

# CULTURAL IDENTITY OF JAPANESE WAR BRIDES IN POST-WAR NEW ZEALAND

By

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## **ABSTRACT**

Little is known about the experiences of Japanese war brides who met their New Zealand husbands-to-be, as part of the New Zealand's involvement in the Occupation Forces in post-war Japan. Was it an oversight or deliberate that the stories of these Japanese war brides have been largely forgotten in historical discourse both in New Zealand and Japan?

Some of these Japanese women were disowned by their families because of their decision to marry former enemy nationals. Upon arrival in New Zealand, they found themselves in an unfamiliar culture with no existing Japanese community to support them. Moreover, racial prejudice toward the Japanese was still prevalent in New Zealand. The narratives of these women reveal their determination and commitment to establishing their lives in New Zealand. Many of them joined the workforce in many capacities: As friends and supporters to Japanese tourists and as teachers of Japanese language and culture. Furthermore, through their work as cultural brokers and consultants, the women helped promote bilateral trade and made a significant contribution to progressing economic and diplomatic relations between Japan and New Zealand in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

This research aims to preserve the stories of a sample of the Japanese war brides and to add to the general body of knowledge about early Japanese immigrants to New Zealand. This study is a qualitative investigation which examines the cultural identity of Japanese war brides who migrated to New Zealand in the 1950s and 60s. The oral history method was the principle approach used to collect narratives from the war brides and their family members. The individual stories collected in this thesis add substance to the otherwise sparse account of war brides in New Zealand. This thesis also identifies the names and details of approximately 50 Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand, who up until now merely existed as little more than numbers in New Zealand official records.

Overall, the stories collected in this thesis demonstrate the strength and courage of these Japanese women, despite the major cultural differences they encountered and at a time when there existed significant racial tension between individuals from former enemy nations, their contribution therefore requires acknowledgement.

## **DECLARATION**

Name of candidate: Mutsumi Kanazawa

This thesis entitled "Cultural Identity of Japanese War Brides in Post-War New Zealand" is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Unitec degree of Master of International Communication.

Candidate's declaration

I confirm that:

This thesis 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: 2015-1060

Candidate Signature: .....

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I felt like an ill-prepared novice sailor who, after embarking on a trans-Pacific voyage, realised that she had forgotten to obtain a map or the necessary navigational knowledge and skills. A lone boat left adrift on the open seas.

Life has lots of turns, mostly unexpected. I am forever indebted to all those who helped my journey on the tough ocean. I stepped onto the campus of the Unitec Institute of Technology as a very 'mature' student who was immediately welcomed and supported by my classmates, notably Alexander Danne, whose brightness shone both intellectually and spiritually to light the way through the darkness and deep trenches. The campus was filled with so many talented and supportive staff members whose names could not possibly be covered on this page, but I'm particularly grateful to Catherine Mitchell at the Te Puna Ako Learning Centre who has tirelessly encouraged me and lavished me with positive remarks, even when I knew that I did not deserve them. My thesis supervisors, or anchors in my journey, Dr Elena Kolesova and Dr Sara Donaghey have patience as deep as the deepest ocean and wisdom greater than the ancient owl; they saved me from near shipwreck and have lifted me up when I was totally stranded by life's unexpected twists. It is no exaggeration to say that without this research project and Elena and Sara, I would still be lost in the darkness and in the ocean of tears from my bereavement. The mothership, the Unitec Institute of Technology has, of course, from day one as a student, provided me with a tremendous safety net for my research journey, for which I am so grateful.

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Bob Burgham, Thomas, Michele Murphy, Sandra Burgham, Michael Preston-Jones, Deb Donnelly, Jo Cullen, Sonia Yoshioka Braid, Leo Donnelly, and Denis Kinraid. There were also numerous friends, colleagues and others who did not take part in the interviews, but gave me insight and advice on my journey, countless names that I cannot include here.

*Lastly but not least, I wish to acknowledge my late husband, Jonathan Holliman, who would probably be upset that I finished my journey without him. I would have loved to drag him along with me on my journey, but he had a separate plan for his life.*

## PREFACE

*At the outset, I would like to share my personal view about choosing this topic and the research question it eventually led me to, as I believe it is relevant to acknowledge my emic approach in studying cultures.*

*Before I migrated to New Zealand, I had a vague notion (or a framed view) that my host country was a very egalitarian society, and I simply imagined that it must be a very comfortable place to live. My move to New Zealand was not the first time that I had lived away from my native land, but previously I was not an immigrant, but a long-term sojourner who would return to Japan or who was able to move on after a certain time. Once in New Zealand, from the start, I felt that the societal expectation was that I should assimilate. This was particularly evident at job seminars for immigrants that I attended, where speaker after speaker would emphasise, “Remember, when Kiwi employers are looking for new staff, they want someone who can fit into their working environment.” I would be scratching my head and wondering, “What is it that they want me to fit into?” I felt that New Zealand’s self-proclaimed multicultural society did not seem to match with how a new immigrant such as myself felt in day-to-day situations.*

*Being an immigrant in a foreign country, not entirely by my choice, but more because it was where my husband had chosen to live, I found a commonality with the war brides. Like them, I had no support system to*

*start with, and was not familiar with New Zealand culture. Even now, I am still struggling to somehow fit in. Thus, when the topic of Japanese war brides suddenly occurred to me, my immediate thought was that they must have had a very hard time. The more I read about Japanese war brides who went elsewhere, the more curious I became as to how those who came to New Zealand in the 1950s coped with racial tensions and cultural differences when the memory of the Second World War was still raw.*

*Prior to ever meeting a war bride in New Zealand, I had the chance to meet some Japanese war brides in Australia at their annual reunion. These women in their 80s were quite aware that they might not live to reunite again and were determined to enjoy their lives in the country which had become their home many years ago. Suddenly, I had a vision of my own mother in them. Most of the war brides who went to Australia and New Zealand were born about the same time (in the 1930s) and in the same place as my mother (Kure, Hiroshima). The dialect that many of them spoke had a hint of the Hiroshima dialect that my grandmother and mother used to speak. Although their demure and elegant appearance reminded me of typical Japanese old ladies, their straightforward way of communicating, being critical and opinionated, was quite different from their counterparts in Japan.*

*Therefore, when I introduce my research topic, people invariably ask me what made me interested in Japanese war brides. “I see myself and my mother in them,” has been my short answer. My mother might have known a few of them in her youth but was not one herself. Thus, this research topic was partially chosen in order to explore why my mother was not one of them, and how the war brides built their lives in New Zealand as immigrants.*



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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ANZUS Treaty	Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty
BCOF:	British Commonwealth Occupation Force
BCKF:	British Commonwealth Forces Korea
DSIR:	Department of Scientific and Industrial Research
JCOS:	U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff
POW:	Prisoner of War
NZRAF:	New Zealand Royal Airforce
RSA:	Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association
R&R:	Rest and Recreation
SCAP:	Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
UK:	The United Kingdom
UN:	The United Nations
US:	The United States
WB:	war bride
WW:	World War

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### *Before the journey begins*

This study documents the lives of Japanese war brides who came to post-war New Zealand and analyses the process of their cultural adaptation in the new host country. The analysis of their personal narratives was guided by the theoretical framework of intercultural communication, specifically cultural identity and cultural adaptation models. The study provides insight into these Japanese immigrants' experiences in the context of the cultural and political constraints that existed in Japan and New Zealand following the Second World War. Furthermore, the study examines the influence of media framing on the experiences of war brides.

The term *war bride* is bittersweet and still has a contested meaning in Japan. Due to marriages to foreign soldiers after the Second World War, an "unprecedented migration of women" took place worldwide (Tamura, 2001, p. 2). From 1952 to 1957, between 50,000 and 100,000 Japanese women migrated to the US, 650 to Australia and 34-50 to New Zealand (Shiozaki, 2010). Their experiences in the US and Australia have been fairly well documented, as shown in the Literature Review (Chapter 2), due to their higher numbers and the longer historical connections with these countries. However, little is known about the experiences of the war brides who came to New Zealand.

To examine the experiences of Japanese war brides in New Zealand, this research employed an oral history approach, which is "particularly valuable for uncovering women's perspectives" (Anderson & Jack, 1998, p. 179). Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were used to obtain insight into their lives. In

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addition, secondary sources and archival materials were consulted to provide contextual information. Through reference to these secondary sources, the stories of Japanese war brides in New Zealand were related to those of their counterparts in the USA and Australia when appropriate.

New Zealand's two post-war military missions in Japan are scarcely known about in either New Zealand or Japan. The first occurred between February 1946 and November 1948. New Zealand sent some 12,000 servicemen and women to Japan, colloquially known as *Jayforce*, as part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) (Brocklebank, 1997; Alison Parr, 2012; Trotter, 1990). The second mission was during the Korean War, when a 6,000-strong *Kayforce* was dispatched to Korea and Japan under the UN Command between 1950 and 1956 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014). To prepare for the arrival of the occupation forces, the Japanese government institutionalised official brothels throughout Japan for foreign military personnel (Dower, 1999; Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi, Tamura, & Takatsu, 2002) to protect innocent Japanese women from being raped by foreign soldiers (Dower, 1999; Tamura, 2010 [2001]). Furthermore, a non-fraternisation policy was implemented to prohibit BCOF soldiers from associating with any Japanese. However, both of these policies were later either lifted or abandoned. The military presence in Japan offered employment opportunities to the local population, including women (Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi et al., 2002). As a result, relationships between New Zealand men and Japanese women began, yet such encounters were generally perceived with disgust. The Japanese media described Japanese women who mixed with 'enemy' soldiers as prostitutes and/or traitors (Dower, 1999; Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi et al., 2002; Tsuchiya, 2011a, 2011b). For the general public, it was not easy to distinguish prostitutes from women who were employed in clerical and housework positions for foreign personnel, or who happened to be seen with foreigners on the street. In the eyes of many Japanese, particularly men, the association of Japanese women with foreign soldiers was a disgrace (Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi et al., 2002) and brought deep shame to the women. As a consequence, many women who married their



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foreign suitors were disowned by their families (Tsuchiya, 2011a; Yoshimizu, 2009) because they did not follow traditional patriarchal guidance in the choice of marriage partners (Lebra, 1984). Thus, many women who chose non-Japanese husbands, were forced to leave Japan without any prospect of returning, to avoid bringing shame to their family in Japan (Yoshimizu, 2009).

### **Aims and objectives**

A search through the National Library of New Zealand catalogue results over 100 publications on New Zealand's relationship with Japan between 1945 and 2017 (National Library of New Zealand, 2018). These range from personal memoirs, monographs to scholarly books written from historical, economic and diplomatic perspectives. Yet very few of these books address the issue of post-war cross-national marriages between Japanese women and New Zealand men, signifying a major absence in the literature on Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand. Specifically, as far as I can ascertain, there are no studies exploring the cultural identity of Japanese war brides in post-war New Zealand as expressed and experienced by those women. As this study has only a small sample size, it does not profess to provide a complete picture of the entire population of Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand. Rather, it records the experiences of some and examines their cultural adaptation to the host country, as directly recounted by them and their families. The analysis of their stories is guided by a concept of cultural adaptation and cultural identity based on the themes that emerged from the interviews and the literature review. Furthermore, the socio-political settings in which these war brides' lives evolved is also explored.

### Research question

This research explores the following key research question:

How did the Japanese war brides negotiate their cultural identity in a Pākehā<sup>1</sup> -dominated post-war New Zealand?

In order to answer the research question three sub-questions guided the research:

- ✚ Who were the Japanese war brides and what were their motivations for marrying New Zealanders?
- ✚ What were their challenges in establishing themselves in New Zealand?
- ✚ What can we learn about New Zealand society through their eyes?

### Significance of the research

There is mounting concern about the sharp decline in the number of eyewitnesses to wartime Japan, as evidenced by over 80,000 hits for a search on the internet for the keywords 'eye witness account' + 'war time experiences' + 'disappear'. Considering the age of the Japanese war brides (now in their late 80s or early 90s), research on them needs to be carried out soon before their voices cease to exist. For those born and raised in an era when the relationship between Japan and New Zealand has always been amicable, the time when the two nations considered each other enemies and distrusted each other is outside of personal knowledge. This study provides an alternative

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<sup>1</sup> Pākehā is a Māori term initially referring to the original European settlers in New Zealand. The term is now used generally for white New Zealanders of European descent. There were Māori and Pacific Islanders in the Jayforce and Kayforce, but, in this research, I did not come across non-Pakeha interviewees.

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perspective which will help foster appreciation for those who paved the way in the development of a rapport between the two countries. This research contributes to the body of knowledge on the migration to New Zealand, pertinent to Japanese immigrants, which is, thus far, practically non-existent. Furthermore, this study illuminates sentiments widely held by New Zealanders towards Japan, especially in relation to the political agenda of the time (Appendix 1 sets out a chronological history of war brides and related events in Japan, the US, Australia and New Zealand).

### **Operational definitions**

#### **War brides**

The term war bride came into use as early as 1918 when American soldiers marched into France at the end of the First World War and some ended up marrying local French women (Virden, 1996). It became a common term after the Second World War when many such marriages took place globally due to significant movements of American soldiers (ibid). The term '*senso hanayome*,' a direct translation of war bride, came into use in Japan only after the Second World War (Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi et al., 2002). In this study, war bride refers to the Japanese women who married foreign servicemen whom they met in Japan, either during the post-war military occupation or subsequent military mission during the Korean War (roughly between 1945 and the late 1950s), and then those who migrated to New Zealand. For this research, the time-frame of their arrival in New Zealand was set between 1953 and 1958. In 1951 the Treaty of San Francisco was signed (put into effect in 1952), which officiated the normalisation of the relationship between New Zealand and Japan. It was the year that the New Zealand government allowed the entry of a Japanese-American woman as the wife of a New Zealander (McGibbon, 1999), but the first Japanese-national spouse of a New Zealander arrived in New Zealand the following year. The administrative operation of *Kayforce* was wrapped up in

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Hiroshima in 1957, and one year was added to accommodate the arrival of Japanese Kayforce spouses to New Zealand.

### **Cross-cultural adaptation**

There are several helpful definitions of cross-cultural adaptation in the literature. Nishida (2005a) defines cross-cultural adaptation as a complex process by which an individual attempts to increase communication skills in the host country. Nishida continues that it is "the complex process through which an individual acquires an increasing level of the communication skills of the host culture and of relational development with host nationals" or the functionality of immigrants in a host culture (Nishida, 2005a, p. 408). Kim (2005) sees cross-cultural adaptation as a process of individuals seeking to fit and compromise with a host culture, which may imply a subjugation of newcomers, leaving little or no room for negotiation. Berry (2005) sees this process as collaborative efforts between the host culture and immigrants, comparing an immigrant's adherence to their own culture with their willingness to accept, reject or merge with the host culture. In this research, cross-cultural adaptation is looked at on both individual and social levels. In other words, this research views the phenomena from both socio-political and cultural perspectives in order to analyse the cultural adaptation of Japanese war brides to their new country of New Zealand.

### **Cultural identity**

According to identity management theory, which focuses on maintenance of relationships, Collier and Thomas define cultural identity as an "identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has [a] shared system of symbols and meanings as well as norms/rules for conduct" (1988, p. 113). Ting-Toomey sees cultural identity as the emotional significance that we attach to our sense of belonging or affiliation to a larger culture, thereby emphasising the notion of relationship with similar others (2005).

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Alternatively, Hall understands cultural identity from both external and internal perspectives (1993). He sees it as externally imposed by others and also internally situated by a group by way of a norm and/or history (ibid). At the same time, Hall proposes that cultural identity is a work in progress or a "production" (1993, p. 222). In his words, it is "what we really are" or what we are "becoming" (1993, p. 225). These terms express the transformative nature of cultural identity as Hall believes that cultural identity is not static but fluid. Hall emphasises changes over a period of time among individuals from a particular culture, rather than considering them as a group of people with a fixed cultural identity. In this study, drawing on the work of Collier and Thomas, Ting-Toomey and Hall, cultural identity is understood as one's emotional identification with a group or sense of belonging to it, along with a fluid dynamic of individual changes according to the environment.

### **Identity negotiation**

In the communication theory of identity, the word *negotiate* is often used to describe how one's cultural identity must be situated in a society with four layers of identity: personal, communicational, relational and social layers (Hecht, Warren, Jung, & Krieger, 2005). Kim sees identity negotiation as "an attempt to assert, define, modify, challenge, and/or support ... desired self-images" (2005, p.217). Therefore, in this research, identity negotiation is interpreted as intentional or unintentional changes made to one's reflective self-images, as suggested above by Kim.

### **Structure of this study**

This study contains six chapters.

Chapter 1 is an introduction and an overview of the study and provides the context to it by delineating Japan's relevant history. It also explains New Zealand's involvement in post-war Japan, resulting in the immigration of a group of Japanese women to New Zealand. It then presents the rationale and purpose of this research, its questions and its operational definitions.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature of relevant research on Japanese war brides in other countries, namely the US and Australia, as a guide to this study in New Zealand, and introduces theories that I have used to interpret the narratives. The principal theoretical frameworks used in this study are Berry's acculturation model, within which immigrants' cultural identity is explained in relation to their adherence to their own cultural identity and to their host culture.

Chapter 3 outlines the design of this research project. In particular, it justifies the qualitative methodological approach which was adopted to capture phenomena and the oral history approach. It also covers the methods of data collection and the thematic data analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the findings from the in-depth interviews with war brides and their remaining family members, as well as from secondary resources. The findings are grouped by the themes which emerged during data collection. There are five main themes: (1) the time before the journey began, (2) steps to adapting to New Zealand life, (3) integration and empowerment, (4) sense of belonging and formation of cultural identity and (5) contribution, regrets and other observations.

Chapter 5 analyses the findings under the five themes and answers in detail the research question and the three sub-questions.

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Chapter 6 summarises the main findings, discusses the limitations of this research and recommends topics for future research.

## Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Passage of others: Agenda for war brides*

#### Introduction

This chapter begins with a review of the research on Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia. Some of the common experiences of the women who were positioned in these countries are described, which will allow for a comparison with the narratives in New Zealand in the Analysis Chapter (Chapter 5). It focuses on how the media in respective countries framed Japanese women who had associated with non-Japanese former enemy soldiers, impacting the cultural adaptation of the war brides. Secondly, this chapter points out how the focus of the research on war brides, in particular in the US, shifted after the war brides started to claim their own point of view by breaking away from the framed media images and social isolation. Thirdly, the chapter introduces New Zealand's early interactions with Japan, includes changes in historic immigration policies, and discusses the basic geopolitical background of these two countries. The section will also describe the involvement of *Jayforce* and *Kayforce* in Japan. Finally, this chapter demonstrates the theoretical framework which guides this study in interpreting the cultural adaptation process of the Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand.

In this research, unless otherwise mentioned, the term 'war brides' will be used for Japanese women who married non-Japanese military personnel who were in Japan after World War II and during/after the Korean War.



### **Research on Japanese war brides in the US**

For the Japanese public, the expression 'war brides' elicits musty old wartime stories that may remind them of unhappy endings. This topic has not been a mainstream research theme in Japan, rather it was an ingredient in mass-produced entertainment pieces because of the images that were promoted by the media. Yet, the issue of war brides has registered significant academic interest over the years in the US. The topic of war brides has been investigated through different disciplines including history, migration, political studies, psychology, sociology, gender studies, anthropology, cultural studies and even as cases for social workers supporting the war brides in their elderly years.

The official brothels for foreign occupation servicemen were formally shut down by early 1946; however the business continued illegally (Dower, 1999; Hayashi et al., 2002). The Japanese media equated any Japanese woman associated with American soldiers to prostitutes, and these women were unjustifiably branded as traitors (Dower, 1995, 1999; Hayashi, 2005; Storrs, 2000). The Japanese media then went on to portray that these women who went to the US were leading unhappy lives because they had associated with former enemies and disobeyed their parents (Iwase, 2009; Storrs, 2000; Tamura, 2002; Yoshimizu, 2009).

On the other hand, a stereotypical view of a Japanese woman in the post-war period in the US, was someone who was exotic, submissive and sexually deviant (Storrs, 2000). For example, popular Hollywood movies like *Sayonara*, [trans. 'Good bye'] (Logan, 1957), based on a novel by James Michener, was about sad romantic stories between American soldiers and Japanese women, where one of the couples ended up committing suicide as their marriage was not approved of (Tsuchiya, 2011a). Furthermore, a series of books titled '*Babysan*' produced by American cartoonist William Hume (1953), were very popular among American soldiers and the British Commonwealth Forces (BCOF) personnel. The stories were based upon the cartoonist's experiences during the

## Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

occupation period in Japan and were even said to be an unofficial guidebook to Japan for any serviceman stationed there (personal communication with Mr Burgham, one of the war brides' husbands, 4 January 2016). Hume portrayed Japanese women as sensuous, naïve and attractive (Storrs 2000). At the same time, the war brides were also portrayed as women who were rescued by good Americans and liberated from the male-dominant war-torn country of Japan (Tsuchiya, 2011a). In other words, a typical representation of a Japanese war bride in the US at that time was someone who needed protection. The story of *Madame Butterfly*, an operatic rendition by Puccini, also resonates with the stories of Japanese war brides. The original story was written in the late 1890s but the parallels between *Madame Butterfly*'s story and the framed image of Japanese women cannot be dismissed. At the same time, the official stance in the US toward Japanese war brides was as an 'ideal image of American housewives' (Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi et al., 2002; Simpson, 1998) or new 'model Japanese-American' immigrants (Simpson 1998). The American government's intention was to use the new breed of Japanese 'liberated' women as a way to encourage an easing of racial tensions (Ishikawa, 2008; Storrs, 2000; Tsuchiya, 2011a).

The 'bad girl' framing which originated in Japan, travelled through the Japanese media to the US, where there had been Japanese immigrants to the US since the 1860s. During the Second World War, *nisei* (i.e., the children of the first group of Japanese immigrants who were American citizens), fought against Japan as Americans; however, together with the earlier Japanese immigrants, they were sent to internment camps (Simpson, 1998, Tsuchiya, 2011; Tsuchiya, 2008). These people resented the idea of war brides being heralded by the US government, because to them those women were 'bad girls' (Simpson, 1998).

With the hostility of the war still lingering and no support from the Japanese community, many war brides had no choice but to assimilate into mainstream American society as quickly as they could (Simpson, 1998). Some testified that they made sure not to display anything visually Japanese outside their home

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(Storrs, 2000; Sugiman, 2004) so that they could live up to the model immigrant expectations that they were given. In addition to Japan being a former enemy of the US, the existence of discriminatory immigration policies for Asians and strong assimilationist drives, meant that the US was not an ideal setting for Japanese war brides. It would take a while for the public to change their perceptions of the wartime images of girls from a former enemy nation. Therefore, the war brides practically hid away from the public eye for four decades, living quietly, making sure they were fully assimilated into the American lifestyle until their narratives began to resurface in the late 1980s (Houston, 2009; Kobayashi, 2002; Tamura, 2009; Yoshimizu, 2009).

A change was spurred through a literary liberation, which allowed the Japanese war brides to step out from 40 years of silence. This was initiated by two war brides who began to publish a column entitled *Hello War Brides* in Seattle's Japanese language newspaper, *The North American Post*, from May 1985 to June 1986. Yoshimizu (2009) asserts that this empowered the war brides to demonstrate their individual voices and memories through poems and essays, countering the imposed images of marrying yesterday's supposed enemy. This literary empowerment was followed by the first reunion of Japanese war brides in 1988 to celebrate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of their arrival in the US. As a consequence, the *Nikkei* (Japanese descent) International Marriage Society was inaugurated in the US in 1989, with its membership also open to the war brides in Australia and other countries (Hayashi, 2005; Yoshimizu, 2009). The group had specific objectives: their strong desire to dispel misconceptions of Japanese war brides and to acknowledge their own achievements as war brides (Hayashi, 2005; Yoshimizu, 2009). It was around this time that the term war brides re-emerged with more neutral connotations for the Japanese public. Despite 40 years of relative invisibility, these former war brides, who were once framed as vulnerable and submissive by the American media, have been depicted in later research and narratives as strong individuals, who were well-adjusted to their adopted countries.

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The most notable change in the portrayal of Japanese war brides in the US is observable in how war brides were treated as research subjects. Early research approached them as a topic to be investigated and examined them with a focus on their unfortunate lives in the host countries. Yet, after the literary liberation and the formation of an international war bride group, these women emerged to speak up in their own voices. The changes in research became evident from the early 1990s, when studies began making use of interviews with war brides to utilise the women's own voices in the interpretations of their experiences.

As the war brides broke free from the media framing of the submissive Japanese woman, their sense of self-image began to alter as well. A war bride, when interviewed by her own daughter, used the image of a young bamboo shoot to describe her identity (Storrs, 2000). A bamboo shoot has many layers,



**Photo 1: An image of bamboo shoot**

(Zenkoku Ryoko Gyo Kyokai, 2015)

and every time the top layer is peeled away, it gets smaller, but still survives and regrows.

Storrs (2000) interprets this as her mother's efforts to assimilate into American life, to the detriment of having nothing of herself left to claim. Yet at the same time, Storrs believes

Japanese war brides demonstrated bamboo-like strength, flexibility and resilience in their cultural adaptation (2000). Similarly, Lopez and Yamazato's research (2003) on Japanese war brides in their elderly years demonstrates their strength and resilience. They conclude that the Japanese war brides' initial decision to marry foreigners already demonstrated their atypical Japanese female character (ibid). In recent years, three daughters of war brides produced a documentary film, *Fall Seven Times and Get up Eight: The Japanese War Brides* (Craft, Kasmauski, & Tolbert, 2015). It demonstrates their mothers' strength, determination and even shrewdness in their decision to immigrate to the US as wives of American soldiers. This depiction is distinct from the previously prescribed images of war brides. The film won much acclaim (Craft, Kasmauski,

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& Tolbert, 2016) and contributed to reinvigorating some lost aspects of Japanese history among the younger generation.

Other than renditions of popular Hollywood movies and through the broadcast media, the topic of war brides have been discussed and analysed from different perspectives. Scholars such as Simpson (1998) and Tsuchiya (2008, 2011) position the topic of war brides through a political lens. For example, the US government attempted to exemplify Japanese war brides as a way to appease the American public to ease tensions over inter-racial marriages against the backdrop of the civil rights movements (Ishikawa, 2008; Storrs, 2000; Tsuchiya, 2011a). Furthermore, Tsuchiya (2008) contends that Japanese war brides were conveniently used to promote a new relationship that the US wanted to establish with Japan as an ally, after the two sides fought fiercely against each other. For Japanese and American, the war was most strongly remembered for two acts of violence: Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and America's dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Both incidents were sorely felt, and the surrounding sensitivity could have antagonised the two nations for a long time. Consequentially, a convincing method was needed to forge the relationship between them. The marriage of Japanese women to American men was thus presented as an ideological symbol of war politics of the victor versus the defeated (Tsuchiya, 2008; Zeiger, 2010). Tsuchiya's recent study on the issue of Japanese war brides who migrated to the US focuses on the perspective of anti-miscegenation attitudes that existed in the US. Tsuchiya acknowledges the *Soldiers Brides Act of 1947* (Public Law 213) and *1951* were initially designed to allow marriages of Japanese-Americans and Japanese women, which did not present an issue with anti-miscegenation arguments because it was a reunion of supposedly inferior races (i.e. between Asians) (2011). However, it became a contentious political issue in the late 1940s when Caucasian males intended to marry someone of a so-called inferior Oriental race (Tsuchiya, 2011). There was a general suspicion about interracial marriages in the US, and those who entered into inter-racial marriages were perceived as abnormal (Yu cited in Tsuchiya,

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2011). Thus, those who believed in racial purity, also believed these marriages would fail (Storrs, 2000). However, research carried out in the early 1950s seemed to have firm intentions of contradicting such notions. An academic article called "Cultural and marital adjustment of Japanese brides", demonstrated that contrary to general speculation, the inter-racial marriages between American soldiers and women from former enemy nations, were working (Schnepp & Yui, 1955).

To sum up, this section has detailed the changing nature of the research on war brides in the US. Spanning from the time when the war brides were perceived as objects to the time they became liberated subjects, this section demonstrated how publicly generated images of the war brides did not help them to adapt easily to their new country.

### **Research on war brides in Australia**

The war brides who went to Australia were significantly smaller in number than those who went to the US. This resulted in a limited research with rather narrow focus. For example, the story of Cherry Parker, the first Japanese war bride who was allowed to enter Australia, has been written and re-written several times. Most of the research in Japanese language on those who went to Australia has been undertaken by Tamura.

Australia was one of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) member countries which had a presence in Japan since 1946. Their presence was unexpectedly extended at the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. Many Australians, as part of the British Commonwealth Forces Korea (BCFK) continued to stay in Japan between 1950 and 1957, either on duty or during their leave from combat operations. Consequently, Australians were based in Japan the longest among Allied Forces after the Second World War. Research conducted by Tamura (1999, 2001, 2002, 2009) and Tsuchiya (2008, 2011) provides historical background as well as insight into the experiences of the Australian-Japanese

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war brides. The researchers captured this through interviews, participatory observation and archival research.

A documentary film about six Japanese war brides in the 1980s, called *Green Tea and Cherry Ripe* (S. Hoaas et al., 1990), was directed by a Norwegian woman who had spent several years in Japan. In the film, the depiction of the war brides was similar to the Hollywood stereotype of war brides, who lead unhappy lives in their adopted host country of Australia. This documentary was unfavourably received by the war bride communities in Australia, as the film only depicted sad and harsh experiences of Australian Japanese war brides. The war brides wanted to present depictions of war brides leading equally happy lives (Tamura, 2002).

The first Australian serviceman in the BCFK who managed to gain an entry permit for his Japanese wife was Gordon Parker. He secretly married his wife, Nobuko Sakuramoto, in April 1950 in Kure (Hiroshima), where they had two children (Tamura, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2009). There were other Australian servicemen who had married in Japan, even earlier than Parker, but they were either forcibly sent home or arrested after repeated illegal entries into Japan (Chida, 2005). The 'White Australia Policy,' an unofficial practice designed to deter immigrants of colour, was still in place after the Second World War (Hayashi et al., 2002; Tamura, 2010 [2001]). At the completion of his assignment in Japan, Parker was repatriated to Australia, where he began his long campaign against the immigration authorities to seek entry for his wife and children. Gordon effectively used the media and his parents' influence, as his father served as mayor of Longwood and his mother was an active volunteer in the local Red Cross (Chida, 2005). His efforts paid off in June 1952, just a month short of the Treaty of San Francisco entering into effect. Cherry Parker, as Nobuko was known, arrived in Melbourne with their children on a temporary visitor's visa (M. Endo, 1995; Tamura, 2001). Mrs Parker's entry into Australia marked a ground-breaking event for other Japanese women to follow (Tamura, 2001), including those who wished to migrate to New Zealand.

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Cherry and her children travelled to Australia, where the expectations of the Australian government and of most war brides' husbands were that the Japanese women would be assimilated into Australian culture, raising their children as supposedly proper Australians (Hayashi et al., 2002; Tamura, 2010 [2001], 2009). Hamano's research on more recent Japanese female migrants to Australia confirms that even to this day, a popular description of Japanese war brides is 'good and modest Japanese wives' (2011). Hamano explains that this image was originally cultivated by the war brides themselves in an attempt to demonstrate their efforts at assimilating into the Australian way of life (2011). Most of these Japanese women took up Australian citizenship as soon as possible, in fear of the law being revoked and of being deported back to Japan, leaving their families behind (Hayashi et al., 2002; Tamura, 2010 [2001]). It would have been an enormous emotional commitment to give up their Japanese citizenship, even though they had left Japan thinking that they would not return to their Japanese families again (Tamura, 2010 [2001]).

### **Cultural adaptation in the US and Australia**

Regardless of the nature of the media framing of Japanese war brides in the US and Australia, there were other constraints that the women commonly faced, as demonstrated in the existing literature. These constraints included their limited English ability and virtually no transferrable skills in the host countries, which prevented them from having any financial independence (Cottrell, 1990; Storrs, 2000). Similarly, studies of Greek immigrants (Donaghey, Papoutsaki, & Strickland, 2008) demonstrate a common sense of alienation due to the language barrier - something that the Japanese women most likely felt as well. However, in the narratives of war brides of other nationalities who immigrated to the US from Canada and the UK, a sense of alienation due to racial or linguistic issues appears to be absent (Jarratt, 2009; Wood, 1991).



### **A few historical facts about New Zealand and Japanese immigration policies**

New Zealand remains a 'new' destination or a 'new' place to be explored for the Japanese public even to this day. Conversely, the knowledge of New Zealand's involvement in post-war Japan is barely known about, either in Japan or New Zealand. Along with the immigration policies of each country, this historical section of the literature review is significant to understanding the situation that the Japanese war brides faced when they arrived in New Zealand.

Including Māori, New Zealand is a nation of immigrants, made up of those who either migrated or are the descendants of immigrants (Department of Internal Affairs, 2014)<sup>2</sup>. The largest number of early immigrants came from Britain and Europe (Beaglehole, 2012). Along with other European migrants to New Zealand, a large number of Chinese labourers came to work in the Otago gold mines as early as the 1860s (Spoonley, 2012). The fear of being inundated by Chinese resulted in the *Chinese Immigrants Act* of 1881, which intended to restrict the flow of immigrants from China (Ip, 2005). These legal, yet unfair practices to protect the labour market for primarily White people, were amended numerous times (including the imposing of a poll tax and reading tests in English). These obstacles were placed to deter naturalisation of certain ethnic groups. Such immigration policies that discriminated against new migrants, based on nationality and ethnicity, placed people from certain countries at a disadvantage (Beaglehole, 2012). Discriminatory yet legal practices continued until New Zealand found itself in need of immigrants from neighbouring Asian countries in the 1987 (Spoonley, 2014).

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<sup>2</sup> Māori, the indigenous population of New Zealand are thought to have arrived in New Zealand in the early 13th Century from East Polynesia; much earlier than the European arrival in the early 1800s (Wilson, 2015).

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On the other hand, the history of the official Japanese immigration began from 1868, immediately after Japan emerged from its 200 years of isolation from the outside world (Ishikawa, 2008; Japan Overseas Migration Museum, 2014). Once the ban was lifted, under the Japanese government's assisted emigration scheme, approximately one million people migrated initially to Hawai'i (called the Kingdom of Hawai'i at the time) and the mainland US between 1868 and 1945. The migration drive was dictated by the government, which often aimed to alleviate the domestic population growth or to assist Japan's interest in expanding to Asian countries where workforce was desperately needed. Between 1931 and 1945, the Japanese Government strategically encouraged its people to migrate to Manchuria to assist its statelike goal of Asian expansion (Aragaki, 2015).

However, the fear of a surge of Japanese immigrants created racially-charged tensions against Japanese in the 1920s. As a result, the US *Immigrant Act of 1924* came into force to restrict immigrants from purportedly undesirable countries such as China, Japan and some of the European nations (Friedman, 2005). As the tensions surrounding Japan's involvement in the war against the Allied Powers intensified in the 1940s, the flow of Japanese migrants as labourers and farmers was diverted to Brazil, Peru, New Caledonia, Australia and various other countries (Ishikawa, 2008; Sakaguchi, 2010). The first wave of Japanese migrants through the government-assisted scheme arrived in New Zealand in 1905. Immigration from Japan continued until 1919 with an average of 75 people entering each year and was virtually abandoned by 1919 (Ishikawa, 2008). Those who were in New Zealand during the war were either interned or sent back to Japan. Japanese emigration as a whole would eventually dwindle from the early 1960s as the country's economy began to revitalise.

There exists only a sketchy description that details the pre-1945 relationship between New Zealand and Japan, and this, in turn, reflects the lack of earlier interaction and mutual cross-national interest.

### **From disinterest to disgust: Japan-New Zealand relations**

As early as from the 1860s, there were some limited exchanges between the two countries: Initially through trade and then visits of Japanese Navy training ship from the 1880s (McNeil, 1999). By 1920s, Japan gained a favoured nation status as an important market for New Zealand's wool and dairy products, which was confirmed by signing a trade treaty in 1928 (McNeil, 1998; Miyata, 1944). For Kiwis<sup>3</sup>, the fear of Russian advancement in the Pacific was so great that Japan's victory in the Russo-Japan War in 1907 was welcomed as a good buffer against the Russians (McNeil, 1998). Yet at the same time, New Zealand began to see Japan's emerging military strength as a potential threat in the region (McCraw, 2002). It is important to note that during the First World War, Japan was an ally to New Zealand against German aggression in the Pacific (Trotter, 1999). McCraw (2002) sees that New Zealand remained very preoccupied with its security in the Pacific between 1912 and 1935. The relationship of the two nations had been oscillating between the allies and enemies.

The outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941 definitely altered the good relationship between the two nations, and Japan emerged as a real threat to New Zealand (McGibbon, 1999; Trotter, 1990). It was a wake-up call for New Zealand which realised that its position in the Pacific was geographically far removed from the UK and other allies (Trotter, 1990). Trotter views the war in the Pacific as providing impetus for New Zealand to prepare for its "psychological and economic detachment from the United Kingdom" (1990, p. 1). This concern was further aggravated when the UK was defeated by Japan in Singapore in 1942 (Greif, 1995). The media drive in New Zealand in the early 1940s accentuated the brutal traits of the Japanese and warned the public in New Zealand to prepare for a battle to the death when encountering the 'Jap beasts' (Trotter, 1990; McGibbon, 1999).

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<sup>3</sup> The terms 'New Zealanders' and 'Kiwis' will be used interchangeably here. Kiwi is a word affectionately and commonly used for New Zealanders, derived from the name of the national native bird.

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Although no Japanese landed on New Zealand soil but merely its submarine cruised Cook strait in May 1942 (A. Parr, 2010), the propaganda campaign in New Zealand, especially the information about the latter's cruel treatment of prisoners of war, significantly turned public sentiment against the Japanese (ibid). To enact on that sentiment, New Zealand interned some 50 first and second generation Japanese residents, along with about 800 Japanese prisoners of war (POWs) (McGibbon, 1999; Trotter, 1990; Parr, 2012). New Zealand's apprehension about Japan's resurgence of its militarism was only resolved when the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security (ANZUS) Treaty was signed in 1951 (Greif, 1995), which could serve as a protection against such concerns (Trotter, 1990). This was followed by the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan in 1951, as indicated earlier.

Over the next two decades since the end of the Second World War, Japan and New Zealand have increasingly perceived each other favourably, notably with regards to tourism, education, trade, sports, agriculture and other exchanges. From there on, the governments of New Zealand and Japan promptly converted their previous animosity into a more productive diplomatic and trade relationship by setting up embassies, arranging visits by Prime Ministers and agreeing on becoming trading partners once again (McNeil, 1998). However, the legalisation of Asian women's entry into New Zealand as immigrants was independent from their trade interest, which will be discussed in the Analysis Chapter (Chapter 5).

### **Involvement of New Zealanders in Japan**

While the scepticism toward the Japanese was still very prevalent in New Zealand, a new large-scale people-to-people interaction between New Zealanders and Japanese began to take place as early as 1946, starting from *Jayforce* and later *Kayforce*. In discussing these two particular Kiwi involvements in Japan, it is important to mention four historical research works conducted by Trotter, Brocklebank, Parr and McGibbon. Trotter's *New Zealand*

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*and Japan 1945-1952: The Occupation and the Peace Treaty* (1990) was supported by official documents and was written from the perspective of New Zealand's national strategy during the Second World War. Brocklebank's *Jayforce: New Zealand and the Military Occupation of Japan, 1945-48* (1997) presents the daily experiences of Kiwi soldiers by describing their interactions with the local Japanese population, using information obtained from personal letters and interviews. Parr, oral historian at the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, compiled narratives obtained from veterans of everyday activities of *Jayforce* members in *The Occupiers: New Zealand Veterans Remember Post-War Japan* (2012). A close reading of Parr's research reveals how *Jayforce* members grew to appreciate and work with the local Japanese population, despite the initial apprehension that they had toward the former enemy country. Parr included an interview with a *Jayforce* soldier who talked about his deceased Japanese wife. However, as Parr's focus was not the topic of Japanese war brides, it was simply mentioned in passing. Furthermore, McGibbon has written numerous books and chapters on history, one of which "*Perceptions of Japan, 1945-1965*" (1999) captures some of the difficulties that Japanese war brides living in New Zealand faced, such as prevailing racial sentiments. Additionally, Chamberlain painstakingly collated all the names, ranks and transfer data of the *Kayforce* members in *The New Zealand Korea Roll: Honouring those who served in the New Zealand Armed Forces in Korea 1950-1957* (2013). Before covering previous research on war brides in New Zealand, a sketch of New Zealand's two military presences in Japan will briefly follow.

The first Kiwi presence in Japan was right after the Second World War, when New Zealand dispatched personnel as part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF), in which Australia, India and New Zealand participated. A total of 12,000 Kiwi servicemen and women were sent to Japan between March 1946 and November 1948. Known as *Jayforce*, the base was set up in Kure, Hiroshima Prefecture. Additionally, personnel from the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) were based in Iwakuni, Yamaguchi Prefecture.

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The primary duties assigned to *Jayforce* were to demilitarise Japan and to provide assistance for the repatriation of Japanese troops from Korea and Korean labourers (who had been brought in to supplement the Japanese workforce during the Second World War) from Japan. There was a general sentiment among the Kiwis that neither the place of assignment nor the tasks were glamorous. On top of the less than ideal conditions in Japan, irksome tasks encouraged boredom and frustration among the *Jayforce* members.

Furthermore, the initially enforced non-fraternisation rule was later relaxed, resulting in a surge of venereal disease among the *Jayforce* members. In order to accommodate the BCOF's duties and to support their daily activities, many Japanese women and men were employed to do administrative and domestic tasks, and many more worked at restaurants and shops that catered for foreign clients (Parr, 2012; Brocklebank, 1997). *Jayforce* stayed in Japan from March 1946 until mid-1948. However, due to the beginning of the Korean War in 1950, the New Zealand Government, at the request of the United Nations (UN), decided to dispatch another similar force, under the name of *Kayforce*, to fight in Korea (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014) with approximately 6,000 personnel (4,300 ground force and 1,700 navy personnel). Kure City remained as the headquarters for the British Commonwealth Forces Korea (BCFK), represented by the UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India. Out of 6,000 *Kayforce* members, 239 also served in *Jayforce* (McGibbon, 1999). *Kayforce* soldiers would go over to Japan for rest and recreation (R&R), and others were posted to Hiroshima for duty service at the base.

Despite the earlier anti-fraternisation policy, some courageous couples lived together, at which the local population generally raised their eyebrows. Marriages with local women were strongly discouraged by way of posting the men out of Japan (McGibbon, 1999). Or service men were informed that there would be no financial support for dependents or passage to New Zealand if a proposed marriage did not gain official consent from the senior New Zealand commander (Minister of Defence, 1948). Additionally, New Zealand's discriminatory immigration policy was severely enforced for seven years after

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the war, and a directive issued in 1952, stated that Japanese were not permitted to enter the country as permanent residents (McGibbon, 1999). A detailed legal procedure that prospective couples had to undertake will be explained in the Analysis Chapter (Chapter 5).

Regarding previous research, Fortune carried out extensive study on the topic of war brides. According to her, over 4,000 women arrived in New Zealand as wives or fiancées of Kiwi servicemen after the Second World War (2005, 2006), and their origins were mostly from Britain, Canada, Italy, Greece (mainly from Crete), various other European countries, a few from the Middle East, North Africa and Japan (Fortune, 2009). Her interest was primarily on women from Europe and her description of Japanese war brides was mentioned only in passing. However, her voluminous research on this topic sheds light on the lives of women from other nations who arrived in New Zealand as wives and fiancées. There were some commonalities with other Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia (media framing, assimilation pressure and the importance of ethnic networks), as well as differences (the entry permit for Italian and German women, two other Second World War enemy nations, were granted immediately after the war, and some curiosity and animosity felt by the people in New Zealand toward incoming war brides in New Zealand). Boston (1999) conducted an interview with one of the Japanese war brides who was also interviewed for this research. As this is just about the only interview available in the English language, her comments have been quoted by other scholars including Fortune (2009). Aoyama (2003), a non-fiction writer, wrote a biography in Japanese of one particular Japanese war bride and introduced her as the 'Japanese mother in New Zealand [to Japanese people].' This person is one of the very few Japanese war brides in New Zealand known to the Japanese public. She declined to be interviewed for this research, although there are a few anecdotes about this particular person in the following chapters.

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Other available literature simply adds a sentence or two, stating that some Japanese women came to New Zealand as war brides. The official statistics indicate that in 1945 there were only 11 'full-blood' Japanese registered to reside in the entirety of New Zealand (New Zealand Registrar-Generals Office, New Zealand Census Statistics Office, New Zealand Census Statistics Department, New Zealand Department of Statistics, & New Zealand Statistics New Zealand, 1947). Even though a small number of war brides came to New Zealand, each of their stories is an important testimony to help us understand the war, racial relations after the war, and the developing connection between the two countries.

### **Theoretical framework**

This section explains some of the confusing terminologies often used with reference to cross-cultural adaptation. The theoretical framework is applied more detail in the Analysis Chapter (Chapter 5).

Studies of cross-cultural adaptation in social science disciplines started in the 1930s in the US, a country primarily consisting of immigrants (Kim, 2005). Scholars have converged on a view that even after 80 years of cross-cultural adaptation, the field has not been fully developed as a cohesive body of knowledge, despite the attention of different disciplines (Kim, 2005; Ono, 2012). Likewise, studies about migrants remain a fragmented area of research, emerging from psychology, sociology, tourism, political science, business to education (Alba & Nee, 1997; Berry, 2001; Castles, 2002; Earl & Kimport, 2011). Berry and Kim are two scholars whose work is particularly pertinent to the study of cross-cultural adaptation of migrants.

Young Yum Kim defines cross-cultural adaptation as how an individual strives "to establish and maintain a relatively stable, reciprocal and functional relationship with the environment" after moving to an unfamiliar sociocultural environment (2005, p. 360). In particular, acculturation involves changes (of groups) that occur when different cultures have contact with each other on a



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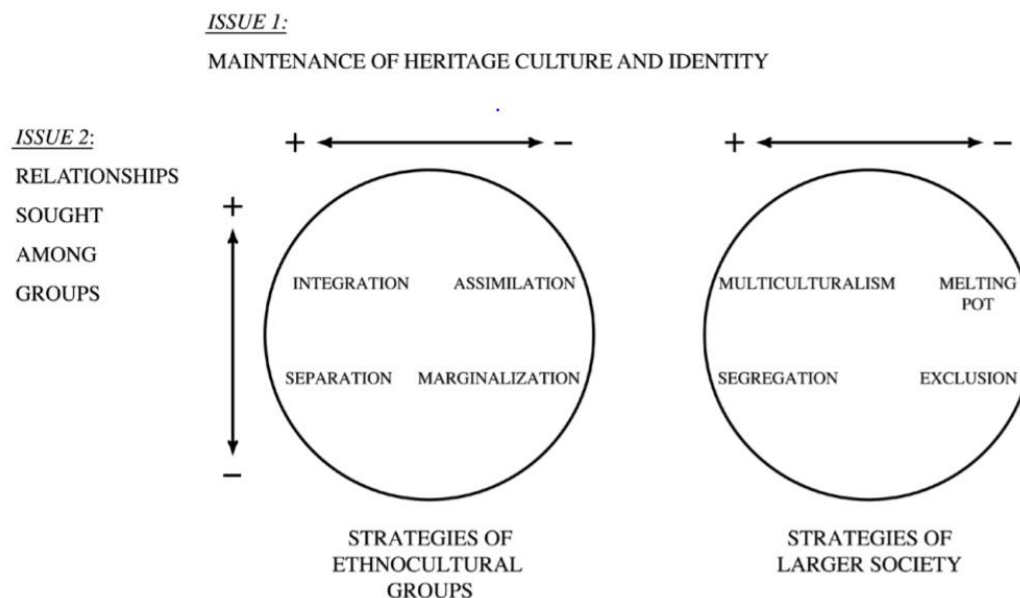
continuous first-hand basis, resulting in various changes to one or both of the groups (Nishida, 2005b). The changes may be physiological, biological, political, economic, cultural and social.

Kim (2005) examines cross-cultural adaptation from a systems perspective, as the interaction between an immigrant and the host environment. It is an "evolutionary process" (Kim, 2005, p. 378) and "the internal struggle of individuals to regain control over their life changes in the face of environmental changes" (ibid). In other words, a human being, seen as a system, has a natural tendency to resist changes, thus people thrust into new environments (such as migrants) logically feel stress. For Kim, stress is a positive force that assists adaptation (Kim, 2001).

On the other hand, John W. Berry is well known for his fourfold acculturation model. This model attempts to examine the four acculturation variations in relation to the adherence of the immigrants' cultural identity against social circumstances in the host society (Berry, 1997, 2001, 2005). More specifically, assimilation occurs when individuals adopt the cultural practices of the host culture and give up their original culture (ibid). Separation occurs when individuals reject the host culture but wish to preserve their original culture, which can be supported by the creation of ethnic bubbles (diasporae). In some cases, integration occurs when immigrants learn to adapt to the host country cultural norms while also maintaining their original culture. Lastly, marginalisation results when immigrants reject both their original culture and the host culture (Berry, 1997, 2001, 2005) (Figure 1 summarises this concept). In other words, Berry focuses on collaborative efforts made by the host society and individuals, which concludes with acculturation (ibid).

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**Figure 1: Acculturation Strategies**



(Berry, 2011, p. 11)

Ward and Kus conclude that Berry's assumptions are valid (2012). However, Ward points out the weakness in Berry's framework as his ambiguity in defining what acculturation might be and suggests that psychological aspects of immigrants should also be considered (2008). Thus, Ward and Kus (2012) tested out Berry's model on first generation immigrants to New Zealand, based upon the country's bicultural model<sup>4</sup>. They used the General Health Questionnaire-28, a tool normally used to detect psychiatric distress in the assessment of immigrants' cultural integration. Their findings indicate that, even if immigrants identify themselves as having less affinity with their adoptive culture, if they function well in a host culture or they modify their behaviours accordingly, it

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<sup>4</sup> The surge of Māori renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s precipitated the country to consider taking an official position to proactively include Māori, especially in the official sectors as delineated in the Treaty of Waitangi (Hayward, 2012). However, New Zealand's biculturalism is contentious as this stance may exclude other immigrant populations.

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can be perceived as an example of 'integration' (Ward, 2013). Furthermore, their tentative conclusion was that the self-assessment of their functionality (behaviours), when equated with life satisfaction, could measure immigrants' social integration better than their self-declared integration (Ward & Kus, 2012). Moreover, Liu, Ward and Kus have identified factors that may adversely affect immigrants' integration into host cultures: the views of the host society toward immigrants' native countries, the difference between two cultures, and the individual personality of immigrants (2014).

Likewise, Bhatia and Ram (2009) suggest that political factors, such as incidents between the immigrants' country and host cultures, inevitably impact the acculturation process of immigrants. From the perspective of critical acculturation research, Bhatia and Ram argue that researchers should bear in mind the "racialized and politicized experiences of immigrants (2009, p. 141)". For example, if a political condition in a host country is (or is perceived to be) adversely affected by the immigrants' native country (such as terrorist attacks, trade conflicts, or perceived notions of foreigners buying up properties and inflating affordable housing for local populations), new immigrants will likely change their adaption strategy accordingly. For example, Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia found the political situation of the host communities (such as the 'White Australia' practice), and the societal pressures caused by post-war experiences, added more pressure to assimilate into the host country. Thus, the argument of Bhatia and Ram can explain why many war brides may have chosen the assimilation (or 'blend in') path which would have conflicted less with the host country.

Now, let us consider how scholars have examined the value systems as salient features among Japanese in their process of cultural adaptation. The intersection of culture and the socio-economic environment, and how this shapes the identity of immigrants, is of particular interest to Rosenberger (1992) and Lebra (1992). Rosenberger situates the self as something that transforms through ideas and practices (1992). She contends that the fluid nature of the

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self has three layers of movements, which she terms as psycho-spiritual energy, relationship and context (ibid). This psycho-spiritual movement is one's inner core, relationship is represented by taking and giving of indulgence, and the contextual movements are defined as one's situation in society. Similarly, Lebra (1992) proposes a three-dimensional concept of self, specifically for Japanese people, as she feels the concepts of personality or identity are infused with Western biases. The levels of self that Lebra perceives are: (1) interactional self or *kao*, *taimen*, *tatema*, *mentsu* or *sekentei* (Japanese words describing the interactional self through social interactions and relationships with others), thus unfixed; (2) inner self or *kokoro* (heart, sentiment or spirit), which provides a more fixed core within an individual and; (3) boundless self or *hara* (belly), which entails a Buddhist notion of transcendentalism in which a person relies on a feeling of timeless disorientation (ibid). Rosenberg and Lebra agree on the relative importance given to relationships for the Japanese, in their formation of the self. Furthermore, Lebra contends that a person's selfhood is made up of something fluid yet culturally and socially bound (interactional), while also featuring an ingrained more permanent individuality (inner self), and a more sublime philosophical state (boundless) at the same time (ibid). Rosenberger and Lebra concur on the fluidity of the self in its interaction with society and on the existence of an inner self. Their commonalities in defining selfhood reinforce that cultural identity is in a constant state of change and it is contextual, as argued by Hall (1993).

Tamura (1999, 2002), using Lebra's idea of three-dimensional self, argues that there is a special self among Japanese people which helped the war brides in their cultural adaption process, by maintaining their inner Japanese self. Although the notion of special self can be argued about, this reinforces the focus of this research to look at the selfhood (or cultural identity) of the war brides. Tamura's research, which focuses on selfhood (or cultural identity), is therefore pertinent in aiding this research. Through in-depth interviews, Tamura compares changes in the war brides' cultural identities and concludes that these women strove to assimilate to their new culture doggedly, whilst

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maintaining a sense of 'Japanese-ness' (1999). In other words, many of the Japanese war brides that Tamura found demonstrated flexibility, resilience and satisfaction with their lives after five decades in Australia (1999). This resonates with Storrs' studies of Japanese war brides in the US and Australia.

Unlike the US and Australian war brides, who have been historically well-documented and researched, the topic of Japanese war brides in New Zealand has hardly received any scholarly attention. Their narratives are of great importance, not only to complete the trajectory of their experience as Japanese women marrying Kiwi soldiers, but also to look at their acculturation experiences. Hence the purpose of this research is to fill the gap in the literature by first investigating whether the New Zealand-Japanese war brides displayed similar patterns to their counterparts in the US and Australia. Secondly, the study seeks to ascertain whether the war brides felt a strong drive for assimilation under cultural expectations to adjust themselves, and whether they also simultaneously felt the importance of maintaining their cultural and social traits as Japanese. The next chapter outlines the key methodologies which frame this research.

## CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

### *A map for the journey*

#### **Methodology**

This study sits within a phenomenological paradigm and uses a qualitative methodology with an oral history approach; the thematic analysis will be guided by the theoretical framework of intercultural communication.

A phenomenological paradigm is suitable for this study because it focuses on “the way in which people interpret [their] environment and ... make sense of their personal experiences” (Denscombe, 2007, p. 99) to “gain an in-depth understanding of the subtlety and complexity of the social world” (Denscombe, 2010, p. 133). This research explored cultural adaptation strategies and identity formation among Japanese war brides who came to post-war New Zealand through their own narratives. To achieve the purpose, the qualitative methodology guided the researcher to gain “an intimate understanding of people, places, cultures and situations through rich engagement” (O’Leary, 2014, p.113). Moreover, the strength of the qualitative methodology lies in its capacity to bring a denser description and a deeper analysis than quantitative methods (Denscombe, 2010, 2014; O’Leary, 2014), and to understand the phenomena from the participant’s perspective (Bryman, 2012). An added advantage of the qualitative methodology is that it allows a degree of flexibility and potential for development (Denscombe, 2010). At the time of embarking on this research the sample size and locations of the interviewees was yet to be identified, so having flexibility was an asset.

## CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

However, the use of the qualitative methodology is not without its constraints and weaknesses: (1) its tendency to have a subjective, value-laden bias as the qualitative research approach relies heavily on the researcher's subjectivity (O'Leary, 2014); and (2) its unsuitability for gaining generalisable findings due to its small sample size (Bryman, 2012). To address the issue of subjectivity, Denscombe (2007) acknowledges that the analysis of qualitative data requires a reflexive stance from the researcher. In other words, the researcher must specify their personal experience and details, which has been shared in the preface and personal reflections of this thesis. In order to safeguard against any possible drawbacks from the over-subjectivity of both the respondents and the researcher, member checking, which is a strategy to optimise the validity of the research (Given, 2008), and supplementary secondary sources were incorporated into this research to enhance its credibility. As for the second point of non-generalisability of the outcome, Bryman asserts that for "very intensive interviews of the kind conducted in life story interviews" (2012, p. 425), the sample size can involve just one or two research participants. Bryman (2012) separates the life history and the oral history interviews; the former focusing on individual interpretation and the latter on the particular events in the past. However, in this research, the emphasis was placed on both the personal experiences and interpretation of the past events. Therefore, as the intention of this research was to document individual experiences and the participants' reflections on historical events, as well as to gain deep insights into the experiences of Japanese war brides, a small sample was adequate to achieve this aim. The next section describes in detail about the oral history approach, a vital method for this study.

### **Oral history approach**

The oral history approach is suitable to uncover "the life experiences of sectors of society who have been and/or still are under-represented or missing from the

## CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

traditional historical record" (Donaghey, 2014, p. 96). The aim of oral history is "to gain first-hand knowledge from people who have lived through different social-historical-political periods and events" (Chaitin, 2012, p. 584). "[I]t gives voices to ordinary and often marginalized people whose stories might never have been documented otherwise" (ibid). This fits the very description of the Japanese women in their 80s and 90s whose voices have hardly been acknowledged. The recommended way to execute the data collection under this approach is in-depth interviews, ideally with people that have first-hand knowledge of a historical event or period (Harris, n.d.; Shopes, 2005). Furthermore, Perks sees the oral history approach as a knowledge creation process, which is achieved through a dialogue requiring at least two players (1998). Portelli (1998 [1979]) concurs that oral history is creating relationships between narrators and researchers through dialogues which connect the past and the present. This approach accorded well with the aim of this research, which was to create knowledge base of the Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand. This was executed through in-depth interviews: the interviewer prompted the dialogue through guiding questions, and the war brides provided their experiences. The guiding questions allowed the participants to reflect upon certain events or times in the past, and the participants are encouraged to provide their own interpretations (Bryman, 2012).

The interviewees' interpretations and the stories collected naturally rely on the memory of participants. Portelli interprets memory as "an active process of [the] creating of meanings" (1998 [1979], pp. 37-38). In other words, a narrative at any given moment is an interpretation of an event at a particular point in the narrator's life stage as a demonstration of how that person makes sense of the past in relation to where he/she stands now (ibid). Bönisch-Brednich's study of German immigrants to New Zealand demonstrates how their narratives differed according to the stage in their lives that they were at (2002). In other words, how the immigrants construe a meaning may change depending upon whether they feel an event (in this case, immigrating to New Zealand) is already



finalised and they feel content with their lives, or if they still feel that they are in the middle of their adjustment.

### **Ethical considerations**

This study was approved by the Unitec Ethics Committee (UREC).<sup>5</sup> In terms of ethical consideration, attention was particularly paid to the advanced age of some of the participants and the sensitivity of certain topics, which touched on wartime trauma, death and other issues that might elicit discomfort. The interview participants, especially the war brides and their husbands, were given an option of having a support person with them during the interviews. They were advised, in advance, that they could stop the interview or withdraw from the research project at any time before the analysis process began. The war brides were given three weeks after receipt of the transcripts, and remaining family members were given two weeks, to withdraw from the study. In cases involving interviewing Japanese elders, utmost care was paid to using appropriate honorifics, following the Japanese custom.

### **Data collection**

#### **Population and sample**

It had been estimated that roughly 50 Japanese war brides had moved to New Zealand in the post-war era. Population is defined as “the total membership of a defined class of people, objects or events” (O’Leary, 2014, p. 182). O’Leary

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<sup>5</sup> Ethics application number: 2015-1060. The UREC specifically scrutinises eight ethical principles: informed and voluntary consent; respect for rights and confidentiality and the preservation of anonymity; minimisation of harm; cultural and social sensitivity; limitation of deception; respect for intellectual and cultural property ownership; avoidance of conflict of interest; and research design adequacy.

recommends that a sufficient number of interviews should be conducted to draw out the variations among the population (2014, p. 139). However, in this study, the originally small sample size and the advanced age of the women who are in their 80s and 90s, has made the expected existing population size even smaller to begin with. The research collected eight life stories from two war brides, two husbands and eight children of war brides. It also benefitted from publicly available sources and off-the-record interviews from other Japanese war brides in New Zealand. The intention of this research is therefore not to present a comprehensive picture of all the Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand, but of a particular sample identified in this research.

### **Sample selection**

At the initial stage of the research, the names of the Japanese war brides and the number of these women who came to New Zealand were unknown to me. In order to identify the war brides and their families, various methods were employed. At first, I approached the Consul General of Japan in Auckland and the Embassy of Japan in Wellington expecting that they might have some information regarding former Japanese citizens. However, both offices declined to offer any information on the ground of confidentiality<sup>6</sup>. The issue of confidentiality and not knowing the specific names of individuals also stood in the way of obtaining information from the New Zealand Defence Force and other official archives. Word-of-mouth within the Japanese community provided some leads, unfortunately most of whom declined to be interviewed

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<sup>6</sup> It is quite probable that they had kept records of the war brides or early Japanese immigrants, because at a book launch event (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012) for Allison Parr's book, entitled *The Occupiers*, published in 2012, Takashi Ato, Director of the Japan Information and Cultural Centre in Wellington, was one of the participants. Mr Ato's office was where a well-known Japanese war bride worked for a number of years until 1993, and she was one of the people who kept a group of war brides in Wellington going for many years. However, this woman declined to participate in the research without providing any particular reason.

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initially. The original research description used the expression 'senso hanayome' (direct translation of war brides) as a research topic. It was envisaged that the expression might have discouraged the participation due to its historically-held negative view in Japan. Therefore, instead of war brides the term 'early Japanese female immigrants' was used to solicit participants. Eventually, two women agreed to be interviewed.

Advertisements and notices were placed in the following English language magazines: *The Listener* (December 2015 and March 2016 issues), *New Zealand Memories* (December 2015/January 2016 combined issue), *The New Zealand Genealogist* (December 2016), *RSA Review*, the newsletter of the Royal New Zealand Returned and Services' Association (RSA) (Summer 2015). Additionally, a notice appeared in *Gekkan NEW ZEALAND*, a free Japanese-language magazine (December 2015 and January 2016 issues). Through these English-language publications and other grapevine sources, a few leads began to emerge, and the rest of the participants were eventually identified. For this research twelve people were interviewed, resulting in 18 recorded and transcribed interviews.

Furthermore, prior to the main study, three pilot interviews were carried out with people who shared some commonalities with the Japanese war brides with the purpose of running through the interview questions and to obtain their feedback (one of the interviews was conducted via Skype). They were all Japan-born widows who live either in New Zealand or Japan. One had married an American, the second person was born around the same time as the war brides and resides in Hiroshima, and the third is a very early immigrant to New Zealand. As a result of these pilot interviews, three important aspects were noted in interviewing elderly Japanese people: (1) I was reminded to be more polite (using honorifics) and not to interrupt their monologues even if the conversation started to go astray to show respect; (2) Japanese people in their 70s and 80s are not used to being asked for their opinions, therefore a few probing words to trigger their thoughts were frequently required; (3) the senior

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person held more power so I had to be very focused on the research topic to prevent the elders interpreting the intention of the research as they wish and; (4) the interview time tended to be longer than expected as these three women lived alone and could afford to take their time for interviews.

### **Interviews**

The most common data collection method in the oral history approach is in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Harris, n.d.) . Therefore, this research used interviews with the Japanese war brides and their family members as the primary data collection method in order to answer the research question(s). This approach, called the 'family-tree interview,' is often used as a means to add extra depth from second-hand accounts by family members (Slim, Thompson, Bennett, & Cross, 1998) .

To introduce myself and the topic, the initial contact with the war brides was made via a phone call and followed by a letter explaining the purpose of the research. This was followed by additional phone calls. Prior to the interviews, the participants (both the war brides and family members) were provided with a list of potential questions, along with a summary of the research project to allow them to prepare. With the war brides, in order to confirm the interview dates and to answer any potential questions, a phone call was made one or two days prior to the scheduled meeting date. E-mails were used with remaining family members, when possible. For the interviews with family members, semi-structured questions were prepared, along with some follow-up questions to clarify points that were raised by the war brides. (see Appendices 2-6 for the information and interview questions for the war brides and family members.). All participants signed the consent form (Appendices 7 & 8), allowing them to be interviewed, to be audio-taped and to use the data for the research purpose. Three people preferred to remain anonymous. The stories of the war brides which were obtained through secondary sources (other than family members)

## CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

and through informal personal communication, had their names changed to pseudonyms.

A few lead questions to elicit their memories were presented to allow the war brides to expand their narratives. Those questions regarded: their lives in Japan prior to coming to New Zealand; their encounter with their future husbands; their adjustment process; their families; their support networks; their initial experiences and impressions of New Zealand society and; their overall assessment of their life in New Zealand. Interviews with the war brides were conducted in Japanese, while interviews with the husbands and children and the focus-group meeting, which will be explained later, were conducted in English.

### **Interview venue selection and recording**

The interview venue was a mutually decided place where the participants felt comfortable. The two war brides and one of the husbands chose their home, and phone interviews were arranged for another husband who lived in Taranaki. The interviews with the children took place at a café, their houses and my house. A total of 18 formal interviews, which were recorded and transcribed, took place in Auckland and Wellington as well as many additional informal meetings. Each interview generally took between 2-4 hours, and the interviews took place between November 2015 and July 2016.

During the interview process and immediately after an interview had taken place, I noted down any doubts, uncertainties or further questions that needed to be clarified on a follow-up interview. Furthermore, salient incidents that came up during interviews were incorporated into additional questions for the children of the war brides in order to obtain more information (see Appendix 9 for the interview dates).

### **Transcripts**

As per Bryman's recommendations (2012), the audio-recorded interviews<sup>7</sup> were transcribed as soon as possible in the language that they were conducted. They were coded, indexed and combined with similar topics, and the codes became emerging themes from the interviews. When necessary, parts of the transcripts were translated into English by myself. The transcripts were checked by the interviewees for accuracy, and any necessary corrections or deletions were made. Participants' names were coded to protect their privacy if they wished to remain anonymous. It is hoped that the recorded materials will be kept as oral history records if consent is given by the interviewees in the future. Otherwise, after a designated time has elapsed, all information will be destroyed unless otherwise agreed with the participants. Eight stories of each war bride's narrative were written, and a copy of each relevant story will be distributed later to the war brides and their families.

### **Focus group interview**

A focus group is defined as "a research interviewing process specifically designed to uncover insights from a small group of subjects" (Krueger, 2004, p. 393). Rather than holding the focus group prior to the start of the study, a post-interview focus group was convened in July 2016 in the last stage of the research phase. This had not been originally envisaged as there was no known population at the time the research began. However, popular demand from the second generation of war brides' families lead me to hold a focus group interview with eight family members (five children, two grandchildren, and one daughter-in-law) at a venue at Unitec. It served as a data verification opportunity and provided the participants with an opportunity to meet new

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<sup>7</sup> Two IC recorders were used, a Sony ICD-UX523F as the main recorder and an Olympus V-822 as a backup. Both the audio data and the consent forms are stored securely at Unitec for ten years. To assist in the transcription process transcription, software oideyasu2 was employed.

and old 'cousins' of similar family backgrounds. The preliminary findings from the current research were shared with the participants, and they then proceeded to compare notes on their unique upbringing. The documentary film *Fall Seven, Get Up Eight* (Craft et al, 2015), about three Japanese war brides who went to the US, was viewed together during the focus group. The participants and their extended family members later initiated a closed Facebook discussion group to further exchange notes and photographs.

### **Secondary sources**

The interview data was supported by secondary sources, which is defined as "data that exists regardless of a researcher's questioning, prompting and probing" (O'Leary, 2014, p. 383). This material has substantiated the historical and legal background in addition to the war brides' memories. Aside from existing literature on war brides in other countries, other archival repositories and secondary sources consulted were:

1. The Alexander Turnbull Library; Archives New Zealand in Auckland and Wellington; the National Diet Library in Tokyo; the Kure Historical Society Information Office in Hiroshima.
2. Selected New Zealand newspapers (e.g. *The Auckland Star*) and magazines (e.g. *The Listener*) published between roughly 1946 and 1958.
3. Government documents, such as year books, statistics and legal documents from New Zealand sources. Some of the files required consent from surviving family members, and a few also required paper work to be completed with the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and the Department of Internal Affairs (both of New Zealand).
4. Personal communications, official documents and official records.
5. Films on Japanese war brides and audio taped interviews of Japanese war brides. These include *Japanese War Brides* (Vidor, 1952), *Green Tea and Cherry Ripe* (1989b, Hoaas) and *Fall Seven Times, Get up Eight* (Craft et al., 2015).

### **Other datasets**

The data search through the New Zealand National Archive database Archway, revealed the existence of roughly 50 potential Japanese female immigrants during the period 1953–1958. The keyword used for a general search of the database was 'Japan\*' with a time parameter of 1953 to 1958, which produced 1131 entries. The data was then narrowed down to one series entitled 'Alien Registration Files: 1949-77 Systems'. All obvious male names were manually deleted to produce the final list of around 50 potential war bride names. This series contains 'Files of individuals who were required to register as the *Alien Act 1948*' (Archive New Zealand). The data was checked against Chamberlain's list of Kayforce personnel (2013). For very common family names, such as Smith and Jones, husbands' given names could not be identified. Furthermore, the archive database contains incorrectly spelled names, which could produce duplicates, or in some cases data was completely missing. Therefore, it cannot be guaranteed that the appended list contains all war brides who arrived in New Zealand in that specific time frame. The list was cross-checked by family members (see Appendix 10).

### **Data verification**

Denscombe (2007) stresses the need to verify data for any research, regardless of whether it is conducted using quantitative or qualitative methods. Data triangulation is often recommended in order to achieve credibility in qualitative methods (O'Leary, 2014; Denscombe, 2010; Bryman, 2012). Therefore, the data collected from the interviews were supported by archival research, which substantiated the historical and legal background to the narratives provided by the interviewees. At the same time, the preliminary findings and tentative analysis were shared with other follow researchers as well as the interview participants to obtain their feedback for member checking.



### **Data Analysis**

This section explains how the collected data was analysed in the stated phenomenological paradigm. Data analysis is defined as the procedure for handling the collected data to organise, code, find thematic elements, interpret its meaning and draw conclusions (O'Leary, 2014). O'Leary further reminds us that the aim of data analysis in qualitative research is "to create new understanding by exploring and interpreting complex data from sources such as interviews" (2014, p. 301). In this research, the thematic analysis identified patterns in the dataset that lead to answering the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Tuckett, 2005). Following the six-step procedure recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006), the researcher first familiarised herself with the data, generated initial codes systematically, searched for themes, reviewed the themes, defined and named the themes, and finally, wrote up the report using the analysis, sufficient evidence from the research, and in relation to the research question and the literature.

Based upon an inductive analysis of the themes, an over-arching storyline was identified. The four key themes identified from the dataset were: Theme One: Before the Journey Began; Theme Two: Steps for Adapting to New Zealand Life; Theme Three: Integration and Empowerment and; Theme Four: Sense of Belonging and Cultural Identity. After the transcripts were examined and coded with topics, they were later combined to identify themes. In this process, a frequency table was prepared for each interview. The table did demonstrate a general trend but was not meant to draw a statistical analysis. Each theme is explored by analysing the combined findings from data gathered through semi-structured interviews, observations and historical documents. Some of the themes contain overlapping elements.

In conclusion, this chapter positioned the current study within a phenomenological paradigm with a qualitative methodology using the oral history approach. The findings were analysed through thematic analysis which

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was guided by the theoretical framework of intercultural communication. The initial interview participants were sought out from various sources and snow-balling sampling was used to seek out additional participants.

The following chapter (Chapter 4) provides a summary of key findings which are the subject of the analysis in Chapter 5.

## CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

### *Her-stories: War brides discovered*

This chapter presents the findings from semi-structured interviews conducted with war brides and their family members and from secondary resources (see Table 1 for names and codes of interview participants; and Table 2 for profiles of the war brides). The semi-structured interview questions were devised to explore the Japanese war brides' endeavours to adjust to post-war New Zealand. The interview transcripts were coded and grouped into topics, which were then arranged by theme (see Appendices 5&6 for the interview questions).

The first section describes the historical and strategic significance of Hiroshima, the place of assignment where New Zealanders met Japanese women. It is followed by the narratives of the interview participants according to the four main themes which begin with (1) the pre-departure time from Japan, (2) their arrival in New Zealand, (3) their adaptation strategies and, (4) their integration into New Zealand society and additional topics that emerged from the interviews.

## CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

Table 1 : Names and Codes of Interview Participants

Code	Name	Category	Code	Name	Category
WB01	Mariko*	War bride ☆	CS03	Denis	Tamiko's son
WB02	Chieko*	War bride ☆	WBS01	Setsuko	War bride (deceased) ☆
H01	Bob	Michiko's husband	WBS02	Sachiko	War bride (deceased) ☆
H02	Thomas*	Kazue's husband	WBS03	Michiko	War bride (deceased) ☆
CD01	Michele	Michiko's daughter	WBS04	Kazue*	War bride (deceased) ☆
CD02	Sandra	Michiko's daughter	WBS05	Taeko	War bride ☆
CS01	Michael	Sachiko's son	WBS06	Tamiko	War bride (deceased) ☆
CD03	Deb	Setsuko's daughter	WBS07	Haruko*	War bride ※
CS02	Leo	Setsuko's son	WBS08	Sumiko*	War bride ※
CD04	Jo	Setsuko's daughter	WBS09	Teruko*	War bride ※
CD05	Sonia	Taeko's daughter	WBS10	Toshie	War bride ※

WB: War bride, H: Husband. CD: Child -daughter, CS: Child-son

\*Pseudonyms

☆ Stories collected (from war brides, husbands and children)

※ Stories from secondary sources

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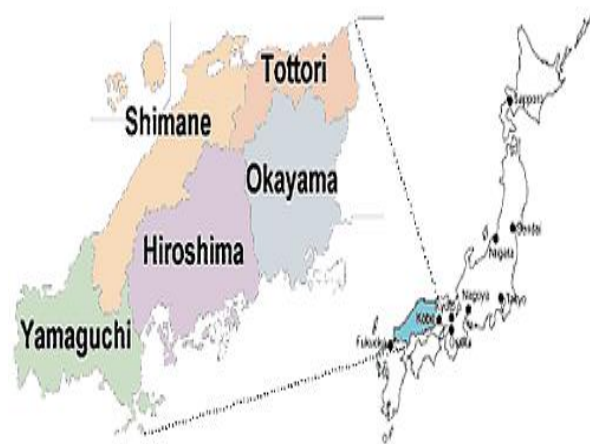
Table 2: Profiles of the War Brides and Families in Japan

Name	Name of Husband	From	Born	Family situations in Japan	Status	Employment Japan/New Zealand	Husbands Service History	# of siblings	# of children	Level of English	Arrival year Naturalised	Married	Disowned Discouraged	Went back to Japan
<b>Kazue*</b>	Thomas*	Iwakuni, Yamaguchi	1926		d.1962	Bank teller	<i>Jayforce</i> (RNZAF)	3 (2M and 1F)	3M	Good	1955 (did not naturalise)	1955	Initially yes (confused with New Guinea)	Before 1962
<b>Michiko Burgham</b>	Bob	Minami Danbara, Hiroshima	1926	Victim of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima	d. 1981	Lab assistant, Gift shop Japanese language tutor	<i>Jayforce/ Kayforce</i>	4M	3F	Good	1954/1961	1953	Yes Father did not attend wedding	1972
<b>Mariko*</b>	Bill* (Australian)	Kure, Hiroshima	1928	Father's factory and family house destroyed	Lives in AKL	Dressmaker/ran café/ ran a gift shop	<i>Kayforce</i>	4 (2M and 2F)	2 (M&F)	Good	1952/1960	1957	No (mother was not pleased)	Early 1960s
<b>Sachiko Jones</b>	Britt	Aga, Hiroshima	1930	Father's long-term hospitalisation	d. 2000	Nurse aide Seamstress	<i>Kayforce</i>	8: (2M and 6F)	1M	Not so good	1955/1970	1955	Yes	1980s
<b>Tamiko Kinraid</b>	Jackson	Kure, Hiroshima	1930	Brother committed suicide, elder sister died	d. 2009	Trained as dressmaker, restaurant/ Cleaning Sewing	<i>Kayforce</i>	3 2M and 1F (sister died at 26 yrs) Youngest girl	3 (2M & 1F)	Not good	1956	1956	No	1965
<b>Taeko Braid</b>	Noel (Crash)	Hiroshima City, Hiroshima	1931	Father died	Lives in Hastings	Restaurant, club/ Seamstress, essayist, interpreter	<i>Kayforce</i>	5M (oldest child)	7 (one died) Eldest son born in Japan	Good	1956 (never naturalised)	1952 in JPN	Yes	1979
<b>Setsuko Donnelly</b>	Mick	Takehara, Hiroshima	1933	Father died Mother remarried Brought up by grandparents	d 1991	Ball room dance instructor/ (introduced by priest) Interpreter/liaison person	<i>Kayforce</i>	1 1M	4 (2M & 2 F)	Good	1956/1965	1956	She cut the ties with the family	1981
<b>Chieko*</b>	John*	Shiki, Saitama	1936	Father died, mother remarried, brought up by grandfather	Lives in AKL	Worked at UN office as typist/hotel, tour operator/interpreter/liaison person	<i>Kayforce</i>	1M (younger M)	3 (1M & 2F)	Good	1958/1967	1956 in Kure	Yes	1970

\*Pseudonyms

### Theme One: Before the Journey Began

The presence of the American Occupation under General MacArthur (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers [SCAP]), who directed all major decisions over the occupation in post-war Japan, was overwhelmingly visible.



**Figure 2: Chugoku Region**  
(Japan Ryokan & Hotel Association, n.d.)

The British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) area was not in central Japan, nor were the cities of strategic importance, yet the area had incurred huge damage. Under the responsibilities of the BCOF New Zealand was assigned to prefectures in south-western parts of Japan. Its headquarters and other operational facilities were located in the City of Kure, about 25 kilometres from



**Figure 3: Chugoku Region Enlarged**  
(Chugoku Bureau of Economy Trade and Industry, 2015)

Hiroshima City. Consequently, the majority of Japanese war brides were originally from Kure. Since 1886 Kure was one of the most important naval bases in Japan, having developed munitions and ship-building industries, and naval training facilities in Etajima. As a result, the city was one of the most air raided targets from early 1945. When the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima City on August 6, Kure remained intact due to its distance from the hypocentre. However,

the city was inundated with an exodus of wounded and dying people from Hiroshima, adding further strain to the post-war confusion.

## CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

The Japanese government enforced a propaganda drive called the national policy slogan, which emphasised public service devotion and sacrifice (Morikawa, 1995). The propaganda campaign dictated the public's everyday life, whispering into ears about obligations to war causes and to their unity as one ethnicity (thereby elucidating the exclusion of non-Japanese). Numerous slogans, which were rhythmical and easy to recite, were produced by the government and solicited through the media (ibid). Some well-known ones were: "*I shall not crave for anything until we win (1942)*" or "*Dedicate all money to the government and our body to the great Emperor (1940)*."

However much of the public were indoctrinated to persevere, there were a few commonalities in the hardships experienced by the war brides who went to New Zealand. Some of these difficulties were common in other areas of Japan, while others were particular to Hiroshima. Those tribulations include numerous air raids resulting in the loss of all their possessions, abject poverty, complicated family circumstances, and finally, being victims of the atomic bomb.

Mariko's father owned a thriving factory with a few employees in central Kure that manufactured army uniforms.

*Normally we would not take any notice of air-raid alarms, but on that particular night, we were ordered to evacuate into a shelter which was built underneath a runway. It was like a tunnel, and we found all our neighbours there. When we came out of the shelter the following morning, the city was completely flattened. Our house and my father's factory . . . they were all gone. No house, nothing on one side . . . leaving vacant houses on the other side intact. Those houses belonged to residents who had moved out of the city some time ago. So, we knew that there must have been someone in the village who would report such things [to the enemy]. (Mariko: WB01)*

During the war, education was put on hold, and students who were old enough were sent to work in the munitions industry, assembling parts for ships and submarines. For example, as a high school student, Mariko was assigned to sew

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cushions for human torpedoes<sup>8</sup>. She talked about the days after the atomic bomb was dropped:

*We still had to go to the factory to sort out the debris, and we would see dead bodies being carried from Hiroshima City. The bodies of those who died near the sea were bloated, undistinguishable . . . and the stench was so awful. Every day, those bodies were burned, and the smell was simply horrible. We would wear masks, but the smell was there. (Mariko: WB01)*

Denis vividly remembered war-time stories that his mother Tamiko used to tell him and his siblings:

*She told us things like . . . how the power lines being down on the road and . . . one of her friends was electrocuted in the street. . . . She would tell us how hard it was in growing up and they never had enough food. . . . One of her brothers committed suicide . . . . and [she had] an older sister who died when she was very young. . . . Certainly, growing up during the war would be quite tough. (Denis: CS03)*

Many of the war brides' fathers and elder brothers were deployed as soldiers or worked for the cause during the war. Some lost their lives, and many were injured, which necessitated the children to support their families through work, or to be sent away to live with relatives. Chieko recounted her situation:

*As my father was engaged in construction projects in Korea, required by the Japanese military forces, he would be away from home for a long time. I would spend most of my childhood years with my grandfather. . . . After my father died due to illness, my mother remarried in Korea and I lived with my paternal grandfather. . . . I looked up to my grandfather as my own father. (Chieko: WB02)*

Sonia spoke of a similar story about her mother Taeko:

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<sup>8</sup> *Kaiten*, or human torpedoes, were, like kamikaze pilots, used for suicide missions. Pilots were placed inside torpedoes and aimed themselves at enemy vessels. The cushions were made to alleviate the discomfort of these pilots in their iron caskets.



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*By the time she [Taeko] met my New Zealand father, her own father had been killed. Her father was a navy engineer and his boat was torpedoed. . . . And after that, the house that they were living [in] burnt down. And so they pretty much had to take whatever they had left and . . . they went to stay with her mother's family and went to Takehara . . . and by the time she was 18, she ran away. (Sonia: CD05)*

Food was scarce everywhere. Those who owned private land, planted what was needed for family consumption, and sold what was left. Those who lived in cities and had no land would travel hours to purchase food or to exchange whatever possessions they had for food. Michael discussed the poverty that his mother Sachiko experienced in Hiroshima:

*My grandfather [Sachiko's father] had a market garden and was a small-scale farmer. . . . Mother said that it was really hard. They had to work very hard in the market garden in the post-war Japan. They were very poor and there was hardly any food. (Michael: CS01).*

During the occupation in Japan, the priorities of the Allied Powers were the democratisation and demilitarisation of Japan. Yet many traditional aspects of Japanese society remained. Bob, Michiko's husband, mentioned, "Michiko's father was very traditional. He wanted her to conform to what he wanted, and she fought against that idea." He spoke of his wife's impression of post-war Japan:

*I think, at that stage, she [had] had enough of Japan, and that the Japanese conservative outlook. Michiko was a bit angry about the conservative aspects of Japanese [society]. So, she wanted to leave Japan behind her because she could see the failings in the conservative outlook in the way that the Japanese thought in those days. (Bob: H01)*

It was not only the conservative aspects of Japan that Michiko was keen to leave behind, but she had been badly wounded by the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. Her husband continued:

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*The life was uncertain. . . . They [Michiko's family] lost their home. Their house was demolished. And she was lucky to be alive, but she was badly wounded by glass in her arms [from the atomic bomb]. (Bob: H01)*

Michiko's daughter, Michele, also indicated how her mother was not comfortable in the rigid, traditional Japanese society:

*My mother didn't like to conform. She didn't like to do what others thought she should do. She wanted to do what was right for her. (Michele: CD01)*

Setsuko's eldest son, Leo, spoke of his mother's disheartening experiences after the war, which the family plans to cover in more detail<sup>9</sup>. Leo shared his interpretation:

*She made a conscious choice to leave . . . because of some of the stories of what had happened and the hardships [in Japan]. She basically felt that she wanted to go. . . . It wasn't like she was rejecting [it]. She felt that there was nothing for her. . . . Because the family weren't keen on her going, that's where she cut the communications. (Leo: CS02)*

Leo's sister, Jo, added:

*She almost felt she was abandoned. Because her father had died, and the war, and the pre-war, and . . . her mother had to leave both her children [who were brought up by two different sets of grandparents]. . . . My Mum had to forge her own way. (Jo: CD04)*

Taeko (WBS05) met her future husband in the early 1950s in Kure, where they had their first son in 1952. Dating a former enemy soldier was frowned upon, but having a mixed-race child was considered even worse. The future of an interracial child in post-war Japan was unpredictable and concerning. Taeko's daughter elaborated on this:

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<sup>9</sup> There seems to be a family story behind Setsuko's departure for New Zealand, which one of her children, Jo, is investigating. As this is not part of this current research, no further discussion will be made about the circumstances of Setsuko's departure here.

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*I think that one of the reasons that Mum actually came to New Zealand was 'cause that Mum said that Joji [a son born in Japan] would have such a hard time in Japan being a halfu [half Japanese, half New Zealander]. So that was her big reason for coming here, and I think she wanted to have some adventure too. I think the post-war Japan was too hard. And she wanted her brothers to have good prospects of marriage and if she was out of the picture, that would happen. (Sonia: CD05)*

One of Taeko's eyes had been permanently damaged at an early age. She was able to lead a normal life, but her eye lid covered that damaged eye. Her future husband told her in Kure that he could find an eye specialist in New Zealand to fix her eye. Despite his good intentions, her eye problem could not be treated in New Zealand either, but the prospect of treatment must have been quite attractive to her (Akiyama, n.d.).

Teruko's (WBS09) life before she met her future husband was very traumatic. Her father died in Manchuria (China), and her sick mother struggled to bring the children back to Japan (Page, 1993). In the process, one of the children died. Her mother remained ill, and Teruko and her siblings had to live with separate relatives. Sumiko (WBS08) also lost her father in the war. Although she had 10 siblings, the elder sisters had already married and left the family, so Sumiko had to support the family (Aoyama, 2003).

How did parents of the women react when their daughters found out that they would be marrying foreigners? Marriages in Japan had traditionally been arranged between families (Glenn, 1986). Thus, love marriages were rare or disdained in many instances, even when the suitors were Japanese. It would have been a shock to many families when their daughters' prospective husbands turned out to be New Zealanders.

Chieko recalled how she had to wait until dusk to send her future husband home, so as not to alert her neighbours:

*My husband started to visit me in Shiki [a suburb of Tokyo where she lived until she moved to Kure]. Then all of a sudden, it was the talk of the town. My mother said,*

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*“Wait until it’s dark to send him off.” [So the neighbours would not notice his visit] . . . . My grandfather told me before I got married, “I will never let you be buried in our family graveyard.” (Chieko: WB02)*

When Michael's father was in Hiroshima as part of Kayforce, he was quite popular in Sachiko's tiny fishing village for his lavish shopping habits at local shops. Sachiko's family was appreciative of the food he used to bring as gifts whenever he visited her. But their appreciation was limited only so far as the two remained platonic friends:

*I think, when they got married, they did create a little bit of a tension within the family. . . . My mother said when she left Japan, her father said, “If you are leaving Japan, you cannot come back”. I think she was basically disowned. . . . [My father] was accepted by the family, because he was able to provide things. I think that was the hardest part. (Michael: CS01)*

Michael understood his mother's sense of disownment and her reluctance to go back to Japan:

*I am pretty sure my mother would have loved to have gone back. But that would have been a huge shame on her. . . . She couldn't go back, although she wanted to. . . . Because she had gone against the will of her father, although [her] father died. (Michael: CS01)*

In the case of Michiko, who suffered lung problems after the atomic bomb, her marriage to Bob was welcomed by her brother in Japan, but her father refused to attend their wedding to demonstrate his defiance. Michiko's daughter describes it:

*When she died, the letters we got from an uncle was, “Thank you for taking her away [so] she could live longer. Thank you for looking after her.” (Michele: CD01)*

Whatever the reaction of their parents, the brides-to-be were ready to go to New Zealand; although the women did not seem to have much knowledge about their host country. During the occupation of Japan, the US had a

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deliberate policy of propagating American culture to the Japanese public through movies, music and other media (Kitamura, 2014; Sakurai, 2002). Many of the war brides and their families seemed to have little or no knowledge of New Zealand before the women left Japan. Mariko and Chieko both mentioned that the extent of their knowledge of New Zealand was limited to the abundance of sheep and the existence of Māori. Both of these women remarked in the interviews that the first thing they saw from their aeroplanes over Whenuapai Airport, was sheep. After completing his air force assignments, Thomas (H02) returned to Japan to ask Kazue's parents for permission to marry their daughter, they thought Kazue (WBS04) was off to New Guinea, as opposed to New Zealand. When Mariko was still undecided about whether to join her future husband in New Zealand, she contacted the New Zealand Consulate in Japan:

*The people in the consulate said that they would not recommend people going to Australia, but that New Zealand was a good place. So, I thought, “OK, I will give it a try! (laugh)” (Mariko: WB02)*

On the other hand, Denis felt that his mother might have made an informed decision:

*New Zealand, especially in the 50s, really had a high standard of living. . . . It was quite an attractive proposition to come and live in a country like New Zealand with obviously a lot more . . . perceived prospects potentially. . . . Her family life during the war, her sister dying and her parents being older. . . . It may be some of the memories that she had were those that she wanted to leave behind anyway. I don't know for sure but . . . certainly growing up during the war would be quite tough. (Denis: CS03)*

As demonstrated in the Literature Review (Chapter 2), the 1950s and 1960s media had generated stereotypical images of Japanese women as vulnerable and obedient. Likewise, the *Official History of Kure* quotes an Australian magazine, *The Sunday Sun Magazine* (from 1952), on why Australian soldiers would fall for Japanese women, “The Japanese women are trained to

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dedicate their lives to please men. They are very clean and like things tidy. They dress neatly and attractively. As girlfriends, their sole wish is to make their boyfriends proud of them" (Cited in Chida p. 733, 2005, translated by myself). However, this definition does not fit the sample population of war brides who came to New Zealand. These war brides are presented, both by themselves and by family members, as quite determined and strong-willed, even to the extent of doggedly pursuing their goals. This section introduces comments from the war brides, husbands and children, which depict the personalities of the women. Two war brides, Chieko and Mariko, spoke of their personal character traits:

*I must have been an oddball in Japan. I was interested in learning English. I often thought that I should get out of Japan. I used to think that the life was short, so I should do something [and not stay in Japan]. I probably would have done something different [if I had not married my husband]. (Chieko: WB02 )*

*Once I decide that I want to do something I would do it, no matter what . . . . until it is accomplished. . . . Our parents also let us do what we wanted to do in general. (Mariko: WB01)*

Denis, Tamiko's son, described his mother fondly yet very emphatically:

*My mother was very, very tough. Very tough. You know, I mean, very uncompromising. She was very nurturing as a mother, but sort of staunch and stubborn. She had a high pain threshold. Mum was very tough emotionally and everything. (Denis: CS03)*

Michael, Sachiko's son, echoing Denis, speculated that the stubbornness set her apart from other Japanese women in her decision to leave Japan:

*She is very stubborn and when she made her mind up to do, she would do it, . . . whether it is the same for a lot of Japanese women that have left Japan to come.... They had to have something different about them, because it takes a lot to leave your own culture to go to a completely alien culture and set up a new life. (Michael: CS01)*

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Sandra, Michiko's daughter, has made numerous trips to Japan to reconnect with part of her Japanese identity, and based on her knowledge, she concluded that her mother was not a submissive and quiet Japanese woman as the Hollywood movies portrayed:

*My mother, I don't think she was a typical Japanese woman. . . . I figure that it took a certain type of women to come over here. These [women] have to be unusual because there was a lot of racism [in New Zealand]. (Sandra: CD02)*

Sandra and her sister Michele both discussed at a separate occasion when their mother was leaving Japan for New Zealand, contrasting the look on their grandmother's face with the look on their mother's face. Below Michele describes a photograph taken at Hiroshima Station when Michiko was leaving:



**Photo 2: Departing from Hiroshima in 1954**  
(Bob, Michiko, Michiko's mother in the centre)

*I have never seen such a sad face. My grandmother looked just terrible . . . just so sad. And my mother looked so happy (laugh). She looked really happy. . . . She never looked back. She loved her mother and she loved her family, but she never . . . she needed to get free. She was . . . so desperate to be free. (Michele: CD01)*

Sandra recounted her grandmother's sad face when the entire family was bidding farewell at the conclusion of their family trip in Japan in 1972:

*I remember when mum said good bye, my little oba-chan [grandmother] was waving and waving and I remember thinking, "Why mum just didn't cry?" She just looked ahead and just walked off. . . . But she'd made her decision. That's very Japanese like that, right? She just went right ahead, kept walking. You see, my mum, Japanese you know, nerves of steel. Made her decision. (Sandra: CD02)*

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Michele described her mother's extraordinary way of reinventing herself:



Photo 3: Michiko and Bob Burgham  
("Bring home Japanese wife," 1954)

*She had such a big ego, she would invent a life that we never knew. It was like she invented her life away from the traditional . . . Japanese daughter to someone who is really out there. If I said to mum, "Were you ever a swimmer?" I had never seen her in a bathing suit, because she was too sick. And she had scars on her body [from the injuries from the atomic bomb]. "[She would say] "Oh, yes, I used to race. I was a champion racer." So, you never knew whether she was or [if] she was just saying that. (Michele: CD01)*

Bob offered his view of her tough personality:

*Our personalities clashed . . . because [she was] the girl with very fixed ideas. Her brother said, she was very strong [in] personality. Very intense . . . strong opinions, very strong opinions. She had a lot of determination, very determined person, yeah. Unlike most Japanese girls, she was very self-sufficient. She was the boss. She knew what she wanted in her life and she went after it you know. Very determined personality. Yeah, not a typical Japanese. (Bob: H01)*

The interview comments in this section about life in Hiroshima prior to marrying New Zealanders, demonstrates the turmoil and hardship of war and how people in Hiroshima survived the first few post-war years. Many of the war brides had lost their fathers or had other complicated family circumstances. The data also revealed that the war brides were determined and had strong personalities, which challenges stereotypical notions of submissive Japanese women. In addition, the interview data demonstrates that most of the women had very limited knowledge of New Zealand before they made up their minds to leave Japan.



### Theme Two: Steps for Adapting to New Zealand Life

After going through a few 'red tape' hurdles to gain entry into New Zealand (detailed in the Analysis, Chapter 5), the war brides had a long list of new things to learn. This section demonstrates what the war brides chose to adapt to and which aspects of Japanese culture they retained, as well as other mechanisms that assisted their enculturation process. The interview participants shared their stories on driving, racial tensions, evolving help from communities, education, languages, food and networks.

In post-war Japan, private car ownership was less than 1% (Ministry of Infrastructure Land Transport and Tourism, 1965), making it unlikely that the war brides knew how to drive when they arrived in New Zealand. From the early 1950s, urban planning and the expansion of suburban residential areas in New Zealand promoted the rapid increase of motorways which required private usage cars (Pawson, 2010). Taking up driving became crucial for survival in New Zealand.

Mariko recalled that she waited for a few years until she started to drive:

*I learned to drive only after the children started to go to school. I had to take them to various places after school, so I thought it was necessary. I never imagined that I would ever drive when I was in Japan. (Mariko: WB01)*

According to Sonia, her mother, Taeko, even went so far as to drive a tractor:

*She learned to drive on a tractor called an Allis-Chalmers . . . [Dad] said, "You just have to drive the tractor." . . . And that's how she learned to drive. (Sonia: CD05)*

On the other hand, Setsuko took advantage of the buses and taxis wherever she went with her four children (as she could claim these as business expenses), as her daughter Jo recalled:

*Mum never drove at all, although she had [driving] lessons. But it was quite difficult when Dad was teaching her with her four children in the back of the car. . . . So, we'd*

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*be always bussing, but later on we took taxis. (Jo: CD04)*

Besides driving, what other things did the war brides need to cope with? Here the focus moves to issues of racial tension and accepting help.

In a focus group interview, one of the participants (a daughter-in-law of one of the war brides), asked the group, "Did you feel any racial discrimination while you were growing up?" The responses from the children were unanimously "Yes", although they considered it normal childhood harassment and agreed that it was something that any child would do to children who looked different. These second-generation children grew up in New Zealand between the late 1950s and in the 1960s, whereas their mothers had come to New Zealand a few years earlier, when the memory of the Second World War was still quite raw and vivid. Thus, it was a surprise to me that none of the war brides nor their husbands mentioned or recalled any specific discriminatory incidents. Instead, they talked of assistance and friendly neighbours who helped them in the initial stage.

Mariko often talked fondly about her neighbours with whom she developed a long-term friendship. She could only recall a few who avoided her initially:

*Some neighbours would not talk to me for some time. They did not have good feelings toward Japanese people in general because they lost their sons during the war. It wasn't such a big deal. After they got to know me, it was all right. (Mariko: WB01)*

For Michele and Sandra, their mother Michiko was nothing but a Kiwi, and Michiko embraced everything about New Zealand culture. In fact, her best Kiwi friend considered Michiko as a Kiwi. Sandra recalled an incident with her mother's best friend:

*I remember this . . . distinctly . . . the first time experience of racism. Now, two doors away there were these close friends of ours, Carol and Vic. . . . Mum used to everyday have a cup of tea with Carol. They were close. I must have been about four. . . . And one day, Mum was going to take Auntie Sachiko. . . . And Carol wouldn't let Auntie Sachiko in, 'cause she was Japanese. And I remember this. My mother going, "Oh,*

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*come on Carol. Oh, come on Carol.” And she said, “No, she is not coming in.” Isn’t that interesting? (Sandra: CD02)*

Bob felt there did not seem to be any issue with his wife’s adjustment to her new life in New Zealand:

*She fitted in perfectly in our society. And she was accepted, and I do not recall any bad feelings at any stage. Our neighbours were very good to her and the people we met were good. Mind you, that she fitted in very well in the society and . . . there was no difficulties at all. (Bob: H01)*

Some war brides did not share unpleasant experiences with their children or they were not aware of them, as Michele (CD01) and Leo (CS02) recalled:

*She never made us aware of it [racial tensions], because she never wanted to colour our thinking . . . but I can remember . . . an Australian guy said [on a cruise ship]. “I don’t want to be at the table with that man and his half caste children.” . . . And my father was so upset. . . . My mother said, “Who cares? That’s his problem. It’s his problem. I am happy.” You know, so she didn’t care, she didn’t worry at all. (Michele: CD01)*

*It was quite a number of years after my mother had died, and I was up in the Tihara at a function, there was a woman . . . who came up to me and said, “I just needed to apologise to you for the way your mother was treated.” I hadn’t known anything about this, other than that she [Leo’s mother] said that she never liked living in Masterton<sup>10</sup>. So I said [to the woman], “What do you mean?” She said “Because of the war, your mother was treated very badly (in Masterton)” (Leo: CS02)*

Furthermore, others were aware that there was a certain animosity among some of their relatives in New Zealand:

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<sup>10</sup> Masterton is about a 30-minute ride from Featherston. There is a memorial garden in Featherston as a site of a former war camp where a riot erupted and resulted in the deaths of 48 Japanese POWs in 1943 (Iwasaki, 1999; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017).

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*Some of Dad's older sisters were definitely anti-Japanese [but] she [my mother] sort of accepted it. That was the price she had to pay to come to New Zealand. (Michael: CS01).*

*He [one of the in-laws in New Zealand] refused to stand up when my mother went up to him [to be introduced to the family members]. . . . "Oh, never mind," she went up to him and said, "My name is Michiko" and he said, "I am not standing up for you," and she said, "I love everybody," and gave him a big hug. (Michele: CD01)*

The war brides may have encountered some isolated racial tensions from time to time, but there was also local support who came to help the newly arrived war brides, as attested by the children of the war brides.

Setsuko's children recalled their helpful neighbour:

*Our neighbour, Mrs Adams, was pretty good. She was an elderly lady and lived just right next door and she is always there, and we would go over and she makes good shortbread (Jo: CD04)*

*She was incredible. She was one of those battlers, the survivor type, who played the piano for the church and she affectionately, we called her like a, like a grandmother that we didn't have. (Deb: CD03)*

*She was a matron and she took [it] upon herself to teach us manners. (Leo: CS02)*

*She taught us everything. (Deb: CD03)*

Sonia, Taeko's daughter, remembered her father's colleague's wife who visited the newly arrived couple's house and who became her mother's best Kiwi friend:

*On the second day she [my mother] was in Hastings, this woman turned up and said, "Hi, my name is Dawn. I am here to help." (Sonia: CD05)*

Mariko had a fairly soft landing in a newly developed residential area where the neighbours would meet every Saturday to engage in social activities. She

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found aspects of her new life quite comfortable from the start. For example, groceries were conveniently delivered to her doorstep:

*In the good old days, before I drove, my husband used to order meat in downtown, and someone would load it on a ferry, and once it reach on this side of town, a bus driver who had a route around here would yell at me when he was passing by our house. The same goes with the grocery shopping. A store person would come around and take orders. They would deliver the goods the following days. Fish and milk were delivered at our doorsteps as well. So, it was very convenient. (Mariko: WB01)*

When the time came for the children to go to school, the first formal socialisation process, what was the intention of the war brides? It is often pointed out that immigrant families are particularly mindful of their children's success in education. Research indicates that many immigrant parents believe academic success is the best way for their children to succeed, compared to native-born parents of that country (Areepattamannil & Lee, 2014). Likewise, this topic was consistently brought up by the interviewees.

Michael recalled many war brides' gatherings that Sachiko hosted at her house. He discussed the life priorities that his mother and other war brides shared.

*They put all their efforts into children. In hindsight, I am thinking that their children are very important and that was their main focus. . . . They wanted their children to do well. . . . That the only way to get on in a new country was to educate yourself. (Michael: CS01)*

Leo had vivid recollections of discussions with his mother when he did not meet her expectations:

*She was always wanting us to do well in education. . . . She would reward us if we got first in class and she wanted us to do well. . . . [When I failed crucial papers] she got really upset and she was crying . . . . I never understood . . . why she was upset. . . . She said, "You have an opportunity here. You are not taking it seriously." She wanted us to succeed . . . . since she was denied [education.] (Leo: CS02)*

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Chieko said:

*“I used to beg my children to complete university. I told them, “I did not want others to criticise me [for their lack of education] just because their mother was Japanese.”*  
(WB02)

In other families, the task of motivating their children academically fell on the father, or the children were already self-motivators and did not require additional encouragement. Denis, for example, said, that it was his father's job to encourage him and his siblings to study. In the case of Michiko's family, Bob stated:

*Actually, these girls didn't need much coaching from their mother. They flew through school, you know. [T]he school was not difficult for the three girls, you know. They took the initiative. (Bob: H01)*

Michiko believed that success in life lay in her children, as her daughter, Michele recalled:

*I got top in New Zealand. And my mother said, “Oh. Very good. That's great. Good on you. . . . You do it for yourself and you don't do it for me. If you want to succeed, you succeed for you. If you want to fail, you will fail for you. No, nothing to do with me.”*  
(Michele: CD01)

To assure their children's academic success in New Zealand's education system, many of the war brides felt their children had to be brought up speaking English and gave up teaching Japanese to their children after they reached school age. Three offspring of the war brides described their language experiences. Sonia, the first commenter, has a brother who was born in Japan and she remembered a story told by her mother, Taeko:

*When my eldest brother arrived in New Zealand, he couldn't speak any English. . . . And then he went to school, the teacher there said, “Oh, he has to learn English. You've got to teach him English. Don't teach him Japanese at home. Got to learn English.” So, none of us learned it at home. (Sonia: CD05)*

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Leo and Michael were born in the mid-1950s, two of the first-born children to the war bride mothers. Leo, being the eldest son, clearly recalled being spoken to by his mother in Japanese. It appears that the women initially spoke Japanese to their oldest children when they were still not confident speaking English, and from the second children onward, they spoke to them primarily in English or in a mixture of Japanese and English:

*My mother apparently spoke to me in Japanese when I was born, up [to] about three. Then Dad suggested that it wasn't a good idea, that I was going to school and he knew that there was some anti-Japanese [feeling] so maybe I had to speak English. (Leo: CS02)*

*I think it was just the context of education in those days that in New Zealand and in that particular time, English was the language that was taught. My mother made a decision that you will learn English and we will not speak Japanese. . . . I spoke Japanese to my mother when I was pre-school. And when I went to primary school, it was, you did not speak Japanese any more, you would speak English. . . . That was my mother's choice. (Michael: CS01)*

Although the war brides did let go of the Japanese language at home, they would not easily give up the Japanese cuisine. In the 1950s and 1960s in New Zealand, it was a challenge to obtain decent Japanese ingredients, such as short grain rice and soy sauce. The way the women procured Japanese foods is discussed under Theme Three of this chapter. The interview data demonstrates that food not only served as a cultural maintenance tool, but also as a vehicle to forge a sense of sisterhood between war brides and to transmit Japanese culture to their children.

Many of the children of the war brides had stories to share about how food was procured and improvised to make it taste like authentic Japanese food:

*In New Zealand in the 1950s and '60s, it was hard to get Japanese food. This was impossible. So, my mother started cooking just Western food and she was very good at it. She was known as an excellent cook. And it wasn't until, I think [the] 1960s where you could get some Japanese food, and I think in the '60s there were lots of Japanese*

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*people [from trading firms] started to come. And if you made contact, they would bring in food stuff and then there were some importers. (Michael: CS01)*

*It was difficult for her getting Japanese food in Christchurch in those days. . . . She used to get [food] sent over quite regularly from Japan, from her older brother. . . . Yeah. So, it was difficult to find food that she was used to, so she was homesick. She was very homesick, my mum. Missed her home. (Denis: CS03)*

*My uncle [in Japan] used to send care parcels for my mother. And they would be a bit of furikake [dried sea weeds, dried fish to sprinkle over rice], later on, seaweed, and tea and various bits and pieces. And she would hide it. . . . When the box arrived, she would hide everything else, and things would come out occasionally and she would share with us but not everything. . . . Food has been always the touch point for us, so everyone in our family has a rice cooker. . . . If we are not feeling well, if we just wanted a pick-me-up . . . that's when we eat Japanese food. (Sonia: CD05)*

Some war brides, who had been disowned or who had stopped communicating with their families in Japan were unable to rely on their relatives to send food parcels. They found other ways to obtain Japanese ingredients:

*It was very hard to get the Japanese foodstuffs. . . . One way to keep tradition alive [was] through food. . . . Once she started doing the interpreting, she was able to get supplies of Japanese foods from the fishing boats. (Leo: CS02)*

*Through our interaction with the Japan Society, YMCA and people from trading companies, we managed to obtain some Japanese food. Our son befriended children of Japanese trading companies and they used to play together often. Their parents would share some Japanese food with us as well. (Mariko: WB01)*

While the women longed for Japanese food, the children indicated that their fathers preferred meat and boiled vegetables, a typical Kiwi meal, so their mothers had to cook two kinds of meals every day:

*My mother would . . . make two meals. Dad had the most boring taste of foods. She was also a housewife and Dad was the provider. So, she would have to make god-awful corned beef, meat and boiled potatoes for Dad. She would always make a pot of rice,*



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*pickles and miso soup. (Sandra: CD02)*

*My mother was an exceptional cook. We had Japanese food, but my father was a traditional New Zealander, so he liked only certain Japanese foods. (Michael: CD01)*

*So my poor mother would have to cook separate meals. [W]e would have to have his meal ready for him when he got home. And it had to be meat and three veggies, and that was it. Wouldn't eat rice. (Sonia: CD05)*

*She did many things that we didn't even realise that they were kind of strange. She wouldn't often eat with us. She would sit down with us at the table, but we didn't realise that perhaps she wasn't eating a lot. She would cook us Western food and then after we'd finish, maybe after she'd clean up the table, she'd be staying at the bench, eating Japanese food. Yeah. That was quite common. (Denis: CS03)*

When the war brides arrived in New Zealand, many of them were not aware of where other war brides were. But self-support groups or regional networks evolved spontaneously, many of which sprung up with no formal organisation. The interviewed children portrayed how the network served to support their mothers and the activities that they organised:

*When my mother came to Wellington, there was a core of Japanese war brides. They sort of came together and that was a sort of nucleus that held them together. And they sort of turned themselves into a little club. . . . [They] visited each other and they sort of cheered up each other. . . . I coined this group of women, "the Japanese Mafia". It was just a group of women, being just very tight. (Michael: CS01)*

Sonia recalled that there were other veterans from Jayforce and Kayforce in Hawkes Bay before her mother (Taeko: WBS05) landed in New Zealand:

*She found out when she got to Hastings that there were quite a few people that were either Jayforce or Kayforce in the region . . . . started doing things together . . . celebrations, parties or information . . . . and they would start doing Japanese language classes. . . . So, it was really a good group of people that were really keen to, interested in Japan and interested in keep things going. (Sonia: CD05)*

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In the Wellington area, another group emerged called *San Gatsu Kai* (which means three-monthly meeting). It is still active in bringing together Japanese women through various activities (Copland, 2017).

*They (war brides) set up the San Gatsu Kai group, which . . . incorporated a lot of Japanese women who came later and they sort of formed this big group. They would meet and go places or they'd meet [at] people's houses and have lunch and that sort of thing. A lot of their informal gatherings were all centred around food. . . . So, there would be lots of fussing about people making food and so on. It was really interesting.*  
(Michael: CS01)

Sumiko (WBS08) and other war brides gathered informally at first, but in 1977 *San Gatsu Kai* was formally established for the purpose of mutual support among Japanese people who reside in Wellington and its vicinity (Ito, 2010). The Japanese Embassy in Wellington, where Sumiko worked, and the Consulate General in Auckland, played a pivotal role in connecting war brides. They used to hold parties when there were Japanese visitors to New Zealand and the families of war brides were often invited or instructed to take part, as recalled by Mariko:

*In the beginning, they often had parties and we were invited. They would instruct us to come in kimono. Such invitations stopped coming around the 1960s when Japanese trading firms started to set up their offices in New Zealand. It was very shrewd of them.*  
(Mariko: WB01)

Setsuko (WBS01) was one of the founding members of the Japan Society in Wellington. On top of that, her husband used to work for the New Zealand Government. The combination of their connections often required for the entire family to be present for various functions that took place in and around Wellington. The children made comments while looking at their photo albums.

*Deb (CD03): Every time there was a state visit, Mum was in the front line.*

*Jo (CD04): With her family. I think it's me [pointing at a photo].*

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*Deb: Pushing, pushing somebody in front. . . . And, that's Mum there. And there will be people from the Japan Embassy. Obviously, we were strategically planned.*

*Leo (CS02): There weren't many Japanese, so if you were trying to find local Japanese to meet the visiting dignitaries, [there were] only a small pool of people to go to.*



**Photo 4: Greeting the Crown Prince in 1973**

(Courtesy of the Donnelleys)

*Deb: This is Jo's fame. [Looking at the photo of Jo shaking hands with the then Crown Prince.]*

*Jo: I don't know what I was saying.*

*Deb: But we were on TV too.*

*Jo: It's in the newspaper.*

Through networks, the women developed a very strong bond among themselves, as described by one daughter. Michele and her war bride mother once visited Toshie (WBS10), another war bride, who was known to have superb sewing skills, to ask her to make a wedding gown for Michele.

*Toshie was a lovely lady and she was so good to me after my mother died. . . . I got my engagement ring on the day that my mother died. [When the dress was completed after the death of my mother] I came around to see Toshie to pay her the money, she wouldn't take the payment. . . . Toshie said, "No, no, no. I won't take. I am doing it*

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*for your mother. I am not doing it for you.” (Michele: CD01)*

The sense of sisterhood was very strong among the war brides. The following quote requires an explanation beforehand. Thomas (H02) met his future wife, Kazue (WBS04), in Iwakuni, Yamaguchi Prefecture, in 1947. When his mission in Japan was completed in 1948, he still had seven more years to serve in the air force. As the New Zealand Government did not allow marriages to Japanese women at that time, the two corresponded for seven years until they were allowed to marry. In 1955, Thomas and Kazue arrived in New Zealand and they had three children. However, in 1962, only seven years after she came to New Zealand, she died due to illness, leaving three young sons behind. Thomas remarried, and his second wife (European) raised the three children. Years later, Thomas and his second wife met two war brides in Christchurch:

*All these Japanese who came to New Zealand, they all kept contact with each other, all over the country. . . . When my [second] wife and I went to Christchurch for an air force veteran’s gathering, two Japanese women were there entertaining us . . . and [later I noticed] my wife had a brooch. And I asked her where she got it. [She said] “One of the Japanese ladies gave it to me.” . . . So I asked her again, “For what?” She said, “I don’t know.” So, I went to ask the woman. She said, “When we learned that you would be coming down here with your wife, we wanted to give your wife something for having looked after Kazue’s children.” They wanted to give her something for looking after Kazue’s children, who were Kazue and my children. (Thomas: H02)*

When the war brides lived far away from each other or could not meet in person, they would spend hours talking over the phone with each other, seemingly endless hours as recalled by two of the daughters:

*They loved to talk to each other every Saturday afternoon. Yeah, the phone was out of function [for everyone else]. (Deb: CD03 and Jo: CD04)*

But there were others who did not associate much with other war brides for their spiritual support. Chieko, for example who was a devout Christian, joined a church group in the early days of her arrival:

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*My husband used to work long hours. I was, of course, very lonely. Looking at the moon, I cried. Looking at the pampas grass, I cried. It was beyond being homesick. . . . Then I started to go to church to join their young wives' meetings where people were extremely kind. (Chieko: WB02)*

Some war brides could not connect with other Japanese war brides because they could not drive or lived too far away from large cities. Denis talked about his mother and Deb recalled her mother's Japanese friend who was isolated:

*The fact that she was very isolated and that there weren't very many Japanese people in New Zealand, I think she suffered a lot from that. . . . And when she came to New Zealand, her English wasn't so good. She'd been very isolated and [in] some ways [was] a little bit introvert in the sense that she would focus on the family, the house and the kids. So, she wasn't that proactive at learning and speaking English. (Denis: CS03)*

*Some of the other Japanese women, there was . . . . Treen [who lived in a] small rural town. She's never been back to Japan. She completely lost her language. (Deb: CD03)*

However, Chieko explains that the common factor of being a war bride did not guarantee the development of an instant friendship:

*When I turned up [at gatherings of Japanese women], they would make some sarcastic remarks such as, "You had a good education. I only finished primary school" or "You have plenty of money." I was originally from Tokyo and the others were from Hiroshima. They seemed to think that I was stuck up or something. . . . Whatever I said, they took it that I was a snob. So, I did not feel like joining them." (Chieko: WB02)*

The democratisation of Japan was one of the primary missions of the Occupation Forces, yet the war brides had been brought up during the time when a familial and societal hierarchy was still very much observed. Comments in the interviews refer to a 'class' or hierarchy concept evident even in their New Zealand life. The following quotes talk about Sumiko (WBS08) who seemed

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to have been a leader or “the Japanese mother figure in New Zealand” (Aoyama, 2003, p. 12):

*She was that, the ‘Godmother,’ she was the boss. And she was a very strong woman. Oh, yes, the reason why she is like that is because she is a daughter of an admiral. And she had been brought up, because obviously she was a high-born Japanese and yeah, that’s quite interesting. (Michael:CS01)*

*She was from a high status [family]. And another [Leo’s mother] was [from the] countryside. They reason they were here and their perspective were shaped also by . . . they were very friendly because [of] what they had in common. Daughters of Nippon who were in a strange place . . . but probably back in Japan, they would never have crossed paths. (Leo: CS02)*

*So, there is a little bit of an interesting rivalry between her [Sonia’s mother] and Sumiko (WBS08). Didn’t work. And my mother’s father was with the navy [Sumiko’s father worked in the navy and was also killed in action]. (Sonia: CD05)*

Sumiko’s name had been mentioned in various interviews. She was prominent among early Japanese immigrants, especially in Wellington, primarily due to her family background in Japan and her strong personality. Her father was a navy lieutenant general and committed suicide during the war before he and his landing forces were to be captured by the US forces. In 2000, Sumiko was honoured by the Japanese Government for her contribution in fortifying the relationship between New Zealand and Japan. In Auckland, Haruko (WBS07) was another influential person whose existence was quite visible due to her very outgoing personality and her successful business career. According to the research by Kuragasaki-Laughlin (2007) there was no Japanese community in Christchurch in 1955.

Under the theme of steps for adaptation, the comments from the interviews demonstrated how the war brides dismissed racial tensions and appreciated help that was extended to them in the initial phase of cultural adaptation. The ties with other war brides were very important for them, particularly in the beginning, where they would gather over food and support each other.

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Because of their strong desire for their children's academic success, they stopped teaching them Japanese, believing it could distract their children from becoming successful in the English-speaking country. But they did not cease to appreciate Japanese food, even though it was difficult to obtain. Quite often the war brides had to cook a separate Western-style meal for their husbands. Japanese food was also important in maintaining their cultural ties with their children and other war brides. Through food, they established social networks that also served as their support mechanisms. In the early days, when there were few Japanese residents in New Zealand, the Japanese Embassy often sought assistance from the war brides and their families when it welcomed dignitaries from Japan to New Zealand.

### **Theme Three: Integration and Empowerment**

Once the war brides established their routines, many of them found themselves contributing to the workforce as well as to other areas in New Zealand. This section examines how the war brides used their skill sets to integrate into their new society, and how they were empowered through this process.

As demonstrated in the previous section, the war brides were very keen to maintain Japanese food as part of their lifestyle in New Zealand. Many war brides started to work shortly after arriving in New Zealand as a way of earning extra income, and also as an opportunity to obtain Japanese food when the fishing and shipping industries began to frequent New Zealand waters. For example, Mariko, had been professionally trained as a dressmaker back in Hiroshima, and was first employed in New Zealand for these skills:

*In downtown Auckland, there used to be a dress shop called Lagonna. I would get sketches of new dresses from them, and then I would draw patterns for two different sizes and make them into dresses. Then they would probably disassemble the dresses to make patterns out of them. I also made all clothes for my children. (Mariko: WB01)*

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When Denis came for an interview, he brought a notebook with him. It contained meticulously drawn notes that his mother, Tamiko (WBS06), had kept as she was going through professional seamstress training in Hiroshima. He recalled his mother's sewing skills:

*I don't think there was anything that you can make out of any fabric or materials that she couldn't do. She was very, very skilful. It's quite incredible, really. So, she would make jerseys, suits, shoes, hats and anything. (Denis: CS03)*

Likewise, Sonia remembered the amazing sewing skills that her mother Taeko (WBS05) had:

*They [Japanese women in those days] learnt how to sew properly. 'Cause she [Taeko] had these amazing details and she can draft patterns. When she spent time working in the hospital, they would get her to do outfits for people with burns. Whenever I would go to school, my friends would say, "You had the most amazing little outfits on!" I think her record was 20 minutes for a blouse because my sister, older sister said "I've got nothing to wear!" (Sonia: CD05)*

Mariko testified that these skills assisted the family by providing extra income:

*When the children started to go to school, they wanted to learn the piano, dance and others. So, we needed extra money. Money was needed. At that time, the government gave subsidies until children became the age of 15 years old, but that was not enough to cover these extra expenses. (Mariko: WB01).*

In addition to their sewing skills, as the women became comfortable with English, there were other opportunities, which not only assisted the war brides to get jobs, but also to procure Japanese food. Three children recalled how their mothers' work had positive perks:

*I think in the '60s there were lots of Japanese people started coming [to New Zealand]. And if you make contact, they would bring in food stuff and then there were some importers . . . (Michael: CS01)*

*Once she [my mother] started doing the interpreting, she was able to get supplies of*



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*Japanese foods from the fishing boats. What happened was that when Japanese fishing boats would come in and get supplied and while they were laid over and she would organise recreational activities, so she would be the interpreter, take them shopping, bus tours and cheese factories and milk factories and sheep shearing. (Leo: CS02)*

Some children talked about other occasions where their mothers were involved as interpreters at the request of the Japanese Embassy:

*I do remember another time, when there was a Japanese ship in Lyttelton. There was an accident and one of the life boats or something from that ship went into the water with a whole lot of Japanese sailors and they were all injured. . . . And my mum and there might have been one other, they used to go and visit them in the hospital taking Japanese food . . . (Denis: CS03)*

Chieko spent many years working as a tour guide, tour operator, interpreter and a liaison for many businesses operating between Japan and New Zealand:

*When I started to work, there weren't so many Japanese tourists. Then tourism started to pick up. Many specialised tours from the Japanese Agricultural Cooperatives and business visitors started to come to New Zealand. I worked very hard. Then I started to get requests to work for these specialised inspection tours for racing horses, dairy products, cut flowers and so forth. (Chieko: WB02)*

One of the daughters felt that the skills that her mother and other Japanese women had were taken advantage of somewhat:

*There were so many of the women who came, very, very talented and bright. And because they were foreigners, people would give jobs that weren't required to use their intellect. They were just jobs. (Sonia: CD05)*

One early Japanese immigrant, who arrived in New Zealand in 1959, worked as a ship inspector and a worker at a heavy machinery shipping factory. She is a tiny woman and it would be hard to imagine her wearing a helmet and heavy lead reinforced shoes and working with men. She recalled even egalitarian New Zealanders were surprised to see her apply for the job and was told that her performance earned her a good reputation among her mostly male

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colleagues (personal communication with an anonymous participant, 29 January 2016).

Under the theme of integration and empowerment, the narratives and other sources about the war brides demonstrates that they used various skill sets to start working when opportunities for employment arose. Many of the women had professional sewing skills, which lead them to sewing assignments. It was a task that they could do at home without using English while their children were small. Others also sought work outside the house as interpreters, language tutors and the like. Some women, like Chieko and Haruko, became liaisons between companies in Japan and New Zealand at the dawn of their relationship-building.

### **Theme Four: Identity Formation**

This section deals with the war brides' sense of home, their cultural identity and their value system of the Japanese cultural heritage that they might have passed to their children.

Many of the participants agreed that the process of obtaining an entry permit to New Zealand in the 1950s was extremely tedious, and many had to wait for a long time. The details of the application process will be explained in the analysis section (Chapter 5). Under the *British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act and the Aliens Act of 1948*, "an alien [who was not British, British protected, or Irish] had to give one year's notice before applying have lived in New Zealand for four out of the seven years before applying for citizenship" (Archive New Zealand, 2009, p. 4). Most of the women eventually obtained New Zealand citizenship. However, in the case of Mariko, she said that she had to give up her Japanese citizenship as soon as she got married. She maintained that it was mandatory for her to change nationality immediately, although her impression was likely inaccurate, and she became a naturalised New Zealand citizen in 1960, eight years after her arrival. Taeko still currently holds Japanese citizenship, as described by her daughter.

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*She never became a naturalised New Zealand citizen. This turned out to be great because my next sister up and I found out that we could have dual citizenship. (Sonia: CD05).*

Mariko, who thought that she had given up her Japanese citizenship soon after she immigrated to New Zealand (see above), was asked in one of the interviews if she had thought of going back to Japan, either for good or a visit. In her usual casual manner, she said that she had let her New Zealand passport elapse a year ago. As her closest sister in Japan had died, she had decided that she would not renew it and would not go back to Japan any more.

Other war brides, whose information was obtained through their family members or from secondary sources, also seemed to indicate that in their elderly years the women felt New Zealand was their home. The first time I went to Mariko's house, she was reading a glossy brochure about a retirement home that she had purchased. The facilities were still under construction, but her mind was set on moving into that retirement home, which was not too far away from her current house in Auckland. Her son lives in Christchurch and her daughter lives in Australia. The son and his family have repeatedly suggested she move in with them, but Mariko maintained that she would rather be close to where her friends are in Auckland. On the other hand, Chieko, who is a few years younger than most of the other war brides, is still undecided as to where she wants to live in the future. As she is still active, she is entertaining three options: moving into a smaller house in Auckland, buying a unit in a retirement village or living with her son in Australia. Neither of these women seem to look at Japan as their home any more, as their children and grandchildren are all in New Zealand or Australia. Furthermore, they do not expect to be looked after by their children, which is a common scenario for aged people in Japan.

Most of the women became New Zealand citizens by the late 1960s. However, changing citizenship and holding a New Zealand passport does not mean their cultural identity has also changed. For the most part, the children of war brides believed that their mothers were Japanese first and Kiwi second:

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*She [Setsuko] didn't stop being Japanese. It wasn't that actually assimilation was not a correct word. She'd adapted to New Zealand. . . . She was an example of a Japanese woman who adapted but didn't really lose her Japanese [identity]. (Leo: CS02)*

*She [Sachiko] had to live in New Zealand as a New Zealander but she still tried to maintain her Japanese culture. (Michael: CS01)*

On the other hand, Denis believed that his mother took up a New Zealand identity. The reason for this was because Tamiko did not have too many interactions with other war brides due to the fact that the family lived away from larger cities where networks or groups tended to be formed:

*My mum almost converted to being a Kiwi. She wasn't very spiritual or religious, so there was never any great connection to anything that . . . to the Japanese culture in that respect. . . . It's almost like she came to New Zealand and left all that behind. She realised that New Zealand is going to be her home, kids were here. Kids are Kiwis, basically. So, it's almost like she . . . she left all that behind. (Denis: CS03)*

Michele felt that her mother Michiko was versatile and that depending on the situation, she could be either a Kiwi or Japanese:

*I don't think she did shut off her Japaneseness. It didn't appear to me to be a stress on her. Because she could turn it on when she wanted to be [Japanese]. (Michele: CD01)*

Michele continued on to elaborate on a specific incident when she saw her mother's Japanese side became apparent:

*In 1979, when there was a big plane crash<sup>11</sup> in Antarctica and she was the interpreter and then I saw a formal side of her. . . . I understood immediately that there was a certain way that we needed to act, because of the way that she was acting. That we needed to be respectful and she was formal in the way she approached things then. And we saw her being very Japanese then. (Michele: CD01)*

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<sup>11</sup> The biggest airplane accident in New Zealand, known as the Erebus disaster. The Air New Zealand flight TE901 lost 259 lives on its last flight to Antarctica including 24 Japanese passengers.

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Yet Michele's mother Michiko also felt very strongly about becoming a Kiwi. Her daughter recalls:

*My mother for me, was a Kiwi. You know she was a Kiwi. You know, she came here. She did things as Kiwi women did other than the fact that she loved Japanese food. She . . . you know, wanted to be a Kiwi. (Michele: CD01)*

Reflecting on Michiko's strong desire to be a Kiwi, Michele recounted the words of advice that Michiko gave to her Japanese niece who was to live with them in New Zealand:

*“If you are going to come to live with us, you must be Kiwi. You must do things as New Zealanders do. You get a job.” (Michele: CD01)*

On average, it took ten years for the war brides to make their first trip back to Japan. Three reasons (aside from the liberalisation of overseas travel that only started in 1964 in Japan), could explain the delay in their return. Firstly, most of the women in this study had children right after they came to New Zealand, which made it difficult to travel (and the arrival of children would usually thaw the initial disownment by their parents). Secondly, it cost a substantial amount of money to make a trip back to Japan<sup>12</sup>, and even with their jobs they would have had to save very hard. Finally, there was a general sentiment in Japan that unless you achieved success and became enormously rich, you should feel shame in returning to your hometown. This must have been keenly felt by the war brides as many of them had left Japan against the will of their parents. Thus, when they had Kiwi/Japanese children, sufficient money to spend and confidence living in New Zealand, it was time to make a trip to the maternal land that they had thought they left for good. When the war brides returned to Japan, many children remembered their mothers' perplexity in how things had

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<sup>12</sup> A rough estimate for one-way fare in 1953, provided by one interview participants was approximately an equivalent of NZ\$10,000 per person.

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changed there. Many children remembered their mothers' comments when they came home to New Zealand after a sojourn in Japan:

*When she went back in 1981, I remember her saying that she found it very difficult. People talk too fast, just like being in a foreign country. She decided that she was a New Zealander and she built a family in New Zealand. Japan had changed so much, and she felt more comfortable [here]. (Leo: CS02)*

*Japan has changed so much from her time. . . she found it difficult to catching the trains. (Michael: CS01)*

*She came back [from her first trip back to Japan] and she said, "Oh, it's good to be home." And we were laughing, saying, "You are at home now. This is your home. What about Japan?" She said, "Oh, it is too fast. Too fast for me now. . . . It's [a] different Japan." (Michele: CD01)*

When it came to passing on Japanese ethics and values, the children remembered many specific incidents to highlight how their mothers' values were inculcated in them:

*The conversation with me was that always . . . load me with the fact that you were the oldest. You will look after your younger brother. . . . You have to, you need to actually look after your younger brother, you need to look after [your] sisters. . . . She turned out to me as an obligation. For me the conversation ends there. So, it is not just what you want to do this, but you have an obligation because you are the oldest son and you need to be doing [it]. That's why you need to be doing this because you need to set an example for the others. (Leo: CS02).*

*She would be protecting her children . . . based on her value set. The values that she brought with her. Just like Japanese cooking; they were adapted for the local produce but also our tastes. . . . [S]he continued the cooking and she continued the values that she had when she left Japan. Her values were . . . not negotiable. (Leo: CS02)*

In conclusion, this fourth theme dealt with the identify formation of the war brides, with two sub themes dealing with where they felt at home and which culture they felt more comfortable in. Many children felt that their mothers were

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definitely Japanese, especially when it came to the value system. They also felt that their mothers knew how it would be more appropriate for them to behave. Yet the women found when they went back to Japan it had changed so much that the place that they called home was actually New Zealand. In their twilight years, with no or very few family members still alive in Japan, the women felt more and more at home in New Zealand where their children and friends were, even though they might think and behave like Japanese people from time to time.

### **Theme Five: Contribution, Regrets and other Observations**

This section covers several topics that emerged in the course of the interviews that do not belong to the main themes identified earlier in this chapter. Firstly, it deals with any regret that the war brides had about immigrating to New Zealand, and secondly the war brides' contribution to New Zealand and Japan. Additionally, two other observations which may be of interest for future research (but were not within the scope of this research) are: (1) the reference toward Korean and Chinese people, and (2) the way the children viewed their upbringings from mixed marriages.

From the interviews, the war brides did not seem to have any regrets about their decision to immigrate to New Zealand, except when they were confronted with the deaths of their parents back in Japan. Denis, Tamiko's son, recalled their trip to Japan

*In 1965, we went back to Japan, . . . my parents would have known that it would have been the last time because her parents were quite old at that point . . . 70s or possibly 80s. So . . . she'd have known, Dad would have known that . . . that would have been the last time . . . the first time and the last time that they would see us. (Denis: CS03)*

Likewise, normally considering herself a typical Kiwi mother, Michiko looked devastated at the news of the death of her beloved mother, as witnessed by her daughter:

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*The only time I have ever saw her upset or regret[ful] was when she received a letter [from her relatives in Japan] saying her mother had died. (Michele: CD01)*

When a question was posed as to the war brides' possible contribution to New Zealand, the war brides were very modest. They often shrugged and said something similar to Mariko's comment, "Nothing special, except for the fact that I have lived here long." (Mariko: WB01)

Chieko, who was involved in numerous start-up projects as an interpreter and a co-ordinator, between Japanese and New Zealand businesses, recalled:

*When I was working, there weren't so many people who could do what I was doing. So, when people asked me if I could do something, rather than saying, "I do not know," I would say, "OK, I will give it a try" and worked very hard to make it work. Come to think of the many things I did, I was not aware what would be required when I took on a job. But I was not afraid of trying. (Chieko: WB02)*

Chieko's grandfather raised her but disowned her when she married a New Zealander, so she was not sure if he or her uncles would have read any letter that she had written to them about her life in New Zealand. But one episode changed Chieko's relative's mind:

*A good client of mine who is a president of a well-known Japanese company visited my family in Japan. He assured them that I had been doing well in New Zealand and that they should not be concerned about me. Then we started to reconnect. (Chieko: WB02)*

Other family members also felt that their wives and mothers definitely paved the way for other Japanese people who were visiting, immigrating and studying in New Zealand:

*Her contribution to New Zealand would be . . . basically, living here and having a family and leaving that sort of legacy . . . for my mum and other Japanese ladies [who] have come, yes, definitely sending a good message about New Zealand to Japan. (Denis: CS03)*



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Bob, Michiko's husband, was quite firm about her contribution to New Zealand and to his life:

*Well, she committed herself to her future with me and she trusted me 100 per cent. That would be the greatest contribution she made. And she later, she also made [a] contribution regarding advice to different people who came here later on. She was always ready to advise people, giving them the benefit of her experiences. (Bob: H01)*

Recalling the time when Michiko was very ill, Michele remembered her mother was still extending her help to others:

*She was a very generous person with the time. There were not a lot of Japanese people where, she [was] . . . in those days. She wanted to reach out to people who were Japanese to help them. When the first wave of young Japanese came to New Zealand to make a life of themselves . . . she was happy to reach out to them and take them into our house . . . and counsel them and talk to them. (Michele: CD01)*

Sonia, describing when her mother was working for a school and caring for Japanese students studying in New Zealand, continued:

*She was basically like another grandma [to the students]. And they would go to her place to eat Japanese food. She drove them around and do all sorts of things and she kept in touch. . . . She was always that touch point for whenever anybody needed Japanese food or somebody to talk about Japan. (Sonia: CD05)*

New Zealand and Japan were still trying to find areas of collaboration. Taeko put herself in the centre of such collaborations from the start, as conveyed by her daughter, Sonia:

*She pretty much came to New Zealand and hit the ground running, in terms of having to work and . . . then building up a really good group of people around her that were really supportive. (Sonia: CD05)*

Finally, there was one more important theme that appeared in the interviews. It was a reference to Chinese and Koreans and the way some women were particular about differentiating themselves from Chinese and Koreans with a

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touch of superiority or pride as Japanese. For example, two sons remembered the reactions of their mothers:

*When I went to school, I got bullied for six months. My defence mechanism, initially, was that I told other people I was Chinese, not Japanese. Because, you know . . . I thought there was going to be less of a problem. There was still some discrimination against Chinese. . . . So that annoyed my mother. (Leo: CS02)*

*She said, if anyone calls you, make sure that they don't [let them] call you Chinese. Japanese! Japanese! Not Chinese, but Japanese! Yes, she was very, very staunch and very stoically came to that . . . I do remember that my mum being very sort of proud of being Japanese and showing almost dislike for Chinese and Koreans. (Denis: CS03)*

Some of the children recalled statements like, "For a Korean, she was good," or "Because her family was from Korea, she was like that". Sandra also elaborated, saying:

*Looking back now, this was a bit naughty of her [my mother] would say, "She is not Japanese. She is Korean." You know that Japanese arrogance. . . . I remember Mum saying that, so I used to think, the message that I got was that "The Japanese was the best in Asia." Clearly, best in Asia. Terrible. But I think there is that. (Sandra: CD02)*

Additionally, it is interesting to note that virtually all the children expressed their appreciation of their special upbringings in mixed-marriage families. Until they started to attend school, the children felt that their families were 'normal' even though their mothers were Japanese and their fathers New Zealanders (one was Australian by nationality but lived in New Zealand since his early 20s) and their meals occasionally included raw fish and soy sauce. When their school friends started to visit their houses, the children began noticing that their families were a bit different from other New Zealand families:

*When I was a little and saying to the kids . . . that I had raw fish and I ate sea weed. And they, because, they went, "Wooo! You ate sea weeds! Oh, yuck!" (Michele: CD01)*

*I remember the girl next door. She said to me. "My mother said the rumours said that*

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*your mother eats raw fish.” [In a disgusted tone of voice.] And I remember thinking, “Doesn’t everybody?” (laughter). I don’t know? What? What’s wrong? What a strange rumour! Then I go, “So what?” Because that is how we were brought up. . . . But we loved it. We thought it was great ’cause we were a little different. (Sandra: CD02)*

*Growing up, we had a different upbringing, because . . . and it was very culturally rich if I look back now, so I am pleased that . . . I had that upbringing. Because it was so different from other people. . . . Looking back now, I realise that I had a culture, that I was participating in it in an interesting [experience]. All the good bits. None of the bad bits. All the good bits about the Japanese culture. Just like the food. . . . You know what I mean the food and there are the rituals, you know. If my mother made a big sukiyaki, everybody would come. We had a different upbringing. (Sandra: CD02)*

In summary, this section covered topics that did not form a coherent theme. It appears from the interviews that rather than dwelling on negative aspects of life, the war brides held a positive outlook on their lives in New Zealand. The only notable regrets that the women may have had was when they had to part with their parents and siblings in Japan, especially when they could not be at their deathbeds. Their contribution to New Zealand society was generally expressed by their family members. Their strong work ethic and their pride in their homeland helped in bridge a gap between two former enemy countries in areas such as tourism, education, trade, cultural exchanges and even public diplomacy.

Two other topics that emerged were their war brides' great pride at being Japanese, which was often expressed in a negative attitude toward Japan's neighbouring countries. The children were generally appreciative of their upbringing from racially mixed families, which was quite rare when they were growing up.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the first theme demonstrated the significance of Hiroshima as a place where Kiwi men and Japanese women met, the women's strong sense of commitment to making their new life in New Zealand a success, and the women's limited prior knowledge of New Zealand before they made up their minds to leave Japan. The second theme revealed the importance of Japanese cuisine and the ties with other war brides, both of which helped them get through the initial adjustment phase. This theme also reveals the importance the women placed on the success of their children. The third theme discussed their integration into the host community and how the women started to work fairly early on, which helped to establish their place in New Zealand. The fourth theme dealt with their sense of belonging which revealed that most of the women in this study felt at home in New Zealand where they had families and work. Nonetheless, the women held onto the Japanese value system. The last theme showed their contribution to the host country; with many contributing to the successful relationship between Japan and New Zealand. It also highlighted that the women's greatest regret was probably not being able to be with their parents when they died.

## CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS

### *Unpacking the narratives*

This chapter provides an analysis based on previous chapters, which include the interviews with the Japanese war brides and their remaining family members, secondary resources and the Literature Review. A consideration of existing literature compares war brides who went to the United States (US) and Australia versus those who came to New Zealand, demonstrating commonalities and differences (a summary of which is included in this section as in Table 3.

The presence of the Occupation Forces resulted in inter-racial marriages between Japanese women and servicemen after the war. This happened despite anti-fraternisation and restrictive immigration policies towards Asians, as detailed in the Literature Review. An estimated 50,000 women eventually went to the US, 650 to Australia and 34-50 to New Zealand (Shiozaki, 2010)<sup>13</sup>. For a long time, the Japanese media typically portrayed a war bride as someone with no or little English, and someone who eloped to her husband's country against the will of her parents. The prescribed story would tell that a war bride quickly assimilated into her host country, although nobody knew exactly what kind of life she led. It took four decades for Japanese war brides in the US and Australia to gain a collective voice in their host cultures. Gaining this allowed them to reframe themselves as someone who endured initial hardship but

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<sup>13</sup> The number of Japanese war brides varies according to studies, both for the US and New Zealand. In the case of New Zealand, Chida (2005) claims that it is 42; other sources indicate approximately 70 (McGibbon, personal communication, April 2016) or 100 (Akiyama, n.d.). Through this research, it is envisaged that 50+ reflects the population of Japanese war brides who immigrated to New Zealand.

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strengthened ties between their adopted country and Japan, as opposed to someone who was destined to have a tough life because of the stigma attached to being a war bride.

This first section provides some comparative analysis between Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia (based on secondary resources) and to New Zealand (based on findings presented in the previous chapter). The three significant differences are the knowledge of the host nations and prior connection with other war brides, the media framing of the war brides, and their competency with the English language.

Before their arrival in their new host countries, the war brides who went to the US and Australia were offered the opportunity to take part in 'war bride school' in Japan. This covered both practical skills such as cooking and child rearing, and information about the host cultures (Tamura, 2001; Yasutomi, 2010). The war brides normally travelled to the US and Australia by boat or plane and in groups. As this provided them the opportunity to become acquainted with one another, they already had some established connections before arriving in the new country. Additionally, as US and Australian servicemen were generally professional soldiers (Tamura, 2001; Tsuchiya, 2011), once repatriated they might have been assigned to the same military bases as former colleagues, providing their Japanese wives opportunities to be reunited with other war brides. Therefore, prior knowledge of the host communities and an acquaintance with other war brides allowed greater networking opportunities for the war brides in Australia and the US than in New Zealand.

In contrast, not all war brides of New Zealanders were not offered pre-departure induction training, nor travelled to New Zealand in a group. Instead, many of them travelled alone or with their husbands, or there might have been one or two other brides on the same boat. Likewise, as *Jayforce* and *Kayforce* personnel were mostly volunteers, rather than professional soldiers, once they returned to New Zealand, discharged soldiers would return to their home towns or wherever their work took them, leaving the war brides dispersed around the

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country. This meant very few opportunities to meet other Japanese, despite the small size of the country.

The second difference is the effect of the media framing. In the hope of easing the racial tension in the US (Ishikawa, 2008; Storrs, 2000; Tsuchiya, 2011a), the women who went to the US were portrayed as ideal American housewives (Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi et al., 2002; Simpson, 1998) or 'model Japanese-Americans' (Simpson, 1998). This practice of idolising new comers caused resentment from the earlier Japanese immigrants to the US (Simpson, 1998). In Australia, the women were also viewed as 'model citizens', a notion generated to enhance the assimilation of the war brides into mainstream culture (Hamano, 2011; Tamura, 2009). On the other hand, in Japan, the media-created image of the war bride was negative; thus, the 'bad girl-war bride' stigma lasted for a long time there (Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi et al., 2002; Shimada, 2009; Yasutomi, 2010; Yasutomi & Stout, 2005).

In Australia, the media portrayed the first Japanese woman who married an Australian serviceman as a war victim who was also a beautiful, westernised mother raising two beautiful 'Australian' children (Tamura 2002; Zeiger, 2010). It was a warm 'welcome gesture' orchestrated by the media to counteract a setting of white Australian sentiment that was negative towards Asians. Tamura points out that Australians classified Japanese as either pretty girls or "bastards" (2001, p.267), which might have eased the harsh feelings that some Australians held by differentiating Japanese women and men. In both the US and Australia, these framed images created considerable pressure on the Japanese war brides for their cultural adaptation to the host cultures.

People in New Zealand, on the other hand, did not have much preconception of who these Japanese women were. The media coverage for other war brides primarily from the UK, Canada and other European countries, would be

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Table 3: Comparison between Japanese war brides in New Zealand, Australia and the US

Host Country			
Item	New Zealand	Australia	United States
<b>Prior knowledge of host nations</b>	Apart from awareness of sheep and Māori, virtually no knowledge.	Pre-departure war bride schools to educate the women about mainstream culture.	Hollywood movies, pre-departure war bride schools to educate the women about mainstream culture.
<b>Ways to travel</b>	Alone or in a small number. Mostly by ship.	Travelled in groups and mostly by ship.	Travelled in groups by ship or plane.
<b>Existent/earlier Japanese immigrants</b>	Non-existent. (11 Japanese recorded in NZ in 1945).	A small number of Japanese immigrants since the late 1880s. Approx. 150 people in 1950 (Tamura, 2001).	Japanese immigration started from the late 19 <sup>th</sup> century. War brides were ostracised by the existent Japanese immigrants because of the negative framing. Internment of <i>nisei</i> and Japanese immigrants
<b>Government agenda after the war</b>	Interest in trade and a security alliance.	Interest in trade	Made Japan a new ally in trade and security. Alleviated domestic civil rights and racial issues.
<b>Media framing</b>	War time propaganda of Japanese brutality. Memories of POWs. Nothing specifically for the women	Media framing of a Westernised depiction of the 'good wife' for the women, but brutal for men in general. Memories of POWs. Negative image of Japanese.	Media framed the war brides as model immigrants.
<b>Transferrable skills</b>	Fairly good English and Marketable sewing skills	Lack of English skills.	Lack of English skills.
<b>Expectation of host nation</b>	Discriminatory immigration policy/assimilation	White Australian immigration practice/ assimilation	Strong assimilation ("melting-pot"). Model immigrant and model wife.



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Host Country			
Item	New Zealand	Australia	United States
<b>Network after late 1980s</b>	Only regional groups.	National network from early 1990s.	Existence of national network of war brides after 1980s.
<b>Originally from</b>	Mostly from Hiroshima.	Mostly from Hiroshima and other parts of Japan.	All over Japan.
<b>Social participation</b>	Fairly early.	Difficulty in obtaining work. Somewhat secluded from mainstream society.	Difficulty in obtaining work. Somewhat secluded from mainstream society.
<b>Contribution to the society</b>	NZ-Japanese trade/social exchanges from early days.	Social exchanges ( <i>Sufficient research on this topic not available</i> ).	Cultural exchanges. Social exchanges.
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	No formal recognition by the Japanese Government. Embassy/Counsel General do not wish to discuss anything about them.	Acknowledged by the Japanese Government (via embassies).	Significance acknowledged by the Japanese Government (via embassies).

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concerned with domestic skills, rumours or stereotypical views about certain nationalities (Fortune, 2009). However, apart from what they had learned about Japanese soldiers from the Second World War, New Zealanders did not know enough about Japanese to form a preconceived notion of the Japanese war brides. As a consequence, the women who came to New Zealand could create their own identities.

Previous research on Japanese war brides in the US and Australia has shown that most of the war brides did not have fluent English (at least initially), which limited their ability to participate in the community or to work (Tamura 2002, 2001; Glenn, 1986; Hayashi 2005). Hence without economic independence or external connections (apart from their husbands), many of these war brides were obliged to become stay-at-home mothers for a while or to take up menial jobs which did not require much English (Glenn, 1986; Tamura 2001). However, the Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand had proficient enough English for the women to be active in society.

In summary, the three notable differences from the war brides who went to the US and Australia was that those who came to New Zealand travelled as individuals without group support, had no or little media framing, and had some English ability before they arrived.

### **Before the Journey Began**

Having spent most of their youth during the war years, Japanese women in their early 20s began to embrace the changes that were happening in Japan post-war. These changes included a hint of women's liberation and democracy. By associating with former enemy soldiers and eventually deciding to marry them, these women did not commit any crime---yet they might have broken a few social norms. How was their decision received by their families?

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Of the eight Japanese war brides whose stories were revealed through this research, five were clearly disowned and one was discouraged from marrying a foreigner by family members. Chieko (WB02)<sup>14</sup> had been brought up by her paternal grandfather who vehemently opposed the marriage. He told Chieko that there would be no place for her in Japan should she wish to return. As Setsuko's mother had left her with her grandparents to remarry in Korea, she felt abandoned and chose to cut ties with her Japanese family (WBS01). Even in Michiko's case (WBS03), her future husband Bob assured her family that he would seek medical help for her ailment in New Zealand, yet her father refused to attend their wedding to demonstrate his defiance towards the marriage. There were two exceptions: Mariko's parents did not seem to have opposed the idea of her marrying her boyfriend as they had two other unmarried daughters. Tamiko's parents were convinced that she would be better off in New Zealand as Tamiko (WBS06) was the youngest daughter, with four other siblings. At that time, there was a general sentiment in Japan that marrying a foreigner was improper or unacceptable conduct (Hayashi, 2002, 2005; Tamura, 2002, 2009; Houston, 2009; Sakai, 2004; Glenn, 1986). The women who married foreigners usually assumed that their decision would bring shame to their families (ibid). Thus, burdened with the feeling of having disgraced their families, most of the women anticipated that they would not be able to return to Japan, even in cases when the woman was not disowned. Returning to Japan was also highly unlikely because of overseas travel restrictions and high costs.

Therefore, with seemingly numerous obstacles, the question surrounding motives of the Japanese women to marry American and Australian soldiers has been of interest to many scholars (Sakai, 2004; Suenaga, 1995; Takeshita, 1999; Tamura, 2010 [2001]; Yasutomi, 2010). What factors might have prompted these women to go against the norms, to leave Japan and to jump through

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<sup>14</sup> For list of war brides and abbreviation, please refer to Table 1: Names and Codes of Interview Participants and Others.

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administrative hoops in order to obtain entry into New Zealand? There are a number of factors that may explain these women's choices, apart from genuine mutual attraction. These factors include social, economic, demographic and ideological concerns.

After Japan's surrender to the Allied Powers, General McArthur produced an outline of the reform plans for Japan. The intention of this so-called Five Principles of Reform Plan was to eliminate the imperialistic regime and to encourage democratic reforms (Hosaka, 2004; Koikari, 2002). One of the pillars of the five principles included emancipation of women (Hosaka, 2004; Dower, 1999; Uemura, 2007), which was eventually included in Japan's new constitution. It stipulated the equal rights of married couples and individual freedom in the choice of partners (Uemura, 2007). This was a significant step forward from the earlier feudalistic Constitution of the Meiji, which required paternal consent for marriage. Yet while it should have been perfectly legitimate for women to date and marry whoever they wished (including former enemy soldiers), a 1950 public opinion survey on marriage, revealed most Japanese held a conservative position which favoured arranged marriages, rather than romantic marriages based on love (Iwase, 2009; Takeshita, 1999).

The eight women, whose stories were discovered through this study, were born between 1926 and 1936. It meant that they spent their entire youth in the war period. The start of the Manchurian Incident of 1931 precipitated the beginning of Japan's drive to conquer Asia, which eventually led Japan to the Second World War. The impact of 15 years of war reached across Japanese society and few families or communities were untouched by loss or harm. Three of the women lost their fathers during the war, one woman's father was hospitalised long term, two had their houses destroyed by bombs, and one lost siblings. This left only one woman who seemed to have had an 'ordinary' family situation, which was more or less unhampered by the war. War bride studies by Takeshita (1999), Suenaga (1995) and Sakai (2004) suggest that the absence of a paternal figure in a family forced women to seek jobs when it was still relatively

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rare for women to have paid employment. Traditionally, Japanese women worked at home or assisted in their family business in the primary industry sector. Approximately 60% of the working women were engaged in the primary industry until the mid-1950s (Okazaki, 1968). However, women's participation in the workforce became indispensable during the wartime labour shortage and the post-war reconstruction of Japan (Economic Planning Agency of Japan, 1998; Okazaki, 1968). Additionally, most of the war brides had to work to support their families. All eight women who immigrated to New Zealand had a job at the time they met their future husbands in Japan (as indicated in the Table 2). Their employment ranged from working as dressmakers, to a café/gift shop owner, a dance instructor, a typist, a waitress, a co-owner of a bar, a nurse aide and a bank teller. The presence of the BCOF provided work opportunities for many of the local population in Kure and its vicinities in Hiroshima, where seven of the women were originally from. At its peak, approximately 42,000 Japanese men and women were employed by facilities under the Occupation Forces, with an annual average of some 12,000 Japanese workers employed (Chida, 2005). Japanese workers were assigned by the BCOF to work at port facilities, construction sites, in the destruction of former Japanese army weapons, in hygiene, kitchen and household task roles, and as office workers (ibid). Additionally, there were numerous local jobs which attracted foreign soldiers where many of the war brides worked. Researchers consider that the women's involvement in work outside home encouraged them to become more independent and perhaps less afraid to break with social norms, such as inter-racial marriages (Iwasa, 2009; Takeshita, 1999). Furthermore, as noted earlier, women's emancipation was a part of the democratisation process by the Allied Powers (Dower, 1999; Hosaka, 2004; Uemura, 2007). To illustrate some aspects of free-spirited war brides, Michiko's husband Bob (H01), recalled how upset his wife was about the hypocrisy and oppressiveness of the Japanese culture, and both Bob and his daughters described Michiko as being desperate to be liberated and to live in a freer environment. Mariko (WB01) did not marry her Japanese policeman boyfriend from her local town because she felt he was too stiff and not interesting, and she wanted to be adventurous. In her

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dressmaking shop Mariko witnessed how her liberated female clients from the Occupation Forces wanted their dresses made for weekly parties. Witnessing these women in uniform, working alongside men and enjoying their lives, could have motivated these young Japanese women to be less afraid of the societal restrictions and to strive for a better life.

Another possible reason for these women to seek marriage partners was because the local population pool suffered a shortage of eligible men after the war (Glenn, 1986). According to the Japanese National Census of 1945, there were 89 men for every 100 women, the greatest disproportion ever recorded in Japan (Statistics Japan, 1996). The existence of war widows added more pressure and created competition among women of marriageable age in Japan. Taeko (WBS05), for example, decided to marry her New Zealand boyfriend as she felt that her presence as a spinster would interfere with the marriage prospects of her younger siblings. This reflects the traditional belief that the order of marriage should follow seniority within a family. Chieko (WB02) said that her husband used to tease her by saying that because she had been seen dating a foreign man, she could not find any other Japanese men to marry, and jokingly said that he then married her out of pity. Tamiko (WBS06), the youngest child and daughter to aging parents, felt compelled to accept a marriage proposal from her future New Zealand husband in order to ease her parents' anxiety about Tamiko remaining single. Similarly, literature on US war brides suggests that social pressure to marry within a competitive environment, might have prompted women to consider non-Japanese men as possible husbands (Takeshita, 1999; Suenaga, 1995; Chida, 2005).

The prospects of wealth and a high standard of living in New Zealand may have been another significant factor in the Japanese women marrying non-Japanese. For example, Michael (CS01) remarked that his father was popular with her mother's family because he used to bring them food which was hard to obtain in Japan. Setsuko's husband would bring her food as she was under-nourished or drive her around in a jeep which was the envy of the town. Denis (CS03) suspects that his father might have enticed his mother with the high

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living standards in New Zealand in the mid-late 1950s. Moreover, the future husbands of Michiko (WBS03) and Tamiko (WBS05, quoted in Akiyama, n.d.) suggested to the women that they could seek advanced medical help in New Zealand not available in Japan at that time. Research suggests that US-Japanese war brides were captivated by the attractiveness of non-Japanese men, who seemed affluent in good uniforms and healthy from military rations, in comparison to undernourished Japanese men with tattered clothes (Iwasa, 2009; Takeshita, 1999; Chida, 1995; Suenaga, 1995). Thus, the affluent image of these men prompted the women to hope for a better life in their future husbands' countries (Takeshita, 1999; Suenaga, 1995; Sakai, 2004). This was especially strong in the case of the US, where glamorous images created by 1950s movies mesmerised the Japanese public. These women may have visualised a life for themselves through Hollywood cinema and other material goods that signified wealth.

One additional factor, which previous studies have not addressed, is that most of the war brides in New Zealand were from Hiroshima, where the atomic bomb was dropped on August 6, 1945. The bomb killed many: of the 340,000 inhabitants who lived in Hiroshima, 170,000 are estimated to have died from burns, injury or radiation by the end of 1945 (City of Hiroshima, 2015). Even those who escaped death initially would often later develop cancer, and other ailments, categorised as 'atomic bomb diseases', claiming the lives of seemingly healthy people who would suddenly die. People began to suspect that 'the atomic bomb disease' was contagious or that the sickness would be passed on to children. Many young women, who were suspected of having been in Hiroshima City at the time of the atomic bomb, found it difficult to marry because of this general fear, which was fuelled by ignorance and a lack of knowledge about radiation. Hence, people in Hiroshima Prefecture were particularly keen to learn where girls of marriageable age were at that time when the atomic bomb was dropped. Leo (CS02) recalled his mother, Setsuko, declined to be interviewed by a Wellington non-profit organisation, which wanted to promote her as a symbol of the anti-nuclear movement because Setsuko was from Takehara City, about 50 kilometres from the hypocentre in

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Hiroshima City and was not a victim of the atomic bomb. Mariko (WB01), who was from Kure City in Hiroshima, denied the existence of discrimination against atomic bomb victims. Instead she used the word "pity (*kawaiso*)" which seems to indicate that she distanced herself from those who were in Hiroshima City, though she vividly recalled the rattling sound of windows and the big clouds that she observed from her house. It is quite probable, therefore, that the women from Hiroshima would have even narrower chance to find potential husbands, compared with other marriage women in post-war Japan.

Deciding to marry a foreigner was one thing and obtaining legal approval was another obstacle for the women and the men. Thomas (H02) attested that something as personal as marriage was not respected by New Zealand government during his assignment to Japan in the late 1940s. Between 1946 and 1952, (the time Kiwis first arrived in Japan as *Jayforce* until the Peace Treaty with Japan was signed) no New Zealanders could officially register marriages to Japanese women, let alone bring them to New Zealand (McGibbon, 1999). After the San Francisco Peace Treaty (also known as the Treaty of Peace with Japan) was ratified in April 1952, Japan was formally and superficially reinstated as a member of the western bloc by relinquishing its military and allowing the US to have its bases in Japan (Kusunoki, 2013). This treaty reassured New Zealand that Japan was no longer a threat but a potential ally (*ibid*). After the signing of this treaty, the first Japanese-American (an American-born ethnic Japanese, possibly with American citizenship) was allowed to enter New Zealand as the wife of a national serviceman in 1952 (McGibbon, 1999). This was followed, in 1953, by the arrival of the first Japanese war bride to New Zealand. However, for those who had waited so long to bring back their Japanese fiancées and wives, there still remained the bureaucratic red tape to tackle. Based upon the data obtained from archival information (Archives New Zealand, n.d.-a), the number of the Japanese women who arrived in New Zealand between 1953-1958, is as follows.



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Arrival Year	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
No. of women	1	4	16	14	13	3



**Photo 5: Setsuko's immigration documents**  
(Courtesy of Jo Curren)

The war brides and husbands generally recalled that there was a voluminous amount of paperwork and procedure required by the army and immigration authorities to gain an entry permit. Mariko (WB01) said 'there was a lot of paperwork' but her impression was that it was merely procedural, as her husband seemed

to have handled most of it. Thomas (H02) was allowed to seek approval after a wait of seven years, and he felt that the process took a long time. Michiko (WBS03) was not happy when a priest who interviewed her and Bob told them that he could only approve if she converted to Christianity. Setsuko (WBS01) used to tell her children that she felt discriminated against by the New Zealand immigration system. The trajectory of Setsuko's immigration documents from the National Archives in New Zealand (n.d.-b) spans over two years, from the time a security check was requested in Hiroshima until the permanent residency status was granted. To initiate the process, an applicant was required to submit the following documents<sup>15</sup>: (1) Form 303 (entitled 'Application for a permit to enter New Zealand') in duplicate; (2) two photos of the applicant; (3) medical and x-ray certification in duplicate; (4) a family register of the bride-to-be and its translation; (5) an x-ray plate; (6) the original security check; (7) the completed deed of covenant in triplicate and; (8) three reference letters in English from

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<sup>15</sup> Courtesy of Jo Cullen who collected the immigration files of her mother, Setsuko Donnelly, from the National Archives of New Zealand. A list of documents contained in her file is attached under Appendix 6. The National Archives of New Zealand granted permission to use the information obtained through Jo for this research (in their response on 16 August 2017).

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respectable persons to endorse her personality. The applicant and her fiancé would also have to be interviewed by army staff and/or a Christian minister. A temporary permit would allow an applicant to join her fiancé or husband in New Zealand with the condition that the couple be married within a month in order to be considered for an extension of this six-month temporary permit (see Appendix 10).

Furthermore, the permit required that the woman had to be in a good physical and mental state and possess a proper passport upon arrival. Authorities were strict about enforcing these regulations. For example, as Michiko (WBS03) had tuberculosis earlier in her life, she did not pass the first medical; even after passing the second examination, upon arrival in New Zealand she had to spend the first 16 months in New Zealand in hospital. Likewise, a medical inspector noticed a shadow on Setsuko's initial x-ray which was suspected as tuberculosis. She was instructed to obtain a second x-ray. The tone used by the New Zealand Government in these documents was neither welcoming or friendly, and the letter granting Setsuko entry reminded her, and many other recipients, that the permit was only temporary and that it could be revoked at almost any time should they not meet the requirements of the New Zealand Government. The procedure for a Japanese war bride marrying an American in 1954 was equally tedious. This involved hours of gruelling psychological tests that lasted over six months, private detectives would investigate the woman's conduct and character, the applicant would be interviewed and interrogated to find out if she had worked as a prostitute, and she would be questioned about her attitude towards communism (Houston, 2009). The attitudes of the New Zealand and US governments reflected their commitment to allowing in only 'desirable' people, and the procedure was certainly not merely a rubber stamp.

The procedural impediments for Japanese women gaining entry into other countries and the social pressures in Japan, took their toll on children born to servicemen and Japanese women. Some children ended up as orphans or fatherless (Hamilton, 2012). Over 10,000 children were said to have been born

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out of wedlock with military personnel in the Allied Forces in Japan between late the 1940s and late 1950s (ibid). American and Australian soldiers contributed the highest proportion as the fathers of these orphans, but there were some children of New Zealand soldiers as well (Brocklebank, 1997; Parr, 2011). The issue of the emergence of mixed blood children caused a moral panic in Japanese society, which believed in a pure-blood racial national identity (Roebuck, 2016). At that time in Japan children of inter-racial marriages were treated like social outcasts (Houston, 2009).

After having to wait for at least six months for the temporary permit to be granted, one might assume that the women researched their new country. However, many of them had very limited knowledge about New Zealand before their departure from Japan. Mariko and Chieko, for example, both said that the only thing they knew about New Zealand was the existence of plenty of sheep and Māori people. Kazue's family initially opposed her marriage to Thomas because they confused New Zealand with New Guinea, the latter being more familiar to Japanese as one of the gruesome battle grounds during the Pacific War. Thomas' mother had to write to Kazue's parents to convince them that New Zealand was not a jungle. Other war brides also indicated that they had known very little about New Zealand before they embarked on their journey. However bright the prospect of New Zealand seemed to be, and how extensively it was presented by their husbands-to-be, the Japanese women did not have much awareness of what New Zealand society was like nor how New Zealanders in general perceived Japanese. The diplomatic relations between the two countries was yet to be developed when they emigrated.

In contrast to the lack of prior information about New Zealand, Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia were more prepared for their host cultures before their departure. They were offered the opportunity to attend the 'war brides' school,' which was designed to help the women assimilate. The women were taught the basics of the host culture such as how to cook, dress, care for children and other aspects of the culture (Craft et al., 2015; Yasutomi & Stout, 2005; Tamura, 2009; Yasutomi & Ueki, 2005). The first school was

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established in 1947 in Tokyo and expanded to more than 100 schools by the 1950s with approximately 5000 graduating from the school (Tsuchiya, 2011). Tutors for the war brides school were volunteers from the Christian Women's Association of Tokyo for the American programme (Yasutomi & Ueki, 2005), and Australian military personnel and their spouses gave classes for those who went to Australia (Tsuchiya, 2011; Tamura, 2009). In addition, Hollywood movies had instilled images of American affluence into Japanese minds. Moreover, many of them travelled collectively on 'bride ships' from Japan to the US (Enari, 1981) or Australia (Tamura, 2001). These prior encounters with other war brides gave Japanese women a chance to acquaint themselves before their arrival in the new countries.

When Mariko was asked if she was offered such a cultural training session, she said, "There was no such thing for us." Not all of the Japanese women who came to New Zealand attended war bride school, and there was no bride ship to New Zealand. With only a handful of prior Japanese residents in the entire country, there was no Japanese community in New Zealand to welcome and support the war brides. The women had to find their own way but at the same time they were liberated from the old societal Japanese rules. In contrast, Fortune's (2009) study indicates that war brides from the UK, Italy, Greece and Crete on 'bride ships' to New Zealand, were provided with informative materials on how to live in New Zealand whilst on board.

It was quite evident from the interviews that once the decision was made, the war brides did not look back and moved on with their new lives in New Zealand. Were the women desperate and reckless? Or were they adventurous and visionary? The words used to describe themselves, and descriptions from their husbands and children, were very consistent; 'tough', 'uncompromising', 'staunch', 'stubborn', 'determined', 'nerves of steel', 'determined', 'opinionated', 'intense', 'fixed ideas', and a 'hard case'. Bob (H01) says his wife, "had a lot of determination, very determined person. She knew what she wanted in her life and she went after it." This illustrates that these women had to be extremely persistent in wading through social and legal barriers before they

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could sail to an unknown country, where the language and culture were different, and there was nobody to welcome them except their future husbands.

One can only speculate about reasons that may have contributed towards the Japanese women's decision to marry foreigners; there were a few 'push and pull' factors. Suenaga (1955) proposes the 'exchange theory' to explain the decision made by war brides. Despite the losses that the women might suffer, such as their family ties in Japan and moving to an unfamiliar culture, the potential (or perceived) gains of going to a new country would surpass the losses. Suenaga contends that although marriage with a non-Japanese man could involve numerous uncertainties, the potential benefits that the woman expected to gain from the matrimony were far greater than the potential negative outcome that might befall the women (ibid). Suenaga (1995) also asserted that the women made informed decisions, weighing the consequences. The findings also revealed how determined the women were; in facing hardship, the narratives from their children revealed how their mothers were resilient and often overtly stubborn. Bob (H01) emphatically says, "She [Michiko] wanted to leave Japan because she could see the failings in the conservative outlook in the way that the Japanese thought." In this respect, their decision to immigrate was voluntary. Ward and Masgoret (2008), in reference to Berry's theory of cross cultural adaptation, suggest that voluntary immigrants tend to have easier cultural adjustment to host cultures. Historically, it is generally assumed that decisions to immigrate are made by men (Herrera, 2013) and that women simply accompanied the men (Mahler & Pessar, 2006). However, this research demonstrates these war brides made their own decision to migrate, similar to modern-day, lifestyle immigrants who choose to migrate for a more fulfilling life (O'Reilly & Benson, 2009). Yet, a significant difference lies in the fact that those women left their native place thinking that they would not be able to return to Japan, and this will be further discussed in the following section.

### **Steps for Adapting to New Zealand Life**

Interestingly, the war brides and husbands remained ambivalent or pretended that they did not hear interview questions concerning racial discrimination hardship that the women might have faced in New Zealand society. One can only speculate on reasons for their lack of comments and consider the nature of memory as “an active process of creation of meanings” (Portelli, 1998, p. 37-38) as described in the methodology section. One possible reason is that husbands were not aware of difficulties that their wives might have faced, being preoccupied with other issues and not having to go through the stressful acculturation process themselves. Bob (H01) was consistent in expressing that his wife fit perfectly into New Zealand society from the start. Similarly, Thomas (H02) was not aware of any racial tension or difficulty that his wife might have experienced, stating “everybody loved her.” Sandra (CD02) recalls that her father had a full-time job and did all the household chores to allow his wife, Michiko, to spend quality time with their daughters as she was quite ill. Jo’s first reaction upon meeting her own father for the first time was a frightened cry as he had been away for an extended period to Antarctica before she was born (CD04). The children of Setsuko, Deb (CD03) and Leo (CS02) remembered that some neighbourhood women took them ‘under their wing’ and taught them manners as their father was away most of the time. Documents from Setsuko’s archive file contains numerous forms and letters that her husband wrote to the immigration authorities to confirm his wife’s stay in New Zealand until her citizenship was finally granted in 1965. The combination of corresponding with government authorities to confirm their wives’ visa status and being the household bread winners, may have prevented the husbands from noticing social or cultural difficulties that their wives potentially experienced.

When Mariko (WB01) moved into the couple’s new house in Auckland in 1957, some neighbours were apparently uneasy with her as they had lost their sons or

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someone close to them in the war with Japan. But Mariko said, "After we got to know each other, the initial animosity was gone. Nothing can be done. Why complain?" Therefore, the most likely explanation for the absence of negative feeling was that the Japanese women had left Japan with a firm determination to make their life better in New Zealand, thus their minds were set on disregarding any potential negative consequences and integrating socially. When Michiko (WB03) was confronted by someone who called her children 'half castes,' she simply dismissed it by saying "Who cares? That's his problem." Michele (CD01) adds, "I think possibly in her life, she suffered some prejudices, but she didn't take it on. Because it was her choice not to take it on." This suggests that for these women, any hardship was "a price that they had to pay" (Michael CS01) to come to New Zealand. Thus, instead of dwelling on the negatives, the women simply brushed them aside as, what Mariko would say, is "nothing special."

It could also be that generally the women did not face any social difficulties or racial discrimination. However, this seems quite unlikely, given most of their children had stories to tell about being provoked or questioned about their mixed-race heritage by peers who had heard stories from their Kiwi parents. Sumiko (WBS08) recalled some unfortunate incidents earlier in her new life. She says, "New Zealanders call me 'Jap'. 'Go home!' Many, many times. But I did not take any notice" (Radio New Zealand National, 2009). Michele (CD01) remembers that her father (Bob) was extremely upset when a stranger refused to share a table with her family by calling them, 'half caste children.' Leo (CS02) remembers a former neighbour expressing her apologies for how the town's people had treated his mother a long time ago. Peer bullying of the children took place quite frequently as they grew up in the 1960s, because they looked different and had different dietary habits. Michele recalls how her friends were disgusted to find out that she ate seaweed but felt that her friends missed out on something good in their lives. On the other hand, Jo (CD04) who inherited her father's fair skin and Caucasian look, remembers "My skin is a little bit lighter, and I was fair. So, I often got people asking if I was adopted." Jo thinks her siblings with a darker skin tone would have been teased more. Two

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sons of the war brides (Leo and Denis) voiced the same expression, "New Zealand was different from what it is now."

When the war brides landed and were trying to adjust to New Zealand society, the local people still held previously ingrained notions of enemy Japanese, impacting on their exchanges with the war brides. But the Japanese women did not hide or change their Japanese customs such as language and food. In particular, maintenance of a 'heritage language' (the language spoken at home) is quite important for the formation of one's cultural identity in immigrant families (Lee, 2013). In the case of the war brides however, the language of choice at home was English although the war brides predominantly spoke Japanese to their first-born children until they started school. Sonia (CD05) talks about the time when her elder brother started attending a New Zealand school and his teacher reprimanded Sonia's mother for teaching him Japanese at home. About the time when many of the first-born children of the war brides started their formal education, the 'Hunn Report' was published in 1961 by the Department of Māori Affairs. This report is often cited as a basis for legitimising English as the language to be taught throughout the New Zealand education system (Victoria University of Wellington, 2016). Lee's study (2013) confirms immigrant parents' desire for the academic success of their children, and the impact of peers and teachers who are not from the same ethnic group play a significant role in the language choice for immigrants' children. In addition, teachers were highly regarded in Japanese culture due to the influence of Confucius philosophy, so the guidance from teachers would have been readily accepted by the Japanese war brides.

In other cases, the husbands' preference was honoured, as Denis (CS03) remembers, "My father didn't speak Japanese and I think he didn't want to come home at the end of the day and not be able to communicate with foreign speaking kids. He was trying to encourage my mum to speak as much English, because her English wasn't that good." Likewise, reflecting the general sentiment in New Zealand society then, Leo (CS02) mentions, "Dad suggested that it wasn't a good idea as there was some anti-Japanese. So I had to speak



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English." Some of the Japanese women already had proficient English, and in reference to his wife, Bob says, "Her English was quite good, so our children were brought up speaking English not Japanese" (H01).

Many of the children commented during the interviews that they regretted having missed the opportunity to learn Japanese from their mothers. Although the children did not grow up to be bilingual, all of them remembered at least a few Japanese words, which they pronounced with a perfect accent, just the way they learned from their mothers. In addition, many children and grandchildren of the war brides have learnt the language at school to reconnect with their mothers' and grandmothers' heritage. The following comment demonstrates how Michiko (WBS03) continued to use a few Japanese words even though she decided not to use Japanese at home: "My mother used to say *denki* (light) and *genki* (fine). I didn't know actually these were Japanese words until I was 17 or 18. We were used to use these words [in] everyday life, we never ever thought they were Japanese words" (Michele: CD01). Although the women did not speak much Japanese at home, the children mentioned that their mothers were avid readers of Japanese books which the women got sent from Japan or exchanged with other war brides. Some women liked novels, others preferred cartoons or women's magazines, but these items kept women in touch with the Japanese trends. Giving up the idea of speaking Japanese at home was an easy option compared with giving up familiar ethnic foods.

Many of the women literally travelled extra miles to obtain Japanese food or quasi-Japanese food. The two daughters of Setsuko (WBS01) reminisced about trips that her mother would make down Wellington alleyways to hunt for ingredients in Chinese food stores, the closest thing to Japanese ingredients in 1960s New Zealand. Haruko (WBS07) recalls how delighted her family was to dine at a Chinese restaurant on Greys Avenue, the only Asian food eatery that existed then, and how she longed for soy sauce and *miso* paste when she was suffering from morning sickness, neither of which was obtainable in New Zealand at that time (Marychurch, 2009). With virtually no other Japanese

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residents in New Zealand, it was nearly impossible to procure Japanese food ingredients then, apart from the ones they had brought with them from Japan or vegetables that they started to cultivate. However, the women eventually found a way to obtain Japanese food from Japanese fishing vessels (discussed later in this section), or befriended Japanese families where the husband worked for Japanese trading firms or the Japanese Embassy.

An interesting commonality that emerged from the interviews is that nearly all children recalled seeing their mothers preparing two meals every night: Japanese food for themselves, which sometimes their children ate as well, and steak and steamed vegetables for their fathers. Their mothers would ration or hide Japanese ingredients that they received as care packages from Japan so that the ingredients would last as long as possible. Seaweed, fish, *miso* soup, rice and other Japanese ingredients that their mothers managed to obtain were normal to them, yet their friends and neighbours would regard them with disgust. Sandra (CD02), one of the daughters recalled that one day a friend of hers raised her voice and said with a tone of disbelief: "My mother said the rumours say that your mother eats raw fish [in a disgusted tone of voice]". I couldn't believe it because that is how we were brought up.

Japanese housewives would improvise with what was available to add variety to the food that they cooked, to procure fresh ingredients and to present them on plates even during the war time food shortage. D'sylva and Beagan (2011) conclude that food and identity are closely linked and that the acts of food preparation and communal eating encourage immigrants to remember their homeland and acknowledge their collective identity. Food culture not only includes the consumption of food but also the production and processing of food. The Japanese food culture places importance on seasonal varieties of ingredients and almost has a ritualistic significance on special days such as New Year, Children's Day (5<sup>th</sup> of May is a national holiday to celebrate children's healthy growth) and so forth. The war brides gave up their native language out of a desire to see their children succeed at school and to grow up to be Kiwis. Yet however difficult it was for them to obtain, the war brides

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would not give up Japanese food, signifying their determination, either conscious or unconscious, to maintain aspects of their Japanese identity. Parasecoli (2014), Fischler (1988), Weller (2015) and D'sylva and Beagan (2011) concur that ethnic food for immigrants functions as a tool for cultural maintenance and eases a sense of dislocation and disorientation. The desire for ethnic food might have been common for other Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia, but the food drive was much stronger in New Zealand.

The study of Yasutomi and Ueki (2005) on the war brides who went to the US demonstrated that in the 1950s and 1960s nearly half (44.9%) ate primarily Western food at home, and only 7.7% had primarily Japanese food, and they reasoned that it was due to the lack of available Japanese food. Yet in the US, because of the existence of prior Japanese communities, short grain rice and soy sauce were available on the West Coast, which was more than the women in New Zealand were able to obtain. The war brides in the US could have procured some basic ingredients for Japanese cuisine, if they really wished. However, for the war brides in the US, fishing boats and other vessels bringing Japanese food were not as accessible as in New Zealand (an island nation). In Australia, the degree of difficulty in procuring Japanese food must have been quite similar to New Zealand. For example, some inventive Japanese women attempted to create Japanese pickles with bread and beer (Solrun Hoaas, 1989a) or even used vegemite and water to improvise soy sauce (Tamura, 2002). The desire for traditional foods for the Japanese women in New Zealand might have been stronger than others and so they seized opportunities. The next section demonstrates how the women found each other and how they recreated 'a Japan' inside New Zealand.

In the 1950s when the war brides arrived in New Zealand, there were virtually no Japanese residents to welcome them. Most of the women under this study who came to New Zealand were from Hiroshima, but more than likely they had not known each other there. Most of the women travelled from Japan alone and hardly knew anybody other than their fiancés or husbands and those

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husbands' friends in New Zealand. Even if the women were friends back in Japan, unless they lived very close to each other, a rapid urbanisation of New Zealand in the 1950s and the lack of public transport discouraged the war brides from seeking and meeting others beyond their immediate neighbourhoods, especially in the beginning when the women could not drive.

What connected these initially isolated Japanese war brides were functions organised by the Japanese diplomatic missions where the women started to learn of the existence of other Japanese war brides in their regions. In Auckland, Wellington and Hawkes Bay, the women gradually began to get together and form informal groups with other war brides. These groups became a vital support mechanism for those early Japanese immigrants. In smaller cities however, such as Nelson (Denis CS03) and Christchurch (Kuragasaki-Laughton, 2007), there were not sufficient numbers of Japanese in the late 1950s and early 1960s to form groups.

Going through his mother's voluminous photo albums, Michael (CS01) explained that, "They used every opportunity to meet each other over food." There were pictures of birthday parties and Japanese cultural events where there was plenty of colourful food on plates. The interview sources and previous research (as in Yasutomi, 2010) also illustrate that the war brides' activities initially revolved around food, and then these groups began to solidify to provide mutual support, functioning as important vehicles for the women's maintenance of cultural identity. Some of the groups would take up cultural activities, such as traditional Japanese dancing, and singing Japanese folksongs, and even began to perform to the public. Most of them existed as informal groups; *San Gatsu Kai* in Wellington might have been more formal than the other organisations. These get-togethers would become opportunities for the women to exchange information, to compare notes about their adaption strategies and childrearing, and to provide mutual emotional support. With their sense of disownment by their families in Japan, socialising with other women with similar backgrounds must have been akin to being with their own families. Children of the Donnelly's and the Jones' would refer to each other as their

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'cousins' and they had shared vacations together throughout their youth. Mariko (WB01) remembers how her son and Haruko's sons (WBS07) would spent time together as they grew up. Sometimes, even after the deaths of war bride friends, the women would look after the friends' children as if they were their own. For example, Toshie (WBS09) sewed a wedding gown for her war bride friend's daughter and a gift given to Thomas' new wife (H02) who had brought up Kazue's (WBS04) three children after her premature death. Later, these groups would take on board other female Japanese immigrants to New Zealand.

The importance of immigrants' social groups as a tool to alleviate adaption stress has been researched by many (Alana & Graham, 1997; Bhugra & Becker, 2005; Fischler, 1988; S. Liu, Volcic, & Gallois, 2010). Such networks provide mutual support, information exchanges and can act as a conduit for social participation in a host country. Train claims that the intention of such immigrants' space is not necessarily the result of marginalisation or exclusion from the dominant culture, but the immigrants' desire "for inclusion within the nation" and for "safe houses" for immigrants (Train cited in Yoshimizu, 2009, p. 112). Another positive aspect of support groups is that they can nurture a sense of belonging, create collective identity, elevate self-esteem and alleviate stress in the members (Chand, 2016). However, the evidence from the interviews indicates that not all people appreciated or felt welcomed by support groups. Some war brides felt uncomfortable or excluded from groups, as they might have been perceived to disrupt the membership cohesiveness.

As an example, Chieko (WB02), who was not from Hiroshima, expressed that she could not understand the Hiroshima dialect. Michiko (WBS03) was known by her family as someone who did not like to conform. Mariko (WB01) would refer to these women as "not like one of us", indicating that both Chieko and Michiko possessed qualities that were different from the norm of the group and that the two did not wish to change themselves to fit the norm either. Burgoon and Hubbard's (2005) research indicates that people from a collective culture (such as in Japan) tend to be more hostile towards members of the same

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group, expecting allegiance within a group, than to people outside of their group. This tendency would trigger people from collective cultures to be more committed to their in-group in fear of alienating themselves (ibid). In other words, conformity within a group is more imperative in a collective society than individualistic societies, as in New Zealand. Thus, being viewed as different or singled out (such as Chieko and Michiko), was not desirable unless one was willing to be excluded and become a 'lone wolf'. While some women thrived and enjoyed the sisterhood, perhaps ignoring differences of opinion, the information from the collected accounts reveals that the supportive and collegial nature of the sisterhood occasionally suffered from rivalry and a hierarchy that was not very accommodating of people who were singled out or who were too opinionated. It is ironic that one of the reasons for leaving Japan in the first place was to become free from a rigid conservative society and yet the women formed groups that adhered to the old Japanese social constructs they had left behind. Thus, some women preferred not to follow the traditional Japanese norms and were excluded from war bride groups, or chose not to join, which Michael (CS01) termed the "Japanese mafia". However, not all war brides could find other Japanese women. The next section discusses those who either did not belong to ethnic groups or who were unable to meet with other war brides.

Bhugra and Becker's (2005) study demonstrates that lack of a cultural support group may affect immigrants' psychological states. Denis (CS03) attempted to analyse his mother's frustration by saying, "She used to take a lot out onto my dad. It was easy for her to blame him, because he was the person who took her away from Japan ... because you can't communicate, you do feel quite isolated." Some war brides who lived away from other Japanese people and could not take part in cultural maintenance activities even lost the ability to speak Japanese. For example, Deb (CD03) recalled a friend of her mother who lived in a rural area; "She's never been back to Japan. She completely lost her language". Likewise, Stout Kazuko, a Japanese war bride who went to the US, speculates the reason that some war brides lost the ability to speak Japanese

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was from years of effort spent trying to forget about Japan (Yasutomi & Stout, 2005) .

For those who had not had many interactions with other Japanese brides or those who could not maintain cultural maintenance activities with others, it appears that there was not much cultural transfer to their children. For example, Tamiko (WBS06) did not have a chance to network with other Japanese as her family moved around rural areas where there were no or few Japanese residents. Therefore, she did not have the same basis to maintain the Japanese culture as much as the other women who lived in bigger cities. Her son, Denis (CS03), did not recall much about Japanese value systems being taught by his mother. Instead he felt that his mother seemed to have abandoned being Japanese. However, Denis recalls his mother had a certain ritual or way of doing things which he suspected was an echo of his mother's Japanese traits. For example, Tamiko had excessive orderliness in maintaining the house, and she would not allow men to help in the kitchen and she was accommodating of serving others tea and food. Those traits are most likely based upon the Confucian philosophy and the war time education the women had been brought up with (as noted in the Findings (Chapter 4).

Just as early education and upbringing affect how a person views the world, the media plays an important role in shaping how immigrants are viewed in recipient countries (S. Liu et al., 2010), be that positively or negatively. The next section includes an analysis of how the media shaped the perspective of New Zealanders about Japanese and its possible impact on the war brides.

Newspaper headlines Papers Past (a digitised newspapers site) during the war described Japan and the Japanese with words such as "brutality", "repulsive" and "barbaric" to sensationalise Japanese traits (National Library of New Zealand). This spread a "distorted mental picture" of Japanese (Parr, 2010, p. 16), making New Zealanders live in fear of the 'yellow peril' (T. Endo, 2012). This negative view was also expressed in official positions, albeit internally. For example, the Department of External Affairs acknowledged in its internal

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memorandum in 1953, the year the first Japanese war bride arrived in New Zealand, that its immigration policy was “inevitably discriminatory against Asians” (Department of External Affairs, cited in Brooking & Rabel, 1995, p. 40). Therefore, support for this kind of anti-Asian statement from an official source could impact on the behaviours of New Zealanders toward Asian immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s (ibid). Because Kiwis had experienced deaths and casualties among family members and close friends during the war, it is quite probable that there were lingering negative feelings toward Japanese among New Zealanders post-war (McGibbon, 1992). Hence, it is hard to imagine that the war brides and their husbands escaped from racial discrimination, even though they did not specifically recall examples in the interviews. There was no specific media frame or stereotyping that the Japanese war brides were compelled to assume in New Zealand, such as their counterparts who went to the US and Australia. On the other hand, Fortune (2009) demonstrates suspicions and expectations that the local population in New Zealand expected from European war brides, one of which was to become a “conscientious housewife” (p. 69). This expectation must also have been applied to Japanese war brides, but it did not seem to be any problem for the Japanese women as it was traditionally expected of them in wider society during that era.

Having no prior Japanese communities in New Zealand allowed the war brides to be more liberated. It allowed them to transform themselves, and they did not have to conform to predetermined roles such as in the US (Yasutomi, 2002). If not for the negative media drive of branding Japanese war brides as prostitutes and traitors (Dower, 1999; Hayashi et al., 2002; Storrs, 2000), the lives of the war brides who went to the US could have been quite different. This image alienated the women from the existing Japanese communities, as detailed in the Literature Review section. At the same time, Hollywood movies in the 1950s and 1960s, such as *Japanese War Bride* (Vidor, 1952) and *Sayonara* (Logan, 1957), based on James Michener's novel, portrayed Japanese women as fragile and vulnerable (Iwasa, 2009; Yasutomi, 2002). Adding to this, these women were promoted as model immigrants (Ishikawa, 2008; Storrs, 2000;



Tsuchiya, 2011a) and as model citizens (Hamano, 2011; Tamura, 2009) to alleviate racial tensions in the US. With these loaded frames, the Japanese war brides did their best to play the expected role as a model wife and a model minority and quickly and quietly assimilated into the American culture. Similarly, the Japanese war brides who went to Australia swiftly assimilated themselves to become 'model Australian housewives' (Tamura, 2009). This formulation of framed images lasted as late as the 1980s when the war brides finally started to speak in their own voices, focusing on the strength and resilience of the Japanese women (Storrs, 2000; Craft & et. al., 2015; Yasutomi & Ueki, 2005).

### **Integration and Empowerment**

There were virtually no prior Japanese communities or hardly any existing relations between Japan and New Zealand when the Japanese war brides arrived. In 1952, seven years after Japan's surrender, New Zealand upgraded its trade commissioner, who was stationed in Japan, to be the head of the New Zealand Legation in Japan (McGibbon, 1999). In the same year, a shipping service began to operate between Japan and New Zealand (Brown, 1999). Japan, on the other hand, set up its embassy in Wellington in 1954 (ibid) and these two changes mark the beginning of a formal trade and diplomatic relationship. As a symbolic gesture, the New Zealand immigration policy toward Asians was eased in 1952, allowing entry to a Japanese-American woman, which was followed by admittance of a Japanese citizen in 1953 (ibid). A promising fishing ground was discovered in the western part of New Zealand at the end of the 1950s, and from then on the Japanese fishing fleet frequented the area (Nippon Suisan, 2011).

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The presence of Japanese war brides in the late 1950s in the pivotal areas of Auckland, Wellington and Hawke's Bay, was very convenient for Japanese fishing and shipping companies and the Japanese Government. They needed someone local who could help the Japanese companies procure supplies, assist injured crew members to be admitted to hospital and arrange entertainment for the crew. At the same time, the Japanese diplomatic corps mobilised the women and their families to create photo opportunities when needed. For the families of the war brides, the fishing boats brought much needed Japanese food and income-earning opportunities as well as the



**Photo 6: Setsuko and Sachiko promoting Japan**  
(Courtesy of Deb Donnelly)

Japanese shipping, fishing and trading firms and the war brides' families was mutually beneficial. Many war brides started to work as interpreters, translators or as a liaison person for trade between New Zealand and Japan. Later on, they also worked as Japanese language teachers, tour operators, entrepreneurs and even baby sitters for trading firm families. Virtually all war brides and their families described how they befriended the people from those Japanese fishing and shipping companies or worked for them. In particular, the families of the war brides, fishermen and ship crew members developed long lasting friendships. When reminiscent about the reunions with other war brides at receptions hosted by the Consul General in Auckland, Mariko (WB01) often said, "As soon as Japanese trading companies began to come into New Zealand, the Consul General stopped sending us invitations to their receptions. No more parties requiring us to wear kimono. I guess our job was done!" After these Japanese trading firms established their presence in New Zealand and

chance to meet other war brides. In the late 1960s, to facilitate the trade between the two countries, a few major Japanese trading companies started to establish their offices in New Zealand, bringing their families out as well. The relationship between these

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the trade between the two countries became profitable enough to bring their own staff from Japan, the war brides were side lined from these early roles. The women probably would not have minded it too much, as they had already found their niche in New Zealand, and it was not the food that the women missed most, but the opportunities to meet with other brides.

Previous studies on Japanese war brides in the US and Australia often point out that their lack of English skills made it difficult for them to obtain employment and that they had to depend upon their husbands financially (Tamura, 2005; Glenn, 1986). This research challenged such a view and established that the Japanese women participated in the workforce in New Zealand from an early period. The ability to speak in the host country's language facilitates the adaptation to a new culture and smooths the transition to be able to function well in the new environment (J. H. Liu, 2005). Some of the children of the war brides in New Zealand did mention, however, that their mothers had a heavy Japanese accent or that the children had to translate their mothers' English to people outside their families at times. Nevertheless, most of the women whose stories were collected had a sufficient level of English proficiency, or at least they were not hesitant to speak English, to go out and to obtain jobs in New Zealand. Where did their strength come from? In this last section, the choices that the war brides made in negotiating their cultural identity will be analysed. Additionally, the importance of cultural maintenance for themselves and the nature of cultural transfer to their children will be considered.

The collected stories indicate that the women possessed a number of marketable skills that helped them find jobs or opportunities to engage themselves within New Zealand society fairly soon after their arrival. Sewing-related work was most commonly cited as their first job. It is largely due to the fact that sewing was one of the indispensable skills that single women needed to acquire before they were considered eligible for marriage until the 1960s in Japan. Doing something with their fingers like sewing, knitting and hand-crafting was probably least hindering for the women in the beginning when they were not too confident with their English-language abilities and their

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children were still very young. What this suggests is that not only did the work generate extra income, but it also assisted them in building confidence in their newly adopted country. For example, Haruko (WBS07) testifies that she used to earn more than her husband when she was a part-time interpreter for a fishing company in 1961 (Marychurch, 2009). The money that the women earned could be spent on their children's education, put towards paying for a new house or for trips to Japan and they could purchase gifts, some of which would have been very rare for their families in Japan. The interviews with the children revealed how their mothers would send a boxful of goods, including sweaters hand knitted from New Zealand wool, back to Japan.

The following paragraphs include examples of work that the eight war brides were involved with and the subsequent consequences of the women's contributions. Mariko (WB01) would be called in occasionally to work as an interpreter for incoming fishing boats and accompany injured or sick crew members to hospital. When a Japanese construction company won the bid to expand the Auckland Harbour Bridge in the late 1960s, its workers from Japan used to live on their ship, and they would visit Mariko's house to play mahjong with her husband all night long, and to dine with the family.

Setsuko (WBS01) was one of the founders of the Japan Society in Wellington, and she enthusiastically introduced Japanese culture to New Zealand. She also worked as an interpreter and land operator for fishing and shipping companies. She assisted crews in procuring goods, taking them around Wellington and, when necessary, assisting them with receiving medical attention. Deb, Setsuko's daughter described her as "a born networker" when summarising their mother's skill in making connections with people that she had cultivated through her work and activities.

The first job that Chieko (WS02) had was at a printing company, and then she moved onto the hotel and tour industries. Until very recently she worked as an interpreter and a liaison person specialising in areas which would later become the primary trading commodities between Japan and New Zealand, including

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dairy products, cut flowers and race horses. Her dedication and commitment resulted in many repeated visits by specialised study groups from Japan. At the age of 80 years old, she still works as a volunteer for numerous sister-city arrangements between Japan and New Zealand.

Almost as soon as she landed in Hawke's Bay in 1956, Taeko (WBS05) began teaching Japanese and co-founded the Hawkes Bay Japan Society with others who used to be in the *Jayforce* or *Kayforce*, and those who were interested in the Japanese culture. She was instrumental in bringing in *nashi* pears and other vegetables to New Zealand when she was associated with the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR). As there was not enough commercial accommodation in Hastings, Taeko opened her own home to host Japanese visitors. Her house was the place to go if anybody was hungry for Japanese food and culture.

In a random and lucky coincidence, Michiko (WBS03) met her childhood friend from Hiroshima when he was visiting New Zealand as captain of a fishing boat. From then onward, her family would often invite fishing boat crew members to their house so they could get the feel of a Kiwi lifestyle. Later in her life, Michiko began to teach Japanese at a local high school, as well as work for local schools to take care of Japanese students who were studying there. She also assisted the grieving Japanese families when there was an aeroplane accident in Antarctica, by providing both linguistic support and intercultural assistance to ease bereavement (the details of the accident is in the Findings, Chapter 4).

Tamiko (WBS06) was mostly a stay-at-home mum but she and another Japanese friend assisted in caring for Japanese tourists who required hospitalisation during their trips. Tamiko made a brief television appearance to demonstrate Japanese cultural activities as well. As her husband was frequently transferred to rural areas where they would be the only Japanese/New Zealand family, her presence as a Japanese woman impacted significantly on the places they lived.

Sachiko (WBS02) spent many years as a machinist at a garment company. She was well-known for her superb cooking skills and was described as being the talk of the town for entertaining and feeding many hungry souls with Japanese and western dishes.

### **Sense of Belonging: Cultural Identity**

In this last section, the war brides' cross-cultural experiences are examined against Berry's theoretical framework of immigrants' cultural adaptation (See Figure 1).

Berry's fourfold identity typological model examines variations in cultural adaption in relation to immigrants' adherence to their own cultural identity. According to Berry, when immigrants reject both their original culture and the host culture, it results in marginalisation (Berry, 1997, 2001, 2005). On the other hand, when they adopt the cultural practices of the host country but give up their original culture, it is assimilation. Separation occurs when immigrants reject the host culture and adhere to their original culture, which is often assisted by the creation of 'ethnic bubbles'. Finally, integration occurs when immigrants learn to adapt to the host cultural norms, have active participation in the new culture and at the same time, maintain their original culture (Berry, 1997, 2001, 2005). From this perspective, integration is the most positive outcome of cross-cultural adaptation.

New Zealand's historical position of favouring white European immigrants was reflected in its immigration policies (Brooking & Rabel, 1995; Nakhid & Devere, 2015; Spoonley, 2012, 2015). Furthermore, as Bhatia and Ram (2009) contend that the general socio-political situation impacts the expectation of a community, assimilation would have been an expectation for non-white immigrants to New Zealand. Hence, originally, it was envisaged that the women who migrated to New Zealand would have followed a similar

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assimilation path as the Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia. However, the narratives gathered in this study of the New Zealand-Japanese war brides did not follow the hypothesis, rather they chose the passage of integration into the host culture at a fairly early stage. The women seemed to modify and change their value systems according to circumstances and to the roles that they had at a given moment. Similarly, Ward (2013) observed Assyrian female immigrants use 'fusing' and 'alternating' strategies to achieve their integration into New Zealand society.

The Council of Europe (1997) suggests that there are at least three basic dimensions which help measure the degree of migrants' integration into a host society. They are: the social, economic and cultural roles that migrants play in their new environment. From this perspective, as mothers and as wage earners, the Japanese brides in New Zealand should score highly in this measure as they integrated into the society well, while still retaining their Japanese identity. This was despite the prevailing expectation of the host country that the immigrant would assimilate into mainstream culture (T. Endo, 2012). The next section discusses a cultural maintenance strategy, an important mechanism that the women relied upon during the integration phase.

As there were hardly any other Japanese residents in New Zealand until the trade relationship between the two countries resumed in the early 1960s, the women spoke Japanese, enjoyed their ethnic foods and confirmed their shared cultural identity only when they were with other war brides. The association with the women with similar backgrounds served as a support mechanism during their early adaption phase. In this quasi-Japanese environment, members or participants were expected to honour Japanese social norms, for which they needed to retain the Japanese cultural identity, as discussed in the earlier section of this chapter. The women also acquired a 'Kiwi' identity for the greater New Zealand society whilst also keeping their Japanese identity and Japanese values. Many of the children have testified how their mothers kept in touch with the trends in Japan by reading books and magazines, and they also observed that their mothers were quite comfortable

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in alternating their value systems between Japanese and New Zealand systems when appropriate. The war brides were at ease being both Japanese and New Zealanders.

However, when they went back to Japan, after some 10 years away, the women found themselves in reverse culture shock to see how much Japan had transformed since their departure in the 1950s. Their return home coincided with the Japanese economic miracle that took place between 1955-1973, which was often referred to as a period of unprecedented economic growth (Ito, 1996; Johnson, 1982; Morikawa, 1995). The war brides were surprised to realise how their cherished Japanese values were in discord with the changes in Japan and felt like being thrust into an unfamiliar culture. Studies have shown that immigrants tend to preserve the values of their native land from the time that they left, retaining the old values which became obsolete over the years (Immigration Museum, 2017; Yasutomi & Ueki, 2005). Children of the war brides recall their mothers making comments about their uneasiness regarding the transformation in Japan and the changes to their own identity. Teruko (WB02) expressed her surprise when her Japanese friend behaved rather aggressively toward a sales clerk, which in her day would have been considered rude. Setsuko (WBS01) was amazed how quickly people spoke and she found the crowds overwhelming. The war brides felt they had become foreigners within the country that they had dreamed of revisiting and found that the country of their memories no longer existed. It was a moment of revelation to many of these women that their home was now New Zealand, not Japan. Michael (CS01) feels that after his mother's (Sachiko) trip back to Japan, "she had become more of a New Zealander and less of a Japanese person." Likewise, Leo (CS02) commented that after his mother's (Setsuko) trip to Japan, which she cut short, "She decided that she was a New Zealander, not Japanese. Japan had moved on. She decided that was it, so she never went back."

Scholars have long analysed how immigrants negotiate their cultural identity; whether immigrants will overlay an old identity with a new one, add a new dimension or remain more flexible to explore situational identities. Lebra (1992),



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Rosenburg (1992) and Tamura (1999, 2002) propose a more static layered identity formation. They see that immigrants have a fixed cultural base (as Japanese, for example) and other more flexible layers are placed on this to accommodate changing situations. Hall (1993) sees one's cultural identity as being in constant change and as contextual, perceiving identity is not fixed but fluid, transforming and developing through historical changes and the movement of the people. In line with Hall's idea, Yasutomi and Ueki (2005) in their study on the Japanese war brides in the US, suggest that the women acquired the American pragmatic and individualistic value system whilst retaining the old traditional Japanese values as a base. Furthermore, Yasutomi and Ueki (2005) contend that the women developed an interface which allowed them to navigate between two value systems, choosing the more appropriate cultural behaviours, what Hall would refer to as a 'situated identity', according to context and individual personalities. After analysing the collected narratives of the Japanese-New Zealand war brides, many of the women negotiated their cultural identity by alternating two or more value systems, as previously observed by Yasutomi and Ueki (2005). Likewise, Yoshikawa's "double swing" model looks at its participants who are engaged in intercultural communication as "an active and creative agent" who is "not limited by given social and cultural realities" (Yoshikawa, 1987, p. 328). In his model, Yoshikawa sees that skillful communicators can constantly swing from one position to another between different cultures, in seeking a middle ground for a mutual understanding.

It has been demonstrated that many Japanese women who came to New Zealand left war-torn Japan with the full intention of making a totally new start in New Zealand. However, their choice to migrate to New Zealand for a new life did not mean that they discarded everything about Japan; they still carried with them an ideal image of Japan or retained some aspects of Japanese culture that they had been taught to value. Many of the women's approaches to child rearing and education were based upon how they had been brought up in Japan. The narratives demonstrate how some mothers tended to be quite adamant about disciplining and educating their children. The children would

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frequently use expressions like “must,” “had to,” and “my mum wanted me to” when describing the household rules and their mothers' expectations of them. Some of the disciplinary acts that were employed by the women might look abusive in the eyes of Western people. For example, the children of Setsuko (WBS01) recalled how she would tie her daughter (Jo) to a tree when she was a bit naughty or keep her son (Leo) outside in stormy weather when he became too much to handle. Deb (CD03) recalled how Setsuko would use all her available connections to find her summer jobs to ensure that her daughter would be under good supervision. Leo (CS02) shared his interactions with his mother, who often pressured him about his responsibilities as the eldest son. Michele (CD01) recalls how her mother Michiko (WBS03), would be very strict about how her daughters should behave in the presence of their uncles in Japan. Yet at the same time Michele remembers how her mother was also humorous. The children's favourite expression was invented by their mother: “No foot on *futon*” as it is bad manners to walk on the futon mattress in Japan. Michiko's daughters found their mother's admonitions particularly peculiar because to them, their mother was nothing but a Kiwi, and Bob (H01) (Michiko's husband), repeatedly indicated that she was not like other Japanese women.

These examples suggest that the basis of the women's value systems remained Japanese in orientation, but at the same time they could alternate between the two cultural identities depending on circumstances. The war brides felt strongly about bringing up their children as New Zealanders although they maintained certain aspects of the Japanese culture that they respected and cherished. Most of the women then instilled these aspects into their offspring through the food they ate and how they raised their children. This research could not confirm, however, whether the value transfer was intentional or a residual effect of their own needs, of longing for their native land and as a way of cultural maintenance. Leo (CS02) astutely summarises this rather contradictory negotiating strategy of the Japanese war brides by saying, “Japanese cooking was adapted for the local produce but also to our tastes, but there were things like her values, which weren't negotiable. They were the

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values of a young girl having to experience what she had experienced in Hiroshima at that time."

The children were generally proud of their Japanese heritage and described their upbringing in very similar terms, using the term "unique" to describe their childhoods in the late 1950s and early 1960s. They grew up feeling that their family was normal and only when they started to interact with other children at school did they begin to compare their families to other families. The narratives of the children demonstrated an interesting aspect of the war brides in their preference of setting them apart from other Asians, especially Chinese and Koreans. This was most likely due to the result of the war time propaganda education, mentioned in the Findings (Chapter 4). Hall (1993) stipulates that one of the processes of forming one's cultural identity is to differentiate oneself from others. Children of war brides expressed a number of times how sensitive and upset their mothers were when their children were mistaken as Korean or Chinese. There are a few ways to interpret this attitude - as pride about being Japanese or as an effect of the "historical legacy of Japanese imperialism" (Lie, 2009, p. 17). In the late 1920s and 1930s when most of these war brides were born, Japan was expanding into other Asian countries, notably China (including Manchuria) and Korea. To fill the void in the labour force, while men were conscripted to fight in Asia, many Korean and Chinese people were brought to Japan as cheap labour (Morris - Suzuki, 2004; Naito, 1987). The view held by many Japanese toward Chinese and Koreans at that time, was that they were second-class citizens (Morris - Suzuki, 2004, 2016; Nakao, 2003; Nishikura & Takagi, 2013). Such views had been propagated when the war brides were still in Japan, but the notion stayed with them after they moved to New Zealand.

Korean citizens were granted Japanese citizenship during Japan's colonisation of Korea (Morris-Suzuki, 2006; Shimada, 2009, 2013) until the Peace Treaty was signed in 1951. Therefore, among the Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand, there were a few Korean-descent war brides who were classified as Japanese. Occasionally interview participants would say, "Did you know 'so

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and so' is a Korean?" or, "Even if she was a Korean, she was nice." From the beginning, one such war bride, who was a descendent of Koreans, did not associate much with the other Japanese war brides. It could have been that she chose to set herself apart, or she was excluded by the Japanese 'sisterhood' groups. She and her husband spent many years establishing a network with Koreans and New Zealanders, and she cultivated her own networks in New Zealand for business.

Another example of the way in which the Japanese war brides wished to maintain their Japanese identity was through their use of nicknames. Bob (H01) stated, "There was a practice among military personnel stationed in Japan. We gave Western names to girlfriends and female co-workers, as Japanese names were difficult for us to pronounce." Some of the names that Japanese war brides were given were Mary, Phyllis, Susan, Chick and Betty. The women might have tolerated these names initially, but all eight women dropped the nicknames after a while and some women rejected those nicknames from the outset. Bob confirmed, "My wife [Michiko] refused to have a Western name, so she never had one". Neither did Taeko (WBS05), as explained by her daughter, Sonia; "You aren't going to call me that way. I am not going to be Phyllis. You can forget that one (WBS05)". All Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand took up their husbands' family name upon their marriage as it was customary to do so in Japan<sup>16</sup>. They could tolerate being a Mrs Jones, but they did not want to be a Mrs Mary Jones, which would have erased their Japanese identity.

The final section discusses the sense of regret that the women felt, despite the very strong determination they had. Many of these women felt the greatest sadness when they realised that they could not be with their aging parents when their deaths were imminent. The children of war brides would recall the

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<sup>16</sup> Since 1947, a married couple could assume either of their family names, but it is still not legal in Japan to have different surnames for a married couple.

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reaction of their mothers when they learned of the passing of their parents, and when the women expressed how they wished to spend their elderly years after their husbands had gone. The prevailing norm in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s was that children were responsible for looking after their aged parents, thus sending them to retirement homes was simply not an option. After nearly 60 years of living in New Zealand, a sense of longing for Japan still remained, although they had experienced a feeling of dislocation in their native land when they did return. Now in their 80s and 90s, having seen their children have their own families and welcomed numerous grandchildren, the women feel at home in New Zealand. When they look back on their lives, they obtain a sense of achievement from their children and their grandchildren and from doing things that their Japanese friends back home did not. Therefore, their stories were told from the perspective of having completed much of their journey and were looking back on their fulfilled lives. Mariko smiled and reminded me often, "I let my New Zealand passport lapse. There is no one I know in Japan any more. So, why go back to Japan?" In their later years, they feel at home in New Zealand and their commitment is to their families in New Zealand. The women might have felt that they failed to fulfil their filial piety toward their parents, but when they are pondering their own retirement, the women do not expect their children to look after them as they understand that filial piety is not part of the New Zealand culture and they have chosen to raise their children as Kiwis. This demonstrates a layered aspect of the cultural values the Japanese war brides possess; amid the original determination to leave Japan in the first place, there still exists a traditional Japanese value system, reminding them of filial piety.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this analysis chapter demonstrated firstly, the possible motives of the women to marry New Zealand men; there could be many reasons, but economic and social factors likely prompted the women to see the prospect of a far better life in New Zealand. However, the official process to be wed, especially involving Asian nationals, was not a private matter in the 1950s, and

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had to be dealt with according to restrictive New Zealand immigration policies. In addition to tackling many legal hurdles before they were allowed to marry and immigrate, the couples had to deal with the cultural barriers of an inter-racial marriage as well. The women hardly had any knowledge of the land that they aspired to go to, nor were there Japanese communities in New Zealand to support the brides. What was revealed in the narratives was that the women were determined and committed to make their new life in New Zealand better than what they had left behind. Because of their strong commitment, the women either ignored or endured racially discriminatory experiences which they more than likely faced, as indicated by their children.

The second section demonstrated that the women who came to New Zealand did not appear to have predetermined media framing assigned to them such as the Japanese war brides who went to the US or Australian did. Even if there was a media frame, the woman did not let the media dictate to them who they were, rather, they took control of their life. As they had envisaged in Japan, they reinvented themselves and created a new life in New Zealand. Endurance alone probably would not have been sufficient, but the war brides gradually found each other and started to meet up, and these occasions functioned as an opportunity to maintain their cultural identity. Together they shared Japanese food and concerns and supported each other. However, the stories also demonstrated that not all people benefitted from such support groups as the expectation was to conform to the traditional Japanese value system there. As a consequence, some of the more free-spirited war brides did not agree with many of these traditional values and sought freedom from them in a new country which allowed them to recreate their lives. Another notable finding was that the war brides in New Zealand gave up Japanese as a heritage language for their children, but they were very particular about maintaining Japanese food and some of the Japanese value system. At the same time, they were versatile in shifting and alternating the two value systems and chose whichever was more appropriate.

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The third section showed that the women who came to New Zealand started to work soon after their arrival, and that the women possessed a sufficient level of English, which differed from the description of US and Australian Japanese war brides. This was due to the fact that their presence in New Zealand coincided with the start of the New Zealand and Japan trade and cultural relationships. These new developments provided an avenue for the women's participation in employment and in New Zealand society. Work opportunities for participation in the workforce were further enhanced by the expansion of Japanese fishing and shipping industries into New Zealand waters, where the women's linguistic skills and local knowledge became useful. It also allowed the women to procure much needed Japanese food ingredients from the fishing and shipping boats. The work allowed the women to gain confidence, to integrate into their new society, and to contribute to that society. They were in the right place at the right time.

The final section discussed how most of the women under this research retained a strong sense of being Japanese throughout the years. The women did not seclude themselves from the host community, but rather they were willing participants in the community and were motivated to raise their children as New Zealanders. Moreover, the women's narratives suggest that they might have learned to act and think like Kiwis outside the house. But once at home many of them retained Japanese customs, educating their children with the same principles they had had in Japan, although they used English rather than the Japanese language to convey Japanese cultural norms. Despite their adherence to many Japanese cultural values and their continued connection to their Japanese identities, their pride as Japanese was challenged when they went back to Japan often after considerable periods of time away (at least a decade passed before a war bride first travelled back). Their Japanese values no longer fit well with contemporary Japanese culture because, in a time of rapid economic and social change, the Japan they had been familiar with no longer existed. Many described feeling uncomfortable in their birth country and understood this as signifying they had achieved what they set out to do: to create a new life in New Zealand and to make New Zealand their home.

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The analysis revealed some common experiences with American and Australian war brides but also a few different experiences of Japanese war brides in New Zealand. Contrary to the assumptions based upon research about Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia, the women who came to New Zealand were proactive and versatile in their cultural adaptation strategies, which helped them contribute to establishing a relationship between Japan and New Zealand. The final conclusion chapter responds to the research question, discusses the limitations of the research and provides recommendations for future research.



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### *The end of a journey and recommendations for future explorers*

I had a vision of a Madam Butterfly or Miss Saigon — a woman who fell in love with a foreign soldier and who dreamed of finding happiness with him but found herself destitute at the end of the affair, a sad story. However, what emerged from the narratives was a very different picture or rather a detailed quilt, sewn stitch by stitch collectively, reinforced with every stitch that the war brides made, and each pattern distinctive. There was a blank canvas on which each woman painted her own story, not on a pre-painted background forcing her to play an expected role from which she would have to set herself free.

Using the oral history approach in a phenomenological paradigm, this study collected the personal narratives from the war brides, their husbands and their children through in-depth interviews. The stories were then analysed and compared with other literature about the experiences of war brides. Their narratives not only revealed how the women integrated into the host culture, but also revealed their contribution to strengthening the relationship between New Zealand and Japan since the early 1950s. Their stories offer a better understanding of these early Japanese immigrants' adaptation strategies to a host nation, and, in particular, in documenting their experiences when their entry to New Zealand was still problematic.

This concluding chapter provides answers to the research question/s, a summary of the research results, an assessment of the strengths and limitations of the research, and recommendations and suggestions for future research.

### **Answering the research questions**

Based on previous research on Japanese war brides who went to the US and Australia, two assumptions were made about the war brides who migrated to New Zealand before the study began: because of their limited English abilities, the women would have no or little prospect of being able to obtain jobs, which would have made them economically dependent on their husbands and socially inactive; and because of the existence of the 'White New Zealand immigration policy' and because there were no prior Japanese communities to support the women in the 1950s, the women would have faced substantial difficulties and obstacles for their acculturation. Therefore, looking at the socio-political environment of New Zealand in the early 1950s and according to Berry's immigrants' cultural adaption model, it was envisaged that the women would be marginalised or assimilated and absorbed completely into the mainstream white New Zealand culture, which was dominated by Pākehā (White New Zealand) values. On the contrary, the narratives from the Japanese war brides to New Zealand demonstrated that both of these assumptions were wrong.

To begin with, the research question that guided this study was:

"How did the Japanese war brides negotiate their cultural identity in a Pākehā-dominated post-war New Zealand?"

The following three sub-questions assisted in expanding on the above research question:

- (1) Who were the Japanese war brides and what were their motivations behind marrying New Zealanders?
- (2) What were their challenges in establishing themselves in New Zealand?
- (3) What can we learn about New Zealand society through their eyes?

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My answers to these questions are as follows:

Most of the women in this study had many challenges in their lives after the war in Japan including the loss of fathers, siblings or houses. All had jobs as single women, mostly out of necessity to support their families. Democracy was introduced by the Allied Forces in Japan, but true equality was still an unattainable goal for most of these women. As a result, New Zealand presented itself to them like a hope at the end of the world. The decision to leave Japan meant that they knew that there would be no turning back, so the women had to make it work in New Zealand, even if it meant being disowned by their parents.

There might have been occasions that the women under this study experienced negative attitudes from local people in New Zealand, but the war brides did not yield to these. Their desire to make it work in New Zealand was formidable. Furthermore, the women were proactive in seeking out possibilities beyond their domestic roles into society and their association with other Japanese women. Many of them learned what it was required to integrate into the host culture and functioned suitably well in society. The women had anticipated from the start that they would face challenges. Therefore, the racial tensions, which many of them might not have expected, and unfamiliar customs in the host communities were something they knew they had to endure. However, in addition to their dedication to their children, what they could not leave out was their need for Japanese food and interactions with other Japanese women. These two factors, in the end, turned out to be a positive drive in their adaptation to the host culture by motivating them to seek activities outside their homes in a wider community. They were neither marginalised nor assimilated, but integrated.

The experiences of the Japanese war brides teach us the importance of patience, persistence, flexibility, as well as the willpower for social integration. They were fortunate to have helpful people around them, either New Zealanders, other immigrants or their Japanese friends, who supported them in

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their transition. They also had a set of skills that they could make use of and were lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time to find a niche in the New Zealand economy and industry. This, in turn, fostered their independence and created a personal and autonomous self-identity. In other words, if new immigrants do not possess these traits - if they are impatient, have no transferrable skills (including the command of the host culture language/s), and have no social safety network, then these new immigrants would find a host culture a tough place to live. The war brides must have felt a sense of pride at witnessing two countries that had once fought, finding each other as partners across the Pacific.

In conclusion, this research revealed that some 50 Japanese women came to New Zealand as fiancées or wives, most of whom were disowned by their Japanese families for their decision to marry Kiwis. They left war-torn Hiroshima with a firm determination to set themselves free from societal pressure and the extreme poverty of post-war Japan to create a new life in New Zealand. Despite lack of previous knowledge about New Zealand, the initial barriers of the racially biased immigration regulations and their racially charged experiences, the narratives uncovered through this research demonstrate that the women integrated well into their adoptive culture and were active participants in the society. What drove these war brides was their determination which was powerful enough to overcome obstacles that may have stood in their way. Together with other war brides, with whom many bonded like sisters, they survived and thrived in their adoptive country.

Unlike those who went to the US and Australia, the women were free from the constraints of negative media framing and did not have a mould to fit themselves into. The lack of preconceived roles allowed them to reinvent themselves as autonomous people in their adoptive country and to embrace the freedom in starting their lives afresh. These Japanese war brides, rather than being isolated, participated in communities, both professionally and voluntarily. Their linguistic ability, their knowledge of Japan, and their sewing skills meant that they could find places within their new society to establish themselves.

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Their marketable skills contributed to paving the way for other Japanese immigrants and business people in New Zealand at a time when there were limited relations between the two countries. By the time Japanese business interests, tourists and students began to experience New Zealand first hand in the 1970s and 1980s, the local community in New Zealand had already had a chance to learn about Japanese cuisine, history, technology and people, from the Japanese war brides.

The arrival of the Japanese war brides to New Zealand coincided with the dawn of diplomatic relationship-building between Japan and New Zealand. Japan, as a former enemy, was re-evaluated by New Zealand as a trade ally and a strategic partner in the Asia-Pacific region. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the presence of Japanese war brides was conveniently exploited by the Japanese government as a makeshift support staff in their efforts to forge a new relationship. However, thus far, the presence of these women and their achievements as a group have not been officially recognised. The Japanese embassies in the US and Australia have acknowledged the contribution of these Japanese war brides, and it is time that the same cohort in New Zealand be officially acknowledged by Japan as well. It may be speculated that the reason for this lack of acknowledgement is that the Japanese Government has already awarded and recognised one Japanese woman for her contribution to relationship building between Japan and New Zealand. She had worked for the Japanese Government as a staff member in the Japanese Embassy, and this person happened to be the first Japanese war bride who arrived in New Zealand in 1953. Nonetheless, the acknowledgement of the war brides in total is negligible, given the considerable role they played in Japanese-New Zealand relations in the post- Second World War era. In my view, the war brides as a group deserve more attention while they are still with us.

### **An assessment of the limitations and strengths of the research**

There were four strengths and five limitations in this research.

The most obvious strength was that it was able to capture stories of some of the Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand and discover the names of some possible 50 women. The list of war brides (Appendix 10) demonstrates details of the Japanese women who came to New Zealand between 1953 and 1958. This list is primarily based on the Archway database search (n.d.-a), New Zealand's official public archives managed by the Department of Internal Affairs and Chamberlain's *The New Zealand Korea roll: Honouring those who served in the New Zealand Armed Forces in Korea 1950-1957* (2013). Although this list was cross-checked by the war brides, their husbands, their children and checked against other literature, some war brides were almost certainly excluded<sup>17</sup>.

The second strength lies in what cultural anthropologists refer to as the etic/emic approach. In other words, those signify an insider's view (emic) and outsider's perspective (etic). This current research benefitted from an insider's view. When I met the Japanese war brides who went to Australia, I felt an instant acceptance from them. My hunch is that it was because of a few commonalities that I shared with those women: (1) I married a non-Japanese man, (2) I am an immigrant, (3) like most of the women, I am a widow, (4) my mother was from Hiroshima, and (5) my parents were no longer alive. As no other research of this kind has been carried out on Japanese war brides in New Zealand, there is no way to substantiate if my commonalities had a real value or not, but I felt very comfortable with and supported by my extended war bride families.

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<sup>17</sup> A permission was obtained from Archives New Zealand on 28 July 2016, which indicates that if a researcher "found the names in records that are not restricted it is fine to use them in the purpose ... they intend."

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Thirdly, the inclusion of comments from the war brides' children resulted in two very positive results: (1) their life experiences with their mothers have enriched the narratives of the war brides as the children could convey what their mothers had transferred to them, both intentionally and unintentionally, by passing along their cultural heritage to their children; (2) this research might have motivated the second and third generations of the war bride families to discover their own family histories as immigrants.

One of the limitations of this research concerns the nature of oral history narratives. While this approach permits the participants to express their own interpretations of their stories at the time of the interviews (Portelli, 1998), it is possible that their interpretations and memories might not be reflective of what actually happened in the past. Sometimes, the same events were described differently by different interviewees (perhaps because their memory has faded, or they wanted to present a 'politically correct' response) or their memories did not tally with other data such as government documents and other research.

Secondly, the small sample size of the war brides who could be interviewed for this study means that the results are not generalisable to all Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand. The third limitation is that this research is mostly based upon the narratives of those war brides who had a fulfilling life in New Zealand; there were other war brides who declined to participate in this research. While the reasons for non-participation varied, those who declined to be part of this current study might not have wished to share their stories because their stories may not have had happy endings. For example, some war brides returned to Japan after divorcing their husbands or had no children or were marginalised and led rather lonely lives in New Zealand. This study did not capture their stories.

Fourthly, in hindsight, I recognise there might have been times when I was too hesitant to probe the interview participants deeply enough, especially when questioning the war brides and the husbands. I feared eliciting unpleasant feelings or recollections of war or post-war experiences, such as poverty,

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hardship and racial discrimination. If I had had more time to get to know them, the participants might have shared some deeper feelings within our discussions.

Lastly, due to time and legal constraints, it was not possible to make full use of archival information. Being a nation of immigrants, interest in investigating genealogy in New Zealand is particularly strong. However, the system primarily caters to family members looking to find out about their own ancestors.

Therefore, at times the regulations, legal obligations and confidentiality rules limited my access to certain vital information. I obtained permission to access some government documents through remaining family members or other researchers, but it frequently took a considerable amount of time.

### **Recommendations and suggestions for future research**

Originally, there were approximately 50 Japanese war brides who immigrated to New Zealand, of which eight stories and a few others have been identified in this study. However, there are still some 40 untold stories. Some women went back to Japan prematurely after divorce, some did not have children, and others were totally isolated from the wider host culture and other war brides. Their narratives could be very different from what was found in this study.

It is quite evident that there is a gap in knowledge about Japanese immigrants in New Zealand. Through this study, a tentative list of the names of Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand was produced (see Appendix 10). The list of names could make future research much easier to investigate other war brides who did not appear in this research.

I personally hope future research is carried out by the children and the grandchildren of the Japanese war brides to add more depth to each story. It is much easier for them to access the archive materials kept at Archives New Zealand and Veterans' Affairs New Zealand (under the New Zealand Defence



## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

Force), and of course, to obtain the background information from their relatives in Japan. Currently, a closed Facebook page has been created for the Japanese war brides and a mini-photo archive has been shared, which could develop into various projects.

The United States has a specialised library on Japanese-Americans and Australia has carried out research on Japanese immigrants. While the number of Japanese immigrants in New Zealand still remains small, it is very important to record the path that these women paved for future generations of Japanese immigrants to New Zealand. With active support from the Japanese Embassy or Consulate-General, it is not too late to interview the Japanese war brides who are still with us. As far as I am aware, there are approximately ten people who could be interview candidates; however, because of their advancing age, it has to be initiated fairly soon. The stories gathered in this thesis of the Japanese war brides who came to New Zealand provide hopeful examples for immigrants to New Zealand and elsewhere, and they are stories that need to be treasured and acknowledged

## PERSONAL REFLECTION

*In the preface, I explained how this research topic came to my attention. When I realised that many war brides came to New Zealand as the wives of Kiwis, my immediate thought was, 'Why not my mother?' It is quite possible that she might have known some of the war brides personally, but I lost the opportunity to ask her. My mother and some of her siblings experienced the atomic bomb first-hand in Hiroshima, and their house was destroyed. Luckily all of them survived the war and the family did not suffer too much economic hardship. My mother, as the eldest daughter, and the second of seven children, had a privileged childhood, finishing her university studies in Hiroshima and enjoying her youth after the war. There was not a financial need for her to work. She was stubborn, as many of the war brides were, but her stubbornness seemed to have stemmed from her privileged life, where she could do what she wanted without needing to be deeply resilient or patient. Like most of the victims of the atomic bomb, she did not wish to talk about her wartime experiences. Instead, whenever she faced difficulties, she would often say, "I have seen hell," as a way to avoid dealing with life's adversities. I had no way of fathoming what she meant by that. My father would not argue with her or, in fact, remain silent whenever she used that expression. In a way, my mother was also very determined to reinvent her own life as joyous and as carefree as possible, as if to make up for her terrible wartime experiences. If my mother had married a Kiwi soldier and moved to New Zealand, I believe that she could not have endured the hardships and would have gone back to her parents in Hiroshima. For*

*her, it would have involved a tremendous loss to have left Japan for a country that she did not know, if the same privileged life that she enjoyed in Japan could not be guaranteed. For my mother, the potential loss would have outweighed the potential gains in marrying a New Zealander. Leaving one's homeland to start a new life in a very different culture was not and is still not a simple act.*

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Chronological history of war brides and related events in Japan, the US, Australia and New Zealand

[Shaded areas signify legal restrictions and conflicts]

	Japan	US	Australia	New Zealand
1868	Start of official migration			
1881				<i>Chinese Immigration Act</i> (Restriction of Chinese entry)
1882		<i>Chinese Exclusion Act</i>		
1885	Start of migration to Hawai'i			
1901			<i>Immigration Restriction Act</i> ('White Australian' practice) adopted	
1906		Ban on the naturalisation of Asians		
1908				"White New Zealand" practice
<b>1914-1918</b>	<b>First World War</b>			
1919				<i>Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act</i> (restriction on Germans and Austro-Hungarians)
1920				Amendment to the <i>Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act</i> (incl. people of colour)
1924		<i>Immigration Act</i> (exclusion of Asian immigrants) <i>Japanese Exclusion Act</i>		
1932 1933	Establishment of Manchukuo Japan left the League of Nations			
1937-1945	Sino-Japanese War			
1940	Tripartite Pact (Japan, Germany, Italy)			
<b>1939-1945</b>	<b>Second World War</b>			
<b>1941-1945</b>	<b>Pacific War</b>			
1941	Japan's Attack on Pearl Harbor			
1942-1944	Japanese-American internment (roughly between 1942-46)	Japanese POW internment (roughly between 1942-45)		
1942-1943	Air raids on the Australian mainland		Air raids on the Australian mainland	
1945	15 August: Japan's surrender			
1945	Allied Occupation Forces in Japan	Arrival of Allied Forces headed by General MacArthur in August	British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan	British Commonwealth Occupation Force in Japan <i>Jayforce</i> stationed in Japan from February 1946-November 1948

	Japan	US	Australia	New Zealand
1945	December - First Japanese war bride married an American soldier			
1946	June <i>GI Fiancées’ Act</i> adopted (legalisation of marriages with Japanese women)			
1948				<i>NZ Citizenship Act, Aliens Act</i> (allowed foreigners to naturalise except Chinese)
			1950-mid 1950s British Commonwealth Force in Korea (Kayforce HQ in Kure, Hiroshima)	
1951		US, Australia, NZ concluded ANZUS Treaty		
1952	<i>San Francisco Treaty (Peace Treaty with Japan) put into force (April) (Signing of the Treaty on 8 Sept. 1951)</i>	<i>Immigration and Nationality Act (McCarran-Walter Act).</i> End of Asian exclusion (Anti-miscegenation Law was still exercised in many of the southern states)	Arrival of first Japanese war bride	
1953				Arrival of first Japanese war bride
1956			Change of naturalisation requirements to allow citizenship to Asians	
1957				Naturalisation of the first Japanese woman
1958			<i>Revised Migration Act</i>	
1961				<i>Immigration Amendment Act</i> (a step toward non-discrimination)
1964	Liberalisation of overseas travel			
1985		War bride literary article published (Hello War Brides)		
1987				<i>Immigration Act</i>
1988		40 <sup>th</sup> Year Anniversary Convention of War Brides held in the State of Washington		
1994	End of assisted emigration			
1994	First reunion of the Nikkei International Marriage Association held in Hawai’i			
1997	Second Reunion of the Nikkei International Marriage Association held in Aizu-Wakamatsu			
1999	Third Reunion of the Nikkei International Marriage Association held in Los Angeles			
2002	Fourth Reunion of the Nikkei International Marriage Association held in Beppu			

Sources: (Beaglehole, 2012; Brown, 1999; Chamberlain, 2013; Chida, 2005; M. Endo, 1995; Hamano, 2011; Hayashi, 2005; Hayashi et al., 2002; McGibbon, 1999; New Zealand Registrar-Generals Office, New Zealand Census Statistics Office, New Zealand Census Statistics Department, New Zealand Department of Statistics, & New Zealand Statistics New Zealand, 1893; New Zealand Registrar-Generals Office et al., 1947; Tsuchiya, 2008, 2011a; Yasutomi, 2010)

## Appendix 2: Information for participants for war brides



### Information for participants

My name is Mutsumi Kanazawa. I am currently enrolled in the Master of International Communication programme at Unitec New Zealand. In order to complete the programme, I am conducting a research project in the form of a thesis. The research project is designed to answer the following research question: How did the early Japanese female immigrants negotiate their cultural identity in a Pākehā dominated postwar New Zealand?

The aim of my project:

The aim of the proposed research is to document the lives of early Japanese female immigrants who came to the post-war New Zealand and to analyse the process of their cultural adaptation to the new host country. The proposed study intends to provide insight into their personal tales, making reference to the cultural and political constraints that existed in Japan and New Zealand.

I request your participation in the following way:

I would like to ask you to participate in a semi-structured interview and talk about:

- Your life in New Zealand (What/who helped you adjust your life in NZ?)
- Your personality
- Your encounter with the future husband in Japan
- Your perception of New Zealand after arrival
- Your family heritage

## Appendix 3: Information for war brides in Japanese

### ご参加の皆様の情報

研究プロジェクトのタイトル:初期のニュージーランドへの日本人女性移民

#### 概要

第二次大戦後、異国の男性と結婚後、母国から移動した女性は世界中で多く存在した。

1952年から1957年の統計では5-10万人の日本人女性がアメリカへ、650人がオーストラリアへ、そしてニュージーランドには約100人が渡ってきたと言われている。アメリカとオーストラリアでの先例研究は、対象人数の多さと歴史的にも両国の関係が深いためかなり存在する。しかし、ニュージーランドに渡ってきた日本人女性についての研究はなされていない。この研究の目的は、戦後ニュージーランドに来た日本人女性の人生を文書として残し、彼女たちの新しい国での文化適応の家庭についての分析をする。

参加者の皆様にお願したいこと:

下記のご協力をお願い申し上げます。

ニュージーランドでのご生活についてお話し頂きたいです。インタビューガイドを用いたインタビューでの回答をお願い致します。(質問例は以下の通り)

- 日本から来た時のニュージーランドの印象
- ニュージーランドの生活に適応するのに助けになったこと・人
- ご自身のご体験談
- 未来のご主人に出会った時の事
- 貴女のご家族で受け継がれていること

インタビューは録音させて頂き、後にテープ起こしを致します。インタビュー中にご要望があれば、理由の有無にかかわらず、いつでもテープ録音を止めることができます。インタビュー中にどなたか他の方に同席をご希望であれば、それも可能です。インタビュー終了後、口述筆記を文書化したものがお手元の届いてから3週間以内でしたら、プロジェクト参加の辞退も可能です。

このプロジェクトに関し、ご質問がありましたら、いつでも私にご連絡ください。またこのリサーチ・プロジェクトに関し、ご懸念があれば、いつでも指導教官にご連絡して下さい。

連絡先:

指導教官 Dr Elena Kolesova

電話:815-4321 ext. 8827 またはメール: [ekolesova@unitec.ac.nz](mailto:ekolesova@unitec.ac.nz)

私の連絡先: [mutsumi@jp.bigplanet.com](mailto:mutsumi@jp.bigplanet.com) または、携帯電話: 021 0290 4472.

所属教育機関:ユニテック、国際コミュニケーション修士課程

ユニテック研究倫理委員会(UREC) 2015-1060

この研究はユニテック研究倫理委員会に研究期間 2015 年 9 月 28 日-2016 年 9 月 28 日として承認されたものです。このリサーチに関しての倫理行動でいかなる苦情や躊躇がおありになる場合は、ユニテック研究倫理委員会の秘書を通じてご連絡下さい(電話:09-815-4321、内線 8551)。ご発言内容に関しては、守秘義務を履行し、完全な調査を行い、その結果に関してのご連絡を致します。

## Appendix 4: Information for participants (family members)



### Information for participants

#### Research Project Title

#### Postwar Japanese Female Immigrants to New Zealand

My name is Mutsumi Kanazawa. I am currently enrolled in the Master of International Communication programme at Unitec New Zealand. In order to complete the programme, I am conducting a research project in the form of a thesis. The research project is designed to answer the following research question: How did the early Japanese female immigrants negotiate their cultural identity in a Pakeha-dominated post-war New Zealand?

#### Synopsis of project

Due to their marriages to soldiers after World War II, a significant number of women moved from one country to another. From 1952 to 1957, between 50,000 and 100,000 Japanese women migrated to the US, 650 to Australia, and 100 to New Zealand. The experiences of Japanese women in the US and Australia have been fairly well documented due to the higher numbers involved and longer historical connections with these countries. However, there is no study on the experiences of early female Japanese immigrants in New Zealand. The proposed study intends to provide insight into their personal tales, in the context of the cultural and political constraints that existed in Japan and New Zealand.

#### What we are doing

The aim of the proposed research is to document the lives of early female Japanese immigrants who came to the post-war New Zealand and to analyse the process of their cultural adaptation to the new host country.

#### What it will mean for you

I request your participation in the following way:

I would like to ask you to participate in a semi-structured interview and talk about:

- Your family heritage
- Any pertinent Japanese cultural events or practice carried out in your family
- Any stories that you might have heard from your mother/grandmother?

- Could you share some of the memorable moment of your mother/grandmother that was un-Kiwi (very Japanese)?

The semi-structured interview will take about an hour. I will, with your permission, audiotape the interview and later transcribe it.

You may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time and/or may refused to answer any question without giving a reason. You can still withdraw from the project once the interview has taken place, within two weeks of receiving the interview transcript.

All information collected from you will be stored on a password protected file and only myself and my supervisors will have access to this information. You have an option to remain anonymous or to be identified. If you choose to be anonymous, all features that could identify you will be removed and the files will be erased once the transcription is done.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

Please contact me if you need more information about the project. At any time if you have any concerns about the research project you can contact my supervisor:

My supervisor is Dr Elena Kolesova, phone 815-4321 ext. 8827 or email [ekolesova@unitec.ac.nz](mailto:ekolesova@unitec.ac.nz)

My contact details are: [mutsumi@jp.bigplanet.com](mailto:mutsumi@jp.bigplanet.com) and mobile: 021 0290 4472.

**UREC REGISTRATION NUMBER: 2015-1060**

This study has been approved by the UNITEC Research Ethics Committee from *28 September 2015* to *28 September 2016*. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Committee through the UREC Secretary (ph: 09 815-4321 ext 8551). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

### 戦争花嫁の方への質問

パケハが大半だった戦後のニュージーランドで日本人の戦争花嫁がどのように文化的アイデンティティを形成してきたか？

前段階の質問(出来れば、前もって書いておいてもらう)

1. お名前は？(結婚前のお名前もお願いいたします)
2. 生年月日
3. 出生地
4. 戦後お住まいになっていたところはどちらですか？
5. 日本での最終学歴
6. 日本での家族構成。ご姉妹・兄弟は何人おいででしたか？
7. ご主人様とはどちらで知り合いましたか？
8. ご主人様の人種
9. ご自身がニュージーランドに初めて着いたのはいつですか？
10. ニュージーランド到着時の英語はどのくらいお出来になりましたか？  
(日本ではどのくらい英語の勉強をなさっていましたか？)
11. お子さん、お孫さんはおありですか？もしおいででしたら、何人？
12. 最初のお子様はどちらで、いつお生まれになりましたか？

質問:

導入・ウォームアップの質問:

普段のご生活はどのようなものですか？

1. [家族に関する質問。ご主人、子供、孫など。あまり記憶に頼らなくてもよいもの]
2. [食物、文化に関する質問]

ニュージーランドでの生活(NZ での生活の手助けとなった人・事柄)

1. サポート・ネットワークとしてはどのようなものがありましたか？



2. 日本人コミュニティと言うものの存在の有無。船で会った人？
3. 同様の戦争花嫁の方々とお付き合いなどありましたか？
4. もし戦争花嫁や、初期の日本人移民の人がいなかった場合、親しいお友達は？
5. 何らかの日本人のグループ・サークルに属していましたか？(いつごろの話？)
6. 日本に戻りたいと思いましたか？(どういうとき？いつ？実際に戻ったか？最初 に戻ったのはいつ？)
7. NZ の市民権を取りましたか？もしとったらいつ？もしとらなければ、なぜ？
8. 当時、日本の家族や友人にニュージーランドの生活をどのように伝えましたか？
9. 日本の家族や友人とどのぐらいの頻度で手紙のやり取りをしましたか？
10. いつ日本に最初に戻りましたか？
11. 日本の家族との連絡はどのようにしていましたか？(上の質問同じ)

#### 個人的な体験

日本人の典型的な女性であったかどうかを探りだすのが主眼:

1. 個人的な体験を描写してください。(子供の頃、結婚までの成人時代、妻となり、母親となって)。
2. いつも重要だと思っていたこと、最優先にしていたこと、をそれぞれの時期で挙げてください。
3. ご自身のご体験・ご経験をどのように描写なさいますか？
4. 戦後、ご自身の中(考え方?)で、とても変わったと思われることはありますか？

#### 未来のご主人との出会い

ご主人との出会いについてお話しいただけますか？

1. 日本では、何がきっかけでご主人に会いましたか？
2. ご主人に会ったとき、何をなさっていましたか？
3. ご家族の方は、ご主人とのお付き合いについて、どのようにお考えでしたか？
4. ニュージーランド人と結婚する、とご決心なさったときに、ご家族やご近所の方 の反応は如何でしたか？
5. 日本の去ることについて、反対した方はいましたか？
6. ニュージーランドについてから、特に印象になったことや思い出はありますか？

#### ニュージーランドに到着後の印象

ニュージーランド到着後の印象や、こちらの生活に馴染む体験・経験などをお教えいただけますか？

1. こちらに来る前に NZ については、どんなことをご存知でしたか？
2. NZ の暮らしについては、どんな予想をしていましたか？
3. ご主人の家族は、どのように接していましたか？
4. NZ の文化や社会の印象はどんなものでしたか？
  - ① NZ で気に気に入ったこと、いいと思ったことはなんですか？（今もそうですか？）
  - ② NZ で気に気に入らなかったことや慣れるのに苦労したことはなんですか？
  - ③ 気に入らなかったことなどに、慣れるためにどんな努力をしましたか？
5. 自分が住む新しい国、として受け入れるようになるために努力はどんなことをなさいましたか？
6. 当時の生活はどのようなでしたか？（日本と比べるとどうでしたか？）

#### 家族の伝統

1. ご家庭では日本の伝統、日本風なことを何か残しましたか？
2. NZ の文化、しきたりにどうかしなくてはならないと感じましたか？
3. 日本の習慣、日本人としてのアイデンティティを捨てなくてはならない、と感じましたか？
4. 日本のもので何が一番恋しかったですか？
5. 食べ物、日本語、季節の行事など、マナー、礼儀、宗教、その他
6. 今では、ご自身は、NZ 人、日本人、あるいは両方とも、のどれとお感じですか？
7. お子さんはどのようにお育てになりましたか？（日本式？NZ 式？ご夫婦のどちら が主導権を握る）
8. お子さんやお孫さんには戦後の経験などをお話したことはありますか？

#### 最終部分

質問にはでませんでした、思い出とか、お答え下さったことで、何か追加でお話頂ける事は何かありますか？

言い残したこと、追加でお話頂ける事は何かありますか？

#### 特別大切な思い出。

これまでお話いただけなかったこととは直接関係ないことでも、今日思い出されなくても、何か思いつかれましたら、いつでもご連絡下さい。

ご家族や日本での幼少時代、NZ に来たばかりの頃の写真など、見せて頂けるものはありますか？

その写真を使ってもいいですか？

本日は貴重なお時間とお話をして下さり、大変有難うございました。

Research Question: How did the Japanese war brides negotiate their cultural identity in a Pākehā-dominated post-war New Zealand?

Preliminary Survey (to be filled out/obtained prior to the interview)

1. What's your full name? (with your maiden name)
2. What is your date of birth?
3. Where were you born in Japan?
4. Where were you living postwar years?
5. What was the highest education you received in Japan?
6. How many brothers and sisters did you have?
7. Where did you meet your future husband?
8. What is (was) the ethnic background of your spouse?
9. When did you arrive in NZ?
10. What was your knowledge of English when you arrived in NZ?
11. Do you have any children/grandchildren?
12. When did you have your first child? Where was your first child born?

**Proposed interview questions:**

Introductory/Warm-up questions

1. What would be your normal week/day?

*[questions regarding family, such as husband, children, grandchildren which do not require them to remember a lot]*

*[questions about food/culture]*

Life in New Zealand (What/who helped you adjust to your life in NZ?)

1. What kind of support network did you have?
2. Were there Japanese communities or people around you?
3. Did you keep in touch with other Japanese women in similar situations?
4. If not, who were your close friends?
5. Were you part of any Japanese group?
6. Did you consider at some point during those early days going back to Japan?
7. Did you obtain your NZ citizenship?
8. How did you describe your life in NZ to your families and friends in Japan?
9. How often did they communicate with their families and friends in Japan?
10. When was the first time you went back to Japan to visit?

11. How did you keep in touch at the time with your family back in Japan?

### Personal Experiences

1. How would you describe your personal experiences?
2. Has anything changed in your attitude toward your life after the war?

### Meeting the future husband

1. How did you meet your future husband in Japan?
2. What were you doing (work) when you met your future husband?
3. What was the reaction of your family about your courtship with your husband?
4. What was your family's (family/neighbor) reaction to your decision to marry a NZ person?
5. Were there objections to you going away?
6. Any memories and incidents until you arrive in New Zealand.

### Perception of New Zealand after arrival

1. What did you know about NZ before you came here?
2. What were your expectations of life in NZ?
3. How did your husband's family respond/treat you?
4. What were your first impressions of NZ culture and society?
  - ① What did you like most in your new country?
  - ② Were there things you did not like and had a hard time getting used to?
  - ③ How did you overcome these difficulties and learn to accept your new country?
5. What were your living conditions back then? (compared with what they were in Japan)

### Family Heritage

1. Did you feel any pressure to assimilate, discard your Japanese cultural identity?
2. What did you miss about Japan?
  - ① Food
  - ② Language
  - ③ Cultural events
  - ④ Manner
  - ⑤ Religion
  - ⑥ Other ways of living?
3. Do you consider yourself a New Zealander or Japanese or a mixture of two?
4. How did you raise your children?
5. Did you tell your children/grandchildren about your post-war experiences?

Concluding Part
-----------------

1. Is there anything else you would like to add:
  - ① Something that you consider an important memory,
  - ② An experience that did not directly relate to what you said before?
  
2. If there is anything important that you have forgotten to mention today, please feel free to call me.
  
3. Do you have any photos that you would like to share with me about your family, from childhood back in Japan and those early days in NZ?
  - ① Could I take photos of them?
  - ② We can only display them with your permission.

## Appendix 6: Interview questions for family members

### Interview questions

1. How were you raised (Japanese? Kiwi? Mixed)?  
どのように育てられましたか？（日本式、NZ 式、混合）
2. What stories did your mothers/grandmothers as war brides inform you?  
戦争花嫁としてのご体験をお母様・お婆様から聞きましたか？
3. What aspects do you identify yourself as being Japanese-descendent in your daily, social and family interactions?  
ご自身の日常の生活で日本的、日本人のようなことはありますか？（社会的、家族間の対応など）
4. As a child, what was your life like as a child (grandchild) of mixed marriage?  
子供のころ、国際結婚の家庭で育っての印象、体験など。
5. How do you perceive your cultural identity?  
文化的には、何人だと思えますか？
6. Have you seen your Japanese relatives in Japan?  
日本の親戚に会ったことはありますか？
7. Do you speak Japanese?  
日本語を話しますか？家庭内での日本語環境は？
8. Could you share some of the memorable moments of your mother/grandmother that was un-Kiwi (very Japanese)?  
お母様・お婆様との体験・思い出で、彼女がとても日本的（ニュージーランド人としては珍しいこと）何か思い出すことありますか？

## Appendix 7: Consent form for war brides

### Participant Consent Form

**Research Project Title: Postwar Japanese Female Immigrants to New Zealand**

**I have had the research project explained to me and I have read and understand the information sheet given to me.**

I understand that I don't have to be part of this research project should I chose not to participate and may withdraw up until three weeks after I receive the interview transcript.

I also understand that all the information that I give will be stored securely on a computer at Unitec for a period of 10 years.

I understand that my discussion with the researcher will be taped and transcribed.

I understand that I can see the finished research document.

*\*Please strike out sections that are not relevant.*

I agree / do not agree to be photographed.

I agree/do not agree to allow my old photographs and/or images of my keepsakes used in the research paper and subsequent publications.

I wish/do not wish to remain anonymous.

I wish/do not wish to be identified.

I have had time to consider everything and I give my consent to be a part of this project.

*Participant Name:* .....

*Participant Signature:* .....

*Date:* .....

*Project Researcher: Mutsumi Kanazawa*

*Date:* .....

**UREC REGISTRATION NUMBER: 2015-1060**

This study has been approved by the UNITEC Research Ethics Committee from 28 September 2015 to 28 September 2016. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Committee through the UREC Secretary (ph: 09 815-4321 ext 8551). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

## Appendix 8: Consent form for family members



### Participant Consent Form

#### Research Project Title: Postwar Japanese Female Immigrants to New Zealand

**I have had the research project explained to me and I have read and understand the information sheet given to me.**

I understand that I don't have to be part of this research project should I choose not to participate and may withdraw up until two weeks after I receive the interview transcript.

I understand that all the information that I give will be stored securely on a computer at Unitec for a period of 10 years.

I understand that I have an option to remain anonymous or to be identified.

I understand that my discussion with the researcher will be taped and transcribed.

I understand that I can see the finished research document.

I have had time to consider everything and I give my consent to be a part of this project.

*Participant Name:* .....

*Participant Signature:* .....

*Date:* .....

*Project Researcher: Mutsumi Kanazawa*

*Date:* .....

#### **UREC REGISTRATION NUMBER: 2015-1060**

This study has been approved by the UNITEC Research Ethics Committee from 28 September 2015 to 28 September 2016. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Committee through the UREC Secretary (ph: 09 815-4321 ext 8551). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.



## Appendix 9: Interview dates

Name	Status	Date	# of interviews	Format	Interview venue
Mariko*	War Bride	3 Nov. 2015, 9 Nov. 2015, 20 Nov. 2015	3	F2F	Her home
Chieko*	War Bride	20 Nov. 2015, 2 Jan. 2016, 16 March, 2016	3	F2F	Her home
Robert Burgham	Husband	4 Jan. 2016, 16 Jan. 2016, 20 April 2016	3	F2F	His home
Michele Murphy	Daughter	16 Apr. 2016	1	F2F	Her office
Sandie Burgham	Daughter	2 Apr. 2016	1	F2F	Her home
Thomas*	Husband	30 Jan 2016, 26 Feb. 2016	2	phone	Over the phone
Michael Jones	Son	16 Dec. 2015	1	F2F	His home
Deb Donnelly	Daughter	8 Jan. 2016, 10 Jan. 2016	2	F2F	Café and her home
Leo Donnelly	Son	10 Jan. 2016	1	F2F	Café and Deb's home
Jo Cullen	Daughter	8 Jan. 2016, 10 Jan. 2016	2	F2F	Deb's home
Sonia Yoshioka Braid	Daughter	25 Mar.2016	1	F2F	Researcher's home
Denis Kinraid	Son	21May 2016	1	F2F	Researcher's home

Name	Status	Date	# of interviews	Format	Interview venue
Haruko*	War Bride	Personal communication, published articles/archived interview audio		secondary	
Sumiko*	War Bride	Personal communication		Correspondence secondary	
Tsuneyo Page	War Bride	Archived interview tape		secondary	
Toshie *	War Bride	18 Mar, 2016, 21-Mar-16, 25 Jun. 2016		phone	

\* Pseudonyms

F2F: face-to-face interviews

Appendix 10 List of Japanese War Brides Who Immigrated to New Zealand between 1953 - 1958

Full Name	Family Name	Husband's name	Maiden Names (in Japanese)	Maiden Names	from	Entry into NZ (as in Archive)	Naturalised to NZ
Akiko Sutherland	Sutherland/Omundsen	Gordon	太田明子	Ota	Originally from Tokyo but lived in Kure	1953	1957
Michiko Burgham	Burgham	Robert (Bob)	さどみちこ	Sado	Minami Danbara, Hiroshima	1954	1961
Sachiko Hope	Hope	Athol	戸田さちこ	Toda	???	1954	1957
Tomoko Keenan	Keenan	Robert Bruce	宮本ともこ	Miyamoto	???	1954	1959
Fumiko Marychurch	Marychurch	Ben	山本文子	Yamamoto	Kure, Hiroshima	1954	1961
Tsuneko Bond	Bond	David	小谷つねこ	Kotani	???	1955	1958
Kimiko Bongard	Bongard	James Alexander	とちはらきみこ	Tochihara	???	1955	1956
Netsuko Busher	Busher	Robert William	平崎ねつこ	Hirasaki	???	1955	1963
Sachie Cresswell	Cresswell	Eric (Mick)	河内さちえ	Kohchi	Iwakuni, Yamaguchi	1955	(d1962)
Mineko Crookes	Crookes	Colin John	松野みねこ	Matsuno	???	1955	1963
Reiko Duncan	Duncan	Paul	中山れいこ	Nakayama	???	1955	???
Sachiyo Falconer	Falconer	James Frank	中原さちよ	Nakahara	???	1955	1957
Takae Flintoft	Flintoft	George Robert	藤原たかえ	Fujiwara	???	1955	1957
Akie Halford	Halford	Thomas Desmond	中川あきえ	Nakagawa	???	1955	1957
Mitsuko Huse	Huse	Frederick Ralph	川口みつこ	Kawaguchi	???	1955	1959

Full Name	Family Name	Husband's name	Maiden Names (in Japanese)	Maiden Names	from	Entry into NZ (as in Archive)	Naturalised to NZ
Sachiko Jones	Jones	Britt	おしたさちこ	Oshita	Aga, Hiroshima	1955	1971
Tsuneyo Page	Page	Phillip	原田つねよ	Harada	Born in Manchuria. Lived in Hiroshima	1955	1972
Tomoko Mason	Mason	Bruce Lionel Eric	若松みつこ	Wakamatsu	???	1955	1956
Hachiko Treen	Treen	Maurice Patrick	北藤はちこ	Kitafuji	Hiroshima	1955	1960
Masae Whitelaw	Whitelaw	Neville James	???まさえ	???	???	1955	1962
Akemi Jacka	Jacka	Victor Charles	???あけみ	???	???	1955	1966
Mikayo Batty	Batty	Graham Stanley	赤堀みかよ	Akahori	???	1956	1973
Kazuko Bennett	Bennett	???	杉山かずこ	Sugiyama	???	1956	1960
Miki Blease	Blease	Roland Geoffrey	野添みき	Nozoe	???	1956	1959
Taeko Braid	Braid	Noel (Crash)	吉岡たえこ	Yoshioka	born in Hiroshima	1956	Japanese
Sumiko Butcher	Butcher	William Robert	よしおかすみこ	Yoshioka	???	1956	1963
Setsuko Donnelly	Donnelly	Mick (Vincent)	よつぎせつこ	Yotsugi	Takehara, Hiroshima	1956	1966
Kazue Geange	Geange	Colin	おおはなかずえ	Ohana	???	1956	1968
Masako Harris	Harris	James Steven	木村まさこ	Kimura	???	1956	1965
Sumiko Hogan	Hogan	Neville James	松本すみこ	Matsumoto	???	1956	1961
Tamiko Kinraid	Kinraid	Jackson	加藤たみこ	Kato	Kure	1956	1961
Yoshiko McCormick	McCormick	Donald Joseph	北野よしこ	Kitano	???	1956	1957
Hiroko Prendergast	Prendergast/Hewitt	Arthur	かどわきひろこ	Kadowaki	Shimane (worked in Hiroshima)	1956	no record

Full Name	Family Name	Husband's name	Maiden Names (in Japanese)	Maiden Names	from	Entry into NZ (as in Archive)	Naturalised to NZ
Shizue Simmonds	Simmonds	Kenneth Roy	橋本しずえ	Hashimoto	???	1956	1960
Sachiko Wilkes	Wilkes	Raeburn	望月さちこ	Mochizuki	???	1956	1968
Akiyo Bannister	Bannister	Bruce	和田あきよ	Wada	???	1957	1977
Yoneko Boyes	Boyes	Frederick Saner	田中よねこ	Tanaka	???	1957	1962
Akiko Burke	Burke	Brian	谷口あきこ	Taniguchi	Kure, Hiroshima	1957	1961
Fumiko Duffield	Duffield	Michael	鈴木ふみこ	Suzuki	???	1957	1978??
Setsuko Edwards	Edwards	Edwards	わきだせつこ	Wakida	???	1957	Japanese
Yuko Gembitsky	Gembitsky	Robert John Martin	中村ゆうこ	Nakamura	???	1957	1968
Nobue Huller/Helleur	Helleur	Bruce Robert	わきのぶえ	Waki	???	1957	1960
Endo Lane	Lane	Kim H	遠藤美恵子	Endo	???	1957	1964
Harue Perry	Perry	Lloyd Arthur	北里はるえ	Kitazato	???	1957	1962
Hideko Robb	Robb	Alan Lindsay	宮本ひでこ	Miyamoto	Hiroshima	1957	1976??
Etsuko Sanford	Sanford	Noel David	川本えつこ	Kawamoto	???	1957	1970
Fusako Smith	Smith	Tamati Tautuhi	はたけやまふさこ	Hatakeyama	???	1957	1965
Reiko Woods	Woods	Maurice George	梅津れいこ	Umezu	???	1957	1958
Atsuko Boese	Boese	Selwyn Burnard	田口あつこ	Taguchi	???	1958	1960
Tsuruko Lynch	Lynch	Trevor	梅田つるこ	Umeda	Shiki, Saitama	1958	1967
Asako McNeely	McNeely	James Renzil	岩井あさこ	Iwai	???	1958	1965

Primary sources: (Archives New Zealand, n.d.-a; Chamberlain, 2013)

## Appendix 11: List of documents needed to gain entry permit to New Zealand

Date	Subject	Addressee	Written by	Remarks
<b>27 Sept. 1955</b>	Engagement letter		Kayforce officer	A letter certifying that the two were engaged.
<b>(29 Sept. 1955)</b>	(request for security check)		Kayforce HQ	Not in the file
<b>7 Nov. 1955</b>	Deed of Convener		Department of Labour	Witnessed by Army Officer  Testifying any costs incurred to be borne by the applicant of the entry permit
<b>n.d.</b>	Reference letters  (from three sources)		Teacher  Client  Friend	Recommending Setsuko as a fit person
<b>11 October 1955</b>	NZ medical certificate  (3 pages)		Filled by MD of Kure General Clinic	Filled in a form (FORM 303)
<b>25 Oct. 1955</b>	Security check	Kayforce HQ	Lt Col GSO	
<b>4 Nov. 1955</b>	Application for a permit to enter NZ ( <i>Immigration Restriction Amendment Act. 1920</i> )		Setsuko	Filled in a form
<b>7 Dec. 1955</b>	Application to marry a Japanese national	Dept of Labour  (Immigration Division)	NZ Army	List of supporting documents for the application for a temporary entry permit
<b>19 Dec. 1955</b>		Department of Health	Dept of Labour (Immigration Div)	Requesting their assessment of medical records (attachments)
<b>24 Feb. 1956</b>	Certifying a temporary permit to be granted upon arrival (To Whom It May Concern)	Collector of Customs	Secretary of Labour	Note to indicate that a temporary entry be granted
<b>24 Feb. 1956</b>	Application to marry Japanese national	Army Secretary	Secretary of Labour	Note to indicate that a temporary entry be granted
<b>24 Feb. 1956</b>	Application to marry Japanese national	NZ Legation in Tokyo	Secretary of Labour	Informing the office of the issuance of the temporary permit and instructing to obtain an X-Ray

Date	Subject	Addressee	Written by	Remarks
<b>24 Feb. 1956</b>	Certificate that a temporary permit be granted by the Collector of Customs upon arrival	To whom it may concern	Dept of Labour and Employment (Immigration Division)	
<b>5 March 1956</b>	Setting out the details of the temporary permit requirements	Mr Donnelly	Secretary of Labour	
<b>10 March 1956</b>	NZ Chest X-Ray Certificate		Signed by radiologist in Kure	Filled in a form
<b>15 March 1956</b>	Application to marry Japanese national	Secretary of Labour and Director of Employment	Charge d'Affaires, Z Legation, Tokyo	Memo attached to X-Ray (a follow-up to her previous X-ray as there was a sign of previous tuberculosis)
<b>26 March 1956</b>	Note	Department of Health	Secretary of Labour	Attached to the medical and x-ray certificates asking for their assessment
<b>17 April 1956</b>	(cable)	Kayforce HQ	Secretary of Labour	Approval on medical record to issue entry permit
<b>17 April 1956</b>	(cable)	Tokyo Legation	Secretary of Labour	Instructing to issue entry certificate
<b>7 May 1956</b>	Revised deed of covenant	Secretary for Labour	NZ Army HQ	
<b>7 May 1956</b>	Deed of Covenant ( <i>Immigration Restriction Acts</i> ) 2 pages	Department of Labour	Mr Donnelly	To admit his full responsibility for the application
<b>15 July 1956</b>	Application for Registration as an Alien	Police Office in Masterton	Singed by Setsuko	Application
<b>n.d. (sometime after 8 August 1956)</b>	Extract from Marriage Certificate			
<b>14 Aug. 1956</b>	Application for Registration as an Alien	Wellington Police	Signed by Setsuko	Informing the police of her marriage
<b>16 Aug. 1956</b>	Marriage to Japanese national	Department of Labour	NZ Army HQ	Reporting the arrival and marriage of the couple
<b>19 Aug. 1956</b>		Secretary of Labour	Mr Donnelly	Forwarding a copy of marriage certificate and requesting an extension of temporary permit
<b>28 Sept. 1956</b>	Extension of permanent permit	Mr Donnelly	Secretary of Labour	An extension of 6 months
<b>28 Sept. 1956</b>	Marriage to Japanese national	Army Secretary	Secretary of Labour	Response to 16 Aug. 1956 re a temporary permit be valid until 9 Feb. 1957.
<b>7 November 1956</b>	Deed of Covenant ( <i>Immigration Restriction Acts</i> )	Department of Labour Witnessed by Army Officer	Mr Donnelly	To admit his full responsibility for the application
<b>3 July 1957</b>	Expiration of temporary permit	Mr Donnelly	Immigration Division	Informing that a consideration to give PR with an application
<b>29 July 1957</b>	Requesting permanent residency	Secretary of Labour	Mr Donnelly	

Date	Subject	Addressee	Written by	Remarks
31 July 1957	Request for a security check	Police Department	Secretary of Labour	As part of the immigration application for the temporary permit
23 August 1957	Response to PR request	Mr. Donnelly	Secretary of Labour	Informing a PR be granted and instructing to return the temporary permit
26 Oct. 1960	Letter requesting a temporary visit to Japan	Secretary of Labour	Japanese Embassy in Wellington	Discussion on Setsuko's return to Japan to give a birth
13 May 1965	<i>Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1920</i>	Secretary of Labour	Department of Internal Affairs	Application for a PR
n.d. (any time after 8 Nov. 1965)	Certificate of Registration ( <i>Aliens Act 1948</i> )		Department of Internal Affairs	Indicating that Setsuko became a NZ citizen
24 Nov. 1965	Citizenship	Secretary of Labour	Department of Internal Affairs	Approval of citizenship as of 8 Nov. 1965

**ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND ON 9 JULY 1956.**

**MARRIED ON 8 AUGUST 1956.**

**NATURALISED ON 8 NOV 1965.**

**(SOURCE: SETSUKO DONNELLEY'S IMMIGRATION FILE FROM THE NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL ARCHIVES) (ARCHIVES NEW ZEALAND, N.D.-B)**