

*Japanese ancestors, non-Japanese family, and community: Ethnic
identification of Japanese descendants in Broome, Western Australia*

Yuriko Yamanouchi

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

yuriko.yamanouchi@tufs.ac.jp

Copyright©2018 Yuriko Yamanouchi. This text may be archived and redistributed both in electronic form and in hard copy, provided that the author and journal are properly cited and no fee is charged, in accordance with our Creative Commons Licence.

Abstract: This paper explores the ethnic identity formation of the descendants of Japanese migrants in Broome, Western Australia. From the 1880s to the 1960s, Broome had an influx of Japanese migrants seeking work in its pearl shell industry and related businesses; one of the longest continuous Japanese migrations to Australia. Although the history of Japanese migration and mixing with the locals of Broome has been researched, and descendant experiences of being ‘mixed’ been portrayed in music and the performing arts, the internal dynamics of their ‘mixedness’ has not been investigated. This paper addresses the diversity of Japanese descendant identity by focusing on the complex transmission of their Japanese identity. Case studies reveal that their sense of being a Japanese descendant is transmitted and supported not only by their Japanese ancestors and the local Japanese community, but also by non-Japanese family members and the larger Broome community, operating in the background of Broome’s rich history as part of Australia’s “polyethnic north.”

Keywords: Japanese migrants; ethnic identity; inter-ethnic relationship.

Introduction

This paper explores the ethnic identity formation of the descendants of Japanese migrants in Broome, a town located 2,200 kilometers north of Perth, Western Australia. From the 1880s to the 1960s, Broome had an influx of Asian migrants, including Japanese, seeking work in its pearl shell industry and related businesses, making this one of the longest continuous Japanese migrations to Australia. Despite the migration restrictions of the White Australia policy, the internment of Japanese during World War II, and their subsequent deportation, they still found opportunities to have relationships with local Indigenous people¹ resulting in offspring and other descendants, some of whom are still living in Broome and other parts of Australia.

Studies of people with mixed ancestries² have been seen as an effective way to understand how various factors work to form social categories and strata along ethnic/racial lines. Since they are often locally and historically specific, the necessity for comparative studies on such people in the greater global framework has been strongly advocated. However, most research in 'mixed race studies' has taken place in the United States (e.g. Daniel, Kina, Dariotos and Fojas 2014; Small and King-O'Riain 2014), with limited scope and effect. Australia is a place where little debate on mixed ancestry people has been conducted despite its long history of migration. Fozdar and Perkins (2014: 124) write that there "are two main categories of mixed-race populations in Australia, those with mixed Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal ancestries, and those with mixed White and other ancestries." While most mixed Indigenous people identify as simply Indigenous, Fozdar and Perkins (2014) also point out that forces of globalisation have produced a need for 'authenticity,' which makes it difficult to create a space to be 'mixed.'³

Broome provides some counter-examples. The history of Japanese migration and mixture with the locals of Broome has been well researched, and the presence of mixed descendants—mainly Japanese, Indigenous Australian, and other Asian-mixed people—documented (Bain 1982; Choo 1995, 2009; Ganter 2006; Jones 2002; Kaino 2009). Asian (including Japanese) and Indigenous Australian mixed descendant identity and experiences in Broome have been expressed and celebrated through music, performance arts and personal stories (Chi, et al. 1991; Chi, et al. 1996; Dann 2003; Davies 1993; Kaino 1999; Kanamori and Dann 2000; Masuda 2014). Exploring the internal dynamics that have made this 'mixedness' work locally contributes not only to discussions on mixed-descendant issues in Australia but also to mixed race studies at the global level.

Japanese migration to Broome spanned from the 1880s to the 1960s, during which political and social conditions changed alongside regulations, migration patterns and inter-ethnic relationships. The personal stories of Japanese descendants (Dann 2003; Kaino 1999; Masuda 2014) are diverse, reflecting the variety of relationships between their ancestors. Some Japanese fathers stayed to teach their children Japanese customs and other cultural aspects (Kaino 1999; Masuda 2014). Some offspring never met their Japanese fathers at all (Dann 2003). These cases suggest that their internal diversity should not be disregarded, though they also claim 'mixedness' as part of their identity.

This paper addresses the diversity of Japanese descendant identities by focusing on the internal dynamics of identity transmission. Jenkins (1997: 14) argues that "ethnicity as a social identity is collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification." An individual's sense of ethnic membership can be internalised during early primary socialisation in a social environment where ethnic differentiation is salient and consequential enough to intrude into the social world of children. "Children know who they are because others tell them" (Jenkins 1997: 47). In many societies, family members engage in children's early primary socialisation and may transmit ethnic identity to them.

In theory, descendants of inter-ethnic marriage would develop a 'mixed' identity reflective of both parental backgrounds (e.g. Portes and Zhou 1993; Root 1996). This does not necessarily happen (Rodríguez-García 2015). King-O'Riain (2014) maintains that mixed descendants are often under pressure to choose only one identity from the recognised categories they are descended from. Many other factors such as social policies, discrimination, and class and gender relationships affect the formation and outcomes of intermarriage. For example, Ozgen (2015) presented a case where strong patriarchal ideology within an inter-ethnic marriage prevented the development of a hybrid identity in the children. In other words, the development of 'mixed' identity also depends on social and political conditions, that is, how ethnic identity transmission is conducted, if at all.

On the issue of intergenerational transmission of ethnic identity among inter-ethnic marriage, Kukutai (2007) observed a broad academic assumption that a child's identification with its minority ethnicity depends on the minority parent. It is considered to be the minority parent's 'job' to transmit their ethnicity to their children. Against this, Kukutai suggests that mainstream parents can act as agents of minority ethnicity transmission, drawing on statistical data to show that some European mothers identified

their Maori-European-mixed child as Maori, despite themselves being part of the majority ethnicity.

It appears that non-minority parents do play a role in transmitting minority ethnic identity—in the context of this paper, Japanese identity—into their descendants' early primary socialisation. Ethnic identity can also be endowed at other levels of interaction, such as at the broader community level. Although mixed descendants are often negatively “racialized” by the community (Murphy-Shigematsu 2012; Small and King-O’Riain 2014), Kukutai (2007) suggests that this is not necessarily always the case. Simply put, Japanese identity can be transmitted to mixed-Japanese children not only by Japanese people, but also by non-Japanese people. The dynamics of this transmission and its effects on ethnic identity are a good window through which to view the complexity and diversity of the relationship between Broome’s history of Japanese migration, its interethnic interactions, and its consequences.

The rest of this paper will examine the experiences of Broome Japanese descendants, focusing on how they were endowed with Japanese identity. All cases are mixed-descent offspring of relationships between Japanese and local Aboriginal, or Aboriginal-Asian/European mixed people. I will first describe the histories of Japanese migration to Broome, and Broome’s multi-ethnic society. Then, the role played by non-Japanese family and community members in ethnic identity formation will be extracted from narratives of Japanese descendants. The findings are based on interviews and field research conducted in Broome from 2009 to 2016: two weeks in 2009, one month in 2010, one month in 2012, one week in 2013, one month in 2014, two months in 2015, and one month in 2016. I interviewed three first-generation Japanese migrants and thirty Japanese mixed descendants. I also participated in local community and family events to observe social and community contexts.

Japanese migration to Broome

From the 1870s to the 1960s, Japanese workers flowed into northern Australia for industries such as pearl shelling and sugar cane farming, and quickly became sought after as labourers. Although the 1901 White Australia policy restricted migration and most sugar cane workers were deported, the pearl shelling industry—the second largest industry in northern Australia at that time—was exempted. As a result, Japanese pearl shell workers continued flowing in. In 1919, there were about 600 Japanese on

Thursday Island in the Torres Strait and 1,200 in Broome, the two main centres of the pearl shell industry (Bain 1982; Jones 2002; Kyuhara 1986; Nagata 2004; Oliver 2007, 2011; Sissons 1979).

Ganter (2006) calls the northern part of Australia before World War II, the “polyethnic north,” which connotes the commingling of various ethnic groups such as ‘Malay,’ Koepanger⁴, Filipino, Chinese and Aboriginal people, who were attracted to the region by the pearl shelling industry. Polyethnicity refers to “the close proximity of peoples from different ethnic backgrounds, and the frequent family formation across ethnic boundaries” (Ganter 2006: 195). Members of these ethnic groups, as well as Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders, married each other from generation to generation. “In the third generation a child in such a mixed family may have four grandparents speaking four different languages” (Ganter 2006: 192). Since most Asians in Broome were indentured labourers, there was a severe shortage of Asian women. For example, in 1901, there were 303 Japanese men and 63 Japanese women in Broome. This led to cohabitation and casual relationships between Asian men and Aboriginal or Aboriginal-mixed-descendant women. European women were in most cases inaccessible as partners.

The increasing number of Asian-Aboriginal Australian people—so-called “mixed bloods”—became a government concern as they had expected Aboriginal people to die out, “bowing to the force of evolution” (Ganter 2006: 118). In Western Australia, the Aborigines Act 1905 prohibited non-Aboriginal men and Aboriginal women from cohabitation, and the Chief Protector of Aborigines had the power to permit or forbid the marriages of Aboriginal women and non-Aboriginal men (permission was rarely granted). Some Asian men were deported for living with Aboriginal women. Nonetheless, the ‘mixed-blood’ population continued to increase. In Broome in 1954, ‘mixed-bloods’ numbered 347 out of the total population of 1,261, constituting a significant proportion of the town (Dalton 1964:1).

While this mixing led to many positive interactions (e.g. Ganter 2006; Yu 1999), an ethnic/racial hierarchy existed in the “polyethnic north.” Ganter (2006: 195) writes,

the northern polyethnicity was underwritten by finely graded rules of etiquette that dictated where one lived, which school one attended, with whom one socialized, and even where one sat in the picture theater.

The Japanese stayed in the Japanese quarters and spent most of their time there. At the

Sun Picture Theatre in Broome, white people sat on the best seats in the middle, Japanese sat behind them, other coloured and 'black (Aboriginal) people' at the back, right in front, or along the side.⁵ Japanese ranked next to the whites in the polyethnic hierarchy due to their near-monopoly on diving work within the pearl shelling industry. Koepangers, Ambonese and other South-East Asians—classified as 'Malays'—had less power and prestige. They were often under the command of Japanese divers on pearl shelling ships, and ill-treated. Chinese had more prestige than South-East Asians. Although these differences did not necessarily mean that they were on bad terms all the time (cf. Bain 1982; Ganter 2006; Kaino 2009), ethnic conflicts and riots did happen. For example, in Broome in 1907, 1914 and 1920, street fighting between Japanese, Koepangers and Ambonese caused several deaths (Choo 2009).

During World War II, almost all Japanese nationals in Australia were interned and then deported after the war⁶. The "polyethnic north" went into decline. Only nine of the Japanese forcefully removed during internment returned to Broome (Nagata 1996). In 1953, Western Australia again introduced Japanese indentured labourers into the area (Bain 1982: 347). In 1955, 106 Japanese pearlers were working in Australia under special exemption (Palfreeman 1967: 45; see also Nagata 2001a, 2001b). However, the industry never fully recovered and practically ceased in the 1960s. With the decline of industry, the ethnic composition of the local population changed significantly. In the late 1970s the number of Japanese working in the industry dropped to about 20 (Kamo 1978: 37). The cultured pearl industry, which started in the 1950s as a Japanese-Australian joint project in and around Broome, became successful and provided some employment, but not as much as the pearl shelling industry had. Many Japanese thus left Broome. Some old residents of Broome suggest that attitudes towards ethnic relationships in Broome softened (see also Nakano 1986). For example, Dalton (1964) wrote in the 1960s that a Japanese who married an Aboriginal woman was expelled from the Japanese community.⁷ However, an old Japanese ex-diver told me that when he got together with an Aboriginal woman in the 1970s, "everyone celebrated." Discriminatory laws and customs were also abolished around this period.

At the time I conducted my research, there were about ten Japanese surnames in the Broome phone directory. Some belonged to families with a history in Broome pre-dating World War II, while some other families had come after the War. There were also some Japanese descendants who, for various reasons, did not hold or use Japanese surnames. There were four first-generation Japanese migrants⁸ with first-hand experience of Broome's pearl shelling industry. The other Japanese descendants belonged to later generations, and were mostly the fruit of inter-ethnic relationships

with local Indigenous people.

Most second-generation Broome Japanese descendants do not speak Japanese. They do not live in an enclave or meet regularly. In fact, some rarely meet each other in everyday life. The 'Japanese community' emerges for some events, such as Obon or when Japanese exchange students visit. The primary drivers of the festivals are also the public face of the Japanese community, and come from two families of ex-pearl shell divers. While they receive help from their family members and some other Japanese descendants to run events, many others of Japanese descent do not participate. There is no particular occupation or social strata they concentrate in either. In other words, Japanese descendants in Broome exhibit indicators of minority integration (e.g. Alba and Nee 2003; Arias 2001; Qian and Lichter 2007; Vaguera and Aranda 2011). However, it does not necessarily mean that they have given up Japanese ethnic identity. Nor does it mean that Japanese ethnic identity has little social significance.

Ethnic identity transmission of Japanese descendants in Broome

While the history of Japanese migrants and their strong relationship with the local Broome community has been studied (Ganter 2006; Jones 2002; Kaino 2009), little research has been conducted on the consequences of their contemporary socio-cultural experiences, such as their identity formation. Japanese descendants vary greatly in terms of their experiences with Japanese forebears and exposure to Japanese cultural customs, practices and values. Some of them had their Japanese predecessors stay in Broome. In these cases, their Japanese father or grandfather taught them Japanese customs and cultural practices. Cauline Masuda, who had a Japanese father and an Aboriginal-Scottish-Filipino mother (2014: 161), writes about her childhood:

When my father came back from the sea and stayed with us for a couple of weeks, he took care of us. He took us to the Japanese camp, where Japanese divers and crews were working. We used to play in the garden, climbed the coconuts and baobab trees, and watched these Japanese people playing with cards and mah-jong, which we called sticks. Younger Japanese listened to everything the elder Japanese said. They used to run to the shop owned by the Streeter & Male company to get tobacco or anything⁹

She writes that she used to eat boiled rice. She also had to follow Japanese customs such

as taking her shoes off inside the house, not cutting her nails at night, and not turning her back when leaving the cemetery. Her father took them to Japan to see his relatives. Although Cauline says that she was mainly taken care of by her mother due to her father's long absences at sea for work¹⁰, he was clearly involved in her early primary socialisation. Being constantly taken to the Japanese camps, surrounded by Japanese people, given Japanese food, and taught Japanese cultural customs, would have embedded a sense that she was a 'Japanese descendant.' Other Japanese descendants whose Japanese forebears stayed in Broome mentioned similar experiences. They were also taught Japanese food and cultural customs, connecting them with local Japanese-descent people and relatives in Japan.¹¹

Various aforementioned historical circumstances prevented many Japanese migrants from staying with their families in Broome. Thus, many of their descendants who had no contact with them may have heard about their 'father' or 'grandfather' who used to work in Broome. For example, Cynthia's (pseudonym) Japanese father left Broome when she was just two years old. She was brought up mainly by her Aboriginal grandparents as an 'Aboriginal child,' surrounded by Aboriginal relatives. Even though some local people in Broome knew of her Japanese descent, her earlier life saw little involvement with Japanese customs, food or relations. Nonetheless, Cynthia identifies herself as "Aboriginal-Japanese," qualifying this by saying that her Aboriginality comes first since that is what she knows. Then Japanese, since "I am Japanese." Cynthia had chosen both Aboriginal and Japanese identity despite having little direct contact with her Japanese father's culture.

Cynthia learned of her Japanese descent in various ways. She said,

My grandparents told me lots of stories about [my father] 'cause I, we, look very different, myself and my sister. We're very Asian and we used to live at a mission¹², so we stood out. Straight black hair in my photos. I remember seeing photos, you know, how my mum used to cut my hair and we used to look like little geisha dolls, she said, so we knew, I knew that my dad was Japanese. My grandparents used to talk about him and ... he was sent away 'cause he hurt someone. They didn't want to put him in prisons, they just thought, they'd just deport him and send him home. And that he was gambling when that happened. But he obviously cared 'cause he used to come and pick me up and take me for walks, so he visited quite regularly.

Note that Cynthia gained knowledge of her father through her grandparents' (and

mother's) stories of him. They (along with her mother) told her that he was a Japanese diver, that he looked after her when visiting, that he had to leave because of some trouble, and that he visited to say goodbye the day before he left. Essentially Cynthia's non-Japanese family members were instrumental in Cynthia's ethnic identification as a person of Japanese descent. As Kukutai (2007) suggested, they could not convey any substantive components of Japanese ethnicity, such as food, language or cultural customs, but nonetheless endowed her with Japanese identity. Background knowledge about her father was not the only formative information transmitted. The information that he "cared" about her encouraged her attachment to and connection with her Japanese side. Furthermore, Cynthia and her sister's 'Asian' physical features would have marked her as 'Japanese' in her eyes, and the eyes of the community. Cynthia recounted how she and her sister were called "little geisha dolls," a popular stereotype of Japan. Alongside—or perhaps because of—her appearance, her intelligence was also attributed to her ethnicity. Cynthia reports being teased and praised for her "clever Japanese brain." She said,

Well, I remember my [grand]father and grandmother used to always, 'cause I was quite smart, when I was a little kid, they said, 'oh, you got your brain,' cause I used to go to the shop when I was a little girl and she's send me with money to go and buy, you know, whatever she wanted me to go and buy. And I'd come back with the right change. And she said, 'now send her.' And I remember she's always send me to the shop. And I said, 'why do I always have to go?' 'Well, you're the one with the Japanese brain.' And they used to always say, 'Oh, that's the thing ...'.

Although Cynthia now laughs at the credence given to these stereotypes, her constant exposure to them during childhood could have reinforced her 'Japanese' ethnicity.

Jenkins (1997: 64) maintains that verbal and non-verbal cues "are used to allocate the unknown other to an ethnic category" at the level of "routine public interaction." "Items of behaviour are appropriated by others as criteria of ethnic categorization, without those who 'own' them participating in the identification" (Jenkins 1997; 64-65). The fact that the shop people abided by the stereotype indicates that it was widely shared by the Broome community. It also suggests some local familiarity with Japanese traits, no doubt resulting from Broome's long history of Asian immigration and mostly harmonious co-existence (Bain 1982; Ganter 2006; Kaino 2009). Unlike cases in many mixed race studies (e.g. King-O'Riain, et al. 2014; Murphy-Shigematsu 2012), this endowment of ethnic identity by the community was not a painful experience for

Cynthia.

Even now, old Broome residents talk a lot about the old days, where there were many Asians present for the pearl shell industry: how they enjoyed music, dancing, eating, drinking and gambling together. Elderly locals show a strong emotional attachment to “Old Broome.” One Japanese ex-diver in his seventies mentioned a similarly aged Aboriginal woman who still addressed him (humorously) as “Jap.” He went on to say that he only allowed this because of her status as a fellow resident of “Old Broome.” This episode indicates that Broome’s ethnic commingling has developed these light-hearted displays of ethnic stereotyping as part of routine public interaction (Choo 2009; Dalton 1964; Ganter 2006). In other words, instead of displaying bigotry, they actually point to extensive local Japanese knowledge. Cynthia’s remark reinforces this aspect:

I know, from local people here, used to say, ‘Oh, she’s got Japanese heritage,’ you know, and my friends all Malaysian and Filipinos and that’s, you know, you learn about your history in Broome and how can we became, you know, part of the histories because of the pearling industry

Cynthia suggests that Japanese descendants hold their ‘place’ in Broome through the historical memory of the Broome community. Broome is a “social setting where ethnic differentiation is sufficiently salient and consequential to intrude into the social world of children” (Jenkins 1997: 47). The Japanese stereotyping Cynthia experienced in childhood pigeonholed her in the community but also let her ‘know’ that her “dad was Japanese.”

Cynthia is not the only Japanese descendant who had little direct contact with Japanese people during childhood. Lucy Dann’s (2003) Japanese father left when she was a baby. She was raised by her Aboriginal mother and Aboriginal stepfather. Her experience of receiving her Japanese identity is similar to Cynthia’s. She recalls being teased as a young girl by other Aboriginal children, who called her “moon face,” or declared, “you look like a Japanese.”¹³ Then one of her aunts told her that her Aboriginal ‘father’ was not her biological father, a statement which her mother admitted as well. Much later, her stepfather told her that her real Japanese father had asked him to take care of her before he had to leave for Japan. Lucy was brought up in Derby until she went to Broome for schooling at Year 8. Community ethnic labelling, combined with family knowledge, informed Lucy of her Japanese heritage. This indicates that Kimberley coastal communities share not only Aboriginal kinship ties, but also Asian contact histories (Choo 1995; Ganter 2006).

Moving to Broome facilitated the process of discovery. Lucy's marriage to her Aboriginal husband enhanced her connection to local Japanese-descent people, as one of her husband's aunts had married a Broome-Japanese who serendipitously knew Lucy's father. Through this aunt, Lucy learned more of her father's background, including his name. Here, casual interaction with the community, particularly Aboriginal in-law relations, had supplemented 'Japanese' ethnicity. This case also cements Japanese people as part of the Broome network of the "polyethnic north." After gaining this knowledge, Lucy questioned her mother more about her Japanese father, who told her that he did not live with them but instead used to visit, nurse infant Lucy, take her to the Japanese quarter, and proudly show her to his friends. Similar to Cynthia's grandparents, Lucy's mother (and to a certain degree, her stepfather) told their daughter that her biological father cared deeply for her. Dann (2003: 60) commented that hearing about how he visited her mother and nursed her spurred her desire to learn more about him and her Japanese roots.

Both Lucy and Cynthia do not exhibit typically 'Japanese' cultural indicators. They seldom participate in 'Japanese community' activities. Cynthia has said that she does not have the 'connection' that other prominent Japanese community members have. However, Cynthia and Lucy's sense of 'being Japanese descent' should not be seen as a mere label. With the help of Japanese photographer Mayu Kanamori, Lucy traced and visited her Japanese father in Japan. Cynthia had her son find out her father's possible address, and is now thinking of contacting him. Like Lucy, Cynthia is concerned that her visit might upset her father's alternate family in Japan. On the other hand, both Lucy and Cynthia are driven to learn more about their Japanese identity from their fathers. Dann (2003: 62) wrote that after her visit to Japan she felt "whole now with both sides of my roots in place." Their Japanese identity, whatever its limitations, is clearly substantial and meaningful.

Conclusion

This paper has outlined the role played by identity transmission in forming Broome Japanese descendants' diverse ethnic identities. Both those who personally knew their Japanese ancestors, and those who did not, self-identify as Japanese descendants as well as being 'Aboriginal.' Their diverse experiences with their Japanese forebears are as varied as their experiences with receiving cultural identity, despite all being seemingly

fully 'integrated' into the local Aboriginal community.

The case studies reveal that their self-identification is supported in various ways. In some cases, it is through the presence of their Japanese ancestors and recognition by the local Japanese community; in other cases, it is by non-Japanese family members as well as the larger Broome community. They draw from Broome's rich history as part of Australia's "polyethnic north."

Many studies on mixed descendant people indicate that most of the communities which raise them discourage them from developing hybrid identities. They are often under pressure to choose only one category of ancestry, or report being 'othered' and left to independently find a 'space' to feel 'comfortable' as they are (e.g. King-O'Riain, et al. 2014; Murphy-Shigematsu 2012). Broome is rare in that its community embraces a 'place' for those with mixed ancestries and gives them positive—or at least not negative—messages about their ethnic identities. One Aboriginal person from Broome argued that it is no 'problem' to have mixed ancestry and be 'Aboriginal' at the same time. Contrary to Fozdar and Perkins (2014), mixedness does not make them 'less Aboriginal.' This could be a starting point from which to rework the concept of 'ethnic identity' in broader society.

Broome Japanese descendants' experiences indicate the complex means by which their mixed identity is developed and supported, including the roles played by non-Japanese ancestors, and a community approach to ethnicity which is deeply entangled with its history. This study provides a few of many such examples, and suggests the potential for similarly complex instances of mixed-descent identity formation to be researched further. Doing so will not only enrich mixed descendant studies in Australia, but also contribute to 'mixed race studies' worldwide.

References

- Alba, R., and V. Nee (2003) *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Arias, E. (2001) Change in Nuptiality Patterns Among Cuban Americans: Evidence of Cultural and Structural Assimilation? *The International Migration Review* 35(2): 525-556.
- Bain, M.A. (1982) *Full Fathom Five*. Perth: Artlook Books.

- Chi, J., et al. (1991) *Bran Nue Dae*. Strawberry Hills NSW: Currency Press.
- Chi, J., et al. (1996) *Corrugation Road* (Sound Recording). Broome: Angoorabin Records.
- Choo, C. (1995) Asian Men on the West Kimberley Coast, 1900-1940. *Asian Orientations, Studies in Western Australian History* 16: 89-111.
- . (2009) Japanese Relations with Other Asians in Broome: Riots in Broome, 1907, 1914, 1920. In D. Black and S. Sone (eds.) *An Enduring Friendship: Western Australian and Japan: Past, Present and Future*, Crawley WA: The University of Western Australia Press, pp. 11-25. (D.ブラック(著、編集)、曾根幸子(著、監修、編集、翻訳)、有吉宏之(監修、翻訳)『西オーストラリアー日本交流史：永遠の友情に向かって』日本評論社、2012年)
- Dalton, P. (1964) Broome: A Multiracial Community: A Study of Social and Cultural Relationships in a Town in the West Kimberleys, Western Australia. M.A. Thesis, University of Western Australia.
- Daniel, G.R., L. Kina, W.M. Dariotos and C. Fojas (2014) Emerging Paradigms in Critical Mixed Race Studies. *Journal of Mixed Race Studies* 1(1): 6-65.
- Davies, C.L. (1993) Black Rock and Broome: Musical and Cultural Specificities. *Perfect Beat* 1(2): 48-59.
- Dann, L. (2003) Yearning of the Hearts. In P. Edwards and Y. Shen (eds.) *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901-2001*, Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, pp. 59-63.
- Fozdar, F., and M. Perkins (2014) Antipodean Mixed Race: Australia and New Zealand. In King-O'Riain, R., et al. (eds.) *Global Mixed Race*, New York: New York University Press, pp. 119-143.
- Ganter, R. (2006) *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*. Crawley: University of Western Australia Press.
- Jenkins, R. (1997) *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explanations*. London: Sage.
- Jones, N. (2002) *Number Two Home: A Story of Japanese Pioneers in Australia*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.
- Kaino, L. (2009) Broome's Japanese Community: It's History and Legacy. In D. Black and S. Sone (eds.) *An Enduring Friendship: Western Australian and Japan: Past, Present and Future*, Crawley WA: The University of Western Australia Press, pp. 40-50.
- Kaino, T., (1999) A Very Special Family. In P.L. Rice (ed.), *Holding Up the Sky: Aboriginal Women Speak*, Broome: Magabala Books, pp. 89-105.
- Kamo, F. (1978) Go-shu Iju Chousa Kenbunroku: Mita mama Kiita mama. *Ijukenkyu* 15: 5-38.
- Kanamori, M., and L. Dann (2000) *The Heart of the Journey*. Balmain NSW:

Philosopher Photos.

- King-O'Riain, R. (2014) Global Mixed Race: A Conclusion. In King-O'Riain, R., et al. (eds.) *Global Mixed Race*, New York: New York University Press, pp. 263-280.
- King-O'Riain, R., et al. (eds.) (2014) *Global Mixed Race*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kukutai, T.F. (2007) White Mothers, Brown Children: Ethnic identification of Maori-European Children in New Zealand. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 69(5): 1150-1161.
- Kyuhara, S. (1986) Wakayama-ken no O-sutoraria Dekasegi Imin. *21 Seiki Wakayama*. Vol. 7.
- Martinez, J., and A. Vickers (2015) *The Pearl Frontier: Indonesian Labor and Indigenous Encounters in Australia's Northern Trading Network*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Masuda, C. (2014) Nikkei Aborijini To Shite(2): Buru-mu ni Umarete. In Y. Yamanouchi (ed.) *O-sutoraria Senjumin to Nihon: Senjumingaku, Koryu, Hyosho*. Tokyo: Ochanomizushobo, pp. 160-164.
- Murphy-Shigematsu, S. (2012) *When Half is Whole: Multiethnic Asian American Identities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Nagata, Y. (1996) *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia*. St Lucia QLD: University of Queensland Press.
- . (2001a) Lost in Space: Ethnicity and Identity of Japanese-Australians 1945-1960s. In P. Jones and P. Oliver (eds.) *Changing Histories: Australia and Japan*, Melbourne: Monash Asia Centre, pp. 85-99.
- . (2001b) 'Certain Types of Aliens': The Japanese in Australia, 1941-1952. In V. Mackie and P. Jones (eds.) *Relationships: Japan and Australia, 1879s-1950s*, Parkville VIC: University of Melbourne, Department of History, pp. 217-239.
- . (2004) The Japanese in Torres Strait. In A. Shnukal, G. Ramsay and Y. Nagata (eds.) *Navigating Boundaries: The Asian Diaspora in Torres Strait*, Canberra: Pandanus Books, pp. 138-159.
- Nakano, F. (1986) *Mari- To Masatora: Nihonjin Daiba- To Aborijini- No Tsuma*. Tokyo: Bungei Shunju.
- Oliver, P. (2007) *Empty North: The Japanese Presence and Australian Reactions 1860s to 1942*. Darwin: CDU Press.
- . (2011) The Japanese and Broome to 1942. In P. Alomes, et al. (eds.) *Outside Asia: Japanese and Australian Identities and Encounters in Flux*, Clayton VIC: Japanese Studies Centre, Monash University.
- Ozgen, Z. (2015) Maintaining Ethnic Boundaries in 'Non-Ethnic' Contexts: Constructivist Theory and the Sexual Reproduction of Diversity. *Theory and*

Society 44: 33-64.

- Palfreeman, A.C. (1967) *The Administration of the White Australia Policy*. London: Melbourne University Press.
- Perkins, M. (2004) Australian Mixed Race. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 7(2): 177-199.
- Perkins, M. (ed) (2007) *Visibly Different: Face, Place and Race in Australia*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Portes, A., and M. Zhou (1993) The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530(1): 74-96.
- Qian, Z., and D.T. Lichter (2007) Social Boundaries and Marital Assimilation: Interpreting Trends in Racial and Ethnic Intermarriage. *American Sociological Review* 72: 68-94.
- Rodríguez-García, D. (2015) Intermarriage and Integration Revisited: International Experiences and Cross-Disciplinary Approaches. *ANNALS AAPSS* 662: 8-36.
- Root, M.P.P. (ed.) (1996) *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- Sissons, D. (1979) The Japanese in the Australian Pearling Industry. *Queensland Heritage*, 3(10): 9-27.
- Small, S., and R. King-O'Riain (2014) Global Mixed Race: An Introduction. In King-O'Riain, R., et al. (eds.) *Global Mixed Race*, New York: New York University Press, pp. vii-xxii.
- Vaguera, E., and E. Aranda (2011) The Multiple Dimensions of Transnationalism: Examining Their Relevance to Immigrants' Subjective Well-Being. *Journal of Social Research and Policy* 2(2): 47-72.
- Wada, H. (1920) An audience at the Sun Picture Gardens, Broome [picture], State Library of Australia, Call number 3680B.
- Yu, S. (1999) Broome Creole: Aboriginal and Asian Partnerships along the Kimberley Coast. *Queensland Review* 6(2): 59-73.

Acknowledgements: Special thanks to “Cynthia,” Cauline Masuda and Lucy Dann. I am also indebted to Broome Asian-Aboriginal community members for their generosity and kindness during my fieldwork. Finally, thanks to Mr Derek Wee for editing my English. All the mistakes in this paper are mine.

Yuriko Yamanouchi is an Associate Professor at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. She gained her PhD (Anthropology) from the University of Sydney. Her publications include “Kinships, Organisations, and ‘wannabes’: Aboriginal Identity Negotiation in South Western Sydney,” *Oceania* (2010); “Managing Aboriginal Selves in south-western Sydney,” *Oceania* (2012); “I am ‘Mixed’ and Identify with all the Cultures I Inherit Equally’: Japanese Migrants and Indigenous Australians in Broome, Western Australia,” in Duncan Williams (ed), *Hapa Japan Vol. 1: History* (Ito Center Editions, 2017). She also edited, *O-Sutoraria Senjumin to Nihon: Senjumingaku, Kouryu, Hyosho* (Indigenous Australia and Japan: Studies, Interaction, Representation) (Ochanomizushobo, 2014).

¹ There are roughly two kinds of Indigenous Australians: Aboriginal people descended from the people who lived on the continent and surrounding islands before English settlement. Torres Strait Islanders are descendants of pre-English-settlement residents in the Torres Strait. This paper only deals with Aboriginal people. ‘Indigenous people’ here includes mixed descendants with Asian and European blood. When necessary, mixed heritage is specified.

² My position is that ‘race’ is a social construct. Following Small and King-O’Riain (2014: vii), I use “mixed” for those “who feel they are descended from and attached to two or more socially significant groups.” Following most of the academic literature in Australia, I use ‘mixed descendant’ and ‘ethnicity’ rather than ‘mixed-race’ and ‘race’ respectively. I use the term ‘race’ when referring to ‘mixed race studies’ where the term ‘race’ is used. The field of interdisciplinary ‘mixed race studies’ has developed since the 1980s, mainly in North America. As for its development, see Daniel, Kina, Dariotos and Fojas (2014).

³ Perkins’s collection (2007) is exceptional. It deals with mixed descent people in Australia focusing on their ‘mixedness.’ Although it points out the complexity of ‘mixedness’ at the individual level, it does not examine the dynamics of their identity formation at the community and society levels. See also Perkins (2004).

⁴ ‘Malay’ people refers to those from the Malay peninsula and Indonesian archipelago. ‘Koepangers’ denote those from Port Koepang in Timor, though they may not have been born there. These South-East Asians also worked in the pearl shelling industry. As for their history, see Martinez and Vickers (2015).

⁵ Wada, H. (1920) An audience at the Sun Picture Gardens, Broome [picture], State Library of Australia, Call number 3680B.

⁶ Some Australian-born Japanese descendants, non-Japanese people married to Japanese, and people perceived to have special connections with Japan were also interned (Nagata

1996).

⁷ Nakano (1986) dealt with the same era and people as Dalton (1964). However, he reports a case where a marriage between a Japanese diver and an Aboriginal woman was celebrated by most of the Japanese people. In examining the history of ethnicity in Broome, we need to keep in mind from which vantage point these histories are written. Older records on people in Broome are often written by Westerners. What, from one perspective, is taken to be 'Aboriginal women's sexual exploitation by Asian men' might alternatively be viewed as a beneficial exchange between Aboriginals and Asians. I have heard descriptions from local Asian, Aboriginal and mixed people of more amicable relationships than those reported in historical records. Although this could be them telling me—a Japanese interviewer—what they think I want to hear, it suggests that a converse subjectivity may also be present in the written records.

⁸ In 2016, one of them passed away.

⁹ Translation by the author.

¹⁰ Interview with Cauline Masuda.

¹¹ Most of the Japanese descendants in Broome do not speak Japanese. Some Japanese migrants tried to teach their children Japanese, which was not successful due to their long absences at sea for work.

¹² Although Cynthia was mainly brought up in Broome, part of her childhood life was spent in a mission to the north of Broome, where many Aboriginal people have relatives, and even now sees inflows and outflows of people.

¹³ Lucy Dann's mother met Lucy's Japanese father in Broome (interview with Lucy Dann).