

“Moving toward diverse cultural communities”

**Lost in Translation –
When the Sakura cherry blossom
Meets the Pohutukawa**

**What are the opportunities and challenges facing
Japanese migrants in Aotearoa/New Zealand?**



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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Social Practice
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Declaration

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This Thesis entitled: *“Moving toward diverse cultural communities”. Lost in Translation – When the Sakura cherry blossom meets the Pohutukawa. What are the opportunities and challenges facing Japanese migrants in Aotearoa/New Zealand?*

Is submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the Unitec degree of:

Master of Social Practice

CANDIDATE’S DECLARATION

I confirm that:

- This Thesis Project represents my own work;
- The contribution of supervisors and others to this work was consistent with the Unitec Regulations and Policies.
- Research for this work has been conducted in accordance with the Unitec Research Ethics Committee Policy and Procedures, and has fulfilled any requirements set for this project by the Unitec Research Ethics Committee.

Research Ethics Committee Approval Number: No UREC

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ABSTRACT

This thesis looks into Japanese migrants' settlement experiences in New Zealand. The aim was to gain an understanding of the migration process purely from their perspective instead of seeing it as a marginalized idea of Asian migration. Using a qualitative research method, 14 Japanese migrants were interviewed during 2012. All participants shared their positive and negative experiences through their migration process. Many Japanese chose to come to New Zealand for quality of life, family decisions and international marriage. There was a strong sense of being Japanese after many years of their settlement and how this sense of identity shaped their migration experiences. There were some differences in the experiences between the younger generation who have arrived in New Zealand in their teens and others who have arrived in their adulthood. However, generally Japanese migrants were pleased with their new life and keen to integrate into New Zealand society. Although many of them have chosen to come to New Zealand for a better life style, there is still some uncertainty of the level of their commitment to living in New Zealand.

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PROLOGUE

SUNSET

by Kat McDowell

Sunset over Tokyo
The scarlet sun sets on the land of the rising
And it takes my breath away
It's so beautiful, oh so beautiful

They said there was no hope
That I was part of the generation that lacking
But what they didn't know
Is that underdog always end up on top

Growing twilight descends
As night takes over
As I watch this red sunset
Hope arises

Growing twilight descends
This heart takes over
I know I haven't reached the end
'Cause this journey's just begun

Hope arises
Hope arises

(J-lyric.net, 2011)

Kat McDowell ¹ is a half Japanese and half New Zealand Pakeha. She was born in Tokyo and moved to New Zealand when she was 5 years old. She lived in Titirangi, West Auckland, until she returned back to Japan to pursue her music career. She sings her songs in Japanese and English. She shared some of the challenges living in both countries due to her outlook, language and cultural differences during her interview with J-Pop World on 23 October 2009. However, she overcame her difficulties and found her place as a singer in Japan.

"I was playing in a bar in Roppongi one night a few weeks before I was heading back to New Zealand. I had given up on doing music in Japan after many people telling me how hard it would be for someone like me. A Sony scout heard about me and came to see me play..."

"I always struggled with the fact that I didn't look Japanese and I was never going to be accepted as Japanese when on the inside parts of me were incredibly Japanese".

"I couldn't speak a word of English, when I moved to New Zealand when I was five. I had a hard time making friends because of the language and cultural differences. I lived in the mountains far away from friends which was a bit hard for me."

"One thing I believe is that despite all the cultural differences people have the same basic needs and desires and much more can be achieved through finding our common ground than comparing differences. I guess knowing two cultures only make me aware of how much I don't know".

Kat's experience and reflections overlap some of my experiences living in New Zealand.

Living in New Zealand was a choice I made myself and I do not have any regrets. However, there was a journey that I also had to go through when I tried to adopt and integrate into a new place and meet new people as a new migrant.

¹ Ecube magazine. <http://www.ecube.co.nz/content/view/416/1/>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis came about through my own experience as a Japanese migrant who has lived in Aotearoa/New Zealand since 1997. I initially came to New Zealand on a working holiday visa. It was my first overseas living experience and I was motivated to explore my life options in New Zealand. I met many inspiring friends and experienced things that I never expected to experience in Japan during my first trip. After completing my working holiday for a year, I needed to return back to Japan but I decided that I wanted to return and live in New Zealand permanently. I was brought up within a traditional Japanese family and at that time, I felt moving country was the only way to explore my life. Otherwise, I would have a life style that my parents created for me. I came back to New Zealand after a while and I obtained a visa to work as a Japanese Sushi chef. I also went to study English and gained a permanent residency visa after three years.

During my first three years living in New Zealand, I started to develop feeling of wanting to understand others and work with people. I consulted with a Unitec English teacher who suggested discussing with the head of the social work department, Dr Love Chile. He encouraged me to pursue my interest and supported me with my enrolment application and interview process. Since then, I completed my first degree at Unitec and I became a social worker. Throughout my adulthood, mostly in New Zealand for over 10 years I have experienced many challenges and opportunities. For example, communicating with English speaking people and having good relationships with them were somethings that I found most challenging. It was not just a language barrier which troubled me the most, what I found difficult was expressing my emotion and feeling to others. In my undergraduate research, my classmates and I studied cross cultural relationships among East Asians and Kiwis. We used Roseanne Liang's first documentary, *Banana in a Nutshell* (2005)² in our

² *Banana in a nutshell*. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1537196/>

presentation when we completed our work. The documentary was about her own relationship with a young Kiwi man and their journey to get blessing from her traditional Chinese parents. Her documentary reminded us how challenging it was to live and have relationships in a multicultural society but at the same time, it presented excitement of the integration process between Chinese and New Zealand cultures. I saw many commonalities and similarities from the documentary as being Japanese living in New Zealand. After so many years, I still identify as Japanese and I am proud of being Japanese. However I sometimes wonder where I stand within New Zealand society. It appears that how I see myself does not always reflect how others see me. I became curious to understand the experiences of other Japanese migrants in New Zealand. As a mental health social worker, understanding personal journeys of the people I work with is a key for understanding how others see their world. I am hoping that my study will provide some insights and opportunities to acknowledge Japanese migration into New Zealand. I also wish my colleagues and other mental health workers to read my research and hopefully they provide best practice and offer appropriate support for Japanese settlers.

Scope of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyse Japanese migration experiences in Auckland. Like most migrants, Japanese migrants experience both challenges and opportunities during their settlement process. However their experiences are often understood as a general ethnic group of being “Asians” rather than Japanese experiences. Other than being “Asian migrants”, Japanese migrants are given little recognition compared with other ethnic groups such as Chinese or Korean migrants. The Japanese population in New Zealand is still relatively small but it has grown over the past 10 years. Therefore there is a need for Japanese migration experiences to be investigated.

This study aimed to primarily focus on the first generation Japanese migrants. This study will provide opportunities to understand the first generation Japanese migrants’ experiences and make recommendations and suggestions

to enhance their new life in Auckland. It will also raise awareness of Japanese migrants/cultural integration into New Zealand society.

Research Questions

The research questions were:

- 1) What are the reasons for Japanese migrating to New Zealand?
- 2) How do Japanese migrants take advantage of new opportunities and deal with the challenges that they face?

Perspective of the Research

From my observations and experiences, many immigrants appeared to face some challenges regarding the practical aspects of settlement such as employment, housing, language and schooling and they do not seem to get an opportunity to learn New Zealand's unique cultures, history and current political challenges. Most Japanese people have been taught English in schools in Japan. However, their level of English is limited due to Japanese schools which tend to focus on examination for academic study rather than day to day language. English and communication are keys for positive integration and settlement process as there has been a lot of research that indicated it as a significant barrier for migrants in New Zealand. I believe there will be a long term impact on the migrants if they are unable to fulfil their settlement process. Cultural and generational challenges between different generational groups of migrants and identify confusions are things that I have observed throughout my work over the years. However, I have also seen successful stories for migrants living in New Zealand. This study aims to reflect on the migration process and look for clarification and recommendation for future Japanese migrants and the wider community.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Demographics of the Japanese Population in New Zealand

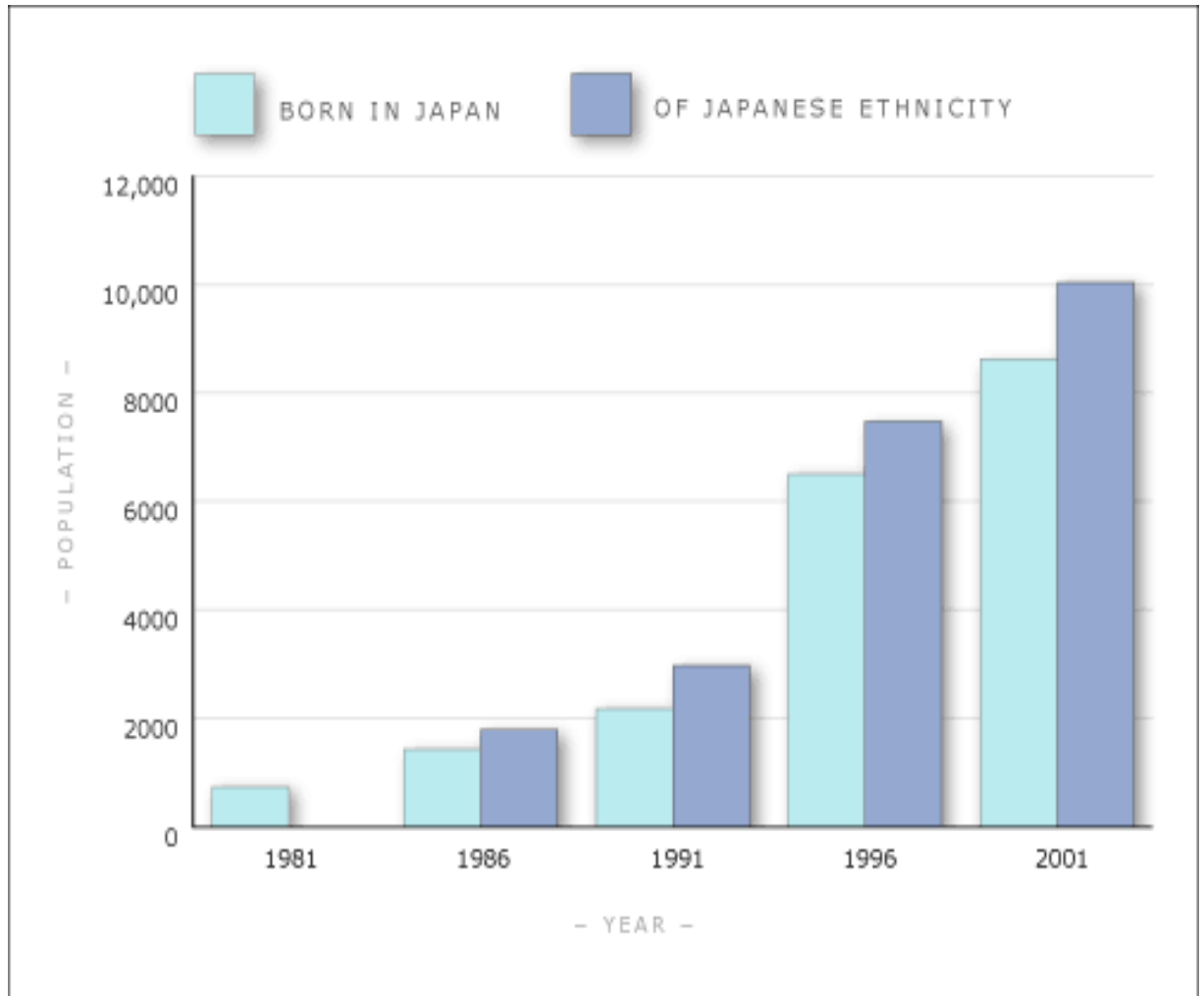
It is highly likely that Japanese immigration to New Zealand began from working holiday visas. Since the working holiday scheme was introduced in 1985, young Japanese people have been encouraged to visit New Zealand. Many of them have been working as au pairs or at Japanese companies in Auckland as we often hear their stories from Japanese local magazines and newspapers, such as Ecube, MJ Walker and Gekkan NZ.

New Zealand's Japanese population in 1996 was 7,461. Ten years later in 2006, this population had increased to 11,910 (Te Ara, Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2005-2011). According to Te Ara (2011), many Japanese people are living in Auckland (4,221 in 2001). The Japanese ethnic group is spread throughout New Zealand, 9% (1,878) are based in the Christchurch urban area (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). New Zealand's Japanese population is the 5th largest Asian ethnic group (4%) following other Asian ethnic groups: Chinese (44%), Indians (26%), Koreans (8%), and Filipinos (5%) (Te Ara, Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, 2011). New Zealand's Asian population is relatively youthful as the median age of the Asian population in New Zealand was 28.3 years in 2001 in comparison to New Zealand median age of 34.8 years. (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.)

In 2006 New Zealand's census figures indicated that there were 9,573 Japanese residents who were born in Japan. They are mostly residents in Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington and the Otago regions (Te Ara, Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2011). Furthermore, Tanaka (1999) reported the median number of years of residence of Japanese was only 1.6 years in 1997. The highest proportion, 30.6 per cent of Japanese had resided in New Zealand was less than one year. Tanaka (1999) explained that the result was due to the statistics included a large number of working holiday makers who were not allowed to stay in New Zealand for more than one year. The statistics also

included long term students. Therefore the result can be seen as a reference of Japanese movement rather than Japanese migration.

Table1. New Zealand's Japanese population, 1981-2001



(Te Ara, 2012)

Table 2. Japanese population in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, other areas, and New Zealand total, 1896-2001

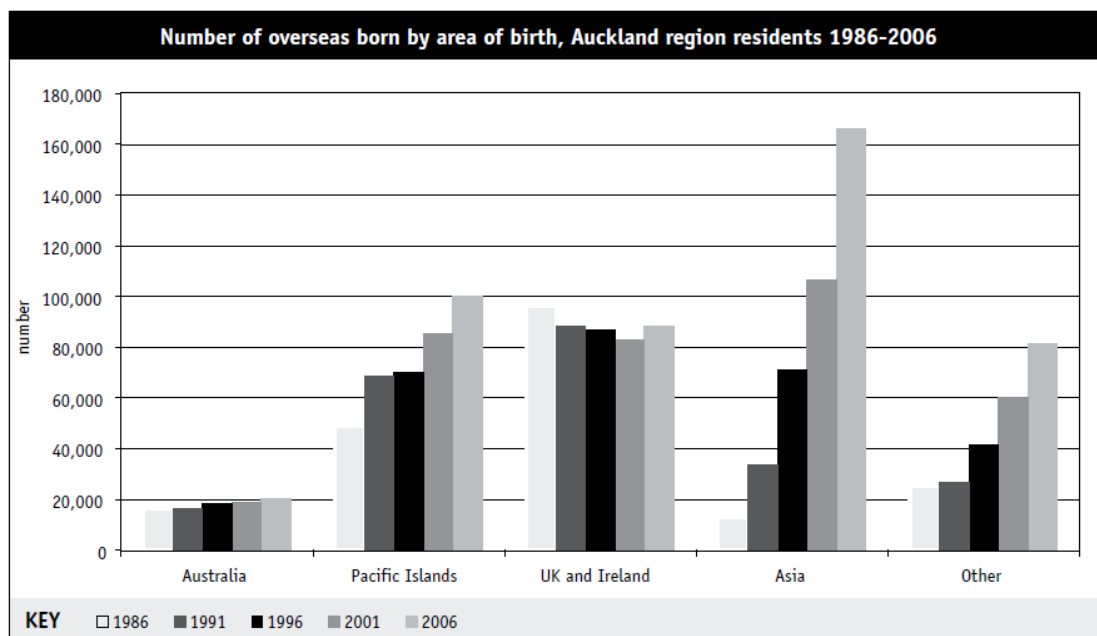
	Auckland	Wellington	Christchurch	Others	Total
1896	-	-	-	-	15
1901	-	-	-	-	17
1906	-	-	-	-	25
1916	3 (4.2%)	4 (5.6%)	4 (5.6%)	60 (84.5%)	71 (100%)
1921	20 (52.6%)	6 (15.8%)	2 (5.3%)	10 (26.3%)	38 (100%)
1926	-	-	-	-	59
1936	19 (17.9%)	8 (7.5%)	4 (3.8%)	75 (70.8%)	106 (100%)
1945	-	-	-	-	48
1951	-	-	-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

Numbers (% of the total Japanese population)

Sourced from Statistics New Zealand, Census of population and dwellings, 1986-2001 (as cited in Kuragasaki- Laughton, 2007)

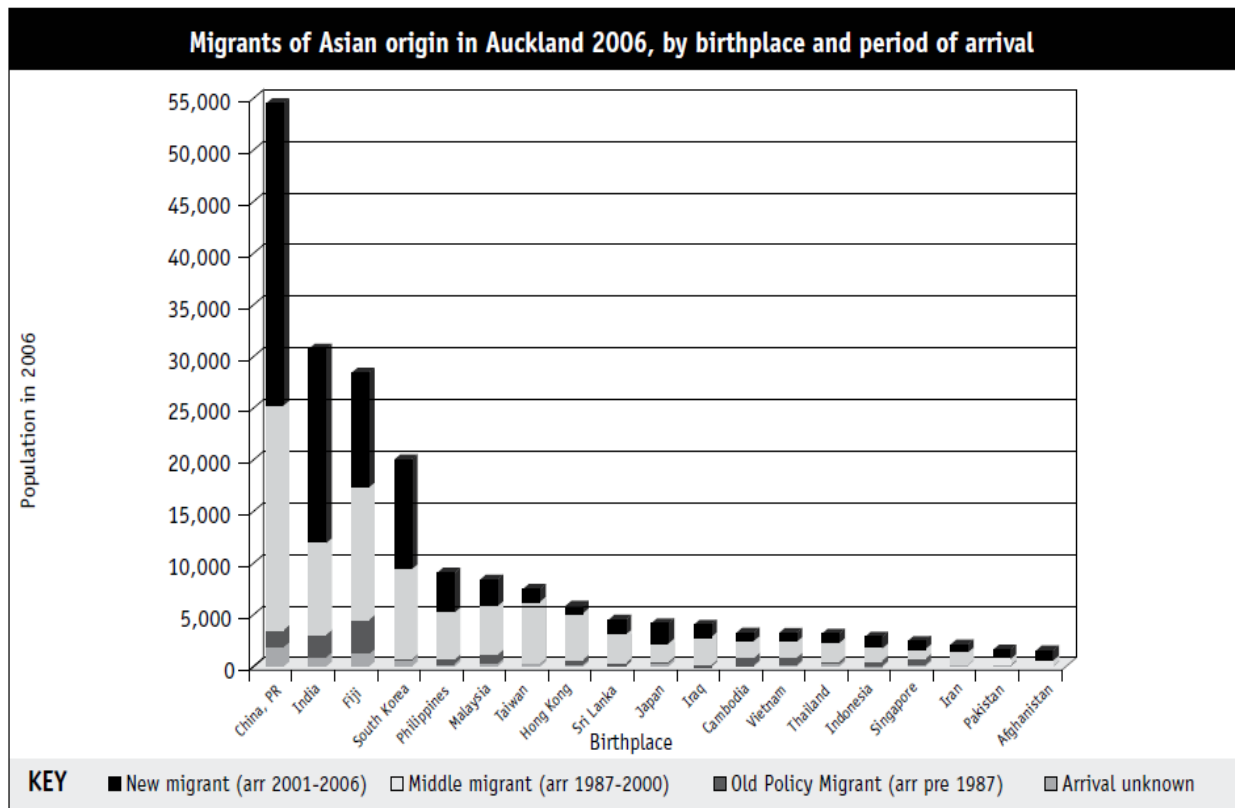
Unfortunately, the census 2011 was not held in 2011 due to the Christchurch earthquake on 22 February 2011 (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). However, Friesen (2006) explained the 2006 New Zealand census revealed an increasingly diverse population following introduction of the Immigration Act in 1987. The Department of Labour published a report of Immigration act review (2006) which expressed a strong need for competing in a global market; bringing skilled and talented people to cover New Zealand skilled shortage demand and offer support for new migrants to settle in New Zealand. Friesen (2006) further described the changes of migration legislation changed criteria for migrants to enter New Zealand. While earlier immigration policy had been primary focused on preferred source countries, the new rule was based on individual characteristics, age, educational levels, work experiences and ability to bring investment capital into the country. Table 4 shows significant increases of migrants who arrived between 2001 and 2006.

Table 3. Number of overseas born by area of birth, Auckland region residents 1986-2006



(Friesen, 2008)

Table 4. Migrants of Asian origin in Auckland 2006, by birthplace and period of arrival



(Friesen, 2008)

From my own network in Auckland, many Japanese residents work or operate businesses associated with their own heritage and culture. .i.e, Japanese restaurants, tourism, language teachers, Japanese companies from Japan. Tanaka (1999) reported that the main employment industries for Japanese were as follows: transport and storage (including tourism) 12.90 per cent, retail trade 12.10 per cent, and accommodation, cafes and restaurants for 9.8 per cent in 1997.

Tanaka (1999) investigated the results and said this was mainly due to the large number of Japanese tourists coming to New Zealand from Japan by way of tailored package tours which created a demand for Japanese speaking workers in tourism and hospitality industries.

The New Zealand Embassy Newsletter (August 2010) stated that the embassy promotes visiting New Zealand as a life style choice for outdoor activities, holiday work and city living for young Japanese people. The increasing number of Japanese may be a reflection of the New Zealand Embassy's promotion. Japanese people appear to be attracted to New Zealand's life style.

Kuragasaki-Laughton (2007) studied the Japanese migrant community in Christchurch which reported the most popular reasons for choosing New Zealand as a destination was due to the good natural and social environment. The majority of her interview participants spoke about relaxing lifestyle, work conditions, and beautiful scenery as their reasons for coming to New Zealand. Many of her participants reported that their images of New Zealand were influenced by friends and relatives. New Zealand guidebooks also influenced their decision to come to New Zealand due the focus on a stress free lifestyle implied by the pictures and images. The second biggest reason was international marriages. Other factors include a less demanding education system for children and that it was easy to obtain visas in New Zealand.

In Auckland, there are a number of social and community groups among Japanese migrants. Many Japanese migrants gather information from local newspapers, magazines and the internet. NZ Daisuki is a popular social networking site for general information about living in New Zealand, e.g. trade and finding social groups. Gekkan NZ probably is the largest media provider for

the Japanese community. Other popular newspapers and media are Ecube and MJ Walker. Many other people also gain information by using Facebook and Mixi (a social network site for Japanese speaking people). For the past few years, personal blogs have become popular ways of collecting information about New Zealand. Blogmura is one of the most popular Japanese blog sites with around 190 blogs registered as New Zealand/ Auckland blog categories (on 06/10/2013). The New Zealand Japan Society and the Japanese Society of Auckland are the major community groups which often organise fund raising events or cultural days to celebrate Japanese community and culture. Japan day ³ is the most popular cultural event in Auckland. They also facilitate social activity days through sporting events. Haere Mai Taiko (Japanese drums), Aikido and Karate (Japanese martial art), Sakura No Kai (Japanese choral club), Japanese schools, Japanese church and the Japanese picture library club are also well recognised Japanese communities in Auckland.

Japanese restaurants are also places of information exchange and provide Japanese community support. The Auckland food business owner, T. Takeuchi reported that the Japanese restaurant business provides Japanese migrants opportunity for employment and networking among other Japanese business people. Through working in businesses, Japanese migrants are able to access their homeland food. He also believes working in the Japanese restaurant business supports Japanese people to get closer to New Zealanders through their food, (T. Takeuchi, Personal Communication, May 28, 2012). Another Japanese food business man, O. Koichi who owns five Japanese restaurants in Auckland also reported he employs many Japanese on working holidays as their level of work ethics and skills are high and his business relies on those Japanese workers for quality service and food, (O. Koichi, Personal Communication, May 28, 2012). Japanese migrant workers provide quality services for these businesses which have also become places for employment and settlement support among Japanese people.

³ Japan day. <http://www.japanday.org.nz/>

Multiculturalism – living in diverse/cross cultural society

As a result of globalisation and increased popularity of immigration to other countries, more people are shifting and moving to other places outside their homeland. New Zealand, has many diverse ethnic groups living in the country and this does not just apply for recent Asian migrants. According to Statistics New Zealand (n.d.), “around 1 in10, or 10.4 per cent of people identified with more than one ethnic group, compared with 9.0 per cent in 2001”. The result indicates potential further growth for becoming a more ethnically diverse country.

Berry (1997) has published studies analysing immigrant settlement process and how the process influence their development and impact on individual human behaviour. Berry identified culturally diverse nation states as plural societies and defined as follows.

“international phenomena such as colonisation slavery and refugee and immigration movement. Culturally plural societies are those in which a number of different cultural or ethnic groups reside together within a shared political and social framework” (Brooks, 2002, as cited in Berry,2011, p.2.2).

Berry (2011) described integration to multiculturalism as a creative and reactive process which generates new customs and values, and stimulating resistance rather than simply leading to cultural domination by the host country. His theory explains how individuals who have developed in one single cultural context integrate within a new cultural context as a result of their migration. He used the word ‘acculturation’ as a clarification to describe the phenomena. The Hispanic Centre for excellence (n.d.) further defined acculturation as

“a process in which members of one cultural group adopt the beliefs and behaviors of another group. Although acculturation is usually in the direction of a minority group adopting habits and language patterns of the dominant group, acculturation can be reciprocal--that is, the dominant group also adopts patterns typical of the minority group. Acculturation may be evidenced by changes in language preference, adoption of common attitudes and values, membership in common social groups and institutions, and loss of of separate political or ethnic identification”.

Acculturation may occur in different levels depending on each individual as some may adopt a new culture more than others. This also applies to the dominant group of people as each person has different values and beliefs as individuals.

According to Berry (2011) there has been a long standing assumption that cultural diversity within societies would eventually disappear as people believed mainstream society will dominate minority groups over the time. He created two different figures to describe how between cultures create new customs and values from their integration.

Figure 1: Two Implicit Model of Plural Societies

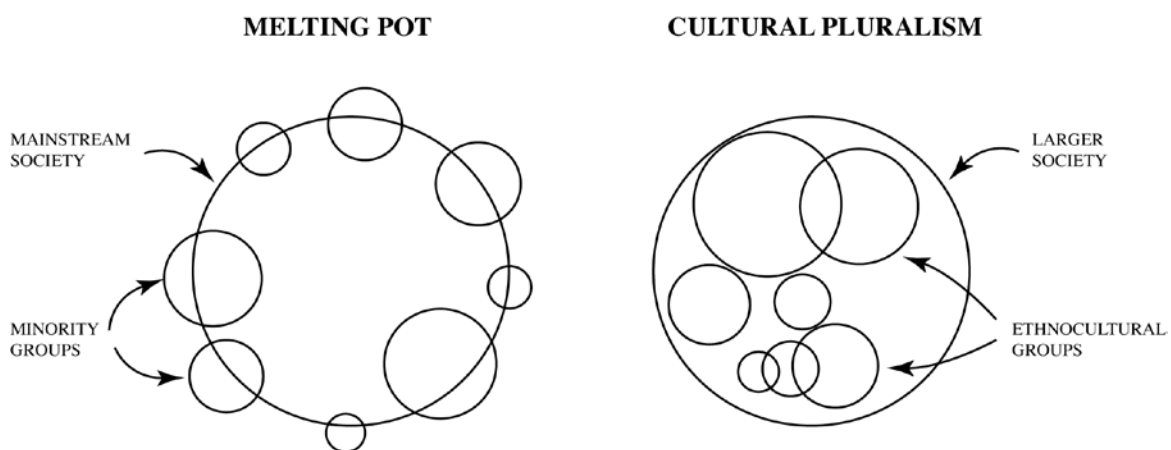
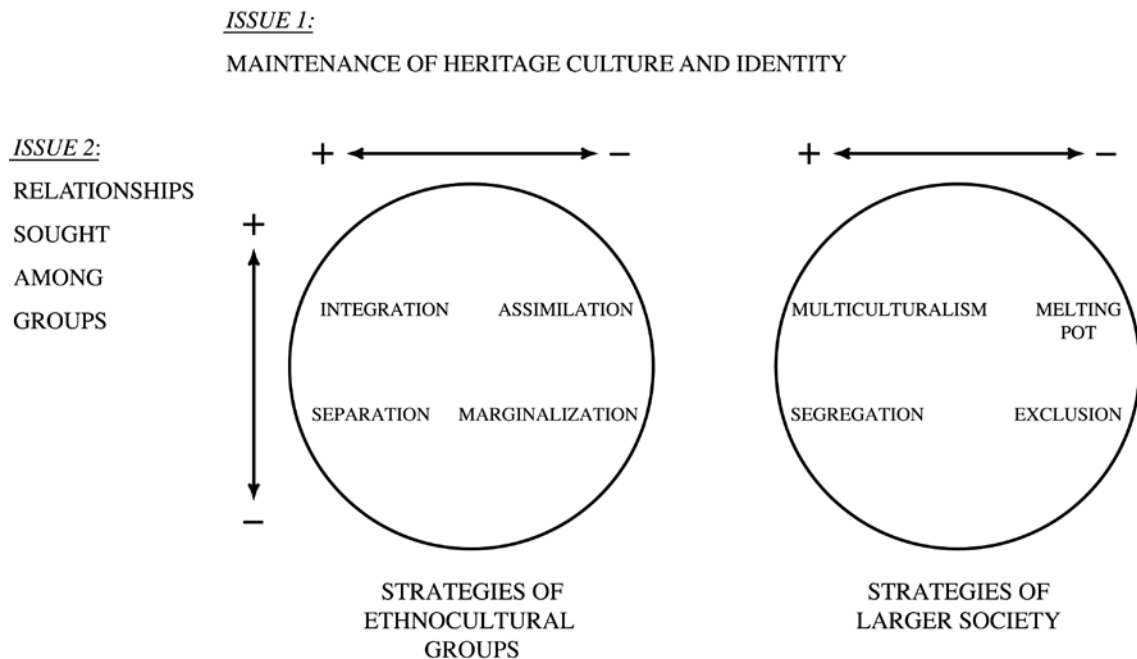


Figure 1 Two Implicit Models of Plural Societies

(Berry, 2011)

The left figure, mainstream- minority view is that cultural plurism is a problem and it should be reduced as the mainstream should take control in the society. On the other hand, the other figure acknowledges existence of various minority groups unless they are incorporated as indistinguishable components into the mainstream. Their multicultural view is that cultural pluralism is a resource and new cultural groups should be nurtured in a supportive environment. (Berry, 2011).

Figure 2: Intercultural Strategies of Ethno cultural Group and the Larger Society



(Berry, 2011)

From the integrated societies, Berry further investigated how each individual and group (non –dominant) engage living in the plural societies. He found there are different levels of engagement regardless of their migration reasons and conditions. Non dominant groups expressed their preferences how they would like to engage their own and other groups which are known as acculturation strategies. He also examined dominant groups and asked for their point of view. They expressed that non dominant groups should acculturate into their society. Finally, the dominant group was then asked if they should accommodate with other groups, their strategy and concept was called multicultural ideology by Berry, Kalin & Taylor. (1977, as cited in Berry, 2011).

From the three different perspectives, Berry found there are two different issues; there is a desire to maintain a group's culture and identify and there is a desire to engage in daily interactions with other ethno cultural groups in the larger society. These issues are due to the idea of not all groups and individuals seek to engage with others and variations of how people seek to relate to each other.

Berry further developed intercultural strategies for acculturating people who belong to non dominant groups. Some people do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction from other cultures. When people place a value on holding to their heritage and culture and at the same time, they wish to avoid interacting with others, then separation is defined. When there is an interest in both maintaining ones original culture and having relations with other groups, integration become an option. Finally, when people have little interest in their own culture and have relations with others, then marginalization is defined. This ideology is based on the assumption that non dominant groups and individuals have their freedom to choose how they like to acculturate. However, this is not always the case, when the dominant group enforce certain forms of acculturation to the non dominant then it is not possible for the non dominant to have choices, Therefore, a mutual and reciprocal process through both groups will work better for successful integration. Lastly for integration, when cultural diversity is a feature of society as a whole, it is called multiculturalism (Berry, 2011).

New Zealand has a long history of having two different cultural groups (Maori and Pakeha) and the Treaty of Waitangi is the way of maintaining their existence within the New Zealand society. In this study, their integration processes will not be discussed or used to analyse their integration as my focus is to research Japanese migration in New Zealand. However, Berry's acculturation and plural societies' ideology may explain how Japanese migrants experience their settlement process as the non dominant minority. This study may also clarify how New Zealand treats and sees the non-dominant group of people within the nation.

Migration Theory/ Lifestyle Migration

An important question is whether Japanese migrants are migrating to New Zealand temporarily rather than permanently. I have met many Japanese people in New Zealand in the past but a majority of them have already left New Zealand or are thinking of returning back to Japan in the future.

Dustman and Weiss (2007) published a journal about UK migration. They identified that there are many different forms of migration. There are different types of migration groups, for example refugees and economic migrants. People who migrate due to natural disasters or persecution reasons look for a stable permanent setting. Economic motives can also have a bearing on whether migration is temporary or permanent. Dustman and Weiss further classified temporary migration into four different sub groups: return migration, contract migration, transient migration and circulatory migration.

- Return migration may leave their home country permanently but remain temporarily in any one host country.
- Contract migration is a temporary migration where the migrant lives in the host country for a limited period. They may stay in the host country in order to obtain resident permit or a working contract.
- Transient migration describes situation where the migrant moves across different host countries before possibly arriving a final destination.
- The circulatory migration workers move frequently between host and the source country. Seasonal labourers are an example of the circulatory migration.

Japanese migrants tend to maintain contact with homeland therefore; it is unusual to consider Return migration as a way of understanding Japanese movement. On the other hand, three other migration groups can be considered for Japanese migration.

Liebig and Sousa-Poza (2004) explain that migration theory predicts that young, highly qualified, single males should be the most mobile group for migration. Single people may have more opportunity for shifting countries. Their intension can possibly be a temporary movement for a better life style rather than life threatening reasons.

The Natural Geographic Society (2005) further explains reasons for migration. People consider a variety of reasons. They think of the disadvantages and the advantages to staying versus moving, as well as distance, travel costs, time, mode of transportation, terrain and cultural barriers. The reasons can be defined in two different perspectives to understand migration. Push factors are reasons for emigrating because of a difficulty. Reasons can include food

shortage, flood, economic circumstances and war. Pull factors are also reasons for immigration. The migrant is seeking something desirable in the new country, for example environmental, political, economic and cultural factors. The pull factors or benefit of moving should be greater than the push factors unless people are desperate or immediate risk on their life remaining in their home country.

According to the U.S. Department of State, the total Japanese population in 2010 was 127.08 million. The total of Japanese nationals living abroad in 2009 was 1,131,807 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2012) which was about one percent of the total Japanese population. Considering the total population, Japanese migration is relatively small. This may indicate that Japanese people are generally comfortable living in their own country. However, Kuragasaki- Laughton (2007) explains that a majority of Japanese who have moved to Christchurch indicated that life in Japan can be stressful because of rigid social conventions and an overly conservative system. Japanese who have left their home country may have an urge to leave Japan and seek a better quality of life somewhere else rather than a desire to live in a particular country. Denman (2009) conducted a study with Japanese partners married to Australians and living in Australia. He used a term, 'lifestyle migration' to describe long term Japanese residents since the 1970s in Australia. Denman (2009) reported that Nagatomo⁴ further developed Sato's Japanese migration phenomenon to Australia for three different characteristics. These are

1. Japanese migrants are less motivated by economic concerns than other Asian migrants;
2. Many of them do not migrate permanently, except those with Australian partners;

⁴ Sato, farewell to Nippon; Nagata and Nagatomo, Japanese Queenslanders

3. Japanese migrants often retain Japanese citizenship and return regularly to visit Japan. They also maintain contacts with their home community in Japan. Additionally Sato (2001) explains that Japanese lifestyle migrants see their home country as in a complex way. They have a strong interest in non-Japanese societies and multicultural ways of life. To some extent, they have a negative image of Japanese society and find satisfaction in escaping from it. However they do not have a serious identity crisis in the sense that they still intend to return to Japan after they achieved their lifestyle they deserve in Australia (pp. 159- 160). Geographically and historically, New Zealand and Australia have many similarities. Japanese Australian migrants' views may have many similarities with Japanese migrants in New Zealand. Japanese migrants may only intend to live in New Zealand for limited time frame. However this will be further explored in chapter4.

Pressures

Another possible reason for Japanese migration is pressure. Japan is one of the most socially stressful countries in the world. Japanese business style is an example of the challenges living in Japan. However, it should not be forgotten that Japanese business management helped Japan's economic growth after the 1950s. Japanese management reached its height in the late 1970s and the 1980s. Barnwell (n.d.) explained, while Japan was affected by the oil shocks in 1970s, its economy suffered far less than western countries. The Japanese motor vehicle industry greatly increased its sales due to specialisation in small, fuel efficient vehicles. Sony and Matsushita (Panasonic) also increased their sales for emerging technologies such as cameras and other computer controlled machinery products. Since then, Japan's business strategy has been recognised as effective throughout the world. Heller (2005, para7) explained Japanese management style as, "high quality products flowed from high quality processes which in turn derived from powerful management philosophies. Kaizen, or continuous improvement, express the belief that anything and everything can be improved. If it can be, it must be: otherwise you are creating muda, or waste. Western companies understand Japanese style of management as an ideal cost performance effort.

It appeared that the philosophy comes from traditional Japanese competitiveness. In Japanese society, there are always expectations to maintain and improve high performance. For example, Japanese children are always told to work harder for academic study and sporting events from their families and other involved parties. For office workers, there is an unspoken expectation from management to workers to complete their tasks before leaving work for the day. Sometimes there is an expectation from the boss/employer to work unpaid extra hours to achieve targets and goals. When I worked for a franchised Japanese restaurant in my home town, I was often asked to work longer hours to meet the restaurant's budget. I did not get paid for the extra hours and I never questioned it (called service zangyo).

Japan's continuing improvement attitude can also be seen in public areas. I remember seeing signs in public camping facilities or beach houses stating 'kita toki yorimo utukushiku'. The sign reminds people to keep the facility cleaner than when you first arrived. Japanese philosophy of further improvement appears to fit well in the workforce as Japanese people are used to the idea.

After World War II, the Japanese needed to work hard to rebuild the country. Although Japan has faced many difficulties since the war ended, the country has continued to produce high quality products for the past 30 years. However, many Japanese people are now raising concerns of "never ending" work ethics and expectations. The Japanese suicide rate has been increasing for the past decades due to societal pressures. Gallagher (2008) reported there is one Japanese suicide every 15 minutes. The suicide rate has jumped 35% since 1998. It raises concerns of how Japanese businesses and society influence people's wellbeing.

Challenges Living in New Zealand

There are number of settlement experiences reported from a migrant's point of view in New Zealand. Henderson (2004) conducted a study for the Auckland

Regional Settlement Strategy. She has identified that labour market participation, language, health, housing and social participation for successful settlement as indicators to measure integration to New Zealand. Her study shows that there are negative effects of ethnic and linguistic stereotypes on immigrant job seeking. Migrants' underemployment often goes unnoticed by the settlement programme due to the goal being entry to the labour market, rather than finding suitable employment. Tanaka (1999) explains that the Japanese unemployment rate was relatively low, compared to other ethnic groups, at 9 per cent in the 1996 census. The unemployment rate for all New Zealanders was 7.7 per cent, Germans at 9.8 per cent and Korean at 21 per cent in 1996. Tanaka (1999) indicates that overall job security for Japanese is relatively high as many of them work in industries relating to Japan especially tourism and the hospitality industry. For Japanese migrants, it seems easier to obtain employment if they are willing to work within their cultural heritage or tourisms. However, the number of Japanese tourists has reduced since the earthquake and tsunami affected both, Japan and New Zealand two years ago. Tourism New Zealand (2012) estimated that Japanese tourists fell by 19 per cent in April 2012 compare to the same time last year. This may impact negatively among Japanese migrants in New Zealand. However, there is no specific study completed for Japanese labour in New Zealand for the past few years.

The Department of Labour (2004) completed a survey of 5,000 migrants who were granted permanent residency visas at the time of the study. The survey showed that most migrants had good English skills, although one in five rated their English ability as moderate to poor and North Asians had the weakest skills. Henderson (2004) further explains those immigrants' experiences of language learning in New Zealand show mixed result. English courses such as IELTS and ESOL did not help them to develop everyday communication skills. She also identified that female and elderly migrants are more likely to lack target language proficiency at migration. Their social participation tends to be within their speech community due to isolation from the mainstream community which reinforces their first language. It also provides fewer opportunities and little motivation to learn the second language (p.24). However, Kuragasaki-Laughton (2007) reported over 90 per cent of Japanese migrants in

Christchurch respondents were able to speak English at communicative level or better. Her study also showed that Japanese women were more confident with their English than Japanese men. She compared the result with recent Taiwanese migrants in Auckland and reported Japanese migrants in Christchurch are more adapted to New Zealand culture than the new Taiwanese migrant community in Auckland. There are other studies that indicate that migrants have problems with their settlement due to their English abilities. According to Henderson (2004), migrants struggle to access health care assistance due to communication challenge. Stigma of unemployment, strained financial situation, language difficulties and lack of pre migration experiences influences migrants' health.

Shiobara (2005) used a case study of the experience of a Japanese man in his sixties in Sydney. He worked with the man who had become disabled after suffering a stroke. Until then he worked in a Japanese restaurant and he could not speak English. Although he has lived in Australia for 20 years, the man had only a few friends and he could not make non-Japanese friends due to his poor English. He was a quiet and isolated man and he did not know how to access appropriate support for interpreting or access to a benefit after so many years of living in Australia. Sato (2001) states English language competence represents the biggest barrier of Japanese migrants improving their material and psychological lot in Australia.

English is a fundamental tool for communication and settlement process therefore lack of English ability influence those migrants' whole settlement process in the short and long term.

Furthermore, Maehara (2010) who studied Japanese migrant women living in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic explained transition from singlehood to marriage require change of feeling rules. One of her interview participants reported she was previously only concerned with work possibilities before she had a child. However since she became a mother, she required a good deal of emotion work to re-orient her feelings in situations as wife and mother. With her new roles, she became more concerned of education system, healthcare,

social surroundings, natural environment and family relationships. She experienced a dilemma raising her child when comparing the Japanese ways/styles as opposed to what was common in Ireland. Change of family structure can impact on individual migration process and bring new chapter of their migration.

Kawashima (2012) also reported Japanese gender relationships challenge in Australia. Her research indicated Japanese women were more popular than Japanese men with Australian people. She described Japanese women tended to have better communication skills and more adaptive and flexible compared to Japanese men. This caused shift of gender power relationships as Japanese women gained powerful social position over Japanese men. Her study reported frustration from young Japanese men who experienced different treatment from local Australians. Especially, lack of sexual attention from Australian women and rejection from non-white men based on their ethnicity.

Both Maehara and Kawashima's reports indicate that there are different levels of challenge living in new environment/country. These are depending on migrant's marital status and family systems as additional to language and communication barrier/challenge.

Opportunities re living in New Zealand

Although many Japanese migrants appear to work in tourism or the hospitality industry, there are many more Japanese migrants who have started to explore their career options in New Zealand. E Cube⁵ is one of the most popular Japanese monthly magazines in New Zealand. They have interviewed over 300 influential and successful Japanese migrants, Japanese international students and New Zealanders for the past 10 years. Many of the Japanese migrants work or trained to work in professionals fields such as beauty, hospitality, health, education, sports, visa consultants, art and technicians. Some of them carried their profession from home or some have started in New Zealand.

⁵ E Cube <http://www.ecube.co.nz/index.php>

Some other people have started their dream businesses in New Zealand. The interview articles have become an inspiration for other Japanese migrants.

E Cube also shows that many Japanese women appear more comfortable living in New Zealand than Japan. Torii spoke to E cube about her desire to explore career options rather than following traditional gender roles as expected by her parents. Since she migrated to New Zealand, she experienced divorce and has become a single mother. She however, found her passion to become a psychotherapist. She is now in private practice in Auckland. Kuragasaki-Laughton (2007) also discussed freedom and adjustment for Japanese women living in Christchurch. Her study reported that many Japanese women experienced some difficulties in re-adapting to the life style on visits back to Japan as they are now used to being open about their opinions. They are enjoying a stress free environment here as they do not have to worry about fashion, make up and appearances as they had in Japan. Some of her interview participants felt that the Japanese code of appropriate behaviours had been restrictive for Japanese women and they saw their lives in New Zealand as a type of liberation.

Ikumen is a word which describes men taking more active roles and participation in raising a child or children. (JLect, 2012) For the past few years, the Japanese government has been encouraging Japanese fathers to challenge traditional norms of being breadwinners. Instead, they have been suggesting balancing their life styles to care for their children. It is a relatively new movement within Japanese society however, the Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare has set up a project ⁶for supporting fathers in Japan. On the other hand, Japanese fathers in New Zealand appeared to taking child care roles without much resistance. There are no specific studies completed for Japanese fathers. However, New Zealand Japanese fathers appeared more open and comfortable about sharing their experiences. Popular Japanese New Zealand social network site, NZDaisuki ⁷seeks people who are single fathers or older

⁶ Ikumen project http://ikumen-project.jp/project_about.html

⁷ NZDaisuki http://nzdaisuki.com/cf_mate/detail.php?parent_id=21240

single men for socialisation or providing support. Furthermore a popular Japanese father blogger in Auckland, *Fukuoka jin New Zealand ni sumu*⁸ openly writes about his parenting experiences with his two children in New Zealand. His blog is often in the top three under the New Zealand blog section in the Blogmura site as many people leave comments on his blog each day. There are more blogs written by Japanese men in New Zealand and the overall impression is that they all appear to be enjoying their parenting and life in New Zealand. In overcoming traditional gender roles, Japanese migrants are given more opportunities to explore their roles and options in their new country.

According to Sato (2001), many Japanese migrants are working in the restaurant industry. There were more than 100 Japanese restaurants in Melbourne and twice that number in Sydney in 2001. The total Japanese born chefs probably exceeded 300 which was the largest number of Japanese people from any one profession in Australia. She explains it was probably a result of the recent boom in Japanese cuisine which provided opportunities for Japanese chefs to travel abroad.

Nobuyuki Matsushita⁹ is probably the most known and successful Japanese chef and business man. Nobu owns 25 Japanese restaurants and four Matsushita restaurants in the world. He was a trained Japanese chef who started to expand his businesses overseas for the past 30 years. Daikoku restaurants¹⁰ are well established Japanese restaurants in New Zealand which also have many other branches overseas.

Japanese Communication

Japanese communication style may have influenced Japanese settlement in New Zealand. Japanese are commonly known as collective people who respect group decisions and have a hierarchy society unlike Western individualism. Japanese people are often seen as quiet and non-communicable by foreigners

⁸ Fukuona jin New Zealand ni sumu <http://hiyoppi71.blog134.fc2.com/blog-category-1.html>

⁹ Nobuyuki Matsushita. http://www.nobutokyo.com/e_chef/

¹⁰ Daikoku restaurant. <http://www.daikoku.co.nz/index.html>

due to their cultures and customs. Nisbett (2003) published a book about how Asians and Westerners think differently. Nisbett explained that Japanese people are less concerned with personal goals than are Westerners. He stated the goals for the self in relation to society is not so much to establish superiority or uniqueness. Asian people believe it is to achieve harmony within a network of supportive social relationships and to play one's part in achieving collective ends. Japanese children are usually taught how to practise self-control (*Gaman*) in order to improve their relationships with others to solve problems. *Gaman* also refers to patience and perseverance; acceptance of reality rather than ignorance or avoiding the fact. In the recent Earthquake and Tsunami disaster of 2011, many Japanese people and families lost their ordinary lives. Some people are still living in temporary shelters, awaiting re-construction of damaged cities more than 2 years after the disaster. Valdez-Watts (2011) reported that, despite losing everything, they stay out of fear and hopelessness. They remain steadfast and optimistic that communities will be rebuilt, those homes will sprout up anew, and their economic wellbeing will return as before. Japanese philosophy of *Gaman* helps Japanese to overcome such pressured circumstances.

According to Shelley (1993), Japanese pay more attention to non-verbal communication than Westerners do. She explained there are 13 main messages and signs that Japanese use as a part of communication, Japanese smile for many different reasons. They smile when they are happy or something is funny. Japanese also smile when they are reluctant to say "no" and they smile for not wanting to hurt other people's feeling. They also smile when they are upset or feeling uncomfortable. Laughing is not just for feeling funny. It can also be for expressing their embarrassment. The Japanese code of politeness is that one should listen until the other person has finished talking. However, silence has more than one message to communicate with others. Silence can mean yes, no and not sure. But it can also be a period of thinking or mentally translating the meaning of what the other person said. A silent reaction can also mean disapproval or expressing discomfort. Japanese use apology (*sumimasen*) and appreciation (*Arigatou*) words as many times as possible.

Sumimasen does not always mean apologizing for guilt. It has the meaning of “I am sorry for inconvenience” and expressing consideration for others. Japanese express thanks for just about anything to show their appreciation. Japanese have a unique culture of communication with others which is often non direct and less open. They also have expectations of others to understand one’s feeling without verbalising their thoughts or using gestures. It is called “*Aun no kokyu*”. It requires special harmony between those who are on the same wavelength when they are doing something (Bab.La, n.d.). Japanese communication is deep and complicated compared to the Western style open communication. However, Japanese communication is a part of their unique culture and tradition that has been passed from one generation to the next. This project examined how Japanese communication style was integrated during Japanese migrants’ settlement process as communication is a key for positive migration. The researcher was aware of these cultural nuances in the interview process. The interview participant’s’ experiences are discussed in the discussion and conclusion chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

A qualitative research methodology was used for this research project and I have used an interpretivist paradigm to process collected information. This study aimed to understand and analyse Japanese migrant experiences in Auckland by interviewing Japanese people to provide in-depth real stories and experiences about Japanese migration. The stories drew out challenges the migrants experienced such as a lack of English ability and limited support from friends and family in New Zealand. However, there were also many positive aspects of migration which this project gave the participants and opportunity to reflect upon.

Methodology/Research Method

Mackenzie & Knipe (2006) state research is used as a way of analysing, understanding, empowering and investigating phenomena. However the research is always influenced by the researcher's theoretical frameworks.

According to Golafshani (2003), qualitative research is described as a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in specific context settings such as "real world setting (where) the researcher is not intending to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (as cited in Patton, 2001, p39). The qualitative study aims to understand the circumstances or environment rather than testing hypothesis or looking for generalised ideas from the study. The study method is less structured than a quantitative research. The research contains longer contact with the interview participants and has the potential for a more flexible relationship with the participants which can result in data which has richness and depth, (Aaker, Kumar & Day, 2001, as cited in Zawawi, n.d.). Using this method of research I was able to provide a more open and fluid space for the interview process where interview participants could participate in a collaborative process. Because of this open dialogue, the information that was forthcoming was different from what I was expecting from the interviews.

The term “paradigm” may be understood as a loose collection of logically related assumptions, ideas, or propositions that orient thinking and research (Bogdan & Biklen, as cited from Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). Mac Naughton, Rolfe and Siraji-Blatchford (2001) further describe three elements of a paradigm: the nature of knowledge, methodology and criteria for validity (p32, Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). From the interviews, variable key themes were analysed and validated for credibility of predicted theories.

This study utilised an interpretivist paradigm approach to conduct the study. Interpretivism is characterized by seeing the social world from a subjective viewpoint. It emphasizes an explanation of consciousness of social participants rather than objective observers (Digital Solipsist, 2008). The interpretivist paradigm is a qualitative research method which uses words as opposed to numbers to describe situations. It generally includes focus group, interviews, research diaries, and in particular methods that allow for as many variables to be recorded as possible (Vine, 2009). Furthermore, Van Maanen (1983) states qualitative research includes “an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world”. Interpretivism recognises all parties become involved with the research, including bringing researchers their own interpretation of the world or construction of the situation to the research. The researchers must be open to the attitudes and values of the participants or more actively suspend prior cultural assumptions (Vine, 2009).

Angen (2000, as cited in Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2008) listed criteria which help to evaluate research process from an interpretivist perspective.

- 1) Careful consideration and articulation of the research questions
- 2) Carrying out research in a respectful manner
- 3) Awareness and articulation of the choices and interpretations the researcher makes during the inquiry process and evidence of taking responsibility for those choices

- 4) A written account that develops persuasive arguments
- 5) Evaluation of how widely results are disseminated
- 6) Validity become a moral question for the researcher and must be located in the discourses of the community.
- 7) Ethical validity (recognition that the choices we make through the research process have political and ethical consideration)
 - Researchers need to ask if research is helpful with target population
 - Seek out alternative explanations than those the researchers construct
 - Ask if we have really learnt from our work
- 8) Substantive validity (evaluating the substance or content of an interpretive work)
 - Need to see evidence of the interpretive choices that researcher made
 - An assessment of the biases inherent in the work over the lifespan of a research project
 - Self-reflect to understand our own transformation in research process

Seeking information and feedback from Japanese people about New Zealand can be a complex process. Japanese people are generally private and reserved with their own feelings and emotions. They use words to send messages but they also utilise silence and non-verbal communication as tools. They may struggle to engage/communicate with an unstructured interview process as it could potentially make them uncomfortable.

Because of this, research topic questions were indicated in the information sheet prior to the interview and the interview participants were able to prepare for the interview in advance. However it did not restrict the way that the participants could facilitate their own interview process.

Semi-structured interview questions were used for the interview process to gain in-depth information from interview participants. This helped participants to feel relaxed and to engage with the research questions as they did not need to feel pressured to respond in a limited way to the questions. The interviews were conducted mainly in Japanese to respond culturally appropriately. It was also possible to observe their body language and to acknowledge silent moments as a part of their communication style. I incorporated Steinar Kvale's (2007) seven stages of the interviewing process for my interview preparation. Steinar sees qualitative interview as a process and creation from interaction between interviewer and interviewees which should be planned with the whole process in mind (Graham Doel, 2012).

1. Thematizing: clarifying the purpose of the interviews and the concepts to be explored.
2. Designing: Laying out the process through which you will accomplish your purpose including a consideration of the ethical dimension
3. Interviewing: doing the actual interviews
4. Transcribing: creating a written text of the interviews
5. Analysing: determining the meaning of gathered materials in relation to the purpose of the study.
6. Verifying: checking the reliability and validity of the materials.
7. Reporting: telling others what you have learnt.

(Babbie, 2001)

A carefully planned interview process can improve the chance of conducting smooth interviews and can improve confidence for the researcher. Additionally, Babbie (2001) explains that research interviewing is not like normal conversation, researchers must keep reminding themselves to be aware of their roles. The interviewer needs the interviewee to maintain interest, by being engaged and to listen to the interviewee. Babbie (2001) indicates that if the interviewer is talking more than five per cent of the time, then the interviewer is

not facilitating the process adequately. Therefore, the interviewer practised interviewing skills prior to the actual interviews as it provided an opportunity to improve the skills and review the whole interview process for successful interviews.

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

The proposed methods of data collection for this study were through interviews as already indicated in the methodology section. The interviews contained semi-structured, interactive interviewing and observation. Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011) explain interactive interviewing as being a collaborative process between researchers and interview participants. The interactive interviews consist of multiple interviews rather than traditional one on one interview. These established relationships between the researcher and interviewees which provide in-depth and intimate understanding of people's experiences. As mentioned earlier, non-verbal communications are part of Japanese communication style which was observed carefully in the interview process.

Fourteen Japanese people were interviewed using a snow ball process as a recruitment strategy. Flick (2006) explains snowballing as, "You ask your first participant for addresses of other potential participants for study". (p.257) First interview participants were chosen from friends, and a Japanese community website called NZ Daisuki.

Initial Interview participant's criteria were;

- Japanese people living in New Zealand as the first generation in New Zealand.
- Japanese people who live in New Zealand legally.
- Japanese immigrants/people who are living in New Zealand for more than one year.
- Aged between 20- 50.

There was one Japanese man who did not have a residency visa who was interviewed. He has been allowed to live in New Zealand legally for many years. Length of living in New Zealand aimed to exclude working holiday makers. This was because many Japanese people hold work permit visas or other types of visas to stay in New Zealand. Japanese people also tend not to obtain citizenship as otherwise they will lose their Japanese passport. I also initially looked for first generation Japanese immigrants to gather information as their experiences would be different from 1.5¹¹ or 2nd generation migrants. I also surmised that the first generation would struggle more with their settlement compared to later generations. Furthermore there are few second generation Japanese migrants living in Auckland as Japanese migration is relatively new to New Zealand. The participants were aged between 20 up to 57. The reason for the age limit was to focus on adult migrants rather than the younger generation. Younger Japanese people who have been living in New Zealand most likely face different challenges and experiences compared to older generations. Two Japanese women who were aged over 50 expressed their desire to be involved with this research. There was no specific reason to limit end age for this stage. Therefore, their contributions were also respected and included and reflected in the study.

In my initial proposal, it was planned to interview ten Japanese migrants. However after some discussion with my supervisors, it was decided to interview four more participants from a younger generation as the majority of my interview participants were over 30 years old. Through friends and Facebook contacts, I managed to interview four Japanese males in their 20s. All of them completed their secondary education in New Zealand and they were more familiar with New Zealand society which was reflected in data analysis.

The interviews were conducted for approximately one hour. Later on, two interview participants were contacted after the interviews to clarify some of their information.

¹¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigrant_generations

The term 1.5 generation refers to people who immigrate to another country before or during their early teens.

The Interviews were conducted in Japanese. One participant felt more comfortable speaking in English therefore the interview language was changed during the meeting.

Tea and coffee were offered and breaks were taken as required.

Interview venues were organised depending on the participant's conveniences. My own house, participant's residences, community centres, participant's training school, University, and cafes were used for the interviews.

Semi-Structured Interview

A semi-structured interview method was utilised for this study. Interviewees were given a licence to talk freely about whatever came up during the interview. The semi-structured interview offered topics and questions but are carefully designed for interviewee's ideas and opinions and interests to come through (Zone, n.d.). A semi-structured method provides authority for participants to drive the interview process however the interview process will be carefully explained prior to start the interview.

NB. Please see appendix 1 for interview guide lines.

Data Collection and Analysis

The participants who were willing to be tape-recorded during their interviews were prioritized for selection process.

Recording semi structured interviews generally has a paper based interview guide that interview participants follow. The semi structured interview often contains open ended questions and the interview may divert from the interview guide. The interviews were recorded and transcripts created for analysis, (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2008).

Once interviews were completed, transcripts were made from the interviews for data analysis. The language was translated to English from Japanese except one interview which was conducted in English. I completed the whole process without external support as I am fluent in both languages. Furthermore I double

checked all the transcripts using electronic dictionary to ensure my translation was accurate for this study.

Thematic analysis was used for data analysis. According to Boyatzis (1998, as cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006),

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) and within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) details. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (p.79).

Emerging themes have been reviewed with specific theory that was identified from literature reviews. Sub- themes were sorted which the interviewer further analysed. During the process, there was consultation with supervisors for advice and clarification. An example of the process of a thematic analysis is as follows:

- 1) Prepare the data for analysis. Transcribe the interviews into text and format the document so the margin could be used for identifying individual pieces of data. This can be done by assigning line numbers for cross referencing.
- 2) Read the text and note items that repeatedly used. Thematic analysis allows themes to flow from the data. Re-read the text and examine the context carefully, line by line to facilitate micro analysis of the data.
- 3) Sort items of interest into proto-themes. The themes begin to emerge by organising items relating to similar topics into categories.
- 4) Examine the proto-themes and attempt initial definitions.
- 5) Re-examine the text again for relevant incidents of data for each proto-theme
- 6) Construct the final form of each theme
- 7) Report each theme; finalise each theme, write its description and illustrate with few quotations.

(Subvista, 2010)

Ethics Issues

According to Kumar (1996), there are three different parties to examine ethical issues for social science research. These are; the participants or subjects, the researcher and the funding body. Key elements for undertaking a research project will be ensuring interview participants' privacy and confidentiality. International Visual Sociology Association (2009) also guided researchers to respect the participants' confidentiality, rights and dignity however, to also protect their sensitive reports and experiences. Clear and open communication prior interviews are also keys to successful interviews. The research information was provided and written consent was given prior to the interview for collaborative agreement. The information provided is a purpose of study, expectation from/for participants and how it may directly or indirectly affect them. The consent form was used for obtaining permission from the participants but it is also to clarify competency for participating in the interview.

This research was not confrontational and it was unlikely that interview participants had any adverse effects or distress. However, a list of counsellors to whom they could be referred was prepared in the event of a person showing anxiety or distress.

Supervisors were consulted to ensure my research methodology/process and reports were appropriate for the study.

Ethical approval was given from the Unitec Research Ethics Committee for final approval which was approved in between 25.07.2012 until 25.07.2013.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

Introduction

Fourteen Japanese migrants were interviewed for this study. I have changed the names of the participants for their privacy. Seven Male and Seven Female participants were interviewed. The median age for this study was 35.6 years and median length of living in New Zealand was 8.7 years. Four female participants are married with New Zealand European or English partners. One female participant was married with a Japanese husband. All participants in their 20's were single. Three male participants were married with Japanese wives. There is additional information of their origin of home city in Glossary One.

Although interview participants were initially sought via advertisements in a Japanese social network website, responses to the website were limited. There were also difficulties arranging interview times. Therefore I used my own networks and utilised Facebook as a way of finding interview participants.

As a reflection of the interview process, the majority of interview participants expressed their willingness to support this study. Many of them felt I may not find enough participants to complete the interview process and therefore felt their involvement was a way of showing kindness. Japanese are generally not outspoken and are private about their lives. Therefore, their kindness and positive attitude were well reflected in the interviews. Some of them even tried to look for other participants and others indicated that it may be easier for a group interview as they may feel more confident to share their story. The majority of participants crossed their arms during the interview process. This indicated that they were thinking and carefully choosing their words; it did not mean they were feeling hostile or disagreeing about their response at this occasion. Most of the participants spoke slowly and tried to answer each key question as much as they could. There was limited eye contact which was expected as a Japanese communication style. There was also a sense of thankfulness for listening to their stories. Japanese politeness and hospitality

were well observed as all participants attempted to show respect toward the researcher. For example, there was follow up contact from the participants after the interview, offering tea or coffee, politely asking to keep in touch. From an observational perspective, all participants greeted me and communicated using traditional Japanese mannerisms. Further discussion of this is found later in the chapter.

Table 5. Information of Interview participants

(Names has been changed to ensure confidentiality)

Name	Age /sex/ relational status	Years of living in New Zealand /visa	Occupation	Accommodation
Noriko	23/Female/ single	3 years/student visa	International student/ Studies at AUT	Flatting with Kiwis and Japanese
Takashi	49/Male/ married with children	18years /PR	Japanese Restaurant owner/ Chef	Own house
Megumi	57/Female/ married with child	2years /PR	Part time worker	Own house
Takuji	31/Male/ married	2 years and 7 months /PR	Chef	Renting an apartment
Hiroaki	37/Male/ married	10 years and 4 months /PR	Chef	Renting an apartment
Hiroko	37/Female/ married	4 years and 9months /PR	Student / mother	Renting granny flat
Chizuko	39/Female/	13years/PR	Flight attendant	Renting a unit

	married			
Chie	37/Female/ married with children	9years /PR	Student/mother	Flatting with owner
Eriko	56/Female/ single	28 years and 6months /PR	Freelance interpreter	Own house
Tomoko	36/Female/ married	13years/PR	Travel consultant	Renting
Kazuma	24/Male/ single	11years/PR	PHD student	Living at the parent's home
Akira	24/Male/ single	13years /PR	Trained in IT, currently looking for an employment	Renting an apartment
Masami	23/Male / Single	8 years/ Work visa	Customer service	Renting an apartment
Yusuke	26/Male/ single	10years/PR	IT specialist	Renting a house

There were a number of key questions that I asked during the interviews. Interestingly, each question ended up bringing particular themes from the all participants. Therefore after all interviews were transcribed, I listed all key words and comments in separate sheets. They were carefully identified with each key question and reported as follows.

Reason for Migration

Families and friends are the biggest influence for Japanese migrants to consider choosing New Zealand. Nine participants reported that their family introduced or suggested New Zealand as their option, or organised their first trip to the country. Three participants explained that their parents wanted them

to study English or have education overseas due to their parents' dissatisfaction with the schooling or educational systems in Japan. Another participant said his parents were not happy with his academic performance in Japan and asked him to study in New Zealand. Three of them had friends who were either living in New Zealand, or spoke about their overseas living experiences which influenced their decision to come to New Zealand. One participant said her husband asked to move to New Zealand.

Another factor was the working holiday visa. Four participants said they decided to come to New Zealand on their working holiday visas and another participant mentioned easy access to obtain visas in New Zealand. In addition to that, Japanese migrants also noted financial considerations. Two participants said New Zealand is a cheap country in which to live and another participant mentioned that the New Zealand currency in relation to the Japanese yen was cheap. Three participants spoke about having employment opportunities prior arriving to New Zealand.

One participant said she came to New Zealand for her marriage. However she had been to New Zealand prior her marriage.

Another participant also reported that he was given an opportunity to come to New Zealand through an International peace organisation.

Other factors noted were the New Zealand environment and natural beauty. One participant mentioned the size of the country being small which was her reason for selecting New Zealand. Another participant described New Zealand as a stable country. One participant said she wanted to go to a country where there is a small population of Japanese.

Only one participant said he had no particular reason to come to New Zealand and knew nothing about the country. However, his decision to come to New Zealand was influenced by his friend's overseas visiting experiences.

Images of New Zealand Prior to Arrival

Most of the participants expressed limited knowledge or understanding of New Zealand culture or people prior their arrival. Eleven participants reported they had little or no knowledge of the country. Their general images of New Zealand were sheep or a small farming country and people speaking English. Their images of Kiwis were of a laid back people who enjoy BBQs, All Blacks, rugby, nature, Southern Stars, stable weather. The New Zealand flag was also mentioned as a strong image. Only one participant mentioned Maori and three participants indicated location as near to Australia or in the Southern region as being an image and inducement for migration. Three other participants had an impression of a white people's country or making assumptions of it being similar to American or European. There was only one participant that referred to the existence of Maori at this stage of the interviews.

Reality Compared with Expectation

Many participants explained that they had little expectations from New Zealand due to the lack of their knowledge of the country. Although some of the Japanese migrants chose to live in New Zealand as an affordable place to live, reality appeared different from what they imagined. Five participants reported that the New Zealand cost of living is too high. Two participants specifically said housing prices are expensive.

One participant who witnessed Rogernomics, government economic reforms in the 1980s, reported significant change in New Zealand society. She experienced an increased economic boom and enhancement during that period and she felt New Zealand had become more competitive.

On the other hand, three participants described New Zealand as under developed and a slow country. Another two participants also reported that the country has a slow atmosphere and it feels like living in the country-side. There were a few comments about New Zealand as quiet, old cars still running, shops closing early, no night life, lack of good customer services, no competition or

limited selection of products and services and air wash toilet not being popular in New Zealand.

Three participants said New Zealand has plenty of natural areas and opportunity for river activities.

Two participants felt New Zealand is similar to Japan. Four participants complimented New Zealanders as friendly people and helpful. Chizuko reported

Many New Zealanders consider other people and they communicate with others with their consideration, (Chizuko, personal communication, September 19, 2012).

There appeared to be mixed opinions about New Zealanders, as one of the participants felt New Zealanders don't think about others as much as Japanese. Two participants also described New Zealanders as people who like to express their rights and who do not like to apologise to others. One participant spoke about New Zealanders paying only for their food when she went out for a group meal. These appear to be cultural difference rather than thinking negatively about New Zealanders.

One participant also mentioned gender roles. She felt New Zealand women are strong and have more opportunity in their life.

One participant was surprised by the size of the Asian population in Auckland. Another participant said there are too many migrants and he felt the migrants have too many benefits living in New Zealand. For example, easy access to benefit and student allowance. He described the migrants using New Zealand permanent residency as stepping stones to emigrate to Australia. He felt there needed to be more restriction on migrants coming to the country. This was an interesting comment coming from someone who is a migrant themselves.

Challenges of Living in New Zealand

The majority of participants reported language and communication as being major issues for their settlement. Ten participants said they struggled with English and others expressed difficulties communicating with New Zealanders. Four participants said they experienced difficulties expressing their thoughts

and communicating with others. One participant explained his challenge was to ask Western women out. Two participants felt there are differences in the sense of humour and cultural beliefs. They reported Kiwi's don't like to accept their mistakes or faults. One participant also spoke about difficulties making friends and another participant found New Zealanders have a different work ethic.

Two participants said Japanese food is expensive here and difficult to get ingredients to have Japanese meals.

Another two participants spoke about public transport being not reliable and one participant said there are not many choices in shops.

One participant spoke about her experience of workplace bullying and another participant also experienced negative comments re being a migrant by locals.

One participant in his 20s expressed his difficulties understanding Japanese common sense as he found the New Zealand style easier to adapt to. He explained how Japanese schooling influenced him in his way of understanding Japan. According to him, his music teacher did not teach the Japanese anthem and other teachers taught students how bad Japan was from its past history. Since he moved to New Zealand, his view has changed and he started to learn and research about his own country. He is now much more comfortable about his home country as he has been studying history.

Two participants said they had no problems during their settlement.

Negative Experiences Living in New Zealand

Seven interview participants reported to have some kind of discriminatory or racist experiences. Three participants said they accepted having the experiences and two participants said they used their experience to make jokes themselves which helped them to build friendship with others.

At the beginning, people used to pick on my accent which I did not feel good about but I accepted. (Masami, personal communication, November 29, 2012)

People used to just bump into me for looking geeky Asian student. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

Two other participants also reported discriminatory experiences. However, it was toward Asian people generally.

I would not like to be called an Asian driver. (Tomoko, personal communication, October 01,2012)

Three participants spoke about their discriminatory experiences however, it was aimed toward Chinese. They felt that locals are unable to tell the difference between Japanese and Chinese.

Other negative experiences were not having a girlfriend, burglaries at home, workplace bullying, and communication difficulty in English.

Advantage and Opportunity in New Zealand

All participants reported positive experiences living in New Zealand. There appeared more opportunities than negative experiences and these included: New Zealand gender roles, family systems, and social systems are giving Japanese migrants opportunities to explore their life and interest. One participant spoke about a less hierarchical system in New Zealand.

Japanese companies are too big and our voices are not heard by management. But there are no such things or less in New Zealand which I found easier to work. Even me being foreigner or not being young, I still have equal opportunity here. (Chizuko, personal communication, September 19, 2012)

New Zealand is better place for women. (Chizuko, personal communication, September 19, 2012)

My husband is supportive with my study. (Hiroko, personal communication, September 18, 2012)

New Zealand is a good place for family to migrate. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

My husband's family treats me well. They look after me more than my parents. (Tomoko, personal communication, October 01, 2012)

Japanese migrants found adopting western ways of communication and being able to speak English are positive experiences. Three participants spoke about being bilingual was to their advantage. Another participant felt his communication skills have improved and it made him think that his personality has changed for the better.

Another benefit is employment and business opportunities. Two participants reported having their own food businesses and another participant said his involvement with food and the food businesses were positive experiences. He also said he enjoyed being a Japanese chef. One of the participants said he was given the opportunity to work as a chef in a hotel which he never thought possible in his career while he was in Japan. Another participant said he was more motivated for challenges. Two participants spoke about starting self-employed businesses in the future. One participant also said she enjoyed getting the opportunities for volunteer work which she was not able to do while she was in Japan. Traditionally Japanese tend to maintain the same employment/ job for a long time. Therefore coming to a new country and getting new opportunities for work and business appeared to give them inspiration for their career.

Japanese migrants appeared to enjoy the New Zealand life style. The participants described the life style as, close to nature, relaxing environment, having more time for themselves, easy access to outdoor activities, good weather, limited choices but life is still satisfactory, easy to buy organic vegetables or alternative food. One of the participants said New Zealand has no restriction with time and another participant said escaping from Japanese society helped him to live his life more comfortably. Life in New Zealand also offered opportunity to be more independent as one participant said he learnt how to cook meals. He explained if he was in Japan, he would not cook as his mother would prepare meals for him.

New Zealand's multicultural society provided Japanese migrants with an opportunity to learn about other cultures. Two participants reported that the New Zealand schooling system has been helpful for their settlement.

Schooling in New Zealand helped me to understand people from different cultures. (Noriko, personal communication, August 20, 2012)

Another participant also reported she enjoyed meeting people from different countries. New Zealand multicultural society helped Japanese migrants for their settlement as two Japanese participants believed New Zealanders have a good impression of Japanese. Another participant also spoke about New Zealanders being friendly. One female participant said she was popular among males.

Other positive experiences of living in New Zealand were: having less medical problems, good welfare system, having own home and realising that it is important to have parents in one's life.

Who do you normally associate with in your everyday life?

Most Japanese migrants have some kind of contact with other Japanese in Auckland. They also associate with people from different ethnic backgrounds and the majority of those people are from work, classes, or through their social networks.

Eleven participants reported having Japanese friends. Four interview participants said they associate with other Japanese from work. Two interview participants also reported that they meet other Japanese from their wife's networks. Other Japanese participants also said she was meeting new Japanese friends from her soap making group and another participant said he is meeting other Japanese from his religious group.

Six participants reported that they have Asian friends and some participants identified people from different ethnic backgrounds such as China, Korea, and the Philippines.

There appeared to be less interaction with local Kiwis as only two participants mentioned Kiwis and only two participants said they worked with Kiwis.

Playgroup, Aikido group, Soka Gakkai Buddhist group, work, school and university were also mentioned as places to meet others.

Positive Experience of Being Japanese in New Zealand

There was little feedback about positive experience of being Japanese in New Zealand. However, some participants said other migrants and locals are warm toward Japanese migrants. One participant said Chinese are nice toward Japanese. Three participants said people are warm toward Japanese and receive compliments from others. Another participant said non Kiwis are nice toward Japanese but unsure about Kiwis as she has no interaction with any Kiwis. Other comments are that people seek advice about Japanese food, helping to translate Japanese nuances, Japanese people and cultures are popular in New Zealand and people wanted to have a good relationship with her.

One participant reported that being Japanese helped her to get a job as a Japanese counsellor, however, she preferred to find a job which does not require her ethnic background.

Another interesting comment was no one helps me when I am in trouble so I have to ask for help (Hiroko, personal communication, September 18, 2012). The participant felt that she needed to be able to initiate more as generally Japanese are quiet and passive. Living in New Zealand helped her to be more active and independent.

Being Called Asians

There was mixed feedback about the word, Asian(s). Three participants said the word does not represent any positives and two other participants said they do not feel good when people call them Asians. One participant clearly said she does not like to be called Asian. Another participant felt the word refers to negative mannerism rather than a description of a group of people. A couple of

participants said they prefer to be called Japanese rather than Asians. Another participant also said Japanese is not included in the category of Asian.

I don't mind people calling us Asians but um, Japan is the best in my mind. I want to show people that I am Japanese.(Noriko, personal communication, August 20, 2012)

I have pride being Japanese. (Noriko, personal communication, August 20, 2012)

Instead of calling us Asians, I would prefer to be called Japanese. (Chizuko, personal communication, September 19, 2012)

Generally, Japanese are not included. (Hiroko, personal communication, September 18, 2012)

One participant described Japanese as Asians however, Kiwis think of Chinese as being representative of Asian. Another participant also felt that other people make assumption from the word, Asians.

Four participants reported they have no problem or it is not a big deal being called Asians.

I have no problem. Generally the words Asians don't have any meaning of negativity. (Masami, personal communication, November 24, 2012)

One of the participants in 20s age group commented about older Japanese.

I think older Japanese tend to see themselves better than Korean and Chinese. It's a top to down point of view. Older Japanese generation was brought up on during economic boom. But this has changed. Chinese are now looking down on us. But this is a complex matter to talk about. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

What do you miss about home country?

The majority of participants said they miss Japanese local food in Japan. Eight participants spoke about “yummy food” and two participants mentioned about local food in their home town.

Families and friends are another factor. Six participants reported missing their families and friends.

Two participants spoke about festivals. One of them said she misses wearing Yukata (traditional Kimono style for summer) at summer festivals.

Three participants mentioned missing hot springs and another three participants spoke about Japanese TV programmes.

Two other participants said they miss the atmosphere in Japan. One participant also mentioned book shops in Japan.

Maintaining Japanese Culture in New Zealand

There were a few different opinions about keeping their heritage cultures. However, the majority of participants explained how it is important for them to maintain Japanese mannerisms, festive traditions, customs, language and food. Five participants said they return back to Japan regularly on holiday. Returning back to Japan appeared to be helping them to maintain their connection to the country as one of the participants mentioned about visiting the temple, shrine and Kyoto.

Japanese food appeared to be the most important way to connect with Japanese heritage and customs. Six participants mentioned about eating rice regularly or maintaining their diet. Seven participants said they cook Japanese food. Another participant said he eats Japanese food and two other participants cook Japanese festive food for special occasions.

Two participants said they go to Japanese restaurants however one of them said she only goes to Japanese owned Japanese restaurants. Another participant spoke about preparing Japanese meals for herself however she also explained that she cooks Japanese meals for guests to share her culture. Two participants reported they eat Japanese food in Japan when then they return back on holiday.

Four participants spoke about keeping their language. Japanese who are living as a family appear to maintain Japanese language within their household. One of them said she tries to speak to her children in Japanese and used to take one of her daughters to a Japanese educational group to keep up her Japanese language skills.

One participant reported she goes back home to see her family. Another participant said she uses Skype to contact her family in Japan. Another two participants also commented that they see Japanese news from MSN or Yahoo and NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation).

Other than returning back to Japan, many participants are keeping some traditions in New Zealand. Three participants said they follow festive traditions in New Zealand. These include New Year, Bean Throwing Ceremony (Mamemaki), Boys or Girls day. Others said going to Korean Spa, attending six monthly Japanese softball competitions, engaging in Zen, Aikido, belonging to Japanese social club, having Buddha altar at home, making new year's resolution, providing Japanese hospitality and greetings.

Japanese communication and mannerism were also raised during the interview. One of the participants commented:

I think it is important to keep my own culture. I think of my country is the best but I also think other people think their country is the best, too. So I don't think appropriate to express my feeling toward others especially when I think about what's happened in the past history. I feel uncomfortable to talk about my culture. (Noriko, personal communication, August 20, 2012)

She was proud to be Japanese however, living in multicultural society, she did not feel it appropriate to express her cultural heritage in front of others. Another participant also reported;

I realised there are different communication and expressing our opinion and feeling which are depend on where you come from. (Noriko, personal communication, August 20, 2012)

The Japanese way of thinking/communication appeared important for keeping their cultural heritage as other participants also expressed during their interview. One participant said knowing his standard as Japanese is important. Three other participants also reported that it was important to keep the Japanese way of thinking and not to push their opinion as Japanese.

Would you recommend other Japanese live in New Zealand?

Most participants recommended New Zealand as a good place to migrate to. The reasons for their recommendation are a good welfare system, good place to study, resourceful nature, having more time for their life, and strong Japanese currency which removes or lessens financial pressure if Japanese want to migrate to New Zealand.

However, most of them indicated some key points for successful migration. Two participants spoke about what potential migrants would like to achieve from their migration. Another two participants said the hardest parts for settlement are the English language, getting a visa and work. Another participant also mentioned that people who are not fussy or sensitive will have more chance for positive migration.

One participant said he does not like others to think of migrating to New Zealand easily as it has not been easy for him.

I don't like other people to say they want to migrate as I struggled a lot. I don't want people to say it easily. (Masami, personal communication, November 29, 2012)

New Zealanders Images of Japanese People and Culture from a Japanese Viewpoint

The majority of Japanese participants had positive comments about New Zealanders' perception of Japanese culture and people. Most of their positive comments were about Japanese characteristics, technology and food and two participants spoke about Japanese being a popular ethnic group among New Zealanders. Descriptions of Japanese characteristics were: serious, good character, harmless, hardworking, faithful, good ethics, can be trusted, patient, quiet, polite, good mannerism, clean and kind. However one of the participants described Japanese as too afraid to say Japanese have money. He also described Japanese as short. Two other participants also reported Japanese are unable to speak English well.

Six participants said New Zealanders think Japanese food is nice. One participant also reported that Japanese food has been seen as healthy food. Another participant said New Zealanders believe all Japanese can make sushi. Sushi appeared representative of Japanese food as many of the participants spoke about sushi in New Zealand. Two participants said New Zealand sushi is different from shushi in Japan and two other participants stated that New Zealand sushi has changed from traditional to be more acceptable for locals. In addition to these comments, other participants spoke about Karaage Chicken (deep fried chicken) on rice and Teriyaki Chicken which are also non-traditional sushi but popular in New Zealand.

I have a problem New Zealanders believe New Zealand sushi is authentic. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

Other comments about Japanese are high technology, Japanese management, fancy gadgets, unnecessary goods which are associated with technology and organisational aspects.

Two participants reported Manga (cartoon) being popular in New Zealand. One of the participants spoke about Armageddon and cospure;

I am happy when I think of popular culture is coming from Japan. (Yusuke, personal communication, December 03,2012)

Another participant described Japanese culture as exotic and beautiful. (Hiroko, personal communication, August 18, 2012)

Japanese temples, castles, cherry blossoms. They have impression of Oh Japan. (Hiroko, personal communication, August 18, 2012)

Plans for future. Are you planning to live in New Zealand permanently?

The majority of the participants expressed their desire to live in New Zealand or another country. Four participants clearly said they will stay in New Zealand. Other participants reported that it depends on their circumstances such as a visa, husband's work and family. One participant stated she was not sure and another participant responded to say that she does not wish to have her ashes buried in New Zealand.

Five participants reported the possibility of living overseas including New Zealand.

Reasons for their desire to remain living overseas are variable.

I want to live overseas. Like Korean people. Their relatives are living all over the world. I would like to be in a same situation. (Yusuke, personal communication, December 03, 2012)

He used the example of Japan's earthquake and tsunami to explain that if his family needs to escape from their home country, he can assist with migration as he is currently living in New Zealand.

Go overseas for better work opportunity. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

I don't want to stay in New Zealand. I want to live somewhere bigger. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

My husband wants to go to Australia. (Tomoko, personal communication, October 01, 2012)

Work, family and overseas experience appeared other reasons for Japanese migrants to consider moving to another country.

On the other hand, only one participant expressed her intention to return to Japan. Another participant also reported not having a plan to return back to Japan. At the time of the interviews most of the participants don't have a strong desire to go back to Japan.

Recommendation for Japanese who are considering living in New Zealand and recommendation for New Zealand.

Interview participants suggested that Japanese research about New Zealand prior to their arrival. Some of the participants also suggested having a clear vision of why people want to live in New Zealand before they make a decision to come here. Coming to New Zealand for a short period of time as a trial and bringing minimal personal goods from Japan were also suggested. However, there appears to be a common theme of what is important for successful migration. Three participants spoke about English, employment and having a visa as important factors for migration.

Communication skills and positive attitude were also raised in the interviews. Three other participants suggested being flexible and adaptive. One participated reported;

Being positive and an easy going personality are key for successful migration. (Hiroaki, personal communication, August 31, 2012)

Another suggestion was to show initiative and be independent.

Four participants spoke about family status. Two participants said it is an important factor for migration and two other participants reported New Zealand is a good place for small children. Additionally, another participant suggested that young Japanese can challenge their potential rather than living in Japan.

Other interesting recommendation for potential Japanese migrants are; keeping records as evidence, use common sense, Japanese to be aware that food is a part of their culture but the culture is always changing to adapt appropriately for the environment, young working holiday makers or international students to behave and do the right thing and to carry a positive image of Japanese.

Interview participants also commented about New Zealand and suggested their recommendation to this country. These are; increase migrant population, allocate more financial assistance for education, build better government, introduce more strict rules for migrants, Maori is important and New Zealand should make Maori language compulsory, introduce death sentence for serious crimes to control the crime rate, assist to extend Japanese community before Japanese migrants are able to make local friends as a way of supporting their settlement and provide more support and information of New Zealand history and culture to new migrants. All these suggestions are based on their experiences living in New Zealand. It is interesting to see one of the comments about providing more restricted rules for migrants. The participant felt migrants are getting too much benefit. For example, migrants were able to have a student allowance as soon as they granted their residency visas.

Identity

Eight participants reported on the Japanese identity. One participant said having a Japanese passport proved a person's identity. Another participant spoke about her children who have a New Zealand born father as half Japanese. Two other participants said they don't think about being Japanese in New Zealand. Other comments were;

Hybrid. I can not be Kiwi because of my ethnicity and sometimes I am Japanese. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

As long as I am here (New Zealand), I am still a foreigner. I am Japanese, not Kiwi. (Chizuko, personal communication, September 19, 2012)

When Japanese come to New Zealand, they tend to adopt New Zealand culture or try to become a part of New Zealand community and people. Japanese try to be a part of New Zealand. I am the same. I speak English and communicate in New Zealand style and think similarly (like New Zealanders). (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

Religion

Five participants said they were Buddhist. One participant said Shinto. Three participants reported having no specific religion. However, one participant explained that Buddhism and Shinto have a strong connection within Japanese lives.

Most Japanese believe either Buddhism or Shinto. But these religions have been implemented into everyday lives in Japanese society. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

During the interviews, I asked interview participants' understanding of Christianity. Many of them did not respond to the question however some participants commented as below.

It has beautiful world. (Takashi, personal communication, August 28, 2012)

I have no feeling toward Christianity. (Chie, personal communication, September 25, 2012)

I am not Christian. I believe in Jesus but I would not agree that he was god's child. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

I enjoy going to churches as I am easy going. (Masami, personal communication, November 29, 2012)

Most participants said they have been to church for a visit or attending a wedding or some association with friends and family. It appears more focused on socialisation or tourism purpose rather than seen it as a religion.

Future Goals/ Plans

Some interview participants expressed their desire to own a Bed and Breakfast in Japan or New Zealand, opening their own chiropractic clinic, and becoming a flight attendant. Others said they wanted to study and reach a highly respected position in society, changing their job for a better income, earning more than

the average income and finding employment that is physically less demanding. Two participants explained their hope to help and live for others. One of them said he would like to help Japan and another participant said he wants to help a third world country.

Other goals were buying their own house, move to a rural area, living overseas, moving to Australia, marrying at the age of 30 and obtaining a permanent residency visa in New Zealand.

The Treaty of Waitangi

This question was asked to explore Japanese participants' understanding of New Zealand's important history. Although half of the interview participants have no or limited knowledge of Maori and The Treaty of Waitangi, the remaining participants shared their points of view.

Three interview participants used Australia as an example and explained how lucky Maori people are compared with other indigenous people in the world. One of the participants also said positive discrimination toward Maori is o.k. as they are the first people to have lived in New Zealand. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

Maori is lucky. Having a place in the beehive, having place for The Treaty of Waitangi. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

New Zealand is more bicultural than Australia. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

However, two other participants reported The Treaty of Waitangi can be understood in both, English and Maori ways. Therefore there are mixed comments about The Treaty of Waitangi and opinions about Maori.

Maori people are privileged. (Hiroaki, personal communication, August 31,2012)

Maori was disadvantaged because of The Treaty. (Hiroko, personal communication, August 18, 2012)

The people who made the translation did not fully understand Maori language. (Hiroko, personal communication, August 18, 2012)

After so many years, there are so many more people in New Zealand. I am not sure if Maori should still ask for their rights. (Chizuko, personal communication, September 19, 2012)

People are talking about Maori without knowing a full picture. (Hiroko, personal communication, August 18, 2012)

Maori people living in urban areas do not get an opportunity to learn about their cultural traditions and roots. They only carry negative tradition for future generation. (Hiroko, personal communication, September 18, 2012)

We are all New Zealanders and Maori are trying to discriminate themselves.(Eriko, personal communication, September 25, 2012)

There are Maori who has not received financial assistance which I think is unfair. (Hiroko, personal communication, August 18, 2012)

The Treaty problems are continuing every year. (Chie, personal communication, September 25, 2012)

Migrants don't know about the past history of New Zealand so when they see what is happening now, they may see it negatively. (Chie, personal communication, September 25, 2012)

Some participants spoke about how The Treaty of Waitangi impacted negatively on New Zealand society, they also raised some concerns about their culture.

“Maori who are living in an urban area, they do not get an opportunity to learn about their cultural tradition”.

None of my friends speak Maori language but I learnt some. The language should be compulsory in New Zealand. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

Maori culture is lost except language and carving. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

Other feedback about Maori and their culture included the following comments:

I enjoy Kapa Haka group. I learnt Maori songs, music and dance. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

Unique.(Hiroko, personal communication, September 18, 2012)

They are nice people although when I first met them, I thought they look scary. (Yusuke, personal communication, December 03.2012)

Does not mean anything to me. (Takashi, personal communication, August 28, 2012)

Many similarities with Japanese culture. (Eriko, personal communication, September 25, 2012)

From the interviews, it was clear that some participants had more association with Maori and the culture. The participants who had Maori friends appear to have deeper understanding of their cultures or shared their thoughts more than other participants.

Japanese Popular Culture in New Zealand

Most participants spoke about Japanese food when asked about Japanese popular culture. Anime / manga was also discussed (Japanese cartoon/comic) as representation of Japanese culture. One participant did not wish to comment about the popular culture and another participant did not think she has seen any popular cultures in New Zealand.

One participant said popular culture is a good way of learning about another culture. Two participants reported Manga looks fun and Anime is good culture. Another participant also said cospure has become popular in the western society. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

People start from Anime and they become interested in Japan. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

I am happy when I think of the popular culture is actually coming from Japan. (Yusuke, personal communication, December 03, 2012)

Manga is not popular except Naruto and One Piece. Ninjya equals cool and samurai is awesome. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

Japanese food has also become popular cuisine in New Zealand and the majority of the participants shared their thoughts of Japanese food in New Zealand. They all acknowledged that Japanese food is popular. However; three participants said it is fusion, and not authentic.

Sushi has changed in order to fit in and be accepted in different cultures. (Takuji, personal communication, August 31, 2012)

Japanese food is popular but New Zealand sushi is not sushi. (Chie, personal communication, September 25, 2012)

People mistake Korean sushi as Japanese sushi. Many have chicken and avocados and tofu. (Akira, personal communication, November 28, 2012)

Two participants felt Sushi in New Zealand is expensive however; it is popular due to an image of healthy food. There were some strong reactions toward Japanese food as some participants felt the fusion style Japanese food should not be seen as authentic food.

I don't appreciate non-Japanese owned Japanese Restaurants. (Chie, personal communication, September 25, 2012)

I don't want New Zealanders to think New Zealand sushi is same sushi as one's in Japan. (Noriko, personal communication, August 20, 2012)

St Pierres Sushi is Jado (not acceptable), it's a different food. (Kazuma, personal communication, November 20, 2012)

Popular culture has been helpful for gaining interest in Japanese culture overseas. However many interview participants did not appreciate this being seen as their national culture. They prefer to utilise popular culture for financial gain or obtaining popularity of their country or culture instead of seeing it as cultural symbol.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter discusses themes that emerged from interviews and an analysis of the literature reviews. This study aims to explore Japanese migrant's settlement experiences in New Zealand. The focus of the study was to discover their opportunity and challenges during their settlement process and how it may change over time. This study also focused on Japanese migrants' position in New Zealand society and how it may impact on their identity. Additionally, Japanese migrants' understanding of Maori and The Treaty of Waitangi were questioned. From their experiences, they made recommendations and suggestions which are included at end of this chapter.

Key findings

- Most of the Japanese interview participants were approved for residency visas through the general skills category or through marriage (family category)

- There were three different subgroups; young Japanese who arrived New Zealand with their family or to study, mature Japanese who accessed Working Holiday visas as a way to visit New Zealand or migrated New Zealand for the marriage or family

Differences Between Interview Participants

Older Vs Younger Generation (Under 30 years old)

There is a different attitude toward the migration process between mature and younger Japanese migrants. Although both groups have gone through similar settlement processes, the younger generation were more optimistic about their experiences such as language barrier. The younger generations were able to make jokes and use it as a way of communicating with locals. The younger generations were also more ambitious with their goals and dreams. All of the young Japanese participants experienced academic study in New Zealand and they were more familiar with New Zealand history. They also have more association with locals and diverse communities. Most young Japanese migrants were asked by their family to study in New Zealand and they did not have any choice in this. On the other hand, older Japanese migrated to New Zealand for life style choices with a strong sense being Japanese. They were more family oriented and maintained regular contact with the Japanese community.

Gender Difference

Japanese women who married a foreign husband came to New Zealand for marriage although all of them visited New Zealand first prior to their migration. Japanese women appreciate their new life in New Zealand as there are changes in gender roles; they have more opportunities to extend and explore their interests. They have career options and limited restriction on their lives.

Japanese men did not complain or voices concerns regarding the change of gender roles in the western society. However Japanese married men tend to

maintain contact with other Japanese from their partner's own network. Japanese men continue to focus on their business or employment to sustain and support their family.

Motivation for Migration

People usually have various reasons to move from their home country however there are also some opportunities that motivate migration. As I indicated in Chapter Four, Japanese considered the following reasons to live in New Zealand. These are;

Family and friend's connection

New Zealand currency is weaker than Japanese yen

English speaking country/ to study English

Working Holiday scheme

Job offer

International marriage

To have overseas living experience rather than going on a short holiday

Request from parents to study in New Zealand

The most influential reason was family members or friends who had some contacts or experiences in New Zealand. They provided resources and networks to assist with Japanese migration. Their knowledge and information motivated other Japanese to consider New Zealand as a country to explore a new life overseas. Many of their friends and family members made recommendations for school, area to live in and places to visit. It also inspired Japanese to leave their country as their relatives or friends' experience are more real than dreams; it made Japanese think that they can also achieve what their family or friends did.

Another family linkage is marriage. This is especially the case for Japanese who married a foreign partner and were given an opportunity to leave their home country to start new life in New Zealand. All of them visited New Zealand

prior their arrival and one of them met her current husband during her first trip to New Zealand. Migration can be a difficult process when people move to a country where it has a completely different life style and culture. However support from a partner, love and hope to maintain the marriage motivated Japanese to pursue new challenges in a foreign country.

Japanese parents who did not like the Japanese educational system sent their loved one to New Zealand while still young was also a factor for Japanese to live in New Zealand. These parents felt New Zealand was safe and great environment for study without too much pressure from others. They also hoped that their children would experience something that they could not achieve or afford in their early years. There was some strong negativity toward the Japanese schooling system among Japanese parents.

Foreign currencies fluctuate depending on money markets. However, generally the Japanese yen is much stronger than New Zealand dollars. Japanese see New Zealand as an affordable option for their settlement. For Japanese to maintain low costs to study or improve English skills, New Zealand is an attractive place as a first choice.

The working holiday scheme has become a trend for Japanese to explore overseas living experience. A working holiday visa is easy to obtain although there are some strict rules around how to utilise their time in contracted countries. It provides a working visa which offers real employment experiences for young Japanese and some people use it as a stepping stone to obtain work or permanent residency visas. The working holiday visa usually lasts for a year which provides enough time to explore New Zealand to live and travel the country. Many Japanese used the visa prior to making the decision for longer or permanent stay.

Another reason was securing employment offers while participants were still in Japan. The Internet has brought Japan and New Zealand closer; some Japanese were able to look for a job and managed to have their employment contract prior their arrival. Others found employment opportunities from their own network and managed to facilitate their trip by themselves. Having secured

income and employment helped Japanese to consider leaving their home country as it is crucial to have some foundation before making huge step for their life changes.

Other factors were images of New Zealand. Japanese migrants described New Zealand as a stable, small, ecological, English speaking and farming country compared to Japan. Most Japanese migrants mentioned sheep. Although most of them knew a little about the country, their knowledge convinced them enough to choose New Zealand as their second home country. Limited knowledge and information of New Zealand maybe even helped Japanese to see the country as unique and experimental to their new journey to live overseas.

Key Themes

The emerged key themes for this study were; lifestyle change, choice, communication, flexibility and identity. Because these themes were understood differently between different generations, the themes were divided in two different migration stories; Japanese in their twenties, and the older Japanese generation who were over thirties.

A) Settlement journey from young generation (mostly 1.5 generation)

Five young Japanese were initially supported by their parents for their migration and settlement. All of them experienced some kind of education such as college and university study in New Zealand. The majority of them had no choice about coming to live in this country as it was decided by their family. All of them arrived in New Zealand in their teens with minimal knowledge of the country. Their images of New Zealand prior their arrival were of an English speaking country and sheep but otherwise no other strong images. When they arrived in New Zealand, they did not have a lot to compare with their expectation. However some of them felt New Zealand has no night life, shops close early, many Asians and overly protective welfare system for migrants.

The young generation found speaking English and communication with locals difficult. Some of them also found forming relationships and asking locals out were challenging. They also found Japanese food expensive. All of them experienced New Zealand education and from their everyday interaction, they became more aware of other cultures which made them think more about their home country; they became more interested to research and understand their culture and history.

Young Japanese experienced discrimination and racism during their settlement. Some of their negative experiences were based on their appearances; dark hair with glasses like a typical geeky person, i.e., stereotypical Japanese animation fans. However, most of them used their negative experiences as an advantage to build friendship with locals; they were able to make jokes about themselves.

The advantage of living in New Zealand was being able to speak English fluently. They were all bilingual, Japanese and English. Being able to speak English helped them to have better communication skills and improved confidence to communicate with others. At the same time, their personality grew for the better. They also became aware of different cultures and beliefs. Young Japanese saw themselves as able to have positive life experiences that they could not experience in Japan. One of the young Japanese men felt his overseas living experience demonstrated to him how important his parents were in his life. He did not think he would have an opportunity to think and thank his family if he continued to live in Japan. Traditionally the Japanese mother prepares meal for their children in Japan. Since they moved to New Zealand, it became their duty to prepare food and ensure that they have paid bills and maintain other household duties.

All young Japanese associate and maintain contact and friendships with other Japanese. Throughout their education and work, they also associate with locals and people from different countries. Some of them had close friendships with other students who also came to New Zealand as international students or migrants. Following Japanese friends, they found Asian descent friends were easy to get along with. Most of them had Kiwi friends and some of them

experienced cross cultural relationships. Only one young Japanese felt culturally sensitive with other Asian friends due to past history.

I think it is important to keep my own culture. I think of my country is the best but I also think other people think their country is the best, too. So I don't think it is appropriate for me to express my feeling toward others especially when I think about what's happened in the past history. I feel uncomfortable to talk about my culture. (Noriko, personal communication, August 20, 2012)

The majority of participants reported that their cultural heritage did not impact on their interaction with people from different backgrounds. Young Japanese did not feel there was any benefit of being Japanese in New Zealand. Therefore they did not mind being called Asians except Noriko. She felt the word Asians was often used as negative reference toward other Asian descent migrants, not for Japanese. She had pride in being Japanese and she preferred locals calling her Japanese.

I don't mind people calling us Asians but um, Japan is the best in my mind. I want to show people that I am Japanese. (Noriko, personal communication, August 20, 2012)

Other young Japanese did not see the word, Asian as meaning a lot for them. They acknowledged that they were Asians and there was nothing wrong with the categorisation.

There were a number of things that they miss about Japan. Young Japanese spoke about their family and friends and local food in Japan. Japanese TV programmes, Japanese atmosphere and festive events were also something that they miss about home.

Young Japanese found maintaining their own original culture important. All of them spoke about keeping Japanese manners and customs, such as taking shoes off inside their house and greetings. Keeping up their Japanese language is also important for their identity as much as speaking English in New Zealand. Japanese food was also equally important as all of them eat the food regularly at home or Japanese restaurants. Young Japanese men found cooking Japanese food harder than other ethnic food therefore they often buy

Japanese food instead of cooking at home. However, they tried to eat dishes that used rice such as Indian curry or fusion style Japanese meals at home. Rice was an important factor for their everyday dish.

Masami maintains Japanese hospitality spirit at work. He tries to implement Japanese customer service style into the western model. Japanese hospitality focuses on satisfying customers to the highest level as Japanese treat customers as though a god.

Keeping Japanese festive tradition is also important. Young Japanese celebrate New Year, summer festivals and other festive events. Masami tries to make a New Year's resolution at the beginning of the year. Their level of engagement with their culture is limited. Some of them have been going back to Japan regularly to follow their tradition.

Young Japanese are trying their best to remember themselves as Japanese. Akira reported it is important for him to know his standard as Japanese. Japanese ways of thinking and understanding society are significant factors of being Japanese.

Their experiences of living in New Zealand have been positive. They recommend other Japanese to consider coming to live in New Zealand as long as those people are clear of what their purpose is for migration. Masami who is currently working on a work visa said he does not wish other people to speak easily about wanting to live New Zealand as he has been struggling to obtain a permanent residency visa. At the time of interviewing, his work visa was valid for another 6 months and he was desperate to extend his visa for a longer period.

Young Japanese understood Kiwi images of Japanese people and culture was generally positive. They felt Kiwis respect Japanese culture and think Japanese are nice people. Japanese has high technology, fancy gadgets and unnecessary goods. Akira felt Japanese can be seen as serious and too afraid to say Japanese have money. Noriko who studies business at AUT felt that the Japanese management style is well respected as it has been often discussed in

her class room. Masami said he has a problem if Kiwis think New Zealand style Sushi is authentic Japanese sushi. On the other hand Yusuke felt New Zealand sushi was changed from traditional sushi in order to be more acceptable in New Zealand society. Although they all felt Kiwis like Japanese, some of them felt Japanese have the image of not being able to speak English well. On a number of occasions, Masami said that local Kiwis found his English too good for Japanese. He also said he adopted New Zealand ways of communication therefore he often communicates with a funny sense of humour which is often understood as unusual for Japanese. Young Japanese do not usually have any association with Japanese popular culture. However, they welcomed popular cultures such as Japanese cartoon, manga and cospure being well accepted in New Zealand society.

All young Japanese enjoy living in New Zealand. However, they are considering other places as their options for a career and life experiences. Some of them expressed interest working in Japan to contribute to Japanese society and others spoke of their interest to extend their career in a bigger country. They found New Zealand has limited opportunities for successful careers. Masashi was the only person who wanted to stay in New Zealand. Yusuke was keen to remain living overseas to have a support network for his family so then his family can consider living overseas if their life in Japan becomes too difficult. Yusuke used the recent earthquake and tsunami in Japan as an example of setting up options for his family to escape their home country.

B) Settlement journey of older generation participants

The main source for mature Japanese to consider visiting New Zealand was using working holiday visas. It allows people under 30 years old to

explore life in another country and New Zealand appeared one of the easiest countries to obtain visas. Their main motives were learning English and have life experience in a western country. Some of them also said they wanted some changes in their life. Other reasons were getting an employment offer or for the purpose of marriage. However, most of them visited New Zealand first prior

their migration. They also gathered information about New Zealand or had some kind of network from other Japanese who helped them to consider New Zealand as an option to visit or migrate. Affordable New Zealand foreign currency also contributed their decision to move to New Zealand.

Most mature Japanese did not have much knowledge of New Zealand prior their arrival. Many of them mentioned sheep and farming country. New Zealand is similar to other western countries and locals speak English. Stable weather, beautiful environment, southern stars, safe country and BBQs were also indicated. Some of them said New Zealand is near Australia and located in the South. Their understanding of the country was limited.

There were mixed feedbacks by some, of their reality of life in New Zealand. Eriko who migrated New Zealand nearly 30 years ago experienced change of New Zealand society as she witnessed reform in the 1980s. Eriko felt New Zealand became more competitive since the government reform. There were rapid economic growths which increased the number of businesses and improved public services such as transport. On the other hand, others found New Zealand as a slow and underdeveloped country. Some others also felt New Zealand has many similarities to Japan and found it easy to settle down. The majority of them felt Kiwis were friendly and helpful as they would often offer support if you were lost or needing support. Chizuko said “*Many New Zealanders consider other people and they communicate with others their consideration*”. Chizuko also found New Zealand women being strong but she saw it as equal opportunity rather than seeing it as rudeness or aggression.

However, Megumi had different experiences. **She felt New Zealanders are not as considerate or as sensible as Japanese.** Kiwis generally express their rights and they do not acknowledge their mistakes. Tomoko found New Zealand customer service needs improvement.

As a lifestyle, New Zealand was a positive place for Japanese. They complimented New Zealand for the quality of its environment and being a good place for holiday and study. However, they found New Zealand living cost is

much higher than expected. Housing is relatively easy to purchase however, maintenance of the houses and renting properties were expensive.

There were some surprises for Japanese mature migrants. Some of them felt sushi in New Zealand was different from ones they have used to see or tasted in Japan. Chie was surprised to find out that the air wash toilet is not popular in New Zealand. Chizuko found Kiwis generally only pay for their meals when they go out for lunch or dinner. Paying separate bill is not usually common practice unless they are students. Otherwise Japanese usually try to pay more than their share when they eat out as a group. Image of bicultural society was different from what Japanese migrants expected as some of them found they have no interaction with Maori. Chie on the other hand, was impressed to find out how much authority Maori has under The Treaty of Waitangi.

The majority of mature Japanese experienced challenges speaking English in New Zealand. They also found understanding Kiwi slangs and communication style challenging. It was not easy for Japanese to express their thoughts as there were different ways of showing their emotion and feelings compare to Japanese ways. There were also different work ethics and a different sense of humours. Megumi experienced workplace bullying which was especially targeted to migrants. When she confronted her employer about her experience, there was little or no support from the work place and she ended up leaving her work. Megumi had an extensive career history in Japan, however, it took a long time to get a job in New Zealand. Not having Kiwi experiences impacted on her job searching which made her settlement in New Zealand quite difficult. Both Megumi and Hiroko felt Kiwis generally don't accept their mistakes or faults.

Hiroaki has been working as a Japanese chef since his arrival to New Zealand. Although his cooking career started since he came to New Zealand, he has now over a decade of experiences. He is a well-recognised chef among the Japanese community however; he felt he was not getting enough pay compared to working in Japan.

Takuji who also works a chef found an apartment via the internet and agreed to a contract without viewing the room. When he arrived in Auckland and went to collect his key from the agent office and saw his room first time, he was shocked to see how different it looked from the internet. The room was not clean as he expected. Takuji said it was not an unusual way of finding accommodation and he never had the same problem while he was in Japan. He thought it was common practice to empty and clean a room when the tenant moved out from the property.

Other settlement issues were unreliable public transport, too much rain, not many choices in shops, not easy to form friendships with locals, problems with food and negative responses by locals.

Japanese mature migrants identified discrimination and racism as their negative experience during their settlement. Chizuko used to work as a career advisor at a Korean company. She was the only Japanese worker who provided support for Japanese customers. She worked with other Korean colleagues who did not seem to appreciate her hard work and reported negatively about her work ethics to her employer. As a result, Chizuko found her work place too difficult to remain and resigned for other employment. She did not have negative experiences from locals however, whilst others experienced negative attitude throughout their migration. More than half the mature Japanese reported often discriminatory experiences were toward Asian people. Some of them felt these discriminations were toward Chinese. However, locals tend to discriminate Japanese as well, since they are unable to tell the difference between Chinese and Japanese. Chie said she does not like to be called an 'Asian driver' and she also experienced discrimination toward migrants.

Eriko felt New Zealand changed since she formally migrated to the country. There was an increase in crime and she had burglaries at her home with possessions stolen. Other negative experience was communication difficulty. Not being able to express themselves in English was seen as a negative experience.

Japanese mature migrants identified that there are many advantages and opportunities living in New Zealand. Although there are limited choices for shopping, good weather and plenty of nature which provide a good place to relax and enjoy a new life. Limitation of productivity did not impact too much on their life in New Zealand. They also found there was less time restriction in their everyday life which allows them to explore new experiences and challenges during their free time. Chizuko felt New Zealand weather suited her health better and she is now having less medical problems. Outdoor activities such as horse riding and fishing offered a great time for the family to enjoy their weekend together. Having her own house and growing vegetables in their gardens were good reminder of why she decided to live in New Zealand. Kiwis are generally friendly which helped mature Japanese to feel welcome into the new country. Tomoko felt her Kiwi husband's family treated her much better than her biological family in many ways. A quiet and relaxed environment also offered them time to focus on their goal to improve and study English.

Having a permanent residency visa means Japanese migrants receive equal support from the government. Receiving free public health treatment and access to student allowance took financial pressures off for their settlement.

Motivated Japanese mature migrants found a balanced life style in less restricted environment gave them a time for more challenges in their careers. Especially, Japanese women were given more independence rather than maintaining traditional roles as house wives. Tomoko said *“New Zealand has a less hierarchical system. Japanese companies are too big and our voices are often not heard by management. But there is no such thing or less in New Zealand which I found easier to work in New Zealand companies. Even me being foreigner or not being young, I also still have equal opportunity for jobs here”*. Chizuko also felt New Zealand is a better place for women as people would not judge others by their gender. New Zealand society has less expectation for people in different age groups, gender and backgrounds. Hiroko has been studying for the past few years and it has been challenging keeping up with her house chores and study. However, her Kiwi husband understands her position and offered to support her to continue with her study. Her goal is to start her own clinic to treat her patients in her own place. Furthermore, Chie

found meeting people from diverse cultures provided more insight into other cultures. Chizoko felt she became more popular among males since she moved to New Zealand.

Japanese mature male migrants also felt their migration experiences have been positive. Both Takashi and Takuji have their own food businesses in Auckland. They are both enjoying being chefs and business owners. Takuji is thinking of bigger business ideas in the future. Hiroaki is also a chef and enjoying his new profession as a well-known Japanese chef in the Japanese community. He likes cooking but also enjoys taking a management role, working very closely with his employer. Most of the Japanese mature migrants felt their migration process has been positive than negative.

People with whom they associate in their everyday lives are generally other Japanese people through work, business, hobbies, religious group and school. Usually, the Japanese father often meets other Japanese through his wife's network. Therefore, a Japanese family tends to have close contact with other Japanese families. Being Japanese in multicultural society helped Japanese to be more culturally sensitive. However, it also offered opportunity for cultural exchange with people from different backgrounds. Many Japanese mature migrants felt other people were warm toward Japanese and received many compliments about Japan and Japanese people. They also felt there was less discrimination toward Japanese due to living in a diverse society. Japanese migrants acknowledged Japanese popularity as people seek advice from the Japanese point of views. Japanese women also felt living in New Zealand gave them a chance to be more independent. Some participants gained employment because of their cultural heritage.

Living in a multicultural society created a particular way of describing the Japanese migrant group. The word, Asian has been used to describe Japanese in New Zealand. Hiroko felt when people use the word Asian, it does not include Japanese. Chie said Japanese are Asians but generally Kiwis think Chinese as representative of Asians. Some Japanese mature migrants felt the word Asians are often used for negative mannerism and they would not

appreciate being in the category. They did not feel Kiwis generally use the word from a positive perspective. They preferred to be called Japanese instead of Asian. Some of them did not think it is a big deal however, others felt locals were making assumption from their own perspective.

For the past 10 years, there are a more variety of services and shops available for migrants in New Zealand. Japanese restaurants, Japanese food grocery shops, Japanese schools and Japanese social activity groups are well spread across Auckland. However, Japanese mature migrants still miss their home country as they have left their friends and families in Japan. They also miss authentic and local Japanese food. Food is often associated with seasonal ceremonies and festivals. Wearing particular outfits with seasonal food is also something that is difficult to experience in New Zealand. There is a Korean owned hot springs and sauna in Albany, Auckland and it has been popular among Japanese migrants. However, it is not the same type of hot springs that Japanese migrants are used to. There is only one Japanese channel in Sky TV called, NHK which is a government owned station therefore, Japanese migrants don't have access to other local and national TV programmes that they used to enjoy watching. It may be a little problem for others but they also miss Japanese book shops and the overall atmosphere in Japan.

Many Japanese mature migrants have lived in New Zealand for over 10 years. All of them believed it is important to maintain their cultural heritage and identified themselves as Japanese. The most important factor for keeping "Japaneseness" was maintaining Japanese manners and customs. For example, table manners, taking shoes off inside house and greetings were common sense for Japanese. Cooking and eating Japanese food also reminded them of their heritage. Preparation for Japanese festive food can be a difficult process however, Japanese migrants found it important to continue this in New Zealand. Tomoko tends to cook Japanese meals to her guests or as a gift to her friends as she believes it is a good way of sharing her culture with locals. On the other hand, Chie only visits Japanese owned Japanese restaurants in Auckland. Chie said she can cook most of Japanese dishes and often she cooks better than local Japanese restaurant food. Therefore, it is

important that she eats out at Japanese owned restaurants to keep up her standard.

Many Japanese mature migrants made regular trips back to Japan for holidays which helps to maintain connections with their home country. Regular visits home does not just allow them to reunite with family and friends, it also allows them to eat their favourite food, catch up with TV programmes and latest news. They also tend to buy products and food that will be used in New Zealand as there are limited choices available in New Zealand.

Japanese mature migrants believe that the Japanese ways of thinking and communication is important in order to keep their identity. Japanese politeness and thinking about others are fundamental to Japanese communication. Takuji does not want to push his opinion too much to others as he does not wish to offend other's feelings. However, he also acknowledged that there is difference in communication between New Zealanders and Japanese.

I realised there are different communication and expressing our opinion and feelings which are depend on where you come from. (Takuji, personal communication, August 31, 2012)

He prefers to communicate in the Japanese way and hopes to pass the tradition to his future children. Chie also experienced different ways of thinking and communication through her marriage. She felt there was a gap between herself and her Kiwi husband, as sometimes it was difficult to understand each other. These were influenced by where they come from and how they were both raised. She also observed different ways of coping with their emotions.

Chie has been trying to take her daughter to a Japanese language group as she would like her New Zealand born daughter to understand and speak the Japanese language. She also tries to hold conversations in Japanese to support her children.

Other Japanese mature migrants utilise Japanese social activities as a way of connecting with the Japanese community in New Zealand. Hiroaki attends six monthly soft ball competitions as an opportunity to catch up with Japanese

friends. Hiroko practises Aikido which offers a place for Zen and provides opportunity to share her experiences and knowledge to others who are unfamiliar with the concept.

Japanese mature migrants recommend other Japanese to consider migrating to New Zealand. However, they suggested prospective migrants to have a clear vision of why they want to live in the country. Hiroaki indicated that an easy going personality or flexibility is a key for positive migration. Others said as long as they could manage to speak English, having visas and work, it should be support enough for a migrant's settlement.

New Zealanders' images of Japanese and Japanese culture from Japanese mature migrant's points were mostly focused on Japanese character and food. Their understanding of Japanese characters was: good, hardworking, loyal, polite, clean, quiet, kind and as having good manners. They believed generally New Zealanders like Japanese due to these positive personality traits.

Japanese mature migrants also felt Japanese food has a big impact on New Zealanders. New Zealanders often refer to Sushi as representative of Japanese food and compliment how tasty it is. They also believe it is healthy to eat Japanese food due to Japan having one of the longest life expectancy countries. However, they also indicated that New Zealand style Sushi is different from authentic style. Teriyaki Chicken and Karaage Chicken on rice are examples of this. Sushi shops are now in nearly every big suburb in Auckland and New Zealanders seem to expect that all Japanese can make Sushi.

Other feedback was about Japanese scenery. Japanese temples, castles, cherry blossoms represent the country. New Zealanders are fascinated by these beautiful images and exoticness from Japan's long history.

Most Japanese mature migrants are thinking of spending their future in New Zealand. However, they are flexible about their plans as many of them spoke about their family as the first consideration when they think of a place to live. Marriage and children are a priority for their life. If their partner decides to move country due to employment or other opportunity, those Japanese migrants are willing to support their spouse. Megumi came to New Zealand because her

English husband had always wanted to live in New Zealand and she came to support him. Megumi found her new life in New Zealand very difficult although she lived in another English speaking country in the past. She is planning to give herself some more time to allow her to settle in the new country. However she does not wish have her ashes buried in New Zealand. On the other hand, single lady, Eriko does not have a place to return to back in Japan. She enjoys everything about New Zealand and will more likely spend the rest of her life here.

Theme Analysis

There are two major Japanese migrant groups, the younger generation who have spent their teenage time in New Zealand and the older generation who have arrived New Zealand on working holiday, business or life style choice. Both groups have many common themes during their settlement. Those themes were analysed in this chapter.

(Lifestyle change)

Life Style Migration

In the literature chapter, Migration theory described how pulls and push factors influence migrants' decision to move country. Japanese migrants certainly have reasons to leave their homeland and considered New Zealand as their choice for their migration. Japanese migrants who decided to be New Zealand residents did not choose to leave their home country due to political or financial hardship. Many of them found Japanese society too rigid. However, their primary reasons were focused on improving their English skills and having overseas living experiences in a safe, quiet English speaking country. Since the introduction of Working Holiday visas, many young single Japanese decided to take the opportunity to look for new challenges and opportunities in the new country. Similarly, other Japanese decided to take a job opportunity as a way of leaving their home country. For young adult Japanese, it was no longer just a dream to visit foreign countries for a relatively long term. Many of them spoke about making "change" in their lives. Those who came to New Zealand in their

20s or early 30s did not have much understanding of New Zealand's culture and people. However, the lack of knowledge appeared to motivate them to consider New Zealand as their choice of country to visit. Sato (2001) described contemporary Japanese overseas settlers especially those living in Australia as life style migrants and described them as having a desire to improve their lives in various areas. Some seem to enjoy an easy going, carefree life abroad without being tied to what they see as chains of kinship obligation and the burden of corporate life which often intrude into Japanese family life. Others, who have come from living in a small apartment in a crowded Japanese city, want to have a spacious house with many rooms and a large garden in a foreign country. Japanese living in New Zealand also presented in similar ways as those living in Australia. Life style Japanese migrants found a way to become more independent and control over their life which was difficult to achieve in a constructed Japanese society. They also achieved their dream to experience Western life style as they have seen in TV programmes and other media in Japan.

Sato (2001) interviewed more than two hundred long term Japanese residents and her study found a majority of Japanese life style migrants in Australia are reluctant to commit themselves to permanent residency in the country. She described the reason for their non-committal attitude as they are 'quality of life migrants' who have not really abandoned Japan. Therefore, they do not expect to die in a foreign land. They are long term sojourners who happened to be in Australia and want to enjoy the amenities and life styles for a considerable time of their life. They are enjoying their current life as a long term trip which they know it will end when they eventually resettle in their home country. Torkington (2010) also further described lifestyle migrants as a group of people who believe that a change of residential place will lead not simply for better opportunities in their life and, rather to something which might be described as a better lifestyle or a more fulfilling way of their life. She carried out a survey with Algarve to define emigrant's behaviours in 2007 and found that lifestyle was the second most cited motivation for moving from their region by the Northern Europeans. Some Japanese New Zealand life style migrants' also indicated a similar perspective of their long term plan, considering returning

back to Japan at some stage in their lives or not knowing which direction to follow. However, the majority of them suggested remaining in New Zealand as they found New Zealand is a better place for their family. Otherwise, they expressed their openness and commitment to support their families for future settlement. There was strong indication from Japanese in New Zealand that New Zealand is a great place for raising children due to a natural and less pressured environment. Japanese supplementary school teacher, Yoshiko who had an interview with the Japanese Society of Auckland (2010) shared her experience teaching Japanese children in New Zealand. She feels Japanese children who experienced education in New Zealand has a good understanding of why they have to study compare to children in Japan. Japanese children in New Zealand do not see education as an obligation or duty. They enjoy studying which help them to integrate into different schools without challenges. Those children tend to continue enjoying their study after they return back to Japan. Furthermore, Yoshimasa who was also interviewed by the Japanese Society of Auckland (2010) lives in his house in Kaiwaka shared his reason for his migration. He believes in self- sufficient living. He built an eco-house in the 1990s which requires on-going maintenance annually. He has solar panels which generate his own power and he harvests from his rice field, fruit and vegetable garden which produce enough food throughout the year. He believes society controls human lives which he does not think that is an ideal world. He is concerned about global warming and he wants to live his life that is sustainable for living. His life style may not sound like a better life style for some people; however he is living in his life which is much simpler and appreciative of what he has in his natural environment. From his point of view, he lives in a richer and quality life style which he values in his life.

Although life style migrants have been understood as long term temporary migrants, Japanese in New Zealand are more committed to their life in New Zealand. However, this may change depending on their family circumstances. This type of group of people also tends to return back to Japan on regular bases as they maintain a strong connection with their home country. Japanese life style migration is a relatively new trend in New Zealand as also indicated in

the literature review, it will require on-going study to investigate further about their movement as there is currently not enough information to define this.

Circumstance Migration

Japanese who have come to New Zealand by obligation of circumstance can be identified as circumstance migrants. International marriage and parent's decision to move to New Zealand as young children can be included in this group. Sato (2001) explained this type of group and divided into three sub categories in Australia. These are Japanese Australian who were born and educated in their early childhood but migrated to Australia as young children when their parents or family decided to migrate. Those children received primary and secondary education in Australia therefore they speak with a good command of English. The second group is middle aged women who have come to Australia for their adult children who have migrated to Australia. Often these women struggle with English and generally find it difficult to engage with local cultural life. The third group is women who married an Australian, have decided to settle in their husband's country. They are usually highly integrated into the Australian life style however they still struggle with their limited English. (p.22- p.23). Since Japanese migrants are relatively still young in New Zealand, there were no indication of middle aged Japanese women living in New Zealand with their adult children. However, the other two groups represent major Japanese migration trends following life style migrants in New Zealand. Tanaka (1999) reported there was substantial gender imbalance in the Japanese community in New Zealand. The ratio of men to women in most other major ethnic migrant groups was approximately one to one. However, Japanese women accounted for 62 per cent of the Japanese population, which was the second highest proportion of women in a single ethnic group following after Filipino. Ide (2010) explained that higher ratio of Japanese women granted their permanent residency was due to international marriage or de facto partnership although there is an increased number of Japanese women granted their permanent residency visas under skilled category. For this study, I conducted interviews with the same gender ratio to have a wider perspective. Interestingly, the majority of women were granted their permanent residency visa from international marriage. The majority of young Japanese men moved to New

Zealand due to their parents' decision which falls under this category for their circumstances.

Gender Roles/ Family System

In many ways, Japan is still a male dominated society although attitude toward traditional gender roles are slowly changing over time. Hays (2009, para.2) reports that "in 2010, Japan ranked 101st among 134 nations in the world economic ranking of equality among sexes. In the 2008 ranking, Japanese women came 97th in political empowerment and 102nd in economic participation and opportunity and 82nd in education achievement." (para.2).

Japanese women are generally more disadvantaged in society with their lives as there are certain social norms in gender roles. Miller and Kanazawa (2000) further explain there are two reasons for gender based division labour and family systems.

Firstly, traditional gender roles are encouraged as part of the general socialisation process, and many Japanese, both males and females adopted these social values. Secondly, the structure of modern Japanese society promotes a gender based division of labour by effectively excluding females from long term labour participation. For example, females are less encouraged to pursue higher level of academic achievement. I remember my parents were only interested for my brother to achieve higher education and a good career as he was the oldest son in the family. I was the eldest daughter and I was expected not to consider university study while I was in Japan. I was encouraged to train and study at a commercial high school which helped me to get my first full time job soon after graduation. Therefore, I needed to prepare my own finance when I decided to study in New Zealand. The Miller and Kanazawa (2000) report studied mothers' attitudes toward their sons and daughters who aspired to university education and the study indicated that the mothers value 73 percent for their sons when they desire only 27.7 percent for their daughters.

Furthermore, females are more likely to be hired by big corporations after graduating from high school than from university. The reason for this is traditionally females are expected marry and quit a job after the marriage or when they have their first baby. Therefore, if a corporation employed university graduates, females would be older and they would not contribute to the employer as long as high school graduates. Often for new female employees working in an office, their first task is to make cups of tea or coffees for the rest of the team and colleagues for each morning. I worked in two different companies as a receptionist and administrator in Japan. My first job was to remember each colleague's cups and make exactly the same type of drinks for everyone. I have never seen a new male colleague do this same task as it was defined as a young female worker's role. In general, females are not expected to perform at a higher level than males. Males tend to get more responsible roles and are paid more. Males are traditionally considered as breadwinners and many business men spent their time working to produce financial security for family. On the other hand, females are considered to take care of their children and other family members at home. Their roles are primarily focused on family and house duties. In recent years, many females maintain full time or part time employment and take the most responsibility for their children and housekeeping as traditionally expected. This is due to females becoming more independent and having choice of working outside the home which encourages women to have more social participation. It also provides financial gain as they do not just rely on their husbands. However, some females need to work as there is more financial pressure on the family due to recent economic challenges. Hays (2013) indicates that many Japanese women are complaining about men who work long hours and decline to share child rearing. Japanese men expect to be fed and cared by their wives when they get married. Many Japanese women are expressing their frustration as they are under pressure to maintain a traditional role when they are taking on an extra role in their society. Hays (2013) in a recent publication by Yomiuri Shinbum in December 2012 reported on a government survey that more than half of the Japanese public supports the idea that husbands should be the breadwinners, while wives should stay home and do housekeeping. This represents a dilemma for female participation for an equal society. Japanese residents in New Zealand

described their attitude toward gender roles in New Zealand. They seek more opportunity for women and choices for what they would like to do with their lives. Japanese men also expressed their motivation to support their wives and partners because the men have more time for their family in New Zealand. Although, many Japanese men still rely on housekeeping and child care by their wives, they try to participate with their children's care and family support. For example, transporting their children to school and helping with meals at home. Minomo Chikara shared his reason for moving to New Zealand during his interview with Japanese magazine, Ecube ¹². He is a computer system engineer who used to work until midnight in Japan. He spent his weekend resting at home as he often needed to engage in emergency meetings. Hence he did not have much interaction with his sons. His wife suggested to Minomo that they should live overseas as she could not see any future living in Japan. He is now taking up computing courses to gain enough points to apply for a permanent residency visa. He is now enjoying his time with his children, going to the park and visiting the nearest beach which he never had a chance to experience in Japan. Japanese society does not often allow parents to share their duties and responsibilities as society constructs how gender and family system should be operating. This makes it difficult to live outside of their traditional norms.

Furthermore, there was one interview participant that shared his sexual orientation and expressed how difficult it could be if he shared it with his family in Japan. Gay, lesbian and other gender identity have become more recognised in Japanese society. For example, Noda (2007) explained Japan has a long history of homosexuality and the first male couple was documented in early 1960s. ¹³ He also indicated that homosexuality in literature goes back to the 4th century. However, there has been little acknowledgement about homosexuality and their rights and it is not acceptable in society. Also many gay and lesbian people tend to keep their identity private in the society. McLelland (2000)

¹² <http://www.ecube.co.nz/content/view/1064/1/>

¹³ <http://japanhistory-homo.blogspot.co.nz/>

investigated Japanese gay identity in his study. One of his participants reported as follows:

“because I think that being gay is a personal problem, I don't think that stressing rights is useful and I cannot agree with gay-lib thinking. It's important to fight against prejudice but it's better to do this quietly. I could live happily if people could just understand that homosexuality isn't especially unusual but is just one kind of love”
(p.466).

I have met many Japanese gay and lesbian people since I came to New Zealand. Although many of them are comfortable coming out in the Western country, the majority of them expressed their desire to keep their sexuality hidden in Japan. One of my gay friends shared his sexual orientation with his family after many years of struggle. However, his parents did not find his honesty appreciative and suggested having no more contact with his family. Since then, he has found his place in Australia and lives comfortably with his male partner. Japanese society has a strong requirement and expectation from individuals to keep social harmony. Therefore, it is difficult to challenge and express their desire and motivation. Also the nature of Japanese character tends to keep their thoughts private therefore, the social norms can easily be maintained.

(Communication)

English

English has been a compulsory subject to study from primary school in Japan and the majority of Japanese students generally study English for exams purpose only. Therefore, their level of English for conversation is often limited. The Japanese Ministry of Education introduced ALT, assistant English teachers who are foreign nationals to support Japanese students to improve their English communication. ALT works alongside primary Japanese teachers in the classroom from Primary, Junior and High schools. ALTs are usually university graduates who have been assigned from the JET programme, the Japan Exchange and Teaching programme. The JET programme was initially started

in 1987 exclusively for four countries, the United State of America, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand to increase mutual understanding between the people of Japan and people from other nations which is now expanded to 40 countries to promote the programme in Japan's local communities by helping to improve foreign language education from local levels (JET Programme, 2010). Since there has been an increase of the ALTs from the JET Programme, most local schools have access to a native English speaking teacher who is able to support young students to learn real English rather than academic focused text style education. The programme offered a greater chance to familiarise with Western culture and languages. Furthermore, Nova, a private English teaching company which was partially shut down in 2007 also promoted English study. The company used the catch phrase of *Ekimae Ryugaku*, (study abroad) near train stations. The word helped Nova to become the national biggest chain of English schools. Until bankruptcy, they employed 6,000 people with 4,500 of them being foreigners and had roughly 400,000 students. The foreign English teachers offered a smaller group sized learning environment where students could book their convenient time for their lessons. (The Japan Daily Press, 2013). Nova school targeted working women who enjoy travelling abroad. Their catch phrase provided images of learning a foreign language without changing their lifestyle or environment.

Although the English language has become studied by Japanese for the past 20 years, it is still the biggest barrier for Japanese living in New Zealand. Many Japanese share their embarrassment of their ability to speak English as they had studied English for at least 6 to 12 years during their schooling in Japan. Most Japanese use American style English as it is used in Japanese English text books, many Japanese found the New Zealand English accent and speed of their English difficult to follow. Some of them also found it difficult to understand English as there are people from different countries here who speak English as second language. Those people speak the language different from New Zealanders. Some of their accents are not clear enough to understand due to their own lack of language skills. Namiko shared her language challenge during the interview with the Japanese Society of Auckland

(2010). When she went to a maternity hospital, her nurse indicated that Namiko was due for labour. Her nurse then asked her to move to the theatre which also confused her as she thought she was expected to watch a movie during her delivery.

Japanese who gained their permanent residency visas migrated to New Zealand from the general skill category under the immigration policy. They required testing in four different categories; speaking, writing, listening and reading English. If their levels of English proficiency are less than required, they will need to attend English classes to improve their English skills. Many Japanese achieve minimum requirement without struggle as they often demonstrated high levels of academic writing and reading skills from past study in Japan. However, cultural conservativeness and self-doubt can make it difficult for Japanese to gain confidence to speak English well. According to Tanaka (1999) in the census of 1996, the proportion of those born in Japan who could not have a conversation in English was 15.70 per cent which it was higher than the national average of the total Japanese population of 7.9 per cent. Furthermore, the proportion of New Zealand residents born in Japan who used English only for daily communication, in other words, who no longer used Japanese in their everyday lives was 9.7 per cent. This rate of language shift was relatively low compared with other nationalities born overseas. Japanese who are in cross cultural relationships or married to non-speaking Japanese will more likely speak English in their daily lives. However, people who are married to Japanese or migrated as a family from Japan, experience limited opportunity to communicate in English. Many Japanese also associate with Japanese companies for their employment use Japanese as the primary language for communication. On the other hand, Japanese who migrated to New Zealand in their teens tend to have fewer issues speaking English as many of them complete their tertiary education in New Zealand. They have more opportunities to learn English and gain local knowledge from studying in local schools. They would have more intense support from school and a homestay family.

Japanese Communication Style – Wa

The concept of Harmony- Wa describes a basis of Japanese society. Japanese are sensitive to any possibly of conflict, and its avoidance can be observed in various aspects of Japanese culture (Koyama, 1992, p.112) . It is one of the strong Japanese ways of thinking and characteristic of Japanese expression. Traditionally, Japanese have been emphasizing values of relationship. It generally starts from an early age. Hendry (1995) used upbringing of children as an example. Japanese mothers teach their little children to think of others before they act, to refrain from behaviours which they would not like to receive and to give in to a younger child who is not yet old enough to understand. The rational for such teaching brings Japanese back to the value placed on harmony in social relations. Therefore, many Japanese migrants found difficult to integrate the New Zealand (Western) way of communication. Japanese migrants struggled to share their feeling and opinion as they are not used to express their ideas with others. For example, when I first started my academic study at Unitec, I found it difficult to participate in a group discussion as I was afraid of getting into debate. I also found seeing other students bringing up different ideas and explaining why they think in certain ways too much to deal with. Solving problems or making decisions throughout discussion looked argumentative and aggressive rather than exchanging their opinions towards a solution. Therefore, I was often seen as a quiet student who seemed lost in a class. However, I was still not able to say how I was feeling as I did not know how to bring it up and I did not realise it for a long time that I have a different way of communicating with others.

Communication was the second biggest challenge for Japanese participants followed by speaking English. Many Japanese found difficulties communicating in school, work and making local friends. They required a long time to adjust to the New Zealand way of sharing their feeling and thoughts which were completely opposite to the Japanese way. It takes time to get used to different ways of showing their feelings and emotions which is a barrier for Japanese settlement.

(Choice)

Business and career opportunity

The Japanese who came to New Zealand for a life style opportunity saw New Zealand as a second chance to re-establish their life. Japanese women found New Zealand society easier to study or change career. Especially, getting support from their New Zealand husbands, they can go to school to re-train to another profession that they are interested in pursuing. Japanese women feel they do not have to be perfect wives who create different dishes for each meal and keep their house clean all the time. They have more freedom of what they want to do without having high expectations of being wives unlike the typical Japanese wives of Japan. Japanese women also have found New Zealand society treat women in less hierarchical ways; it does not matter too much about age or gender. People have more equal opportunity for employment. Having had the first female prime minister gives a positive image for equal opportunity.

Tanaka (1999) pointed out that large numbers of Japanese migrants associate with tourism and hospitality industry. However, it appeared that Japanese women are moving toward different areas as some of them are studying to explore new career options. Others are also looking into new challenges which are not always associated with their heritage. On the other hand, some Japanese men use their culture as a stepping stone to establish their life in New Zealand. Fifty per cent of Japanese men from this study identified as working in the hospitality industry. None of them worked as a chef except part time work in Japan. However, the majority of them were inspired to work in the Japanese food industry once they arrived here and some of them even went a step further to open their own business. E Cube is one of the most popular local Japanese magazines in Auckland. Toru Yamamoto who was interviewed by the magazine shared his journey to become a chef at a popular downtown restaurant, District Dining. He initially came to New Zealand on a working holiday and decided to train as a chef in Auckland. During his training at NZIA, he worked as a chef at Japanese restaurants and gained work experience. He is now working as a front line chef at the European Restaurant. His goal is to provide Japanese fusion food at his own Bed and Breakfast business. For the

last three years, he is already making progress and taking steps closer to his dream. ¹⁴

Yuko Maruyama was also interviewed by E Cube magazine. She also came to New Zealand on a working holiday and worked at Japanese restaurants. Throughout her stay in New Zealand, she enjoyed her life style and decided to remain in New Zealand. Initially, she took a Japanese teacher's training course after returning back to Japan, to better prepare for going back to New Zealand. However, when she was told by her immigration visa consultant that teaching Japanese is not going to support her permanent residency visa, she decided to re-train as pastry chef in Auckland and managed to obtain her residency visa after its completion. She now has her own café in Takapuna, Auckland. Her goals are to open a Bed and Breakfast and share Japanese culture with locals in New Zealand. ¹⁵

(Identity)

Japanese Language

Young Japanese indicated keeping up with the Japanese language is important for their identity. Those who have spent the majority of their education in New Zealand face different challenges unlike other Japanese who came to New Zealand through their choice. Young Japanese do not have language barriers in their everyday lives in New Zealand. However, some of them recognised their limitation with the Japanese language and emphasized the significance of maintaining the Japanese language as their culture and identity.

Japanese Food

One of the most obvious characteristics of Japanese and retaining their identity was the Japanese diet. All interview participants spoke about keeping to a Japanese diet or eating Japanese food in New Zealand. Although not all of

¹⁴ <http://www.ecube.co.nz/content/view/1301/1/>

¹⁵ <http://www.ecube.co.nz/content/view/1356/1/>

them eat traditional Japanese food on a daily bases, many of them identified that they preferred to eat out at Japanese restaurants when they go out for meals. Some of them emphasized eating Japanese food made by Japanese chefs as there are many non-Japanese owned Japanese restaurants in Auckland. However, others said they would not mind having non authentic Japanese food as they see it as New Zealand Japanese food. Moreover, Japanese who have been living in New Zealand may modify their traditional dishes into an affordable and more simplified style due to the availability of ingredients. Presentation of the food may also differ to accommodate limitation of resources. Younger Japanese residents described Japanese food being too expensive and not affordable to eat as frequently as they would wish.

Furthermore, Japanese in New Zealand also identified the importance of preparing Japanese festive food as part of their tradition and culture. Japanese food plays important roles for socialisation. Rothennbuhler (1998, as cited in Greene and Gramer, 2011) explains food often acts symbolically by representing or “standing in” for expressions such as life, love, grief or happiness and these things categorised as ritualistic and can also be viewed as a form of culture even in its ordinary state. Japanese place much more importance on food than just consuming nutrition or energy for human survival. It has meaning as part of their identity and as a communication tool to engage with people who are welcomed by hosts to show respect and dignity. For example, food has often been used as gifts for business greetings as it is a popular ways of showing respect. Sending food gifts are traditionally the best way to respond to seasonal greetings and it has always been decorated well with wrapping papers and ribbons. Japanese food culture takes on an important role for hospitality and provides a place for maintaining and building relationships.

Definition of Asian in New Zealand

The word “Asian” has increasingly been used to describe an ethnic category in New Zealand. It has become a common definition for describing people from a number of Asian countries. Especially, the media often use the word to

describe a type or group of people and it is widely accepted in New Zealand society. For example, popular TV programmes such as “police ten seven “and “border patrol” often use the word to describe people in the shows.

Furthermore, Statistic New Zealand has been producing information for the Asian population as one of New Zealand’s major ethnic groups in their report which has been widely published. New Zealand health care services also target the Asian population and offer specialised service for them. Rasanathan, Craig and Perkins (2006) explained there are two different constructions of “Asian”. One is racially based and includes only East and Southeast Asians and another construction includes people from East, South and Southeast Asia but exclude people from the Middle East and Central Asia. This construction is relatively new and unique in New Zealand. The use of “Asian’ does not seem to have a clear definition as there are number of questions and uncertainties about the categorisation. Statistics New Zealand indicated from the census 2006 that the following migrants represent the Asian category.

(Chinese)

Hong Kong Chinese, Cambodian Chinese, Malaysian Chinese , Singaporean Chinese,

Vietnamese Chinese, Taiwanese, Chinese nec, Chinese nfd

(Indian)

Bengali, Fijian Indian, Gujarati, Indian Tamil, Punjabi, Sikh, Anglo Indian, Indian nec, Indian nfd.

(Sri Lankan)

Sinhalese, Sri Lankan Tamil, Sri Lankan nec, Sri Lankan nfd.

Korean

Japanese

(Southeast Asian)

Filipino, Cambodian, Vietnamese, Burmese, Indonesian, Lao, Malay, Thai, Southeast Asian nec, Southeast Asian nfd

(Other Asian)

Afghani, Bangladeshi, Nepalese, Pakistani, Tibetan, Eurasian, Asian nec

This shows that there are nearly 50 ethnic groups representing Asians in New Zealand.

Rasanathan et al. (2006) questions a problem of using Asian as a categorisation especially in the health sector. The categorisation may target inappropriate ethnic groups. For example, Waitemata District Health Board is one of the leading district health boards to support Asian ethnic groups. They have numbers of Asian support services. However, they have Chinese and Korean speaking workers to provide Asian patient support service and it does not cover all Asian descent patients.¹⁶ This indicates that the use of Asian can be problematic in the New Zealand health sector. It can also say that the word Asian can be used for few particular groups instead of including all groups that are identified by Statistics New Zealand.

Chinese and Indian people settled in New Zealand long before Korean and Japanese. The first settlers arrived almost 150 years ago and they were treated as unwelcome minorities; resulting in a poll tax that applied to Chinese settlers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Ip 1996; as cited in Rasanathan et al., 2006, p.212). Ho and Bedford (2008) explained in the mid-1980s, only 19 percent of approvals for permanent residency were from Asia. Following major changes in government policy in August 1986 government opened up immigration from non- traditional ethnic groups. By the 1990s, fifty percent of all residency applications approved were from citizens of Asia. Hong Kong, Malaysia and Taiwan were a dominant source of ethnic groups in the early 1990s. In the mid- 1990s the peak extended to South Korea and more people from India and the People's Republic of China migrated in early 2000s.

¹⁶ <http://www.healthpoint.co.nz/specialists/other/waitemata-dhb-asian-health-support-services/asian-patient-support-service/>

This diverse wave of migration was labelled 'Asian' by the majority of the population. It was attacked by racist commentators who reflected earlier era concerns that New Zealand would be overwhelmed by 'Asian invaders' (Munshi 1998, as cited in Rasanathan et al., 2006, p.212). The recent increase of Asian descent migration impacted negatively on their settlement. The South Asian Post published an article about Kiwi attitudes toward Asians. They reported that people of Asian origin including people from India and China are the most discriminated against ethnic group in New Zealand which was found from a survey conducted from UMR research. They interviewed 750 people in November 2011. Asians were named by 75 percent of participants as the most discriminated against group in the country. The Human Rights Commission (2010) further described "discrimination and harassment which they regularly heard were discrimination in employment, verbal abuse (often shouted from people's cars), having water bombs and eggs thrown at them, abuse by neighbours, rubbish being tipped over the fence, damage to property and cars, bullying in schools and harassment in the work place (p.2)". Japanese migrants who experienced discrimination were receiving racist comments, getting picked on for their English accents and work harassment which were similar to the report. However, some Japanese migrants found their negative experiences were toward other ethnic groups such as Chinese and Indian. They felt their experiences were due to lack of local knowledge of different ethnic groups. Furthermore, some Japanese indicated that the word "Asians" often suggest negative reference to the ethnic groups as New Zealand tends to use the word in discriminatory ways. However, younger Japanese did not see any problem of being called Asians. They do not seem to have any issue with the categorisation and even described themselves as Asians. There is a gap and different understanding between new migrants and younger migrants who have spent the majority of their lives in New Zealand.

Religion

Buddhism and Shinto are the most popular religions in Japan. The majority of interview participants identified themselves as Buddhist. However, these two religions co-exist in Japanese society and many Japanese often see it as part of their culture rather than religion. Hendry (1995) described Japanese Buddhism as "introduced into Japanese around the sixth century AD. Their doctrines are different from the original Indian variety of Buddhism, as they are from the interpretations of the Chinese sages who transmitted the religion to Japan" (p.119). After several centuries of Buddhism was introduced, idea of Shinto which is the indigenous religion, was developed. Koyama (1992) explains Buddhism and Shinto co-exist in harmony." In its rituals, Kami (spirit), consisting of animistic deities such as the spirits of mountains and rivers and the souls of heroes and outstanding leaders, are enshrined and worshipped. When Buddhism was introduced into Japan, it assimilated many aspects of Shinto, with Shinto spirits being seen as incarnations of Buddha. Both religions lay heavy emphasis on ancestor worship, and it is this, rather than the more abstract principles of religious belief, that is most important to most Japanese". (p.17) To acknowledge their co- existence, many Japanese household contain both a Kamidana, a family Shinto altar and a Butsudan, a family Buddhist altar in the same place. Many Japanese tend to utilise their religion depending on their life events or special needs. For example, the Shinto shrine is often used for "souls" such as praying for babies and wedding ceremonies. The Buddhist temple is often used for dealing with deceased relatives such as funerals and memorials for ancestors. Although these rituals are traditionally common practice for Japanese, many Japanese young couples decide to marry in a Christian church these days. Hirayama and McLauchan (2008) published an article on Yomiuri Shimbun explained that only one percent of Japanese belong to an organised form of Christianity. However, two-thirds of Japanese couples have a Christian style wedding in Japan. Seiyaku. Com (2013) further explains Japanese as having copied Western styles for many years. Japanese also see the Western style wedding as more romantic, cheerful and modern as seen in magazines and movies. It saves on the cost of their wedding as Shinto style weddings cost more and hence they can invite more people than just close relatives. Therefore, it possibly provides young Japanese with ideas of freedom and styles that they prefer on their special day. This ideation may lessen

barriers to Christianity as Japanese tend to see religion as part of their daily living events and common practice rather than as religion.

Bicultural Versus Multicultural Society

As I indicated earlier the Japanese who completed some kind of education in New Zealand demonstrated good knowledge of Maori culture and biculturalism. Interestingly, they expressed the importance of Maori existence as indigenous people and emphasized their protection. The majority of them discussed how Maori have been somehow well protected by the Treaty of Waitangi compared to indigenous group in Australia. Japanese suggested not limiting Maori culture at the tourism level and expanding their language and culture as equal to the Western national identity. They also recommended educating new migrants to have better understandings of New Zealand history as they may see Maori negatively due to how the media present their culture and people. One participant expressed frustration toward Maori taking advantage and discriminating against others. However, there was no question about moving toward multicultural society. Many Japanese are living in New Zealand as a choice for their life style. Therefore, they may see themselves as temporary migrants rather than seeing themselves as part of New Zealand nationals. Furthermore, Japanese generally prefer to keep national harmony rather than raising their opinions and rights. Many Japanese also raised the importance of being flexible in a new country. This can make Japanese less outspoken about their existence and identity compare to other migrants. From Berry's plural societies' theory, Japanese migrants can be understood as they are integrating within New Zealand society rather than keeping their own heritage by their choice.

Stereotyped Japanese / Popular Culture

Japanese migrants believe New Zealanders generally have a positive impression of Japanese. Japanese characteristics are known as hard working, loyal and polite. They have good ethics and maintain good manners. Some of them reported Japanese reactions to Japan's earthquake and tsunami proved their positive characteristics.

In terms of Japanese popular culture, Japanese cartoon, Manga and dressing up as popular cartoon characters, Cosplay did not seem easily accepted among Japanese migrants as a part of their everyday lives. Traditionally, people who associate heavily with the culture were seen as Otaku (nerd) in Japan. Virtual Japan (2008) explains Japanese pop culture is a highly influential combination of film, TV, manga and music throughout the world. This popular movement became visible after the 1980s and 1990s around the world to become one of the most influential entertainments alongside that from the United States. The world popularity also influenced Japanese popular culture as it created new trends such as maid café and young idol groups who target the Otaku population. Most Japanese migrants did not have any association with this popular culture. Some older Japanese migrants did not wish it to be recognised as heritage culture. However, many Japanese migrants believed the world popularity brought positive influence on Japanese and helped to get closer to integrate with other cultures. Japanese food also had similar responses from the interview participants. Some others pointed out that the New Zealand Japanese food was created in order to fit into New Zealand society. They emphasized importance of change for adoption which applies to themselves as migrants.

Japanese Manners and Etiquette

The majority of Japanese residents emphasized maintaining Japanese ways of thinking and etiquette as a part of their identity. Some of them expressed their desire to pass their practice to their future children. In their everyday lives, they continue to maintain their traditional customs such as taking shoes off when going inside house, Japanese table manners and greetings which are not difficult to continue in New Zealand. Kumamoto Prefecture (2013) explains correct manners are important for Japanese. Basic Japanese etiquettes are general communication such as showing respect to others in public; maintain neat appearance, good table manners, present and act professionally in the business world, home visiting manners, bathing in a public spa, manners

visiting shrines and temples. (More information in glossary 2). These are basic etiquette among Japanese and protocols of these practices are used for all generations.

The Japanese way of communication and thinking are also important for Japanese manners. Some of the Japanese residents referred to using common sense. Their ideas are not to push their opinion and not to confront others when they face making difficult decisions or have disagreements with others. They also emphasized making appropriate decisions in each circumstance and knowing what is right and wrong without being too emotional or outspoken. They did not mean other cultures are making inappropriate decisions or being too emotionally driven. However, many found settlement caused an adjustment in communication to a more open style and adopted this way to integrate into this new society. The Japan Intercultural Consulting (2013) described the Japanese way of communication and mannerism as follows.

Hear one, understand ten” (ichi ieba ju wo shiru) is a Japanese phrase which neatly sums up the Japanese approach to communication in both business and private settings. The idea is that two people working together should be so in tune with each other that wordy explanations are not necessary”. (Japan Intercultural Consulting, 2013)

Because, non-verbal communications are often used more than verbal communication and non-verbal often has more meanings, Japanese residents needed to learn how to use verbal communication more to express their emotion and ideas. For example, it will be unusual to see a Japanese couple expressing their emotion or showing affection in a public space as others will consider the behaviour embarrassing. It is not usually social accepted manners and it should be kept private in Japan. Moreover, Japanese couples tend to display their love and care indirectly such as giving gifts rather than verbalising it to their loved ones. There is also expectation that their loved ones should know it without being told as a part of their communication. Generally, the Japanese have expectation of not expressing emotion to others as part of Japanese manners. It is understood as being polite. Therefore, Japanese

residents were required to adjust their communication style to be more effective. However, many of them see Japanese manners as important for who they are.

(Recommendations from Japanese Community)

Japanese migrants indicated there are a few important key points for successful migration. They strongly indicated other potential migrants to plan carefully and well prepare prior their arrival. Employment, English, a visa, family demographics and finance are practical aspects to consider. Visiting New Zealand is a good way to see their potential for migration, especially the working holiday visa which allows people to travel and live like locals. Many migrants took working holiday visa as a stepping stone to live permanently as it provides an opportunity for networking and understanding real circumstances.

The second major factor is being flexible in a new environment. Starting in a new country can be stressful and challenging. However, a positive attitude and willingness to adopt the new life style makes all the difference during the settlement process. Many Japanese migrants indicated that they were expecting to be discriminated on some level. They acknowledged that there will be people who would not always appreciate people from other cultures.

In addition to having a flexible personal character, it is also important to be independent and show initiative. This can be a most challenging aspect for Japanese as they are generally passive and find it difficult to be assertive. Japanese style communication has to be adapted into a European style to succeed in this. However, Japanese migrants also suggest utilising common sense as we are all human regardless of culture and background. Maintaining two different cultures instead of losing their own roots are important for migration. For Japanese, food is an important part of their identity. Maintaining an exact Japanese style diet is difficult. Therefore, being more creative and making something that is similar to one's own cultural food is a way to connect with their food identity. Acceptance and being creative are also key factor for Japanese migration.

The third aspect is to live in New Zealand for its quality of life. Having a big expectation for career development or financial gain may prevent a satisfactory migration experience. Many Japanese appreciate small to medium business opportunities and financial gain usually is not greater than what it is in Japan.

There are a number of recommendations for Japanese to consider living in New Zealand.

The country offers a more family oriented environment; there is less pressure to work after business hours, plenty of parks and spaces for the family to enjoy afternoons and weekends. A less competitive environment for children is also noted. New Zealand schools are more interested in individual growth and interests which offer children the chance to explore their potential without too much pressure. For parents, it is still possible to own a house with backyard and grow their own vegetables.

For single Japanese, there is potential to explore a new career and education. Financial assistance from the government supports migrants to look for new challenges and opportunities. Especially for women, they do not need to worry about their marital status or age. There is less social expectation on each gender to live their adulthood. Women can work or study while taking care of their household and child care duty as there are more support systems available in New Zealand. In addition to career development, younger Japanese are looking for better opportunities overseas as their experiences are transferable to other English speaking countries. New Zealand can possibly offer greater opportunity for their future as a stepping stone.

Japanese migrants made some recommendation for New Zealand.

Interestingly, they indicated a willingness to acknowledge the indigenous Maori culture. They felt New Zealand is undermining the existence of Maori which is impacting on migrant understanding of the culture and people. Education about New Zealand history and learning Maori language and culture should be a necessary part of the settlement process for new migrants. As Japanese migrants are often seen as a small minority ethnic group, they appear to be sensitive about other cultural groups. Especially, there is conflicting identity

identification among Japanese, it is important for Japanese to acknowledge Maori and their culture. They also indicated it is important to build a stronger Japanese community at the national level. Japanese often have to rely on other Japanese to support their settlement process as there is limited support system available in New Zealand.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

A Japanese term, *Sumeba Miyako*¹⁷ translates to 'wherever you live is paradise' was used by one of the interview participants. It describes the Japanese attitude to accept their life regardless of the conditions and make the most of it. The Japanese in New Zealand experience hardship during their settlement which is a common process for most migrants. However, Japanese are generally adaptive and open to find a way to look for opportunity rather than focusing on their struggle. The English language was the most reported challenge followed by communication differences. Due to the lack of English skills, many Japanese experienced great difficulties for employment, schooling and relationships. During their settlement, they managed to recognise New Zealand quality; enjoying its multicultural society, starting a new career or business, being able to speak English, becoming more independent, living in less pressured society and life surrounded by nature. Many Japanese chose to visit and then migrate to New Zealand for a better quality life which is difficult to pursue in the pressured life of Japan. The working holiday visa, the recent introduction of low cost airline carriers and on-going popularity of learning English are contributing and push factors to encourage Japanese to consider real overseas life experiences. Globalisation also creates fewer boundaries between each country. Some Japanese in New Zealand may decide to return back home like many Japanese Australians do. Young Japanese indicate they are planning to move county to look for more challenging career opportunities. However, older generation migrants who mostly migrated to New Zealand after an extension of their working holiday or marriage are keen to stay here longer. Japanese migration is a relatively new trend in New Zealand. However, most of them see New Zealand as their second home country. They found some similarities between the countries and are mostly satisfied with their new life. There are some differences in opinion between generations; Japanese from the older generation feel the word "Asian" does not represent Japanese, unlike the younger generation who are mostly comfortable with the categorisation. Younger generation tends to complete their schooling in New Zealand and they have more opportunity to understand their position and society in wider

¹⁷ <http://herbandlace.com/sumeba-miyako/>

perspective. Although Japanese try to adopt and accept their new life, there are some gaps between different generations which will require study for further analysis. Japanese migrants appreciate their new opportunity in a foreign land but yet, they still prefer to maintain their “Japaneseness” which is Japanese identity. Japaneseness includes manners, some of their cultural belief & tradition, Japanese language and food. They understand that there are limited resources available. Therefore, they try to utilise local goods to fulfil their need. Regular return visits back to Japan also help to support their contact with friends and families. New Zealand Japanese are finding their own way of integrating two different cultures in their own unique way. Their life styles are similar to those of Australian Japanese and some of Japanese are here for their temporary migration experiences. However, many Japanese migrants are living in New Zealand, aiming to remain there permanently at this point. This may certainly change depending on their life conditions and opportunities. However, they are committed to resettle as Japanese New Zealanders.

In Auckland, there are large numbers of different ethnic groups existing in the city. It is not always easy to voice a Japanese position as popular culture such as food and manga cartoons are more recognised among locals. However, there are growing numbers of Japanese living in Auckland and they are trying to fit into New Zealand society. I would like to celebrate their achievement to resettle into this country. It was certainly not an easy process for myself and took a while to find my feet. However, the reward of living in the country is more than I ever expected and pleased to see other Japanese going through same process. The migration process is never easy however, throughout the journey people grow as a person and find their own identity as to who they are. This is why it is important to recognise their process and acknowledge their commitment. Otherwise, it will create confusion and create more gaps which will impact negatively in New Zealand society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

1. What were your main reasons for migrating to New Zealand?
2. What were images of New Zealand people and culture before migrating to New Zealand?
3. How does the reality compare with the experiences you held?
4. What have been some of the challenges that you have experienced living in New Zealand? Are there any differences with the challenges when you first settled in the country and now? And how have you been dealing with these challenges?
5. Have you had any negative experiences in New Zealand?
6. What is/was the advantage and opportunity for migrating to New Zealand?
7. In general, have the migration experiences been more positive than negative?
8. Who do you mix with in your daily lives? If so, please explain why.
9. What are some of the positive experiences of being Japanese in New Zealand?
10. How do you feel being called Asian?
11. What do you miss about your home country?
12. Do you try to maintain your Japanese culture in New Zealand? Please explain why it is important to you.
13. Do you think that New Zealand is a good place for Japanese people to migrate to? Please explain why?
14. What do you think of images and understanding of Japanese people and culture among New Zealanders?
15. Do you think you and your family will live in New Zealand permanently? If not please share your long term plans.

Appendix 2: Information for Participants



INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

What are the opportunities and challenges being Japanese migrants to Aotearoa / New Zealand?

My name is Hiromi Kominami and I am a Master of Social Practice student at Unitec NZ. Part of my Master's degree programme involves a research project on a subject of my choice. My study topic looks at experiences of Japanese migrants in New Zealand.

What am I doing?

I would like to hear Japanese migrants' stories. The Japanese population in New Zealand is relatively small but it has grown during the past 10 years. By taking part in this research project you will be helping me to gather your personal stories to reflect Japanese migrants' experiences in New Zealand.

What it will mean for you

I am going to interview Japanese migrants who are aged between 20 and 50 years and living New Zealand legally for more than 1 year. I am expecting to interview only first generation Japanese living in New Zealand. From this information, I will analyse the experiences of living in New Zealand as new Japanese migrants. The questions are about your journey of settlement in New Zealand. Examples of the issues that the interview will cover are; reason for migration, reality vs. actual settlement experience, challenges and opportunity living in New Zealand.

I will need an hour of your time to be involved in my individual interview. The interview will be conducted in Japanese. I may need to contact you again if I need to clarify some of your information.

Once I gather all the information, I will write a thesis based on the outcomes. All features that could identify you will be removed in the thesis.

Consent

If you agree to participate you will sign a consent form. This does not stop you from changing your mind at a later time and asking to withdraw from the project. This can be done up to the time when the information has been analysed.

You are also free to withdraw or decline to answer specific questions during the interview.

The interview will be taped and transcribed. A copy of the transcript will be made available to you and you can change anything you want to change, or remove your information. The tape will be wiped after it has been transcribed. You will not be identified in the final report.

Information and concerns

If you want further information or have any concerns about the project you can contact my research supervisors, Helene Connor hconnor@unitec.ac.nz and David Haigh dhaigh@unitec.ac.nz

Confidentiality

Your name and the information that may identify you will be kept confidential. All information collected from you will be destroyed once the study is completed.

Please contact me if you need more information about the project. At any time if you have any concerns about the study project you can contact my supervisors.

This study has been approved by the UNITEC Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Committee through the Secretary (Ph: 09 815-4321). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Thank you,

Hiromi Kominami

Appendix 3: Japanese interview participants' Demographics



Area Participants From	Number of Participants
Central Capital areas, Kanto Regions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toyko • Kanagawa • Chiba 	4 2 1
Central region in main island <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toyama 	1
Southern Central area, Kansai regions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nara • Osaka • Hyogo • Kyushu Island- Fukuoka 	1 2 1 2

Appendix 4: Basic Japanese Etiquette

General

- When someone greets you, greet the person back in a lively manner.
- Bows and handshakes are both acceptable forms of greeting in Japan. When thanking someone or apologizing, it is respectful to bow.
- Address other people by their last names followed by the suffix '-san' but do not add any suffix to your own name when introducing yourself.
- Do not use your cell phone when you are on a train or a bus.
- Shouting in public, even if it is to call the attention of someone, is unacceptable behaviour.
- Respect the personal space of others, avoiding excessive physical or eye contact, at all times.
- When sitting on the floor, do so with your hands on your lap and your legs tucked under you. For women, sitting with both legs to one side is also acceptable while men can sit with legs crossed.
- If someone offers to help you, it is polite to refuse initially. If the offer is made a third time, you may accept.
- Eating or drinking while walking down a street is considered rude.

Appearance

- Always maintain a neat appearance.
- Dry your hair after your bath, before going out in public.
- Avoid wearing excessive jewellery.
- When wearing a kimono or yukata, always wear the left side over the right side. The opposite of this is only observed at funerals.

Eating and Drinking

- It is customary to hold the bowl of rice in one hand (the left for right-handed people) rather than set it on the table, and to use your other hand to hold the chopsticks.

- When using chopsticks, do not point them at other people, wave them in the air or spear food with them like a fork. You should also never stick your chopsticks into a bowl of rice since this will make them look like sticks of incense. If there is a communal dish, get your portion using the opposite end of the chopsticks (not the one you put in your mouth). When you are done eating, simply put down your chopsticks in front of you facing left.
- Soy sauce is the most popular Japanese condiment. Even so, you should refrain from pouring it over your food unless you are eating tofu. Rather, dip your food into the soy sauce.
- Finishing your food to the last grain of rice is preferable.
- Slurping noodles is NOT considered bad manners. Try to avoid having the noodles fall back into the soup, though.
- When eating miso soup, which is served all over Japan, drink it from the bowl then eat the solid pieces using a chopstick rather than eating it by the spoonful.
- When drinking sake, wait for someone to pour for you. Conversely, you will also be expected to pour for others. When someone offers to pour for you, stretch out your cup or glass using both hands. If it is still full, quickly empty it before stretching it out.
- When dining out at a Japanese restaurant, a hot towel is usually provided before the meal. Use this for your hands only.
- When drinking tea, do not ask for sugar or cream.
- Gulping down your drink is not considered bad manners. Gulping down food, however, is.

Paying

- When dining out or paying for items at a cashier, you may be presented with a small tray. Place your payment on the tray instead of handing it directly.
- Tipping is not a custom in Japan and therefore, will be refused. When this happens, do not insist but simply say thank you.
- If you are paying by credit card, offer it using both hands.

Doing Business

- The Japanese follow their schedules strictly so you should never be late for a business appointment.
- Do not wear bright-coloured clothes when at a business meeting.
- Always hand out and receive business cards with both hands and do not put them in your pants pockets.
- If you are taking notes during a business meeting, use blue or black ink, never red.
- When the meeting is done, wait for the other person to stand before standing up yourself.

Visiting a Japanese Home

- Do not refuse an offer to visit someone's home while visiting Japan. It is considered a rare honour.
- It is polite to bring a wrapped gift for your host – food or drink is preferred – but humbly apologize that it is all you can bring, even if it is expensive and worth bragging about.
- Upon entering a house, remove your shoes and place them neatly at the entrance. If there are slippers provided, use them. If you are wearing sandals, it is polite to bring a pair of white socks with you to wear inside the house after taking them off.
- When using the bathroom in someone's home, you will notice that bathroom slippers are provided. Use these when inside the bathroom but leave them there afterwards.
- If you are staying overnight at a Japanese home, you will likely be offered a bath. Keep in mind that baths are shared in Japan, and as the guest, you will likely get to use the bath first, so do not drain the water or dirty it.

Bathing in an Onsen

- Public baths, particularly those fuelled by hot springs called onsen, are common in Japan, with separate ones for men and women. Wearing a bathing suit, or anything else for that matter, in the water is not allowed.

- You will be expected to wash and rinse at a shower facility or bathing station before using the onsen, same as you would with a public swimming pool.
- Do not soak or dip your towel into the water. Rather, leave it at the side or place it on top of your head.
- If you have tattoos, however small and inoffensive, you may not be allowed to use the onsen.

Visiting Shrines and Temples

- Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines are some of the most visited attractions in Japan, but you must not forget that these are also sacred places so you should be very respectful.
- At a temple, it is customary to burn incense and offer a prayer. When finished, do not blow the incense out. Rather, extinguish the flame by waving your hand, fanning some of the smoke towards you.
- If you are asked to remove your shoes before going inside a temple, do so.
- At a shrine, take the ladle at the purification fountain and rinse your hands, then pour some water into your hand so you can rinse your mouth, spitting the water just beside the fountain. Do not raise the ladle directly to your lips and do not swallow the water.
- If there is a gong, ring it before praying. This will get the attention of the deity residing there.

If you are visiting Japan and looking for a way to travel and view all the sights you could book car hire online. Why not secure your car hire deal today? We recommend checking out www.zencarhire.com who offer cheap car hire throughout Japan.

(from <http://www.visitkumamoto.com/Basic-Japanese-Etiquette>)

Appendix 5: History of Japanese movement in Auckland

1957	Prime Minister of Japan, Kishi Nobusuke visited New Zealand
1963	Prime Minister of Japan, Yuto Ikeda visited New Zealand
1967	Prime Minister of Japan, Eisaku Sato visited New Zealand
1972	Auckland Japanese Supplementary School was registered by Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs
1973	Japanese Emperor, Akihito and Empress, Michiko visited Auckland. The first Japanese grocery shop, Asahi Food centre was opened in Auckland
1974	Prime minister of Japan, Kakuei Tanaka visited New Zealand. The first Japanese Restaurant, Yamato opened in Auckland
1980	Air New Zealand and Japan Airline started flights between Auckland and Nairta airport. Prime minister of Japan, Masayoshi Ohira visited New Zealand
1982	Manukau city and Utsunomiya city established as sister cities
1983	One Tree Hill and Tomioka town (Fukushima) established as sister cities
1985	Prime Minister of Japan, Yasuhiro Nakasone visited New Zealand. Working Holiday scheme was established between New Zealand and Japan
1986	Auckland city and Fukuoka city established as sister cities

1989	The first meeting for Japanese Society of Auckland at Sheraton Hotel
1990	Japanese Society of Auckland published first magazine for members
1991	Air New Zealand and Japan Airline started flights between Auckland and Nagoya airport
1992	Waitakere city and Kakogawa city become sister cities
1993	Shinagawa town and Auckland city established as sister cities. Prime Minister of Japan, Kiichi Miyazawa visited New Zealand
1994	Air New Zealand and Japan Airline started flights between Auckland and Kansai airport
1995	Air New Zealand and Japan Airline started flights between Auckland and Fukuoka airport
1996	The first publication of Gekkan NZ magazine
1997	Prime Minister of Japan, Ryutaro Hashimoto visited New Zealand
1999	Prime Minister of Japan, Keizo Obuchi visited New Zealand. Warkworth and Furudono town (Fukushima) established as sister cities
2000	World TV started NHK programme (Japan Broadcasting Corporation)
2001	The first Japanese festival “Japan Day” at ASB stadium
2002	Prime Minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi visited New Zealand. Japanese Royal, Crown prince Naruhito and Crown Princess Masako visited New Zealand. Pukekohe and Haramura (Nagano) become sister cities
2006	Japanese Royal, Prince Akishinomiya visited Auckland

(Japanese Society of Auckland, 2010)

