. The two chapters which follow analyse how Chinese view Māori, and how Māori look at immigrants, as well as immigration policy. Chapter 6 uses qualitative and quantitative analyses to chart how different groups of Chinese – local born, settlers, more recent immigrants, rural and urban groups – view Māori. Chapter 7 examines how Māori look at Asian immigration, and looks for the 'Māori-specific' factor which might have made Māori so strongly adversarial towards the immigration question. Chapter 8 portrays mixed Māori-Chinese families in today's New Zealand.

Part III, 'Media and Literature', critically analyses the possible role of media and literature in shaping Māori–Chinese interaction, and queries whether we are able to better see the 'true picture of Chinese' or 'the true picture of Māori' through depictions by writers from within those ethnic groups. How Chinese language media and Māori media portray 'the other group' might have strong bearings on how the two peoples relate to each other. Similarly, New Zealand literature written by Māori, Chinese and Pākehā writers is examined for possible clues which might throw light on the understanding of Māori–Chinese relationships.

The Dragon and the Taniwha grew out of a Marsden Foundation funded research project entitled 'Māori-Chinese Encounters', and many of the contributors writing for this book were also investigators and researchers for that project, with a long history of dedicated involvement and close cooperation with one another. Five chapters are the works of emergent scholars, each of them writing on a topic which has been the subject of their own in-depth empirical research.

Jun Lu writes on Māori–Chinese ancestral links, surveying the corpus of available anthropological and biological works, concluding that 'Chinese could be regarded as a close maternal cousin to Māori, sharing common biological and cultural "genes" even though they are more than 6000 years old'. James Chang writes on 'Māori views of immigration'. Using political studies theories and citing statistical evidence, he points out that Māori are consistently more anti-immigrant than Pākehā, irrespective of their educational standard or their income level. He uses cross-tabulations to find out what reasons might lie behind such constant anti-immigrant attitudes. Jennifer Hauraki writes about 'Māori-Chinese families'. As a young psychologist of mixed Māori-Chinese background, she brings to her chapter not only a strong theoretical framework, but also a deeply nuanced interpretation of how Māori-Chinese identity has

been shaped by conflicting social forces. This chapter also provides an analysis of the challenges they face, and how some of them have succeeded in finding the necessary space within a society that alternately neglected, ridiculed and finally supported them. Sally Liangni Liu's 'Māori Issues in Contemporary Chinese Language Media' and Kathy Ooi's 'Insider Dilemmas: The Politics of Reading and Writing Ethnic Minority Fiction' represent salient parts of their postgraduate dissertations. Liu finds that new Chinese immigrants depend heavily on local Chinese language newspapers, radio and websites as their source of information. Her content analysis of Māori-related reports reveals that Māori news stories are under-represented and stereotypes of Māori are commonly circulated in New Zealand Chinese language media. Ooi discusses the works of two Māori writers and two Chinese writers, and examines the pitfalls when their 'voice' was deemed to be representative and authentic, and the writers were regarded as 'spokespersons' for their respective communities. She queries why ethnicity is regarded as significant in the works of minority writers, which may blur and distort the proper appreciation of the fictional work.

The remaining chapters are written by established authors who are recognised experts in their respective disciplines. David Pearson and Nigel Murphy both look at the colonial era when New Zealand was part of the British Empire. Pearson uses sociological theory to provide a conceptual framework within which both Māori (with a 'citizenship-plus status') and Chinese (long-time 'aliens') have been 'differently positioned' and firmly controlled by the majority Pākehā state. Murphy uses historical methodology to demonstrate how Māori and Chinese featured in 'Pākehā representations and misrepresentations . . . in the formation of New Zealand national identity'. Murphy suggests that the myth of the 'Aryan Māori' and the 'alien Chinese' both helped 'the cementing, consolidation and maintenance of White New Zealand dominance . . . essential to the creation of national identity'.

Robert Didham uses historical and recent census data to highlight the characteristics of both Māori and Chinese New Zealanders. He also provides detailed analysis of the mixed Māori-Chinese group. Most significant is his finding that the mixed Māori-Chinese cohort sits closer to Māori than to Chinese, as manifested in the various demographic variables used by statisticians (for example, education level, income, fertility, occupation and workforce participation). His chapter offers insights into demographic details which provide the hard data for the analysis of contemporary encounters between the indigenous and the immigrant. My chapter on Chinese views of Māori is based on extensive qualitative interviews and oral history with various Chinese subgroups: the local-born, the new immigrants, and both rural and urban dwellers. An extensive online survey carried out amongst all Chinese groups throws further light on many of the interview findings. Chinese views are multilayered and issue-specific. While the Chinese mostly recognise the tangata whenua status of

Māori, respecting them as 'hosts' of the new land where they wish to settle, many are wary of Māori political activism and Māori power. Margaret Mutu's chapter examines how Māori media, past and present, depict Chinese, China and other Asians. Her chapter offers a comprehensive study of Māori newspapers articles and items on radio and television. Her conclusion is that the older Māori media, which was controlled by Pākehā, tended to be anti-Chinese. But increasingly, Māori see Chinese as potential cultural allies, as demonstrated by her analysis of modern Māori media, especially the Māori Television Service. Mark Williams asserts that New Zealand's present bicultural cultural policy should be critically examined. He suggests that the present policy seems to exclude Asians because it 'extends the colonial relationship into the postcolonial present, allowing no place for those not included within its binarism'. Why is there no active Asian presence in New Zealand literature? Williams suggests that neither Pākehā nor Māori is comfortable with the emergence of 'the Other from Elsewhere', but both somehow arrived at a tacit understanding from which the Asians are excluded.

•

Māori and Chinese share significant basic cultural values. Among these are reverence for the old, shared responsibilities among extended families for the young, the adoption system, the clan and even dietary habits.[12] Analyses of these aspects are given in various chapters of this volume, but further research awaits future scholars. In any multiethnic society the tendency for minorities to have conflicting interests occurs when they struggle for the so-called most-favoured minority status. The Chinese were alternatively vilified as the 'Yellow Peril' and then promoted as a 'model minority' in the course of New Zealand history. The Māori reaction to the Chinese has been variously tolerant, then envious or resentful. Readers of this volume will be able to draw their own conclusions about what chance there is for the two peoples to enjoy a mutually supportive and happy co-existence, given their previous history of relatively harmonious relationships when both were marginalised within the larger society.

In contemporary New Zealand, the integration and relative harmony of Māori–Chinese relationships in rural areas can be contrasted with the highly politicised urban situation where the two groups seem to be placed in static and binary opposition.

The Dragon and the Taniwha will fill an immediate lacuna in the historical and sociological studies of New Zealand which proceeded from being Eurocentric and monocultural to minimally bicultural, and contribute towards an understanding of the fundamentals of host community–diaspora interactions. The empirical approach to primary source data in many chapters of this book is especially valuable because of the paucity of secondary literature on the specific topic of Māori–Chinese encounters.

In this book we have sought, through a vigorous and interdisciplinary approach, to provide a genuine and unique insight into the relationship between New Zealand's indigenous people and one of its highly visible immigrant communities. Using the different cultural perspectives of the contributors, it is hoped that the book will help bridge the two cultures, and also fill a gap in New Zealand's historical record.

While New Zealand is still debating the relative merits of biculturalism and multiculturalism,[13] the reality in the major urban centres is an increasingly multiethnic scene, with 'the Asians' being the most numerous visible ethnic minority.[14] *The Dragon and the Taniwha*, by providing a better understanding of our past, addresses key contemporary concerns brought about by this confluence of cultures. During this process, more light is also shed on the questions of 'who is a New Zealander?' and 'What is New Zealand's national identity?' Given the rise of China as a global power, and the rise of Māori economically and culturally in New Zealand, answers to these questions will have direct impact on the country's immediate future. As the first non-indigenous and non-white ethnic group to settle in New Zealand, the Chinese place in New Zealand provides revealing insights into how New Zealand is changing and how we will all negotiate the 'new face' of the country.

1 Here we note that an important group will not be properly discussed in this book. Pacific peoples arrived in sizeable numbers after the Second World War, and for several decades have been the third largest ethnic group (after New Zealand European/Pakeha and Māori) in New Zealand. In the 2001 census, Pacific peoples were overtaken numerically by the Asians for the first time.

2 See Nigel Murphy, *The Poll Tax in New Zealand*. This commissioned book gives not only the details of the implementation and full records of the poll-tax administered on the Chinese, but also includes discussions on other discriminatory legislation such as the English test, thumb-printing and the suspension of naturalisation rights.

3 *NZPD (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates)*, 1880, 36, p. 90. Here it records noteworthy instances of Māori members of Parliament speaking up for the Chinese when anti-Chinese laws were debated.

4 Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Modern Maoris*. The book records in great detail the daily interactions, mostly cordial, between Chinese and Māori in the early 1940s in a fictional place named 'Kowhai'. The findings were based on field research in Otaki, where Chinese market gardeners worked closely with Ngāti Raukawa Māori.

5 Hainamana is Māori transliteration for 'Chinaman'. However, the Māori term does not have the seriously derogatory racist overtone of the English term. It is still used to refer to a Chinese person.

6 See Manying Ip, *Being Maori-Chinese*; Jenny Bol Jun Lee, *Jade Taniwha*.

7 See Manying Ip and Nigel Murphy, *Aliens at My Table*. The book features a hundred political cartoons published in New Zealand from the 1860s onwards, illustrating how Chinese and other Asians were depicted in the media.

8 Bronwyn Reid, 'Barren Times for Race Relations', *Time*, July 1993, pp. 40–41; Graeme Hunt, *National Business Review*–Consultus/Compaq polls, Auckland, 1998.

9 See Ravi Palat, 'Curries, Chopsticks and Kiwis', in P. Spoonley, C. Macpherson and D. Pearson (eds), *Nga Patai*.

10 Figures given by Robert Didham, Statistics New Zealand, census reports.

11 Standard histories, such as Keith Sinclair's *History of New Zealand*, ignore the Chinese. Keith