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Editor's Introduction

By Melissa S. Dale, Executive Director, Center for Asia Pacific Studies

We are pleased to announce the publication of the Spring 2017 issue of *Asia Pacific Perspectives*. This issue presents the latest research on the history and life experiences of mixed race individuals in China, Japan, and Korea.

Impressed by the exciting research presented at the University of San Francisco's symposium "**Negotiating Identities: Mixed Race Individuals in China, Japan, and Korea**," we decided to dedicate a special issue to the topic. Our goal for this issue is fourfold: to highlight some of the latest research coming out in the field, to stimulate academic conversations on the topic, to promote greater understanding of the cross-cultural encounters that led to the creation of interracial families, and to encourage further research on how mixed-race individuals living in East Asia have negotiated their identities both historically and today.

The themes highlighted in these papers – including definitions of race (both historical and contemporary) and issues of class, gender, identity, citizenship, and legal rights – reveal the importance of mixed race studies to our understandings of society as a whole. Mixed race studies involves the movement of peoples and the sharing of cultures at the most intimate levels of society – within families. Many of the individual and family histories discussed in this volume were a result of relationships that challenged societal norms. As society questioned their origins and identity, multiracial children – and their descendants – have negotiated their identities and faced challenges, ranging from society's constant questioning of their social belonging, to legal issues (especially citizenship), to their personal senses of self and identity. By examining the roles played by families, societies, and governments and the reception (or lack thereof) which multiracial individuals have encountered in their lives, these authors reveal how mixed race is more than an individual matter: it is a reflection of the workings of society, the nation, modernity, war, transnationalism, and globalization.

We begin the issue with **W. Puck Brecher**'s exploration of the treatment and experiences of mixed-race individuals living in Japan during the Pacific War as a lens for understanding racial attitudes during the war. Tracing the experiences of Eurasians living in wartime Japan, Brecher adds another layer of understanding to the race war discourse and encourages us to reconsider characterizations of the war as being fueled by Japanese-Caucasian racial hatred.

Next **Vicky Lee** examines the diversity of lived experiences among Eurasians in Hong Kong and China during the late 1800s to the 1980s. For these individuals living in colonial Hong Kong and foreign enclaves in China, negotiating their identity necessitated daily strategies ranging from erasure, to solidarity, to duplicity. Highlighting the lives of Eurasians living through the Pacific War and Cultural Revolution, Lee's study reminds us of the challenges Eurasians faced as they endeavored to be accepted by society, especially during periods of violence and political upheaval.

In our third article, **Hyoe Okamura** traces the history of the labels used in Japan to refer to "mixed race" individuals and explores the *Haafu-gao* makeup fad. Focusing on the late 19th century to the present, Okamura's study traces the terms used to refer to racial mixture and how "*haafu*" has

become the most common label today. Okamura's cautions that labeling racializes "Japanese" and "foreigners" and results in the categorization of racially mixed people in Japan as not fully Japanese.

We've included **three important think pieces** in this issue to stimulate discussion and encourage further academic research on the topic of "mixed-race" peoples in Asia. **Emma J. Teng's** essay encourages us to reflect on how far we have come in the study of mixed-race peoples by examining popular perceptions and academic discourses. Noting the increase in recognition of mixed identities in Asia since the 1990s, Teng notes that "Scholarship on intermarriage, mixed race, and other mixed identities in Asia is flourishing." **Keiko Yamanaka's** essay aims to explore the historical, political and social contexts that have contributed to the interracial/interethnic encounters in Japan and Korea. Yamanaka stresses the importance of understanding multiracial and multiethnic relations over the past 50 years in order to better understand "the emerging multiculturalism and tolerance of ethnic and cultural diversity in East Asia." **Hyoue Okamura's** essay issues a call to action to readers to exercise their "human duty" to "deracialize nationality." Okamura stresses that racialization and racist acts have consequences and encourages people to think before they speak and act about how our "acquired habits" contribute to "racializing others".

Continuing upon a theme first emphasized at the Center's symposium, of the need for scholars in Asian American Studies and Asian Studies to increase dialogue with one another, we end this issue with **Kristin Roebuck's** review of *Racial Ambiguity in Asian American Culture* by Jennifer Ann Ho.

On behalf of the journal and our authors, I would like to thank Dr. Leslie Woodhouse (Assistant Managing Editor) for her care and dedication in ensuring that our work continues to meet the journal's high standards.

- *Melissa S. Dale, Editor*

Eurasians and Racial Capital in a “Race War”

By W. Puck Brecher, Ph.D., Washington State University

For many, contemplating the Eurasian experience in Japanese history evokes the dilemma posed by the thousands of “occupation babies” fathered by Allied personnel stationed in Japan after the Pacific War during the Allied Occupation (1945-52).¹ The discrimination faced by these orphans is well documented. Both Japan and the U.S. avoided either acknowledging or ameliorating the problem, feeling that to do so would be to admit responsibility for it. Occupation authorities (SCAP) neither extended aid to nor acknowledged legal responsibility for the unwanted children. SCAP denied requests from American personnel to bring their Japanese brides and biracial children to the U.S. by citing the 1924 Immigration Law blocking the immigration of Japanese and half-Japanese. It also forbade Japan’s Welfare Ministry from conducting a census of occupation babies.² In June 1948, *Saturday Evening Post* journalist Daniel Berrigan published a critique of American GIs for fathering illegitimate babies and Occupation authorities for failing to take responsibility for them. SCAP responded by expelling Berrigan from the country and censoring any further media coverage of the issue.³ Japan’s government complied with and reciprocated the U.S. position. American and Japanese joint abhorrence and disavowal of the occupation baby problem thus amounted to what Yukiko Koshiro describes as “diplomatic collaboration in tolerating mutual racism. Their mutual hatred of miscegenation drew them closer.”⁴

The Japanese public echoed the state’s abhorrence for this population of biracial babies. Whereas Japanese enthusiastically embraced cultural mixing with the U.S., they rejected biological mixing outright, seeing mixed-race babies as a threat to their racial purity and tantamount to an assault on the Japanese race itself. Black-Japanese babies were especially despised, but all biracial mixtures encountered greater prejudice in Japan than did biracial “GI babies” in Germany and Britain.⁵ Even Sawada Miki (沢田美喜, 1901-80), who in 1948 founded an orphanage for occupation babies, defended the policy of separating Japanese and biracial orphans. Mixed-race children, she felt, possessed “mental and physical handicaps” and in any case would never be accepted into Japanese society due to “the people’s traditional dislike for Eurasian children.”⁶ By 1955, Sawada’s orphanage had accepted 468 babies and negotiated 262 adoptions in the U.S. No Japanese adoption service accepted Sawada’s children, however, and a Japanese couple who had adopted one “returned it when the neighborhood prejudice they encountered proved too strong.”⁷

The pervasive ethnocentrism and tribalism suggested by postwar Japan’s treatment of Eurasian babies does not necessarily reflect the Eurasian experience in Japan during the war, however. Race and racial mixing during Imperial-era (1895-1945) Japan were highly politicized, formulated and deployed as means of advancing an altogether different set of national interests. In the 1930s-40s, for example, Japanese pan-Asianism drew clear racial lines between “yellows” and “whites.” Conceding that mixed blood flowed within all Asians, Japan easily accepted its Asian colonial subjects (mixed or not) as “Japanese.”⁸ Doing so required nothing more than rhetorical acknowledgement of historical blood ties between Japan and continental Asia.⁹ This racial grouping problematized the place of Eurasians, particularly within Japan proper.¹⁰

Eurasian (for our purposes, part-Japanese/part-Caucasian only)¹¹ civilians residing in wartime Japan indeed occupied undefined, contested spaces. As embodiments of two races at war with one another, on one hand their whiteness evoked an international racial order that equated

national prestige with racial prestige (racial capital). On the other, their Japanese heritage evoked assumptions of spiritual and genealogical purity that informed longstanding nationalist claims of Japanese racial supremacy. Wartime Japan's methods of handling Eurasian residents were thus framed, in part, by a convoluted discourse on race, racial characteristics, racial hierarchies, and a history of national racial soul-searching. Given these ambiguities, how did this small contingent experience the war? What were their strategies for reconciling the racially marginalized self with an increasingly xenophobic state?

This article considers these problems by seeking evidence of systemic (institutionalized) and non-systemic ("on the street") discrimination and then determining the extent to which racial pretensions shaped Eurasian wartime experiences. In doing so, it engages with the pervasive view of the Pacific War as a "race war" fueled by "race hate." This narrative was advanced most cogently in John Dower's *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific* (1986), which showed how conflict in the Pacific was essentially a racial war between analogous racial regimes. Dower's proposition is evident not only in the especially brutal ways that combatants engaged each other in the Pacific Theater, but also in the racial ideologies that shaped how those hostilities were prosecuted on both sides. Whereas many Americans viewed Nazis as a "bad" subset of otherwise racially irreproachable Germans, Dower explains, they saw the entirety of the Japanese people as racially inferior, a pestilence to be exterminated.¹² In Japan, governmental and military ideologues likewise sought to instill fear and hatred of their "white" enemies, though the efficacy of those efforts is debatable. (Elsewhere I have elucidated the limitations of the "race war" thesis by showing the contexts in which wartime Japanese did and did not conceptualize the conflict in racial terms and exhibit racial hatred for their Caucasian enemies.)¹³ The race war discourse has failed to examine the issue through the lens of mixed-race experience, however. This article begins to fill this lacuna. Its focus on Eurasian residents of wartime Japan helps reappraise overarching characterizations of this war as driven by Japanese-Caucasian racial hatred.¹⁴ Examination of how Eurasians caught in wartime Japan were viewed and treated by Japanese authorities, the Japanese public, and resident Westerners finds that Eurasians' official treatment was not racially determined. Containment protocols were dictated by an individual's nationality, not racial heritage. Predictably, unofficial "on the street" treatment varied. With little recourse, the racially marginalized survived by devising strategies that often mitigated potential forms of discrimination, effectively de-racializing the war at home.

Race and mutual insularity in the prewar era

Interracial unions with Caucasians had been a point of controversy and concern for Japan since the appearance of Western settlements in the 1850s.¹⁵ Thereafter, racial attitudes would be molded from a mixture of sources, including nativist rhetoric about Japan's indigenous true heart/mind (*magokoro* 真心), racist colonial narratives gleaned from the West, and claims advanced by racial science. This composite body of knowledge was brought into alignment with the logic of *wakon yōsai* 和魂洋才 (Japanese spirit, Western learning), a prominent Meiji-era (1868-1912) slogan that called for selective devotion to both the native and the foreign. *Wakon* invoked nativist claims of Japanese racial and spiritual supremacy; *yōsai* acknowledged the superiority of Western civilizational accomplishments, particularly those related to science and technology, and the need for Japan to improve itself in those areas. The slogan carried no sense of contradiction. Its assimilation of native and Western had been accepted since at least the 1770s when an affinity for Dutch (Western) Learning emerged concurrently with nativist thinker Motoori Norinaga's (本居宣長, 1730-1801) intellectual arguments for Japanese superiority.¹⁶

Japan's goal of joining the elite members of the global order raised questions of how Japanese, as a race, compared to others, a topic that many were quick to explore through Western rather than nativist tropes. Particularly, its acceptance of the West's apprehension of racial hierarchies

connoted adherence to a system of racial capital. In the 1860s, Japanese missions to the U.S. and Europe felt no compunction about accepting the prejudicial views toward “darker” races prevalent in those nations. They exhibited moral indifference to slavery in the U.S., for example, seeing it, as many Americans did, as a natural reflection of inherent racial inequities.¹⁷ Preeminent Western expert Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉, 1835-1901), himself a member of the 1860 mission, connected racial distinctions to geography, as well as biological differences like skin color. To deny self-evident physical differences, he wrote in *Handbook of the Myriad Countries* (*Shōchū bankoku ichiran* 掌中万国一覽, 1869), denies the reality of qualitative racial distinctions. He continued by positing a five-color racial hierarchy of whites, yellows, reds, blacks, and browns that used civilizational advancement as evidence of racial superiority. “The white races have sagely minds and natures that elevate them to the pinnacle of civilization. They are the highest,” Fukuzawa wrote. “Yellow races have stoic dispositions and apply themselves diligently, but progress more slowly due to their limited abilities.”¹⁸ Reds, blacks, and browns, he continued, possessed more degraded dispositions.

Other theorists interpreted the technological leadership of Western peoples as evidence of their inherent physical and intellectual superiority. Historian and social critic Kume Kunitake (久米邦武, 1839-1931) argued that inherent dispositions are codified within each society’s structure and political organization, which ultimately determine respective potentials for civilizational advancement. Of the differences between Westerners and Asians, he writes,

*...white races actively pursue their yearnings, have a passion for religion and are poor at restraining themselves; in short, they are races with deep desires. Yellow races have shallow desires and are good at restraining their natures; in short, they are races with few desires. Accordingly, the West’s main political objective is to seek self-protective government while that in the East is to seek ethical government.*¹⁹

For Kume, then, the competitiveness, aggressive striving, and technological advancement observable in Western societies were explained by inherent racial dispositions. It was indeed on such grounds that Japan spearheaded its own development by actively recruiting Western scientists, engineers, industrialists, business professionals, and educators, a cohort that arrived in Japan espousing theories – like natural selection and craniometry – that claimed to explain physical and intellectual differences between races in scientific terms. Such theories placed Japanese below Caucasians but above other races, including Chinese. The Japanese also saw that they were being treated better by Westerners than other Asians, which seemed to validate nativist assertions of their indigenous racial superiority.²⁰

Social Darwinism became a particularly useful principle for elucidating what Kume and others felt to be immutable and indisputable natural laws. It explained the successes and failures of certain racial groups coexisting in Japanese society, for example, by interpreting the failure of the poor, the *burakumin* 部落民, and other marginal classes as natural results of intrinsically inferior natures.²¹ Kume also drew parallels between the eradication of American Indians by “blond, white-skinned” Americans and Japan’s subjugation of the Ainu in Hokkaido and northern Honshu. Such conquests, he asserted, were natural given the relative racial strengths of those competing ethnic groups. While Social Darwinism was gradually rejected by many academics, it would later enable Imperial-era ideologues to interpret Japan’s technological and economic advancement as evidence of racial superiority in Asia.

Such paradigms did not go uncontested, however, with some liberals recoiling against them as early as the 1880s. Journalist and activist Sugita Teiichi (杉田定一, 1851-1929) encapsulated general indignation with his declaration that “despite the superior consciousness of the yellow races, the fact that they are viewed as inferior by whites is not easily ignored and wounds Japanese self-esteem”²²

Others countered by positing Japanese preeminence in Asia. Leftist instigator Ōi Kentarō (大井憲太郎, 1843-1922) argued that Japanese were superior among the yellow races but were not being recognized as such by whites. Ideological backlash of this sort stressed a need for Japan to isolate itself both from inferior Asian races and from the presumptions of racial superiority being advanced by Caucasians.²³ In the ensuing decades, military victories over China (1895) and Russia (1905) lent validity to Japan's growing racial self-confidence, to its claim as the "white" (leading) race of Asia and of the Japanese people as "honorary whites."²⁴ Yet it soon became clear that the West did not share this perspective, but rather viewed Japan as a "yellow peril" whose military exploits were upsetting the racial status quo in Asia.



Figure 1: Treaty revisions in 1899 repealed extraterritoriality and legalized mixed residence (*naichi zakkyo* 内地雑居), eliciting widespread speculation about possible repercussions. In this satirical print, exotically-clad foreigners mingle with Japanese. Chitose, *Naichi zakkyo: mirai no ponchi-e* 内地雑居未来のポンチ絵 (*Mixed Residence in the Interior: Punch Pictures of the Future*), 1899.

Those debating racial dispositions and biological superiorities were also attracted to other claims advanced by racial science. Scientific inquiry in the 1880s informed discussions over whether to permit "mixed residence in Japan" (*naichi zakkyo* 内地雑居), a controversial prohibition that was finally overturned in 1899 when revisions to the unequal treaties granted foreigners the right to live and travel anywhere within the country (**Figure 1**).²⁵ While some Japanese argued that the interracial unions that would surely arise from legalizing mixed residence would strengthen the race, philosopher Inoue Tetsujirō (井上哲次郎, 1855-1944) and others used racial science's defense of racial purity, a position broadly accepted in the West, to argue the opposite. This group applied knowledge gleaned from cross-breeding experiments on nonhuman species as evidence of the genetic defectiveness of mixed-race individuals and the social dangers they posed. When asked by former Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi (伊藤博文, 1841-1909) to weigh in on this debate, imminent philosopher and scientist Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) advised Japan to avoid intermarriage, unions that science had shown to produce inferior offspring. In 1918, American sociologist Edward B. Reuter (1880-1946) echoed this position (as well as public sentiment) when he wrote that Eurasians

*stand between two civilizations, but are part of neither. They are miserable, helpless, despised and neglected... In manhood [the Eurasian] is wily, untrustworthy and untruthful. He is lacking in independence and is forever begging for special favors... Socially the Eurasians are outcasts. They are despised by the ruling whites and hated by the natives.*²⁶

These views seemed to lend validity to the correlated myth of Japanese racial purity. Following on assertions that Japan had historically avoided immigration and miscegenation, wartime state

propaganda expounded on the virtues of “consanguineous unity,” positing that “the Imperial blood may be said to run in the veins of all Japanese,” rhetoric that cemented myths of the Japanese polity as a racially unified, homogenous family state headed by the emperor.²⁷

The convoluted discourse on race that spanned Japan’s imperial era thus yielded paradoxical values that espoused the racial superiority of both pure Caucasians and pure Japanese, a worldview that helped validate mutual exclusivity. By tacit agreement and force of habit on all sides, Westerners and Japanese in prewar Japan thus preserved much of the insularity that had been erected between the races during the 1850s. As Yokohama resident Lucille Apcar notes, her family’s insularity from Japanese was mutually generated and mutually desirable: “Snobbery,” she writes, “if that is the word to use, existed on both sides of the fence.”²⁸

Japanese and Western treatment of resident Eurasians

Significantly, Japan was careful to avoid throwing its selective espousal of Western racial thought back in the faces of its Western adversaries. In the interwar years, states in the U.S. acted on fears of intermarriage by passing anti-miscegenation laws and restricting immigration from racially undesirable nations—Asian nations particularly. Wishing to assume the moral high ground, Imperial-era Japan did not reciprocate by instituting analogous forms of systemic racism against Westerners, resisting such policies through the war itself.²⁹ Unlike Executive Order 9066 (1942), which interned 120,000 individuals of Japanese ancestry in the Western U.S., of whom roughly two-thirds of carried American citizenship, wartime Japanese containment measures did not target resident Westerners on racial grounds.³⁰ The government handled them as their citizenship dictated. Axis, neutral, and stateless nationals were surveilled but remained at large. Citizens of enemy nations were contained in various ways. The Interior Ministry’s Foreign Affairs Emergency Measures Plan (*Gaiji kankei hijō sochi ni kan suru ken* 外事関係非常措置に関する件) of November 28, 1941 instructed police to arrest enemy nationals falling into any of five categories: those enlisted in the military; crew members of ships or airplanes; males between the ages of 18 and 45; those with special skills such as radio operators and munitions factory experts; and any others that police deemed suspicious.³¹ Enemy nationals not included in the above – predominantly women, minors, and the elderly – were closely monitored by the police but not interned initially. Enemy diplomats were placed under house arrest until repatriation via exchange ship could be arranged. About 109 journalists and others of special concern were arrested, interrogated, variously tortured, and incarcerated until their repatriation by exchange ship. Officially, Eurasians were treated no differently than their full-blooded countrymen, i.e., as determined by their fathers’ citizenship. Edward Duer, who was thirteen in 1941, was neither interned nor evacuated. As a British citizen he continued living with his Japanese mother in southern Yokohama while his father William and older brother Syd were interned, first at the Yacht Club in Yokohama and later at the Uchiyama camp outside the city. The American boy Joe Hale (b. 1937), whose father had died and whose half-Japanese mother held Japanese citizenship, was permitted to move about Tokyo unhindered.³² American Eurasians Mary and Mildred Laffin evacuated Yokohama for their summer house in Hakone and were left untouched throughout the war. Their sister Eleanor, however, continued to occupy the Laffin house in Yokohama and was removed and interned in December 1943 after authorities found the house to be situated within the fortified coastal zone off limits to foreigners.³³ Other multiracial enemy families were treated identically. In fact, Japanese civil and military police followed prescribed protocols for treatment of foreign nationals (including Eurasians) so meticulously that they had to feign negligence in order to justify arresting and holding the half-Japanese journalist James Harris (or Hirayanagi Hideo 平柳秀夫, 1916-2004). Harris had relinquished his British citizenship after his father died in 1933 and became a naturalized Japanese in order to remain in Japan with his mother. Though raised in Japan and fully bilingual, he was educated extensively in international schools and describes his worldview and physical appearance as British.

As a trusted reporter for the English newspaper *The Japan Times*, Harris was too knowledgeable about Japanese current events and too well-connected with the enemy media to be allowed to remain at large after Pearl Harbor (**Figure 2**). Police, who had interrogated him earlier and knew him to hold Japanese citizenship, “mistakenly” arrested him as a British national and interned him in the Yacht Club camp. It was only upon his imminent “repatriation” via exchange ship months later that they admitted the error and allowed him to return to his mother’s house, where he was summarily conscripted into the Imperial Army.³⁴

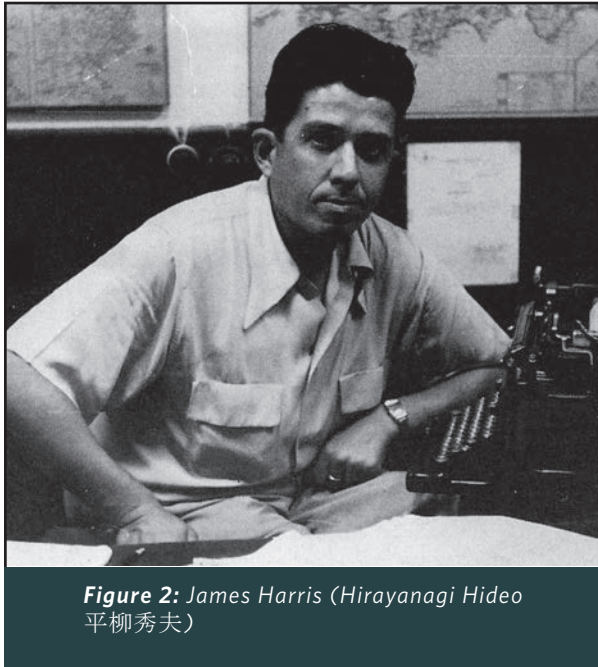


Figure 2: James Harris (Hirayanagi Hideo 平柳秀夫)

While prejudicial treatment of Westerners was not legally sanctioned, it was for Asians. In some cases, Japanese law did not recognize Asians’ foreign citizenship. Resolving to identify colonial residents by their original ethnicities, authorities issued policies that disavowed the citizenships of Asians living under Western colonial contexts: it rejected the American citizenship of Filipinos, the British citizenship of natives in Britain’s Asian colonies, the Dutch citizenship of natives in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), and the French citizenship held by natives of Vietnam and Cambodia. Likewise, the Interior Ministry considered second generation (*Nisei*) and returnee (*Kibei*) Japanese-Americans to possess dual citizenship and refrained from interning them.³⁵ When Iva Toguri (アイバ・戸栗, a.k.a Tokyo Rose), an American citizen, requested to be interned along with her

countrymen a policeman retorted: “since you are of Japanese extraction and a woman, I do not think you will be very dangerous. So we will not intern you. For the moment we will just see how things go.”³⁶ Mary Kimoto Tomita (メリー・キモト・トミタ), another American *Nisei*, speculated that “since we look Japanese, I guess they thought it would be safe.”³⁷

Within former foreign settlements like that in Yokohama, mixed residence gave way to an extraordinary cosmopolitanism that included large populations of mixed-race individuals. Japanese law subscribed to the *jus sanguinis a patre* principle of citizenship as determined by the paternal bloodline. As such, children with foreign fathers and Japanese mothers were denied Japanese citizenship. But as Harris’ case suggests, extenuating circumstances were not unusual. Fredrick DaSilva, for example, was half Japanese, one quarter Chinese, and one quarter Portuguese but was born in Japan and held British citizenship. He and his Japanese wife Takimoto Kiyoko 滝元清子 needed to register the births of their five children with the British Consulate within 90 days in order to claim British citizenship for them. Details are vague, but his son Joe Takimoto (1933-2015) would later write that the local ward office did not forward that paperwork for any of the children, who consequently became Japanese citizens. As a result, after Pearl Harbor as Fredrick was held at the Negishi race track internment camp in Yokohama; his sons Joe, Freddy, and Larry – Japanese citizens but minors in any case – attended St. Joseph’s College, where Joe was invited to sing for *kamikaze* pilots prior to their deployment.³⁸

Despite the relative absence of systemic racism against Westerners and their mixed offspring, and despite the burgeoning cosmopolitanism in places like Yokohama, resident Westerners and Japanese alike had discriminated against Eurasians in non-systemic ways for generations. The Helm

family serves as a case in point. Prussian engineer Julius Helm (1840-1922) arrived in Japan in 1869 and served as a military advisor in Wakayama. Several years later he received the government approval necessary to marry Komiya Hiro 小宮ヒロ.³⁹ Julius went on to found Helm Brothers, Japan's largest foreign-owned stevedoring company, and the Helm family remained a respected fixture within Yokohama's foreign community for the next four generations. For Julius' descendants, however, the family's mixed blood was a chronic source of concern. Finding marriage partners proved especially difficult. Both of Julius' two daughters were courted by half-Japanese suitors but ultimately never married. (The Helms were not unique in this regard. Though fluent in Japanese, none of Dutch businessman Isaac Ailion's [1848-1918] six half-Japanese children were able to marry.⁴⁰) Marriage prospects for Julius' four sons varied according to their physical features, for Eurasians with lighter coloring were held in higher regard within Japan's foreign communities, as well as within their own families. Jules, the darkest of the boys, married a half-Japanese/half-German like himself, whereas Jim's lighter complexion enabled him to wed a Caucasian woman of high birth. Karl, the eldest, married a Caucasian first cousin, and Willie wed a Caucasian widow with children.

The Helms "believed they were better than the Japanese," writes Leslie Helm. "Yet, of mixed blood and unable to read or write Japanese, they often felt insecure in the country of their birth."⁴¹ Though the Helm siblings became prominent figures within their respective communities, they lacked the racial capital to merit full membership.⁴² Jim, who ran the Helm Brothers branch in Kobe and had travelled internationally, was active and popular in Kobe but his bloodline disqualified him from equal treatment:

He [Jim] and his charming wife moved in high circles. Jim raced in regattas, joined a water polo team and contributed large sums of Helm Brothers' money to various charitable causes. His wife, Elizabeth, a brunette with a commanding presence and a beautiful voice, served two terms as president of the Kobe Women's Club and often sang at special occasions. Still, it was hard to escape the issue of race. Jim would never forget overhearing his friends talk about him in the locker room at his sports club. 'Jim's a good sort,' one man said. 'Yes,' said the other. 'He knows his place.'⁴³

The capital gleaned from one's skin color and pedigree thus informed a racial taxonomy within Imperial Japan's Western communities. Western residents projected their racial self-consciousness and racial preferences onto those around them, and Japanese reciprocated those preferences. Japan resident Estelle Balk (b. ca. 1898), a German Jew whose husband Arvid (1889-1955) was imprisoned during the war for espionage, voiced these pretensions at length as late as 1947. As she observed the mess hall for the Occupation's military personnel, she reflected on the "strange features" discernible among those of "mixed breeding":

As to the characters of this cosmopolitan crowd, I have found in my long years of experience in Japan that the mixture of yellow and white does not produce generally a homogenous personality, as whatever citizen papers they may have they somehow don't feel at home in either community. This produces a split personality, which can either be surmounted by will, a deliberate choice of the individual, persuaded by physical likeness or by racial inclinations. A Eurasian for instance, in that case is more English or more German than the home born, pure racial individual, slightly ridiculous therefore by his convulsive endeavors. Nevertheless, he is the more valuable personality than the one who runs with the crowd of half casts [sic], ready to work for either side. That is all too often the case. They are therefore by nature unreliable. As a matter of fact, a great percentage of these half casts [sic] served the Kempetai 憲兵隊 [military police] as spies during the war. It is a scientific fact that the Eurasians inherit mostly the inferior qualities of both well-

*balanced races, which makes him into a dualistic individual. Of course, I too have good acquaintances among them, kind people if life runs smooth, but I would not dare to rely on them, if again caught here in the craze of a new war.*⁴⁴

Estelle Balk's assessment of Eurasians is informed by the vagaries of racial science. She uncritically allows assertions that such individuals inherit the inferior qualities of both races, suffer from split personalities, and are thus preprogrammed with genetic disadvantages to stand as evidence of their inherent deceitfulness. But her convictions are also supported by personal experience. Her remark that Eurasians served the military police as spies refers specifically to her encounters with Patrick Tomkinson, a half-Japanese/half-American newspaper reporter for *The Japan Times* who worked as a police spy and interpreter during the war. Tomkinson had even helped police interrogate her and torture her husband Arvid.⁴⁵ Estelle's prejudices were also informed by her associations with Hugo Frank (1915-45), a German Jew who in 1939 married Alice (Chizuka ちづか) Sumimura 炭村 (1909-96), a half-Japanese woman. This union created consternation within Hugo's own family. It also scandalized the Balks. Hugo worked with Arvid, and his brother Ludwig had married Estelle's daughter. Though related by marriage and living in close proximity to Hugo, Alice, and their daughter Barbara (b. 1939), Estelle ostracized them throughout the war. Her 413-page memoir, in fact, makes no mention of Alice whatsoever.⁴⁶

More surprising than the standing prejudices held by Westerners against Eurasians are instances of Eurasians exhibiting those pretensions themselves. We have already noted how, within the social contexts of Yokohama's foreign community, the Helms saw their mixed blood as a source of shame and responded by marginalizing "darker" family members. Syd Duer, a Eurasian medical school student interned at the Uchiyama camp, writes that he and the other Eurasians there had difficulty forming close relationships with other inmates.⁴⁷ Perceptions of Eurasians as untrustworthy, he suggests, held merit.

*There are traitors amongst us that will even rat on their compatriots just to curry favour with [the camp guards]. We have no intention of doing harm to Japan nor are we in any position to do so. Common decency dictates we overlook each other's petty infractions. But no, there are those among us who will report every trivial violation, and at times even by bending the truth. And the strange part of it all is that such traitors are all Eurasians. No wonder Eurasians generally are held in contempt. It could be that their upbringing drives them to such baseness.*⁴⁸

Though Duer explains Eurasian "baseness" in terms of upbringing rather than genetics, he nonetheless seems to internalize the same racially determined superiority and inferiority complexes espoused by Balk and the Helms.

Western racial bias notwithstanding, within the context of the Pacific "race war," Eurasians were just as much "them" as they were "us," and would seem to warrant a healthy measure of distrust from the Japanese populace. A preponderance of evidence indicates, however, that many Japanese were ambivalent to the Eurasians who remained at large during the war years. While wartime hardships and competition often reduced human relations to an "us" vs. "them" mentality, therefore, some Japanese were disinclined to blame full- or mixed-blooded Caucasians on the ground for the murderous bombs that (presumably) other Caucasians were dropping on them from above. That is, they did not view the war in racial terms.⁴⁹ Western and Eurasian residents were included in neighborhood associations (*tonarigumi* 隣組), a system of mutual support and surveillance in which groups of five to fifteen adjacent households collectively coordinated air raid and firefighting drills, watched for spies, fought crime, sold savings bonds, and distributed rationed food. Each member's active participation was integral to the entire association, and one imagines that the mutual

dependence helped erase potential racial misgivings. Vera Uyehara (ビラ・上原, 1903-83), for example, the Caucasian wife of a former Japanese police superintendent, notes making friends with her Japanese neighbors and the mothers of her sons' schoolmates.⁵⁰ As a British Eurasian, Edward Duer reports that neither he nor the Gomes family, the other "enemy family" whose elder males were also interned at Uchiyama, were treated differently by their *tonarigumi* members. "Most of [our neighbors] were actually sympathetic to our situation with the 'rice winners' in the families in a far-off internment camp," Duer writes.⁵¹ His account of the massive incendiary bombing on May 29, 1945 indeed reveals no local resentment toward him and his family. During the bombing, he relates, their neighbor's house caught fire, which soon spread to the Duer home. Home alone at the time, Edward fled.

As I started for the gate a bomb dropped with a thud on the bare ground right in front of me. Maybe it was a dud as it did not explode, but of that I am not quite sure. Whatever it was, some brownish, semitransparent slimy substance oozed out of the casing, a hexagonal steel cylinder about 50 cm long and 10 cm in diameter. It caught fire, so it may not have been a dud after all, and I tried to stamp it out with my shoes. To my horror not only did the burning ooze resist my efforts it almost seemed alive and climbed up my shoe continuing to burn. In a panic I thrashed about and somehow I put out the flames.⁵²

When the bombing ceased, residents emerged from their bomb shelters, Edward among them, at which point, "suddenly we looked at each other and burst out laughing."⁵³ His brother Syd's own perspective on this event also reflects on the extraordinary magnanimity that locals extended toward Edward and his mother:

As far as is known so far, none of the family members of the [Eurasian] internees has suffered injury. Eddie [Edward] says that our neighbors are all extremely kind to them. Aren't we their enemies? And isn't all this the work of enemy planes? The government has tried to inculcate hatred of the enemy onto the minds of its citizens, but that has been defeated totally by their unquenchable warmth. This war is truly only a battle of government against government.⁵⁴

Duer's assertion that propaganda failed to imbue the Japanese populace with fear and hatred of whites certainly challenges the pervasive "race war," "race hate" thesis. Though further discussion of such is beyond the scope of this paper, Duer's observation directly corroborates numerous testaments of Westerners living through the war years in Japan. By all accounts, wartime hardships appeared to soften rather than harden Japanese views of Caucasians and Eurasians in their midst.⁵⁵

The leniency shown to Eurasians was not particular to women and children.⁵⁶ Eurasian men, irrespective of their nationality, also benefited from the Japanese public's racial ambivalence. Syd Duer, who spoke fluent Japanese, encountered no suspicion or hostility when sent by his internment camp commander into neighboring communities on errands and work details. John Morris, a British national teaching English at a university in Tokyo, encountered very little anti-British feeling even after the outbreak of war. Immune from arrest and internment as a guest of the government, Morris claims that his Japanese friends did not hesitate to visit and interact with him and that many brought him generous gifts of food.⁵⁷ Vera Uyehara's son Cecil, a Japanese citizen, was treated no differently than his peers at Keio University. In 1944 he and his Keio classmates were taken to perform labor at factories and shipyards before being conscripted the following year. Though Uyehara's mixed blood was conspicuous within both the university and military settings and carried great potential for ostracism and maltreatment, as a serious young man with a strong sense of responsibility he was able to mitigate racial abuse through hard work. Ultimately, his treatment in the university and then the army was no worse than that of his full-blooded Japanese peers.⁵⁸

Racial capital in a race war

Seeking evidence of systemic and non-systemic racial discrimination against Eurasians in wartime Japan calls for meticulous attention to their various status positions within a broad taxonomy of resident civilians. Officially, treatment was determined by nationality and thus dispensed irrespective of race. Eurasians carrying Japanese citizenship were treated no differently than full-blooded Japanese, and those carrying foreign citizenship were treated no differently than full-blooded Westerners. In principle and with few exceptions, therefore, systemic racism toward these individuals did not exist within Japan proper, though we must also note that systemic protections against racial discrimination did not exist either.

In social (unofficial) contexts, in contrast, a long tradition of racially motivated mutual insularity engendered a range of attitudes toward Eurasians, including forms of exclusion from their respective pure-blooded communities. Though mutual insularity and the racist pretensions that informed it were not systemic, they were normative and presented Eurasians with a number of obstacles. As the Helms' case illustrates, elites within Yokohama's foreign community indeed harbored prejudicial attitudes throughout the era. The fact that Syd Duer and the Helms themselves subscribed to these views validates Frantz Fanon's explanation of how the racially marginalized become psychologically dependent upon racial elites, vested in discriminatory social relations, and ultimately accepting of their degraded positions.⁵⁹ Rather than challenging prejudice, some Eurasians felt ashamed of their pedigrees. Unofficial "on the street" racism, therefore, was somewhat more contextual, but tended to hinge on longstanding assumptions surrounding racial prestige (racial capital).

Race relations and racial discrimination between Westerners, Japanese, and Eurasians in imperial-era Japan were highly variable, of course. Caucasian residents espoused different opinions of miscegenation and mixed-race offspring, as well as about the superiority of their own race. Resident Americans were comparatively more insulated and willing to adapt to life in Japan, Koshiro finds. Hyogo prefecture census data from 1935 reveals that only 3.4% of American residents had married Japanese, compared to 16.5% of French, 13.3% of Swiss, 11.6% of British, and 8.1% of Germans.⁶⁰ Japanese also responded to the fact that, as several sources attest, German residents made greater efforts than other Westerners to learn Japanese and integrate into Japanese society. Their affinity for Japanese culture made Germans more flexible and open to Japanese customs and etiquette than other nationalities.⁶¹ And while racial pretensions varied, they were nonetheless projected upon and subsequently reciprocated by Eurasians and Japanese. Indeed, one suspects that the paucity of mutually desirable Caucasian suitors was responsible for leaving Eurasians like the Helms and the Ailions either unmarried or wedded to other Eurasians. Syd Duer mentions that, as a youth, he was attracted to Japanese girls and assumed that he would eventually marry a Japanese woman, which he did.⁶²

Wartime contexts thus yielded an array of contingent experiences, but they did not intensify racial hostility to the degree that Japanese ideologues had hoped. Rhetorical depictions of resident Westerners as spies and demons contradicted what Japanese had learned to be true from generations of personal experience, and ultimately proved unsuccessful in erasing Caucasians' racial capital. For the Japanese public, wartime hardships – deaths of family and friends, severe shortages, imminent air raids, occupational disruption, and evacuations – intensified competition for basic resources. Amidst citizens' struggle for survival, hardships streamlined human relationships and eroded the relevance of race. Adversity bolstered the perceived value of community.⁶³ In this regard, Japanese who were focused on self-preservation found solidarity with Caucasian and Eurasian neighbors more beneficial than mutual suspicion. As noted, the racial ambivalence exhibited by many Japanese for Westerners and Eurasians in their midst lends great context to the overt forms of racial discrimination, systemic and otherwise, that they directed toward other Asians. Chinese

and other Asian immigrants faced racial hostility and widespread discrimination from the Japanese public (Lucille Apar's Japanese maids called local Chinese "evil").⁶⁴ Such attitudes extended even to individuals of Japanese ancestry born in the U.S., who upon entering Japan faced harassment and suspicion.⁶⁵ Many of the roughly 20,000 second-generation Japanese-Americans trapped in Japan during the war indeed suffered discriminatory treatment within their local communities.⁶⁶

What strategies, then, did Eurasians use to reconcile the marginalized racial self with the systemic? Whether navigating Western communities or Japanese society, Eurasians were able to minimize the offensiveness of their mixed blood by possessing relative wealth or status, bilingual and bicultural skills, a reputable nationality, and a comparatively moderate (inoffensive) skin color. As Lily Anne Yumi Welty writes in reference to mixed-race Okinawan Americans, they "strategically deployed multiple identities as forms of engagement and resistance," for "racial ambiguity provided them with situational agency."⁶⁷ The Helms' deep roots and philanthropic activities in Yokohama earned them considerable local respect that compensated for their comparative lack of racial capital. Cecil Uyehara, James Harris, and the Duers used diligence and trustworthiness to mitigate racial hostility and establish reputations that were beyond public reproach. For these individuals smoothing social relations was an exercise in self-preservation. Both systemically and non-systemically – at the levels of both official containment and "on the street" social relations – we find less evidence of a race war driven by racial hatred than the prominence of that discourse would suggest. Duer's assessment of the war as "truly only a battle of government against government" – and, we would add, military against military – is sound, for it was within only those contexts that racial enmity was widely manifested.

Placed within broader historical context, this comparatively inclusive treatment is unexpected. During the 1930s and '40s, the Japanese state quashed public alarm over its own insurgent militarism by formulating its wars in Asia and the Pacific as racial crusades (race wars). Following defeat in 1945, it sought reacceptance into the international community by following the lead of the Allied Occupation and vigorously disavowing racial enmity. Astonishingly, the "occupation baby" phenomenon suggests that throughout the course of this dramatic wartime-postwar paradigm shift, grassroots racial attitudes toward Eurasians variously evolved in the opposite direction expected: from more racially tolerant during war, to less tolerant during peace.

NOTES

1. The American Occupation was headed by General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP).
2. Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms*, 1999, 161.
3. Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 90.
4. Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms*, 1999, 159.
5. Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 88, 100.
6. Koshiro, 1999, 178. "Occupation Babies Embitter Japanese," *NY Times* 11/6/1955, p. 37.
7. "Occupation Babies Embitter Japanese," *NY Times* 11/6/1955, p. 37.
8. Koshiro, "East Asia's 'Melting-Pot'," 476.
9. Miscegenation within the Japanese territories was ardently debated throughout the imperial era and yielded mixed messages to Japanese living in the colonies. The government exhorted Japanese expats to preserve the purity of their own race by avoiding marriage or fraternization with native colonial subjects. But it also variously sought to quell regional anti-Japanese sentiment by encouraging policies, including miscegenation, that would promote racial inclusion and harmony. For discussion of the complex topic of racial politics in the Japanese empire, see Weiner, "Discourses of Race, Nation and Empire;" and Koshiro, *Imperial Eclipse*. For discussion of how Japan defined the parameters of Japanese subjecthood, see Oguma, *A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-Images*.
10. Russia was a noteworthy exception to this racial division. Not wishing to further antagonize Russia, whose friendship it recognized as indispensable to its success on the Asian mainland, Japan viewed Russians as ethnically and culturally Asian. For a discussion, see Koshiro, *Imperial Eclipse*; and Koshiro, "East Asia's 'Melting-Pot'."
11. *Eurasian* (of mixed European and Asian ancestry) signifies an individual with parentage from specific geographical regions rather than of specific racial backgrounds. For convenience and with full cognizance that this usage is non-inclusive, in this article I use the term Eurasian as a racial signifier for part-Japanese/part-Caucasian individuals only. Discussion of other Eurasians (Sino-Europeans, Korean-Europeans, etc.) in wartime Japan is beyond the scope of this article.
12. Dower, *War without Mercy*, 5, 8.
13. Brecher, *Honored and Dishonored Guests*.
14. For perspectives on racial mixing in the Japanese territories, see Ienaga, *Japan's Last War*; and Koshiro, *Imperial Eclipse*.
15. On a much-reduced scale, interracial unions had also been a point of concern since the 1634 establishment of the Dutch colony on the island of Deshima. The mere existence of Western settlements in Japan since the 1850s seemed to presage outright colonial subjugation, a threat that Japan avoided by entering into unequal partnerships with its Western trading partners.
16. The Dutch Learning movement was initiated, in part, by an autopsy performed by Sugita Genpaku in 1771, the same year that Norinaga wrote his *Naobi no mitama* 直毘靈 (The Rectifying Spirit).
17. Gary P. Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan*, 136.
18. Yamamuro, "Shisō kijiku to shite no jinshu," 56.
19. Ibid., 57.
20. Ibid., 181-82.
21. Though legally equal, Japan's minority groups continued to be treated as racially, physically, and morally distinct from "true" Japanese.
22. Ibid., 61.
23. Fukuzawa positioned himself in solidarity with this chorus in his famous 1885 essay "On Leaving Asia" (*Datsu-a ron* 脱亜論).
24. Ibid., 69.

25. For a full discussion, see Berlinguez-Kono, "Debates on *Naichi Zakkyo* in Japan," 8-22.
26. Quoted in Helm, *Yokohama Yankee*, 138.
27. Dower, *War without Mercy*, 222. Systemic legacies of the racial purity myth endured long after the war. In the 1990s, Japan continued to preserve the illusion of its racial purity by camouflaging the identities of women brought from elsewhere in Asia to become wives of Japanese farmers. It also continued to welcome Latin Americans of Japanese ancestry with the flawed expectation that their racial heritage would facilitate their assimilation into Japanese society.
28. Apcar, *Shibaraku: Memories of Japan*, 20-21.
29. It is critical to note in this context that Japan's pan-Asian vision was predicated on assumptions of racial superiority in Asia, where it did proceed to institute racist practices against its colonial subjects. We must also recognize that Japan did not complement its absence of racial policies against Caucasians with legislation protecting them. Ironically, the extraterritoriality mandated by the unequal treaties precluded those who drafted Japan's 1889 constitution from guaranteeing universal human rights as other contemporary constitutions did. Its constitution granted rights protections to Japanese subjects, but the rights of foreign residents would be determined by their respective diplomatic authorities (Tanaka Hiroshi, *Zainichi gaikokujin*, 61).
30. Executive Order 9066 assessed threats against the U.S. on the basis of race rather than nationality, a position that was reversed later in the war. When Japan later accused the U.S. of torturing, maltreating, and forcing labor upon internees of Japanese ancestry, the U.S. rebutted that among those in question only Japanese citizens loyal to Japan fell under Japanese jurisdiction. Japan could make no demands concerning American citizens, regardless of their loyalty, or even demands concerning Japanese citizens loyal to the U.S. (Elleman, *Japanese-American Civilian Prisoner Exchanges*, 114).
31. Komiya, "*Taiheiyō sensō shita no 'tekikokujin' yokuryū*," 1, 4; Komiya, "*Taiheiyō sensō to Yokohama no gaikokujin*," 345.
32. Yokohama gaikokujin shakai kenkyūkai, Yokohama kaikō shiryōkan, eds. *Yokohama to gaikokujin shakai*, 49.
33. *Ibid.*, 173.
34. Harris, *Boku wa nihonhei datta*, 20, 83.
35. Tamura, "Being an Enemy Alien in Kobe," 39; Utsumi, "Japanese Army Internment Policies," 177-78.
36. Duus, *Tokyo Rose: Orphan of the Pacific*, 55.
37. Tomita, *Dear Miye*, 144.
38. Yokohama gaikokujin shakai kenkyūkai, Yokohama kaikō shiryōkan, ed. *Yokohama to gaikokujin shakai*, 49.
39. For a comprehensive study of interracial marriages during this era, see Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan*.
40. Altschul, *As I Record these Memories*, 80.
41. Helm, *Yokohama Yankee*, 41. With the notable exception of missionaries, whose occupational success hinged on their ability to forge friendly relations with local Japanese, most resident foreigners, including Eurasians, remained insulated from mainstream Japanese society. They tended to live, work, and recreate in close proximity, and send their children to international schools. Though some acquired enough proficiency in Japanese to communicate with their Japanese servants and staff, very few became literate in Japanese.
42. *Ibid.*, 170.
43. *Ibid.*, 174. What prestige the Helms lost in pedigree they redeemed with their generosity and deep roots in the Yokohama community.
44. Balk, "An Outsider," 396-97.
45. Tomkinson was arrested by Occupation forces and tried for mistreatment of prisoners.
46. For a detailed history of the Frank and Balk families during the war, see Brecher, *Honored and Dishonored Guests*.
47. Eurasians in the camps who spoke Japanese formed closer relations with camp guards, who would use them to run errands and then reward them with food.

48. Duer, *The Diary of Sydenham Yeend Duer*, 39.
49. For a full discussion of this thesis, see Brecher, *Honored and Dishonored Guests*.
50. Uyehara, "My Story," 30. I wish to thank Cecil Uyehara for sharing this manuscript.
51. Duer, *Diary of Sydenham Yeend Duer*, 112.
52. Ibid., 107.
53. Ibid., 111.
54. Ibid., 117.
55. Testimonies indicate that children developed more hostility toward Caucasians than adults. Children were subjected to indoctrination in school and, one imagines, lacked the life experience to question anti-white state propaganda. (Brecher, *Honored and Dishonored Guests*.)
56. In some but certainly not all cases, internment camps holding women afforded their inmates comparatively greater leniencies than male-only camps. Waterford writes that the 26 nuns at the Sendai camp, for example, "were never considered 'real' internees.... Their position as nuns was an uncomfortable one for the Japanese authorities, who were not used to guarding such a group of women." (Waterford, *Prisoners of the Japanese*, 209).
57. Morris, *Traveller from Tokyo*, 131, 143.
58. Uyehara, "My Story," 34-40.
59. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 94-108.
60. Koshiro, *Imperial Eclipse*, 54, 57-59.
61. Ueda and Arai, *Senjika Nihon no Doitsujintachi*, 92; Helm, *Yokohama Yankee*, 73.
62. Duer, *Diary of Sydenham Yeend Duer*, 55.
63. For a discussion of the correlation between community solidarity and community resilience in Japan, specifically their ability to contend with disasters, see Aldrich, *Building Resilience*.
64. Apcar, *Shibaraku*, 72.
65. For one such story, see Minoru Kiyota, *Beyond Loyalty*.
66. Most Nisei had been sent to Japan to study. The Japanese government, which equated Japanese citizenship with Japanese decent, revoked their U.S. citizenship but took no other action against them (Tomita, *Dear Miye*, 1, 14-15).
67. Welty, "Multiraciality and Migration," 171.

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Erasure, Solidarity, Duplicity: Interracial Experience across Colonial Hong Kong and Foreign Enclaves in China from the late 1800s to the 1980s

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The history of Eurasians in Hong Kong and China is a very intricate and complex one involving conflicting treatment of social privilege, isolation, fascination, and suspicion, not to mention political dependence and exclusion. Attempts to erase mixed heritage were common. Solidarity emerged to fight off exclusion. In times of war, riots and revolutions, Eurasians often became targets of distrust; their face and mixed heritage made them liable to suspicion of duplicities and betrayal. The emotional and physical sufferings that many Eurasians endured as targets of criticisms in the decades of purges and revolutions were seldom recorded. To survive, many Eurasians resorted to silence, denial, self-censorship and ignorance about their mixed heritage. Attempts of conscious forgetting were needed for sheer survival and self-preservation.

The purpose of this essay is to look into the conflicting elements of erasure, solidarity and duplicity that were woven into the experiences of Eurasians and their families in Hong Kong and treaty ports such as Shanghai and Tianjin as well as other smaller foreign settlements like Chengdu, Beijing and Qingdao. Beginning in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the visibility of Eurasian offspring between Europeans (from different socio-economic strata like supervisors, clerks, policemen, soldiers) and Chinese women was becoming more apparent in Hong Kong. This condition was also happening in large treaty ports like Shanghai. At the same time, there was also a rise in the phenomenon of students returning home to China with their European wives and Eurasian offspring. The 1920s-30s saw a growing sense of Eurasian solidarity and communality in Hong Kong and to some extent, in other cosmopolitan treaty ports too. The Japanese Occupation and Chinese Civil War of the 1940s, witnessed the crumbling of the charmed and affluent world of the European and Eurasian circles. Strategic duplicities were needed to survive. The early post-war decades in Hong Kong marked the beginning of the diaspora of Eurasians away from Hong Kong to other western countries. Eurasians who lived in China during the Maoist years went through a series of reigns of terror when their Eurasian faces were seen as unwanted signifiers of racial and national humiliation from a bygone era.

This essay draws mainly from autobiographical writings by authors who grew up in both Hong Kong (e.g. Jean Ho Tung Gittins (何文姿), Irene Ho Tung Cheng (鄭何崎姿), Joyce Anderson Symons, Bruce S.K. Chan) and mainland China (e.g. Han Suyin [韩素音] aka Rosalie Chou [周月賓/周光瑚], Michael Kwan); family/extended family biographies (e.g. Polly Shih Brandmeyer and Eric Peter Ho [何鴻鑾]), newspaper articles, and government documents. Among the more recent scholarship on Eurasians that I shall engage is Anthony Sweeting's article on "Hong Kong Eurasians" in Emma Teng's edited volume *Eurasians*. As Sweeting passed away in 2008, his posthumous essay reflects his unfinished work on the development of Hong Kong's Eurasian community. In this article, I hope to build on what Sweeting started. Teng's richly-written *Eurasians* covers only up until the beginning of WWII. This essay shall build on that work by looking into Eurasian experiences from the 1940s to the 1970s covering the Japanese Occupation, the ensuing Chinese Civil War, the early Maoist Years and the Cultural Revolutions. While Teng's *Eurasians* discusses the experience of Eurasian families in China in great depth with a strong focus on Shanghai, my essay also examines Eurasian experiences in a number of less-studied foreign settlements.

Unlike Eurasians in other parts of China, Hong Kong Eurasians had since the late 1800s taken up the important role of “middle man” between British communities and the Chinese population. As Hong Kong was a mercantile port and a crown colony, the relationship between the British and the Chinese communities was one that was mutually dependent economically and politically. Socially, however, the two communities were completely separate and indifferent to each other, with some occasional mutual ethnic contempt. A number of Eurasians like Ho Tung (何東) and Chan Kai Ming/George Tyson (陳啟明) had risen to very important public positions in the Legislative or Executive Council, Sanitary Board, and Chinese General Chamber of Commerce. Though Eurasians in other treaty ports played less of an intermediary role and oftentimes tended to blend and merge into the European environments, social snobbishness was still common. In contrast to Hong Kong, few Eurasians in other treaty ports served in public positions.

Another distinctive phenomenon in the Hong Kong Eurasian community was the practice of endogamous marriages – especially amongst the six or seven established Eurasian families. Marriage alliances between Hong Kong Eurasians and Eurasians from treaty ports like Shanghai were also common. Teng has referred to this intermarriage practice between Eurasians in Hong Kong and others in Chinese coastal cities as the “endogamous web.”¹ For example, Edith Sze Lin-Yut (施蓮玉) or Edith McClymont (1868-1964), wife of Ho Kom Tong (何甘棠), brother of Ho Tung, was a Eurasian from Shanghai. Joyce Anderson Symons (1918-2004) was a Shanghai-born Eurasian but grew up in Hong Kong. She married Robert Symons who was also a Shanghai Eurasian. The Andersons in Hong Kong maintained very close ties with other branches of the Anderson families in Shanghai. At the same time, many Hong Kong Eurasians were descendants from European merchants who worked in different foreign settlements in China. This included Thomas Rothwell (1831-1883), the British ancestor of Hong Kong’s Lo family, who was a tea merchant in Shanghai and had worked as a public tea inspector in Hankow. The German ancestor of the Shi family in Hong Kong, Adolf Zimmern (1842-1916), was a merchant in Shameen, Canton and Shanghai at different times.² By virtue of generations of intermarriage and economic success as a mercantile community, the Hong Kong Eurasian community as a whole showed a much stronger sense of solidarity and community when compared to Eurasians in other foreign settlements in mainland China.

Late 1800s to early 1900s: Erasure and Denial of Eurasianness

In 1879, Sir John Smale, Chief Justice and Attorney General of Hong Kong, wrote that “No one can walk through some of the bye street...without counting beautiful children by the hundred whose Eurasian origin is self-declared.”³ Smale also wrote that “if the Government would enquire into the present conditions of these classes...in the great majority of cases the women have sunk into misery, and that of the children the girls that have survived have been sold to the profession of their mothers” and in the case of the boys, would “have sunk into the conditions of the mean whites of the late slave holding states of America...”⁴ In response to Smale’s concern about the rising number of Eurasian children living in poverty and neglect, the Governor had sought views on the issue from the Inspector of School, E.J. Eitel. He explained how there were in fact schools to take care of this class of Eurasian children such as the Government Central School. Eurasians boys from this school had obtained “good situations in Hong Kong, in the open ports and abroad.” At the same time, Eurasian girls “crowd into the schools kept by Missionary Societies.”⁵ Schools like Government Central School (later renamed Queen’s College), Diocesan Boys Schools (DBS), and the Diocesan Girls School (DGS) had very strong Eurasian alumni networks in Hong Kong. Similarly, in Shanghai, there was the Eurasian School established in 1870 (later renamed the Thomas Hanbury School in 1916)⁶ which also served the same purpose of educating Eurasian children “as nearly up to the European standard as possible.”⁷

Eurasians with their bilingual abilities in both English and Chinese were much sought after as candidates in English-speaking jobs. Classified posts of “want ads” in the early 1900s asking specifically for Eurasians clerks, teachers, nurses, and storekeepers were common:

“WANTED. PORTUGUESE or EURASIAN CLERK. Must have knowledge of Bookkeeping” (1905)⁸

“WANTED a Young Portuguese or Eurasian GIRL for Store”(October 23, 1908)⁹

“WANTED, YOUNG LADY (European or Eurasian), to teach and take charge of two little girls”(September 24, 1908)¹⁰

“WANTED, Young Attractive GIRL, Portuguese or Eurasian; light labours and easy hours” (March 20, 1908)¹¹

“\$20 per month, FURNISHED Small Bedroom...Suitable for Portuguese or Eurasian.”(March 31, 1914)¹²

“YOUNG EURASIAN (20), just out of school seeks employment as Office Assistant. Speaks English fluently. Willing to start with moderate salary.”(March 26, 1914)¹³

Yet despite the high visibility of Eurasians in the city, official attempts to identify this ethnic group had not been successful at all. The official classification of Eurasians as an ethnic group of its own – a non-Chinese subgroup – had been quite futile, eventually leading to the erasure of this group in the official census. Beginning in 1897, Eurasians were categorized as a separate non-Chinese group. In 1897, the number of people that reported themselves as Eurasians was 272. The number dropped slightly to 267 in 1901, to 228 in 1906 and finally in 1911, only 42 people reported themselves as Eurasians.¹⁴ Despite the government readiness to recognize Eurasians as a separate ethnic group, members themselves had little intention to claim their Eurasianity. By 1921, the Eurasian category disappeared completely from the census.¹⁵

Hong Kong’s Registrar General remarked in 1901 that it was a very difficult matter to obtain the true number of the Eurasian population as the majority of Eurasians dressed in Chinese clothes and lived in a Chinese fashion, so would certainly identify themselves as Chinese.¹⁶ But perhaps an even stronger reason for the low response was that the term “Eurasian” was considered a “term of reproach.” The Cantonese in Hong Kong had a variety of derogatory terms to refer to a person of hybrid background, such as *tsap chung* (雜種 mixed breed), *da luen chung* (打亂種/messed up breed), and *tsap ba long* (雜崩冷 messed-up mixture) which suggested a kind of “genealogical abnormality.”¹⁷ As Carl Smith discussed, Eurasians in early colonial Hong Kong were often seen as “tangible evidence of moral irregularity” from both the European and Chinese communities.¹⁸

To escape the stigma of illegitimacy and moral laxity, many adopted the practice of changing their family names from the European surname to a Chinese surname as a way of erasing one’s mixed heritage. To survive and blend into the Chinese mercantile environment, some Eurasians – such as the Chan/MacKenzie family – sinicized their European family name. Bruce Chan explained

WANTED, &c.

SMART ACTIVE MAN WANTED
to devote two hours a day to Canvassing. State terms, etc.—“G.” c/o “South China Morning Post.”

WANTED, Young Attractive GIRL,
Portuguese or Eurasian; light labours and easy hours.—Apply to P.O. Box 135B.

WANTED, An EUROPEAN, Energetic and Sober, for Canvassing Wine and Spirit business of an old established firm.—Apply by letter to “Wine,” c/o “South China Morning Post.”

“Want ads” for Eurasians from the South China Morning Post, dated 08 March 1908. (Source: Author)

how his grandfather, Chan Hong Kuey, changed his name from Mackenzie to Chan as “a strategy to escape the shame of illegitimacy. Nearly all the early Eurasians were offspring of common-law unions: there was no marriage and no birth certificate to ensure their legal status.”¹⁹ Common-law unions in Hong Kong simply meant two persons cohabiting without registering as husband and wife under the Hong Kong Marriage Ordinance.

Somehow, despite the different ethnic identities held by individuals or families, (i.e. some preferred to define themselves as Chinese through the use of Chinese surnames, other defined themselves through the use of their Western surnames) there was a strong sense of communal solidarity evident in business alliances, marriages, and lastly final resting places. This can be found in the formation of the Chiu Yuen Eurasian Cemetery (昭遠墳場) in 1897. Since the establishment of Hong Kong, the Colonial Cemetery was reserved only for Europeans, the Chinese Permanent Cemetery solely for the Chinese. Other ethnic groups, like the Parsis and Jews, formed their own burial grounds by the 1880s.²⁰ In 1897, Sir Robert Ho Tung and his brother obtained a grant from the Government to establish a plot in Mount Davis as a Eurasian cemetery.²¹ Teng explains that “the founding of the Eurasian cemetery points to the emergence of an incipient sense of communal identity already in the 1890s.”²² Prominent members of Eurasian families – such as Halls and the Zimmerns – were all buried there. Interestingly, Ho Tung, the trustee of the Chiu Yuen, had preferred that he and his Eurasian wife Margaret Maclean (麥秀英) be buried in the Colonial Cemetery reserved for Europeans – a final ethnic shift after a whole lifetime of attempting to become more Chinese than the Chinese. This might have to do with the privilege of having finally gained access to a place that had been reserved for Europeans only, in the same way that he had in his life time violated the formidable Peak Preservation Ordinance which served to reserve the Peak for European residents only. Ironically, his own Chinese half-brother, who was of pure Chinese descent, took up “the choicest part of Mount Davis [in the Eurasian Cemetery] as his own private cemetery.”²³

The practices of name-changing, endogamous marriages and cemeteries found in the Hong Kong Eurasian community were not as common in other foreign settlements in China. More often than not, Eurasians in foreign settlements in China took pride in their European family name. Most tended to merge into European circles. Hong Kong Eurasians, on the contrary, tended to downplay their Eurasian heritage in order to erase the stigma associated with illegitimacy vis-a-vis the “kept women system.”²⁴ Eurasians in international settlements in China, however, were more diverse in their origins, coming from a wider spectrum of socio-economic strata. Apart from being offspring from liaisons between Chinese women and European soldiers, sailors and traders, many Eurasians as recorded in the memoirs and family biographies examined here were offspring of returning Chinese students and their European wives. In Hong Kong, there were few early records of returned Chinese students and their European spouses except for one: Kai Ho Kai. The famous barrister and physician Sir Ka Ho Kai (何啟, 1859-1914) returned to Hong Kong after his marriage to Alice Walkden of Blackheath (1852-84).²⁵ After the death of his British wife, their Eurasian daughter was taken back to be brought up in England where her Eurasian heritage was conveniently and understandably erased in the British contexts.

As Teng has discussed, repeated prohibitions by the Qing Court against Chinese male students marrying foreign women had been unsuccessful. Interracial marriage was seen as deeply unpatriotic, as it represented the crime of “abandoning the ancestral land.”²⁶ Marrying European women could also be seen as unfilial behavior. Chinese students who went abroad were mostly from wealthy gentry families and many were the brightest group of students who could have been aspiring Hanlin academicians. For example, several Chinese students from wealthy families – like Chou Yentung (周映彤, 1886-1958) and Charles Qian (1886-1920) of Chengdu, and Franking Tiam (1890-1919) and John Kwan (1889-1964) of Shanghai – returned from their studies with European wives. Though they

all held important positions with the Government and/or foreign corporations upon their return to China, their marriages to European women were never fully accepted by their families. Nonetheless, their Eurasian offspring enjoyed a kind of socio-economic privilege that Eurasians in Hong Kong did not have. Eurasians from this kind of background were sometimes perceived as having “an elite aura.”²⁷ The obvious reason was that it was only the privileged and affluent class who could afford to send their sons overseas. The return of Chinese students like Chou Yentung and Franking Tiam with their European wives and Eurasian children is described by Teng as “the early cohort of the new ‘modern phenomenon’ of mixed families.”²⁸

Despite their socio-economic privilege, the ambiguous nationality status and racial identity of Eurasians in China had created difficulties for these families, especially in smaller foreign enclaves, such as consular stations like Chengdu, which were often under the governance of individual consuls. Han Suyin recalled how her Chinese father, Chou Yentung told his Belgian wife in 1913 in Chengdu:

*My children would belong nowhere. Always there would be this double load for them, no place they could call their own land, their true home. No house for them in the world. Eurasians, despised by everyone... We must not have any more children.*²⁹

Chengdu was not exactly a hospitable place for the European wives and Eurasian offspring of Chinese returned students. The European population in Chengdu, mostly British and French missionaries and foreign consuls, was about 120 in 1907.³⁰ Unlike the big cosmopolitan treaty ports along China coast like Shanghai and Tianjin, there were no foreign newspapers, or foreign banks. As discussed by Nield, dangers for foreigners in Chengdu steadily increased from 1911 with anti-foreign riots upon the announcement of new Hankow-Chengdu railway to be built by a foreign syndicate.³¹ Marguerite Denis (Chou Yentung’s Belgian wife, and Han Suyin’s mother) also lived in Chengdu around the same time, between 1911-14. Han recalled her Belgian mother telling her how curious crowds of Chinese would follow her sedan chair, shouting “A foreign woman, a foreign she-devil, let us see her big nose...”³²

European women married to Chinese men and bearing Eurasian children in these inner settlements of China were often snubbed by the other European wives. When Chou Yentung worked along the Belgian-French Lunghai Railway, there was virtually no social contact between European wives of European engineers and European wives of Chinese engineers.³³ The wives of Belgian engineers would not receive the wives of Chinese engineers.³⁴ In other instances, they were described as women “who had committed the unpardonable sin for which there is no atoning.”³⁵

Adela Warburton, wife of Charles Qian, and her daughter Elsie Qian returned to Chengdu from England in 1914. The experience of the this interracial family in Chengdu brought out the fact that despite British laws and regulations, prevailing prejudices against offspring of Chinese men and European women could complicate life in small consular stations in China. When Adela went to register at the British Consulate in Chengdu, the British Consul Wilkinson attempted to force the couple to Mixed Court to invalidate their marriage and return the wife to England on grounds of bigamy since Qian had been contracted to an arranged marriage when he was a boy.³⁶ Adela by



Chinese diplomat Lu Zhengxiang and Belgian Berthe Bovy, married in 1899. (Source: [China Daily](#))

virtue of marrying a Chinese national had legally become Chinese and so did her children, even though her eldest daughter was born in England. She and her Eurasian children were refused registration by the British Consul in Chengdu. The irony was that Adela and Elsie actually sailed to China from London as British Subjects. By virtue of the rule of *Jus soli*, Elsie Qian was a British subject. Similarly, Han Suyin's mother, Marguerite Denis, also had the same experience when she went to the Belgian Consul in Hankow in 1913 – a city besieged by violent anti-foreign sentiments as well as revolutions against Yuan Shikai. She was told that she was considered Chinese because she had married a Chinese and if anything happened to her, the Belgian government would not be held responsible.³⁷

The Qians in midst of the political turmoil between the different military governors, left Chengdu for Shanghai in 1919 like most foreigners at that time. Unfortunately, Charles Qian, while still being Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, died in 1919. Adela took her Eurasian children to Shanghai. That same year, Adela gave birth to her youngest daughter in Shanghai and died from cholera soon after. The four Eurasian sisters suddenly found themselves orphaned and homeless in an unfamiliar province.³⁸ The extended Warburton family in England probably could not arrange for the return of the Eurasian girls to a post-war England, especially when they were considered “Chinese.” None of the Chinese extended Qian family came forward to claim custody of the four young Eurasian girls. Finally the Warburton girls were taken in by missionaries.³⁹ Elsie Qian, who was born in England and came to China as a British subject, had little choice but to remain in China as a Chinese and never left. With the anti-Western sentiments in new China in the 1950s and '60s, Elsie learned to “forget” her western language and British roots.⁴⁰ And in many ways, through official interpretation of her race and nationality, and through the need for self-preservation and survival, her Eurasian heritage was erased consciously and subconsciously.

1920s and 1930s: Pride, Privilege and Solidarity

The 1920s and '30s marked a new era of emerging Eurasian pride and recognition. This was particularly evident in Hong Kong as reflected in the Hong Kong Government Census Reports. After the category of Eurasian was erased from the census in 1921, it was reinstated in the 1931 census. The number of people who reported themselves as Eurasians in 1931 was 837 – an increase of 20 times over the total 42 reported in 1911.⁴¹ This change reflected a new generation of Eurasians in Hong Kong who were offspring of marriages rather than the product of temporary cohabitations. They were not bothered by any stigma of illegitimacy as felt by the previous generations. This also signaled a new way of perceiving Eurasian identity collectively and individually by members of this community in Hong Kong. Over in Mainland China, it was reported in the *South China Morning Post* that mixed marriages were becoming more common in Beijing and Tianjin as racial biases abated. However, recognition and acceptance there of Eurasian offspring from mixed marriages was still slow in coming.

In Hong Kong, the formal institutionalization of a Eurasian community was expressed through the founding of The Welfare League (同仁會) in 1930. This charitable organization was formed by a group of prominent Eurasians “for the purpose of relief and succor of the needy in the Eurasian Community...”⁴² In his inaugural speech, secretary Charles Anderson proudly articulated the strong sense of ethnic pride as a Hong Kong Eurasian:

Gentlemen, Eurasians in distress have to turn to Eurasians for succour – the outsider is unsympathetic if not overtly hostile... it has been said of us that we can have no unity... is a challenge to be faced and an insult to be wiped out... They do not realize that, after all, there is no gulf between a Chan and a Smith amongst us and that underlying the superficial differences in names and outlook, the spirit of kinship and brotherhood burns brightly... We Eurasians, being born in this world, belong to it. With the blood of Old China

*mixed with that of Europe in us, we show the world that in this fusion, to put it no higher, is not detrimental to good citizenship...the Eurasians within the seven seas are some of the people sent into this world to assist in the accomplishment of this ideal. In this part of China, we are a force to be forced with, a force to be respected and a force to be better appreciated..."*⁴³

As Teng discusses, Charles Anderson asserts "a unitary Eurasianness" where there is "no gulf between a Chan and a Smith."⁴⁴ The phrase "We Eurasians" expressed a celebration of a strong sense of solidarity and pride. That mixed heritage should no longer be a kind of family shame or secret is recalled by a number of Eurasian memoirists, such as Irene Hotung Cheng, Eric Peter Ho and Bruce Chan/Mackenzie.⁴⁵

Yet, as recorded by Eric Peter Ho, its President, the League's "lament" throughout its history continued to be the "short membership list" which had probably to do with the reluctance of some members to identify themselves as Eurasians in public.⁴⁶ Joyce Anderson Symons, daughter of Charles Anderson, recalled how her father had named four leading Hong Kong personalities "all secretly members of the League but who were publicly Chinese." The "duplicity" of some of its members continued to be an embarrassment within this official establishment of Eurasian solidarity.

A few years after the founding of the Welfare League, this sense of solidarity and benevolence for people of mixed heritage was expressed again by the doyen of the Hong Kong Eurasian community, Ho Tung – this time, not just for Eurasians in Hong Kong, but Eurasians in England, the "fatherland" of many Hong Kong Eurasians. With financial support from Ho Tung, the Chung Hwa School & Club was established in Pennyfields, East London for the education and employment of Eurasian children in London. Ho Tung bought a three-story house big enough to accommodate 100 Eurasian children. These children, who "often have to act as interpreters between their fathers and mothers, as the fathers speak little English and the mothers no Chinese," were given education on Chinese language and culture.⁴⁷

The sense of Eurasian solidarity and communality seen in Hong Kong was not as strongly felt in other foreign settlements in China. This was probably because Hong Kong Eurasians had, as mentioned earlier, been practicing endogamous marriage for three to four generations by the 1920s and 1930s. Eurasians in other parts of China, particularly larger treaty ports like Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin, tended to merge into the European communities, rather than forming their own. As I touched on previously, while mixed marriages in 1930s Beijing and Tianjin were slowly gaining acceptance, the recognition of their Eurasian offspring was much slower. In a 1935 article from *The South China Morning Post* entitled "Mixed Marriages," the author notes that:

*The crumbling of old outworn racial hatred is resulting in an increasing number of mixed marriages between East and West. Records show that despite Kipling large numbers of lovelorn couples are willing to meet each other half way, at least, and make a serious effort to find connubial bliss, despite the differences in colour, creed and background... The social stigma attached to the Oriental-Occidental marriages has almost completely disappeared from both Chinese and foreign circles in most sections of China, although the offspring of such unions find recognition much slower.*⁴⁸

The article also identified the increasingly common phenomenon of mixed marriages between European men and Chinese women and between returned Chinese (male) students and European women:

Chinese who attend universities in the United States or England frequently return with American or English wives. Even in the small American colony of Tianjin there are at least a half dozen Americans, including a college professor, newspaper correspondent, engineer

*and businessman with Chinese wives. At least four Chinese graduates from American universities are married to American girls.*⁴⁹

The social stigma attached to Eurasian offspring of mixed marriages, however, had yet to be worn down. In this same article, it was reported that the American wife of a Chinese man in Beijing had gone to the extreme of deciding not to have any Eurasian children, “so she told her husband to have children by a [Chinese] concubine and she would adopt and raise them as her own.”⁵⁰

In Herbert Lamson’s 1936 study on “The Eurasian in Shanghai,” he argued that Eurasians in the city were people who tended “to look down upon the native side” of their ancestry and resist “assimilation to native ways and loyalties.”⁵¹ This critical view of Shanghai Eurasians was evidenced by Joyce Anderson’s own experience. She recalled how in 1937 her Shanghai relatives fled the embattled city for Hong Kong, and foreign nationals began to flee China. After staying with the Andersons for a while, her Shanghai Eurasian relatives observed that they – the Hong Kong Eurasians – treated “the Chinese” far too well.”⁵²

Both Michael David Kwan and Han Suyin recalled the attitudes of Eurasian friends in Beijing and Tianjin in their memoirs. Some of the Eurasians depicted in their writings resonate with Lamson’s discussion of Shanghai Eurasians. Kwan’s Eurasian childhood in the 1930s Beijing Legation Quarter and Tianjin British Concession seemed to merge naturally with other European and American circles in the environment. As a child Kwan went to an American International School where his playmates were Americans and British. He said “We lived a charmed life in 1938. While the Japanese overran much of north China, the Concessions under foreign protection were out of their reach...”⁵³

Leading a privileged life in North China during the 1930s where his social circle mainly consisted of privileged Eurasians like himself, Kwan elucidated the unspoken hierarchy of Eurasians in his socio-economic strata. At the top of the ladder was “the crème de la crème” -Eurasians with legal European surnames who adopted western customs. These were the offspring of marriages between European men and Chinese women. However, they “saw themselves as being a cut or two above the natives.”⁵⁴ Then came the group with European family names who were offspring from unwed unions between European men and Chinese women. Without legal right to western surnames, this group Kwan referred to as “hyphens” like his uncle George Findlay-Wu. “In their eagerness to play down their Chinese side, they often adopted exaggerated western attitudes and became the worst snobs and bigots.”⁵⁵ Interestingly, compared to their counterparts in Hong Kong, Eurasian offspring of unwed mixed couples in Hong Kong tended to enhance and identify strongly with their Chinese side rather than their western one.

Lamson was quite critical of both the groups with European family surnames, and labeled them as a class of Chinese-despising hybrids. Han, who grew up in 1920s and ‘30s Beijing, remembered a Eurasian girl in her family’s social circle whom she believed was “less” of a “half-caste” because her father was a Greek doctor and she had a European surname. Her Chinese mother was “kept hidden in the house” away from the social scene so as not to affect her prospect of securing a good marriage. The girl, as Han recalled, was eventually able to marry a French clerk who worked in the French bank.⁵⁶

Kwan as a child had lived with his uncle George Findlay-Wu’s family in the international settlement in 1930s Tianjin. Findlay-Wu was the son of a wealthy Scottish man descended from a family of distillers, and his Chinese mother was the daughter of a Chinese merchant. They were never wed. The Findlay-Wus lived in a Tudor-style house on Lambert Road in the British Concession of Tianjin. It was “an English household” with “not a vestige of China in the house.” Chinese language was banned and the servants had to speak pidgin English.”⁵⁷ Their son, Kwan’s uncle George, married a British woman named Hester, who objected to their daughter dating a Eurasian boy called

Robert Wong. Even though Robert was Eurasian like her daughter, he was a Eurasian with a Chinese surname. Robert's father, like Kwan's own father, was a returned Chinese student from Cambridge who had married a British wife.⁵⁸

Kwan considered this group of Eurasians like Robert Wong and himself – Eurasians with Chinese surnames – as “the lowest rung on this social ladder.” Kwan added in a somewhat self-deprecating tone, “people of mixed blood with Chinese surnames were considered Chinese by everyone except other Chinese.”⁵⁹ Kwan's own experience in Eurasian/European circles – as well as in his own awkward encounter with his own paternal Chinese extended family in Shanghai – calls into question Lamson's assertion that Eurasians with Chinese fathers were more acceptable in the “Chinese cultural milieu” than those with European fathers.⁶⁰ When young Kwan first arrived at his father's extended family home in Shanghai, he was told by his Uncle Thirteen that “as a rule Mother [Kwan's Chinese paternal grandmother and the matriarch of the Kwan family] does not allow foreigners in the house.” He told his nephew “We will converse in Chinese.”⁶¹

Despite the stigma against Eurasians in the 1920s and 1930s Beijing, Eurasians did enjoy certain monetary privileges in their employment at foreign companies. Though not accepted as being equivalent to European, Eurasians placed far above the Chinese in the corporate ladder salary scale. Han's brother, George Chou (周子春), worked for a German Bank in 1925 as a Eurasian bank clerk. His salary was three times that of a Chinese clerk, who did exactly the same work and had been doing it for twenty years. But he was earning only one-fifth the salary of a young German boy at the firm. Seeing himself as a victim of the racial hierarchy, George told his sister somewhat indignantly that the German boy could not even spell German words properly.⁶²

The Eurasian world in Beijing during this time as described by Han Suyin was a “half-world, so cheerful and self-satisfied with small conceit” and “clinging to the arrogant white world whose dominion and privileges in Asia were never questioned (except by the Chinese, but they did not count in this small half-world of ours).”⁶³ Most of the secretaries in the office of the Beijing Union Medical College (PUMC) were European or Eurasian girls who either came from Tianjin or Shanghai, or had been trained there.⁶⁴ Han joined PUMC as a young typist at the Rockefeller Center in 1930. Eurasians were grouped less by family name than by nationality in the institutional pay scale. When her Eurasian colleague Hilda Kuo's application for naturalization as a British subject came through, Hilda was entitled to European pay as an English national.⁶⁵

Amongst this group of young Eurasian clerks and secretaries a sense of communality could be felt. They congregated at the French Club in the Legation Quarters with its skating rink and tennis courts as well as at music evenings at the German Club. They were conscious of the fact that they were socially above the Chinese and had access to places where Chinese were not allowed or might not have access. They were also conscious of how their Eurasian phenotypes could unintentionally draw amorous admiration, desire and jealousy. Han recalled how Chinese warlords and Manchu princes would bring along their Eurasian mistresses to parties and balls. She herself, as a junior secretary, had to fend off amorous advances from colleagues and put up with suspicious looks from the European wives of senior colleagues. Han and Fredi Jung, a German Eurasian clerk who was her PUMC colleague in the accounts department, were acutely aware of how Eurasian boys and girls were perceived – a stigma associated with the privilege of being above the Chinese, which was not easy to shake off. Fredi said “many Eurasian girls were brought up to think that going out with a white man was an honour.”⁶⁶

As mentioned, the recognition of their Eurasianness was also formalized in the institutional pay scale. A European secretary would normally earn \$350 per month, while a Eurasian secretary earned \$120 a month. Han herself, who had neither a European last name nor a foreign passport, began at \$35, and reached \$70 after two years. A Chinese clerk with ten years' experience earned only \$35.

The goal of many Eurasian secretaries and clerks was to cross the Eurasian line and edge closer to the European pay scale.⁶⁷ The privileged world so cherished by Han Suyin's generation came to an end with the Japanese Occupation in Hong Kong and China – as did their sense of privileged solidarity.

Japanese Occupation and Civil War (1940s) – Neutrality and Duplicities

During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong and international settlements in China, Eurasians' ambiguous status experienced a new phase. Eurasians were classified as one of the sub-groups under "Third Nationals" – mixing with the Axis group. Because of their racial hybridity, Eurasians were assured a kind of political neutrality. They were officially grouped as "Third Nationals" or "Neutrals" in Hong Kong and in China. Joyce Symons recalled how her father had to go to a counter at the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank (which had been commandeered by the Japanese) to "a strange section called 'Third Nationals,' a bureau which served Indians, Portuguese and Europeans from neutral or Axis states."⁶⁸

During the runup to the war in Hong Kong, some Eurasians changed their European surnames to Chinese ones to escape being pressed into the defense force. Joyce Symons saw the name-changing tactic as a cowardly act.⁶⁹ Other Eurasians, like Jean Hotung Gittins (1908-95), went the other direction, changing her maiden name to become more European. Jean Hotung married Bill Gittins, a more Westernized Hong Kong Eurasian who went by his European surname. In order to ensure her ability to join her Hong Kong University European colleagues at the Stanley internment camp, Dr. Selwyn Clarke, the Hong Kong Director of Medical Service, advised her to take the precaution of changing her name slightly. Instead of Mrs. W.M. Gittins, she became Miss Jean Gittins on the University Relief Hospital staff list. The British name "Gittins" now appeared as her maiden name instead of "Hotung" – rendering her more European and therefore, justifying her admittance to the Stanley Camp. Other Eurasians, like her own sister-in-law, Irene Gittins Fincher, told Emily Hahn, "I'm Eurasian...I won't go where I'm not supposed to."⁷⁰ Jean Ho Tung Gittins had also arranged for her two young Eurasian children (who were five and eleven years old) to go to Australia under the Evacuation Order from Whitehall. With an English family name and with their Caucasian phenotypes, the two children managed to pass as "pure" Europeans for the purpose of evacuation. Others were not so fortunate. At the July 1940 Legislative Council Meeting in Hong Kong, it was reported that some Eurasian evacuees who were "not of pure British descent" were "weeded out" in Manila by Government officials and returned to Hong Kong.⁷¹

During the battle of Hong Kong in December 1941, there was an all-Eurasian unit in the Hong Kong Voluntary Defense Corps (Company No. 3) which included Donald Anderson, the brother of Joyce Anderson, and Bill Gittins, the aforementioned husband of Jean Hotung. The unit suffered tremendous losses, "having lost all its officers and 70% of its men" by the time of its surrender on Christmas Day.⁷² British field officer Lieutenant Bevan Fields recalled how he was "impressed by the fine spirit and steadiness shown by the volunteers under my command... They were all Eurasians, most with a British father and a Chinese or Eurasian mother, a type which in Hong Kong had not been credited generally..."⁷³

Unlike the Chinese in Hong Kong who could return to their village in China or British civilians who could evacuate to Australia, the Eurasians were the only community who had no other home. They stayed and "stood their ground against the invaders with conspicuous bravery."⁷⁴ Indignation was expressed in a letter to the editor of the *South China Morning Post* concerning how young Eurasian soldiers were treated, "but one thing is assured him, even if his mother is excluded from the registration for evacuation...he will be given permission to fight and die for his father's flag."⁷⁵

The Japanese government, however, had found the Eurasians who could speak both Cantonese and English useful candidates for their intelligence service – and a living embodiment of their

propaganda for racial unity in Asia.⁷⁶ M. K. Lo, a prominent Hong Kong Eurasian (son-in-law of Ho Tung), was apprehended and kept in solitary confinement until he agreed to join the new government.⁷⁷ Victor Needa, a Eurasian jockey who was the son of a Dutch father and Japanese mother, had grown up speaking Japanese in his hometown of Qingdao before coming to Hong Kong.⁷⁸ He was remembered by Hahn as a “blessing” to the international circles and was able to save “the civilians from worse indignities because of his knowledge of Japanese speech...”⁷⁹ His Japanese blood “which had meant so much misery before” later became a source of liberation and “occasional exaltation.”⁸⁰ The Japanese Army and Navy treated him very well. He later became a “flourishing merchant” by collecting iron, bronze and aluminum for the Imperial Japanese Navy.⁸¹

The political loyalties of Robert Ho Tung, the doyen of Hong Kong’s Eurasian community, also came under question during wartime. During the pre-war years, Ho Tung had shown himself as a trusted citizen of the British Colonial government and was knighted by King George V in 1915. He had presented a warplane to the Chinese government and a couple of fighter planes to Britain’s Royal Air Force to fight the Japanese.⁸² During the Japanese occupation, he stayed in Macau for most of the time but managed to travel to Hong Kong now and then. Philip Snow writes that a British employee of Dodwell & Company in Hong Kong recalled that at a dinner with the Japanese, Ho Tung had praised the Co-Prosperity Sphere and thanked “the conquerors for all they had done for China.”⁸³ Another prominent Eurasian and member of Hong Kong’s Executive Council, Sir Robert Kotewall, was remembered in a number of memoirs as being duplicitous in his loyalties. After the surrender by the Hong Kong British Government in 1941, Kotewall quickly relinquished his British title and changed his name from Robert Kotewall to Lu Kuk Wo (羅旭龢).

Invited by (Japanese) Lieutenant-General Sakai to the Rose Room of the Peninsular Hotel on January 10, 1942, Kotewall showed slightly more enthusiasm for the new Japanese authority than might be expected for one who held a British title before the war. He expressed his gratitude “that the Japanese Army had avoided harming the people of Hong Kong or destroying the city...” and assured the Japanese victors that he and his colleagues would “put all our strength in Hong Kong and to cooperate with the Japanese Army authorities.”⁸⁴ He finished his speech with his famous “Banzai!” He also welcomed the arrival of General Isogai, and declared “on behalf of the Chinese community that the one and a half million people of Hong Kong shared in the reflection of the glory of the Imperial Army.”⁸⁵ Kotewall was later made to resign from the Hong Kong Executive Council following which he retired from public life. After the war, a total of 28 people in Hong Kong were found guilty of collaborating with the Japanese – of which seven were “Europeans or Eurasians.”⁸⁶

In Mainland China, the foreign protection enjoyed by international concessions in China came to an end during WWII. By early 1942, foreign nationals of Allied countries who were stranded in China were put into internment camps. Joyce Anderson’s sister, Marjorie Anderson, a British Subject from Hong Kong, was interned in the Lung Hwa camp in Shanghai. Joyce’s fiancé, Robert Symons, a Eurasian from Shanghai, was interned in the Yangchow camp in Shanghai.

The “charmed world” of Kwan’s childhood inside the Legation Quarter was shattered. Foreign nationals were rounded up for internment on a cold, blustery morning in January 1942. As a Eurasian in the Legation Quarter, young Kwan had to wear a white armband instead of a red armband like his



Prominent Hong Kong Eurasian Robert Hotung (seated, middle) was the son of Dutch-Jewish Charles Bosman (1839–1892), and local woman Sze Tai (施娣), of Bao'an (present-day Shenzhen) heritage. He is shown here with his brother Ho Fook (left, standing) and his maternal half-brother Ho Kum-tong (seated, right). Circa early 1920s. (Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=12842326>)

British and American friends. Kwan remembered watching as his friends were being shoved onto trucks on that cold morning. He was the only one in the American International School who did not have to climb up into the truck – an uneasy privilege for an eight-year-old. Kwan watched as Buzzy, an older American boy, mouthed something at him which he could only decipher years later as “coward.”⁸⁷ His Eurasianness for the first time had gained an uncomfortably duplicitous undertone.

With the departure of Americans and Europeans from the Legation Quarter, and the closing of the American school there, young Kwan had to transfer to a local Chinese school in Beijing. Kwan’s Eurasian phenotype from then on became an unwanted signifier of national and racial betrayal. The daily taunts and bullying Kwan experienced at the Chinese school reflected a deep-seated resentment towards anything foreign – including foreign blood in a person. This anti-foreign attitude was publicly encouraged by teachers. On one occasion, his teacher flicked his hair with her willow switch in front of the class:

“What color is it?” she sneered.

“The color of shit,” someone said from the back of the room... the teacher bared her teeth in a grin, and the tip of the stick travelled down my forehead to rest on the bridge of my nose.

*“Yang bi zhi” she spat, and “Foreign nose” became my nickname.*⁸⁸

As the situation in Beijing worsened, the Kwan family moved to Qingdao in 1943 where he was enrolled in St. Michael’s School for Boys, a German missionary school. There he met a slightly older Eurasian boy called Shao who protected him from bullying by Chinese students. “I guess we’re birds of a feather,” Shao told Kwan. The writer reflected on how “members of a minority groups have uncanny ways of recognizing each other.”⁸⁹ By the time the Japanese surrendered in 1945, the US Marines began arriving at Qingdao to assist the KMT in the disarmament of the Japanese. American servicemen filled the streets. Kwan recalled how the town welcomed the money brought in by the Americans. But there were also posters shouting “Yankee go home!” and “Down with Yankee imperialism!”⁹⁰ A new anti-foreign tension took charge of the school with the death of the last European brother (a Corsican priest) during the war. The two Eurasian boys became daily targets in school for teachers and students to vent their anti-foreign sentiments. Political essentialism on racial mixture rendered young Kwan and Shao – both Eurasian children of Chinese fathers and European mothers – whipping boys for both teachers and students. In times of adversity, their mutual empathy and solidarity against daily vitriolic attacks on their racialized faces was a source of support. One day Brother Feng, a senior Chinese brother, came up to the two Eurasian boys and scrutinized them one after another:

Are you yang gwei zhi? – foreign devils – he asked in a gentle voice.

“We’re Chinese,” I replied.

He hauled me up by a handful of hair, so that I danced on tiptoes.

“What color is this?”

“Brown, sir.” I winced.

“Is it the proper hair color for a Chinese?”

“I don’t know, sir!”

*He let go and I crumpled.*⁹¹

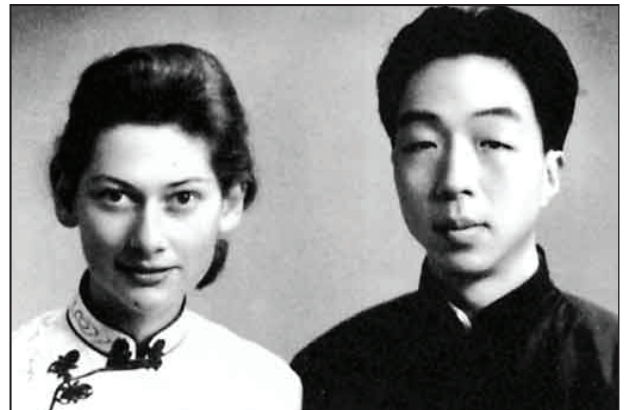
Young Kwan went home and got a pair of scissors and cut his hair as close to the scalp as he could. His British mother was aghast at the boy's determination to remove his brown fair hair – the cause of his daily misery at school. Kwan remembered how he felt when he looked at his own bald and blank-faced reflection in the mirror; it was a strategy not only to eliminate his racialized hair but a desire for anonymity and complete erasure of his mixed identity altogether – “Perhaps now I could disappear into the crowd.”⁹²

His empathy for others like him did not stop with Shao. As American servicemen began to sail off back to America, Kwan also remembered seeing Chinese women holding Eurasian babies at the wharf.⁹³ These were Eurasians of a different background facing a bleak and unknown future as the communist tightened their control on Qingdao. Kwan's daily hell in the acutely xenophobic school came to an end when his father arranged for him on to leave for Hong Kong where he joined a British system school. When his father had earlier shown him a picture of the school, to his great relief he immediately identified a number of students who were Eurasians like he and Shao.

1950s-1970s – Living Reminders of Foreign Imperialism

Even though Hong Kong was a British Crown colony, the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s across the Chinese border spilled over into Hong Kong in form of protests and riots by workers and students. Bombs were left in different parts of the city with notes that read “Chinese comrades, stay away.” Anti-colonial and anti-foreign sentiments were running high. Europeans and Eurasians during times of riots and protests became convenient victims for radical Chinese patriots to vent their anger against foreign imperialism.

Joyce Anderson Symons recalled how during the 1967 riots, taxi drivers would refuse to drive her even though she spoke Chinese. Dead rats were thrown into the gardens of her mother Lucy Perry and her sister Phyllis by “angry Chinese boys.”⁹⁴ Eurasians became walking embodiments of imperialism for Chinese with communist leanings, and targets of their anti-colonial frustration. The riot years also marked the first wave of Eurasian (as well as Portuguese and Chinese) diaspora from Hong Kong to the US, UK, Canada and Australia – the first major brain drain for the city.



Gladys Tayler (L) and husband Yang Xianyi (R) became prominent translators of Chinese literature into English at the Foreign Languages Press in Chungking. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gladys_Yang#/media/File:Yang_Xianyi_and_Gladys_Taylor.jpg)

Across the border, the Cultural Revolution gained momentum. China's door to the outside world was shut tight. Most foreigners left the country after 1949. Han Suyin's Belgian mother and her Eurasian sisters managed to leave China via Hong Kong for Europe and eventually the US in the early 1950s. Michael Kwan's British mother was able to leave for Hong Kong in 1948, eventually settling in Australia with her Chinese husband in the 1960s. But others chose to stay on. Gladys Taylor Yang was a British woman who married Yang Xianyi (楊憲益) after meeting him while studying at Oxford. The couple returned to the wartime capital of Chungking in 1940, where they became translators for the Foreign Languages Press in new China.⁹⁵ The Yang family suffered tremendously in the following decades. When Han Suyin visited Gladys and Xianyi in the late 1950s, the couple did not wish to talk about the Hundred Flowers Movement, during which they were jailed as “counter-revolutionaries.”⁹⁶ Gladys spent four years in solitary confinement during the Cultural Revolution, and their three children – a son and two daughters – were assigned to factories and work communes in the provinces. Their son Ye, who suffered from delusions about his racial identity, eventually took his own life.⁹⁷



Han Suyin (韩素音), pen name of Elizabeth Comber, born Rosalie Matilda Kuanghu Chou (周光瑚), was a physician as well as author. (Image: Ida Kar Collection, National Portrait Gallery, U.K.)

During the early post-war decades, Han Suyin herself was for a while suspected of duplicities, blacklisted and denied entry into the new China in the early 1950s. Yet, in the West, she was seen as an apologist and propagandist for the Chinese Communist Party.⁹⁸ From the 1950s to 1970s, Han could not enter America except on a waiver. She had to apply to the State Department each time she wanted to go the US. (This despite the fact that her semi-autobiographical novel, *[Love Is] A Many-Splendoured Thing*, had become a best-seller and major motion picture in the US in 1955.)⁹⁹

Despite her almost unabashed devotion to communism and praise for the communist system in her autobiographical writings, Han had great indignation towards the treatment of Eurasians in new China. In the last volume of her autobiography Han Suyin tracked down her Eurasian friends and their families. Not only were Eurasians targets of criticism, but the Chinese relatives of Eurasians had also suffered because of suspicions of “foreign connection.” Her own cousins in Sichuan suffered because of their connection with “foreigners” (meaning Han Suyin). One of her cousins was “grilled and grilled for weeks, accused of having illicit connections abroad and accused of having passed secrets...” His salary was cut and all his winter clothes were confiscated.¹⁰⁰

The experiences Han records were mostly of Eurasians like herself with Chinese fathers who were descendants of wealthy gentry class. These Eurasians had strongly identified themselves as Chinese. But the European heritage written on their faces became a form of self-incriminating evidence, despite their utter devotion and contribution to the “new” country.

During one of her visits back to Beijing, Han also ran into her Eurasian school friend from the French Convent School in Beijing. Sophia Liu Hualan was a Eurasian with a Chinese diplomat father and a Polish mother. Despite the fact that all external ties outside China were cut in the 1950s and 60s, Hualan and her siblings were called traitors, accused of “collusion with the outside” and having “illicit connection with foreigners.”¹⁰¹ Like many intellectuals, Hualan suffered from a nervous breakdown after the Hundred Flowers Movement and the subsequent Anti-Rightist campaign. Like many others, she was subjected to house searches. Han described how Hualan and her siblings “...were entirely Chinese in feeling, although they did not look Chinese...”¹⁰² Hualan’s brother was in charge of airplane engines at the airport. He was dragged to so many meetings that he exhibited signs of mental imbalance. Other relatives were not as fortunate. Two committed suicide after they were beaten in front of Hualan. One day in 1966, as Rosalie and Hualan were walking along a street in Beijing, a young boy of about six or seven years old, playing with his little friend, saw the two Eurasian women. The kids shouted “Foreign devil!” As the women were both born and raised in China and spoke perfect Chinese, it was a term which neither had heard for a long time.¹⁰³ Once again, this feeling of being an outsider in the city where one had grown up re-surfaced. When Han told a Chinese communist friend about the incident, she replied “That’s the fault of the people who do not integrate.” “But how can one integrate one’s looks? How can one become anonymous and merge totally when one’s nose and eyes and hair are different?”¹⁰⁴

Han also tracked down another Eurasian childhood friend, Simon Hua. His father was a close friend of Han's father; both were Chinese returned students who had studied engineering in Europe. Hua's mother was French. Simon was a true communist even as a young boy studying in Beijing. He had voluntarily returned to Beijing from Paris in 1951. He, like other intellectuals and bourgeoisie were labeled as a "rightists," and went through labor re-education.¹⁰⁵

One could argue that the sufferings of Han's Eurasian childhood friends were a result of their former privileged bourgeoisie background. However, the case of the Lu brothers demonstrates that Eurasians, even those with a working-class background, experienced equally harsh if not worse treatment during the Maoist years, beginning with Anti-Rightist Campaign and the subsequent Reign of Terror under the Red Guards. David Lu (b. 1944) and Brian Lu (b. 1946) were not the offspring of elitist returned students, but the children of a Chinese seaman who worked for P&O and a working-class British mother from Liverpool. The boys were taken back to Shanghai in 1947 to learn Chinese customs and traditions. Soon after their arrival, China closed its doors to the world. In the years of turmoil leading to the Great Leap Forward in 1958, the brothers, living with their fishermen relatives, were denounced, despite their young age, as "reactionary elements" and "English ghosts" with their light-colored skin and eyes. During the Cultural Revolution, their mixed heritage made them constant targets of suspicion. "On several occasions, during rampages by the Red Guards, the brothers were forced to hide in caves on a neighboring island until the witch-hunt abated."¹⁰⁶ Their birth certificates and letters from England were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution since any evidence of foreign ties would lead to punishment.¹⁰⁷ Though the European heritage on their faces was something they could not destroy nor deny, it was yet evidence enough to subject them to severe punishments.

Conclusion

The ambiguous racial status of Eurasians had confounded administrative systems, policies and authorities such as the census bureau, consulate officers, evacuation officers and Chinese school teachers with their parochial ideology towards hybridity. Given the varying perceptions of Eurasian-ness and assumptions of hybridity in different sociopolitical contexts at different times, Eurasians had, as a strategy for survival, resorted to various forms of ethnic shift and ethnic erasure. Their voluntary ethnic changes reflect the agency that Eurasian individuals displayed through personal choices in the vicissitudes of events during this period of modern China.

The ethnic orientations of Eurasians in Hong Kong and those in other European enclaves very often leaned toward very different, if not opposite, directions. Eurasians in Hong Kong were more ready to identify themselves with the Chinese populations through name-changing. However, through their practice of intermarriage within the Eurasian endogamous web – they had consciously or unconsciously maintained and even celebrated their common mixed origins. But Eurasians in treaty ports tended more often to hold onto their European surnames and preferred to merge into the European circles and marry Europeans. By the 1920s and 1930s, Eurasians communities in both Hong Kong and other foreign enclaves had grown substantially compared to the earlier generations.

Mixed marriages were more common. In some cases, recognitions of their Eurasianness was institutionalized. The world of Eurasian bourgeoisie, as recorded in some memoirs, was one of great social and economic privilege. However, during times of uncertainty, social and economic privilege were no longer recognized. As the Pacific war grew imminent, indignation was shown over the injustice for Eurasian soldiers who volunteered to fight in the war while their families were denied evacuation. The Japanese Occupation had flattened out all ethnic hierarchies in Hong Kong and other treaty ports. Eurasians, because of their uncertain racial status, were labeled as "Neutrals" or "Third Nationals." They were oftentimes sought out to participate in the Japanese administration. The end of the Pacific War marked the resumption of the Chinese Civil War. Chinese populations

in many major cities had become ever more xenophobic towards anyone who looked Western. By the late 1940s, most Eurasians as well as Europeans had left China. Many came and settled in Hong Kong before migrating to the West. For those left behind, life during the Maoist years inside China had been excruciatingly difficult. Their very faces were living reminders of foreign imperialism and national humiliation of a previous era. They become convenient and visible targets for political criticisms.

Han Suyin claimed that by the 1970s in China, there were only a few hundred Eurasians – “China’s smallest minority.”¹⁰⁸ However, one last surviving member of the early 20th-century Eurasian communities in China had not been forgotten: Martha Clara Maasberg, the grand aunt of Eric Ho. Martha was a German Eurasian married to Walter Roberts, a Hong Kong Eurasian who died in the 1920s.¹⁰⁹ Martha had lived alone in Shanghai for decades, witnessing the two world wars and the subsequent revolutions and purges. She was, as described by Eric Ho, the oldest British resident in China – or probably the oldest Eurasian in China. When the Queen Elizabeth II visited China in 1986, she had tea with Martha¹¹⁰ – a royal recognition of the hybrid community of a lost era.

NOTES

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102. Han Suyin, *My House has Two Doors*, 389.
103. Han Suyin, *Phoenix Harvest*, 55.
104. Han Suyin, *My House has Two Doors*, 390. Han had claimed that in her meeting with Chou Enlai in the early 1960s, he had spoken against Han chauvinism and condemned its manifestations, and that he would help Eurasians in China (391).
105. Han Suyin, *My House has Two Doors*, 266.
106. McElroy, "The Lost Boys," May 28, 2002, 1.
107. Ibid., 1.
108. Han Suyin, *Phoenix Harvest*, 183.
109. Peter Hall, *In the Web* (Birkenhead, England: Apprin Press, 2012). 109.
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The Language of “Racial Mixture” in Japan: How *Ainoko* became *Haafu*, and the *Haafu-gao* Makeup Fad

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This paper focuses on the history of words related to “mixed race” in Japan from the middle of the 19th century to the present.¹ Since the development of racial terminology in Japan is closely linked with changes in the racial composition of its population, the linguistic history is embedded in a general overview of the larger social history of mixed race in Japan. The two histories at times alternate and at times unfold together. Both are punctuated by examples of usage of labels like *ainoko* (betweenier, hybrid), *konketsuji* (mixed-blood child/offspring), and *haafu* (half) in dictionaries, literature, and life, and of attitudes toward such labels. They are also punctuated by asides about racially-mixed Japanese and others, whose lives dramatize the extent to which they have generally been accepted and recognized in Japan for their achievements and contributions as integral members of Japanese society. The two historical streams flow into the last three parts, which describe the growth of the *haafu-gao* (half-face) fad in Japan’s fashion and makeup culture and industry since the late 20th century, and argue why the ways in which it racializes “Japanese,” and cultivates an envy for the faces and bodies of Eurasian fashion and makeup models, constitute a pathology that complicates the lives of many racially-mixed Japanese and others – in Japan and elsewhere.

The purpose of this paper is to present in English some of the information I have uncovered in the course of several years of original research using mostly previously unreported primary materials,² and an analysis of its significance in the sweep of Japan’s social history. I have given the era up to the end of WWII as much attention as postwar Japan, because many academics today tend to focus only on the postwar period, especially the present, with little or no awareness of either the large and vibrant population of racially-mixed people in Japan before the end of WWII, or the continuity of this population in postwar Japan, without which the “GI Babies” of early postwar fame would not have been able to gain acceptance as quickly as they did. I conclude my essay with the *haafu-gao* (half-face) fad for two reasons: Firstly, all of its elements, from the word *haafu* (half) itself to the fascination with Eurasian faces, spring from the prewar period;. Secondly, the fad is deeply rooted in the racialism of the past, which is alive and well today, as in the public claim by an educator that Japan is “the world’s purest [racio-ethnic] nation without mixture.”³

Introduction: From antiquity to the 1850s

Contrary to such romantic pride in racio-ethnic purity, the Japanese people today are a product of many centuries of expansion, migration, and mixture. The population of Japan in the middle of the 19th century did not yet include many descendants of migrants beyond its closest neighbors, but anthropologists recognize that it was a mixture of East Asian, Northeast Asian, and Pacific Asian populations. Japan’s earliest official histories, centering on the fifth-eighth centuries, have stories about mixture between different races of Japanese, and between Japanese and others. Even the imperial family is unambiguously acknowledged to be a product of racial mixture, broadly defined.

Although Europeans began coming to Japan in the mid-16th century, by the mid-17th century contacts with foreigners had been forbidden or extremely restricted. Japanese who left Japan without permission were subject to execution if they returned. Nonetheless, sanctioned and secretive sexual fraternization between Japanese and foreigners in Hirado, Nagasaki and elsewhere naturally resulted in children. Some such offspring were removed or exiled, or for other reasons left

Japan, at times with their mothers or fathers. Others remained.

A mixed-race child's status depended on many factors. Children were generally regarded as affiliated with their fathers, but custody was contentious. Japan was generally reluctant to let a child of a Japanese be taken from Japan. The Dutch East India Company, however, considered the offspring of Dutch men with local women its chattels. After the death of Cornelis van Nijenroode in 1633 as he prepared to leave Japan, for example, the Company insisted on taking custody of his daughters by different Japanese women in Hirado. Cornelia van Nijenroode (1629-c1692) and her half-sister ended up in Batavia. Cornelia became the wife of Pieter Cnoll, who went on to become the first head merchant of Batavia Castle. They had many children, and she herself became a merchant, then a widow, and finally went to Holland to litigate a divorce against an abusive second husband. Some correspondence between her and her family in Japan survives. A portrait of her with Cnoll and two of their daughters, painted in 1665, hangs in the Rijksmuseum in The Netherlands, proof that life went on for the descendants of interracial unions in early 17th century Japan.⁴

Life also went on for Tei Seikō (1624-1662), as he is known in Japan, referring to Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Zheng Chengong) in Chinese, the most famous Chinese of part-Japanese descent in his time. Born in Hirado to a Japanese mother and a Chinese merchant-cum-pirate father, who was loyal to the Ming dynasty, Tei evicted Dutch colonialists from Taiwan in order to mount a rebellion from the islands against the Manchu Qing dynasty. He failed, but was memorialized by Japanese playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725) in the *bunraku* (puppet) play *Kokusenya kassen* [The battles of Koxinga/Coxinga], first performed in Ōsaka in 1715. The story was later adapted into a kabuki play, and there are also film versions, including a joint Japan-China production in 2001.

Racialized labels in Japan existed well before the Meiji period, when they began to change into the labels more familiar today. By the 18th and 19th centuries, Japan was treating children born between Japanese women and foreigners, mostly Chinese or Dutch, as belonging to their mothers. They were Japanese and so could not leave with their fathers. Chinese were *Tōjin* (唐人 Tang people), referring to Tang China, which had contributed to Japan's culture during the 7th-10th centuries, when some children born in China, between Japanese envoys to China and Chinese, settled in Japan. Portuguese and Spaniards were *nanbanjin* (南蛮人 southern barbarians), a Chinese term alluding to their southern origins, while Dutchmen were *kōmōjin* (紅毛人 red-haired-men), which signified their hair color. Between the mid-17th and mid-19th centuries, when trade with Japan was strictly limited to Dutch and Chinese vessels in Nagasaki, and to Chosenese ships in Tsushima, some mistress relationships between Japanese and foreigners were recognized by local magistrates.

By the time Commodore Perry arrived with his "black ships" in Ryūkyū (Okinawa)⁵ and Japan in 1853 and 1854, there was a small population of mixed-race, mostly "Dutch Japanese" and "Chinese Japanese" in Japan. Kusamoto Ine (1827-1903) would be Japan's first female doctor practicing the Dutch and German medicine she learned first from her father's disciples, then from him. With the opening of treaty ports and the foreign settlements in Japan, fraternization between foreigners of many races and local people – as well as between Japanese who ventured overseas to study – produced many children, some in wedlock, others not. As in earlier times, two broad categories of mixed-blood children lived in Japan – those who grew up with both parents, and those brought up by their mother or her family, or sometimes by their foreign or Japanese father. Japanese who lived with or married foreigners sometimes encountered disapproval or contempt.

The birth of the term *haafu* on the streets of Yokohama

During the late 1800s, children of mixed unions also had to contend with discrimination, whether they lived in the mainstream of Japanese society, or in an extraterritorial foreign settlement. In Japanese they were most likely called *ainoko* (間児, 間子, 間の子, 合の子, 合いの子, あひの

こ, あいのこ) which means “child [born] between [parents of different breeds],” i.e., “between-er” or “cross” or “hybrid.”⁶ J.C. Hepburn’s *Wa-Ei gorin shūsei* [Japanese-English aggregation of words] defined *ainoko* as “One born of mixed breed; an Eurasian” (1974 edition of 1886 3rd edition). “Eurasian” is given as an example of a “mixed breed” person. The mixture could be anything. Ōtsuki Fumihiko’s *Daigenkai* [Great sea of words], published in 1932, cited the term *ainoko-bune* (間子船) from an 1855 source that explained its meaning as a ship with both “Japanese style” and “Western style” features. Today *ainoko* is considered a discriminatory word when used toward people, but some people still use it in the vernacular to describe hybrid (*haiburiddo* ハイブリッド) designs and animals.

The word “mixed-race” was translated *zasshu* (雑種 assorted seeds/species/races, hence “hybrid” or “cross” or “mongrel”)⁷ in *Fuon sōzu Ei-Wa jii* [An English-Japanese dictionary with attached pronunciations and pictures], compiled by Shibata Masayoshi (Shōkichi) and Koyasu Takashi, and published in 1873. In 1884, Takahashi Yoshio transliterated “mixed-race” as *mikkisudo reesu* (ミツキスドレース mixed-race) in *Nihonjinshu kairyō ron* [On improving the Japanese race]. These expressions, as Sino-Japanese translations or phonetic transliterations, were generally limited to writing.

Konketsu (混血 mixed blood) and *konketsuji* (混血児 mixed-blood child/offspring),⁸ which became common expressions during the 20th century, appear in the late 1890s. In dictionaries, *konketsuji* first appeared in 1932 in *Daigenkai*, and *konketsu* first appeared in Shinmura Izuru’s *Genrin* [Forest of words] in 1949. However, *konketsuji* was used as early as 1898 in *Yomiuri shinbun*, a major newspaper, and *konketsu* is found in *Jinshu tetsugaku kōgai* [Summary of racial philosophy], published in 1903 by Mori Rintarō, a medical doctor better known as the novelist Mori Ōgai (1862-1932). In this book, Mori criticized Joseph-Arthur Gobinou’s *Essai sur L’inégalité des Races Humaines* (1853-1855), but he had read it in the German, thus translating “Blut” and “vermengen” as “ketsu” (血 blood) and “kon” (混 mixed), hence *konketsu* (mixed blood).⁹

Konketsu and *konketsuji* were the usual terms in publications until the late 1960s and 1970s, when they began to be replaced by *haafu* (ハーフ). However, the Chinese characters for *konketsuji* could be read *ainoko* or even *haafu* and were sometimes clearly marked to be read this way. *Haafu* was not a new term, though. The Yokohama novelist Kitabayashi Tōma (1904-1968) used *haafu* as a free-standing word in early 1930, in an episode of *Perushiya neko* [Persian cats], a novel he serialized in a Yokohama newspaper from 1929 to 1930.¹⁰ This single example survived in a substantial revision published in 1932 as *Kyoryūchi no oka* [The hill of the (foreign) settlement (The Bluff)].¹¹ In 1930, Kitabayashi also used *haafu* as a reading for the characters for *konketsuji* in a scene in *Machi no kokusai musume* [International girls of the cities], his first novel to be published in a book.¹² However, in the slightly revised 1934 edition, *haafu* became *Ireppu* (イレップ Europe), apparently meaning someone of European descent.¹³ “*Isamashiki kentōka*” [The Brave Boxer], a short story published in 1931, also includes an instance of *konketsuji* read *haafu*, and this survived in the 1933 anthologized edition.¹⁴ No other instances of *haafu* in publications come to light until the early 1950s, when Hirano Imao (see below) referred to the word as something he was called when a boy in the 1900-1910s.

Haafu was first listed as a synonym of *konketsuji* in the 1973 edition of Kanazawa Shōzaburō’s *Kōjirin* [Wide forest of words]. This reflects the fact that *haafu* had surfaced in the entertainment world and mass media in the late 1960s. It quickly became popular enough that a group of girls calling themselves *Gooruden Haafu* (ゴールデン・ハーフ Golden Half) debuted as singers in 1970. Shortly after the group disbanded in 1974, one of its members, Takamura Runa (1952-2004), was quoted to have said “I hate the word *haafu*. I’d rather be called *ainoko*. I’m not bluffing. *Haafu* feels halfway, half done. I don’t like that.”¹⁵ By the 1980s, though, *haafu* had become the most fashionable racist label for mixed-blood people in Japan. As of now, 2017, it is not only the dominant word for people perceived as racially-mixed, but has become a synonym for “exotic,” especially “part Caucasian” or “Eurasian” attractiveness in the fashion and entertainment worlds.

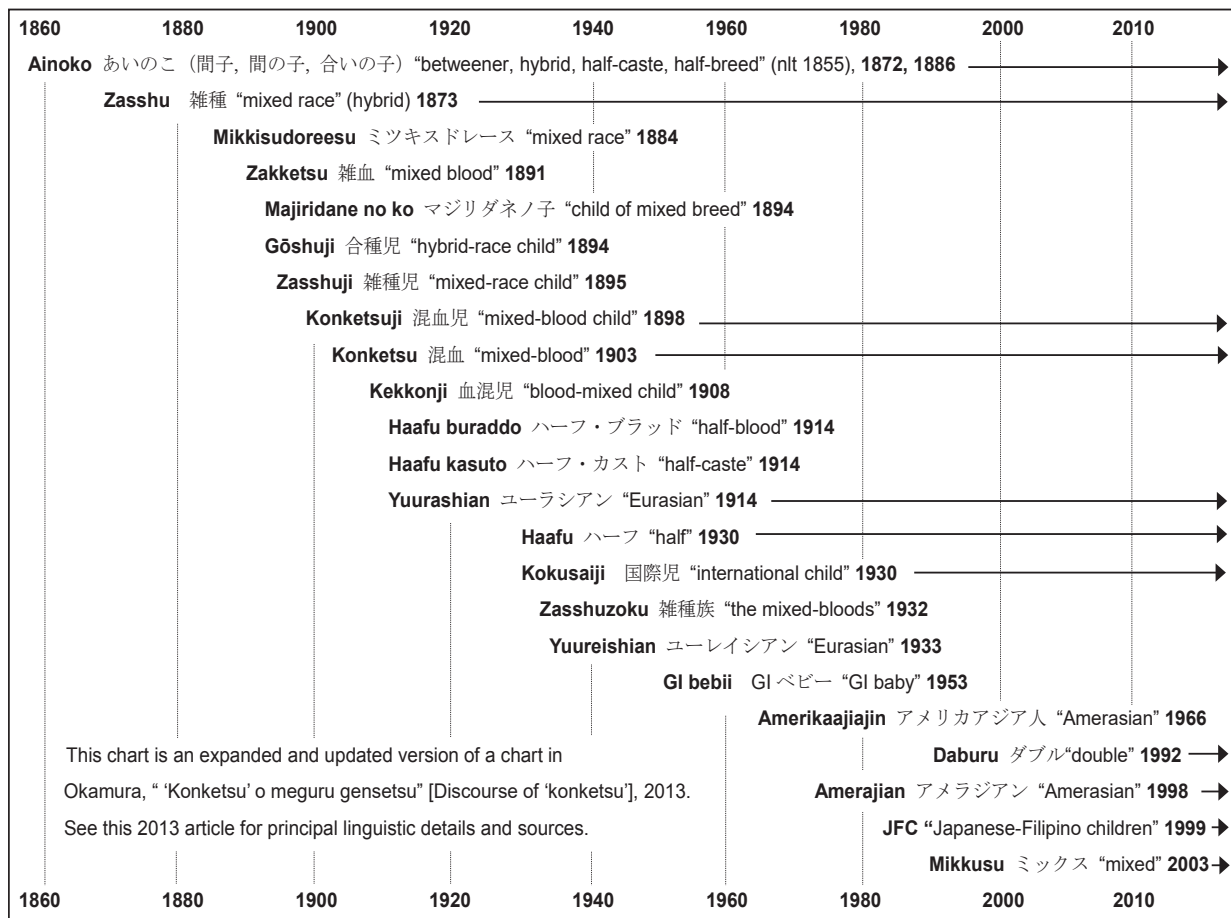


Chart 1: Chronology of Japanese terms for racial mixture (Hyoue Okamura, 2017)

Haafu probably originated as a port-town abbreviation of "half-blood" (*haafu-buraddo* ハーフ・ブラッド) or "half-caste" (*haafu-kasuto* ハーフ・カスト),¹⁶ both of which are found in Katsuya Eizō's *Gairaigo jiten* [Dictionary of words that came from outside], published in 1914. "Half-and-half", which is listed in the 1931 and 1960 editions of different English-Japanese dictionaries compiled in Japan, is also a candidate, as is "half-breed" (*haafu-buriido* ハーフ・ブリード). "Half-caste" has been used in Japanese, as in 1956, when a popular novelist, writing in a major weekly news magazine, complained about fashion models he called "mannequin beauties" – including one he likened to a "half-caste" (*hafukasuto*) [of a Japanese] with [someone from] a different country of the same Orient."¹⁷ "Half-blood" appears mainly as an English translation of the Chinese characters for *konketsu* (mixed-blood), such as in the title of a 1953 journal article on Japanese history, a poster for a 1953 movie, and the jacket of a 1971 record.¹⁸

At the moment, there is no clear and unambiguous etymological link between *haafu* and "half-blood." The origin of *haafu* be what it may, all English candidates are defined in terms of *konketsu* (mixed blood). And all current editions of Japan's major Japanese dictionaries define *haafu* as *konketsu* and/or *konketsuji*. In 2004, *Asahi shinbun*, a major newspaper known for its somewhat leftist and sometimes politically correct stances, added both of these terms to its list of "discriminatory words" (*sabetsu yōgo*). However, not all such usage guides agree with this stance. In mass media and the Internet, *haafu* (half) and "*kwootaa*, *kuootaa*" (クォーター, クォーター quarter),¹⁹ and "*hachi-bun-no-ichi*" (八分の一 one-eighth), continue to racialize fractions of impure "foreign" blood (血 *chi*), in the same manner that mulatto, quadroon, and octoroon in English refer to quanta of "black" blood.

Terms related to racial mixture today

In academia, *konketsu* and *konketsuji* remain fairly common terms, especially in studies that include historical periods. While *haafu* dominates usage in the non-academic world, if you ask what *haafu* or any of its alternatives mean, and press for clarifications of ambiguous answers, people generally end up using “blood” (*ketsu*, *chi*) metaphors, which everyone understands as meaning “genes” hence “race.” A good example of the way in which *haafu* is essentialized as “mixed blood” can be seen in *Haafu mania* (Half Mania), a 2013 collection of dramatic caricatures and profiles of over 200 people, some of whose ancestries stretch the meaning of *haafu*. The subtitle claims the book will introduce “the mixed bloods of famous people of Japan” (*Nihon no yūmeijin no konketsu*) through caricature.²⁰ (Figure 1)

The appropriateness of *haafu* has been challenged by a number of people who favor words like *daburu* (ダブル double) or *mikkusu* (ミックス mix, mixed). In 1994, the mother of a mixed-race child wrote to *Asahi shinbun* that *haafu* was negative because it suggests that someone is “half” something. She argued that mixed-race children have two roots, hence *daburu* would be more positive. As early as 1983, Adair Nagata, the president of Nishimachi International School in Tokyo, had advocated the use of “double” in *The Japan Times*, which is published in English. And in 1998, a group of photographers published a study of families consisting of Japanese and Koreans (or Chosenese) couples and their children, which promoted *daburu* in its title. This book inspired some Korean/Chosenese publicists to endorse *daburu* rather than *haafu*.²¹ After three decades of advocacy, however, the *daburu* camp is very small. (See Chart 2, next page.)

Though *haafu* is a generic term for offspring of racio-ethnically different parents, some people want to limit its use to certain kinds of *haafu* or qualify its use when speaking of various kinds of *haafu*. Some people on Okinawa use *shima haafu* (島ハーフ island half) to refer to mixed-blood Okinawans who are raised beyond the influence of the English-speaking “base culture” around U.S. military bases, and can’t speak English. But this implies that *haafu* can speak English – a stereotype that Sandra Häfelin (b. 1975) lampoons in her cartoon-illustrated books, which poke fun at *haafu* stereotypes, hoping to raise awareness about their silliness.²² (Figure 2) Some mixed-race people in Okinawa dislike the word *haafu* because of its local association with “base culture.”

The newest generic label for mixed-race people is *mikkusu*. Historically, “mixed” was transliterated as *mikkisudo* (ミツキスド) or *mikusuto* (ミクスト) in relation to *reesu* (レース race) as early as 1884, but it didn’t survive. The English term is used by “Mixed Roots Japan,” which promotes “mixed identity” not limited to racial mixture, but *mikkusu* in reference to racial mixture among human beings has not gained momentum in mainstream Japanese usage. *Mikusu* (ミクス) has appeared as a transliteration of “mix” in Shinmura Izuru’s *Kōjien* [Wide garden of words], Japan’s best-known desktop dictionary, since the first edition in 1955, and *mikkusu* was added as a variant in the second edition in 1969. *Mikkusu* is now the standard variation for a “blend” of something, or in terms like *mikkusujuusu* (mixed juice). A dog that might be called a *zasshu* or *buchi* (ブチ) or even *ainoko* (all of which mean “mutt” or “mongrel,” “cross” or “hybrid”) is now more cutely called a *mikkusu*, and *haafu* has been used to refer to crosses of pedigreed dogs.²³

Images in Meiji, Taishō, and prewar Shōwa fiction

During the Meiji (1868-1912), Taishō (1912-26), and Shōwa (1926-45) periods, numerous Japanese short stories and novels, and a few plays, featured racially-mixed characters in different settings in Japan, or in other countries. The shortest list would include works from the 1910s-1930s by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Asahara Rokurō, Itō Gingetsu, Itō Ken, Kishida Kunio, Kitabayashi Tōma, Satomi Kon, Tanizaki Jun’ichirō, and Uematsu Misao. The stories by Kitabayashi are the most important here, but novels by Itō and Tanizaki also warrant comment.

Japanese	English	Usage
ハーフ haafu	half (blood)	The most common label for racial and racioethnic mixture in Japanese today. Generally a person with one-half "foreign blood." Sometimes includes other "blood" (<i>chi</i>) quanta, especially " <i>kuootaa</i> ." Sometimes connotes "half-white" or "Eurasian." Also used for mixes of varieties of some animals.
クォーター kuootaa	quarter (blood)	A person with one-fourth "foreign blood." As a label in racist Japanese, "1/4" is usually equivalent to "3/4ths" in racist English, and vice versa. People in America who claim to be "a quarter Japanese" would be " <i>yonbun no san</i> " (3/4ths foreigner) in Japan. Also used for some animals.
ミックス mikkusu	mixed (race)	Limited usage. However, it is used in the Japanese name of Mixed Roots Japan (ミックスルーツ・ジャパン). Mixed-breed pets are increasingly called " <i>mikkusu</i> " rather than " <i>buchi</i> " or " <i>haiburiddo</i> ."
ダブル daburu	double (identity)	Limited usage. Regarded as "politically correct" by some people, including a few parents and educators. Adopted by some individuals or families with mixed Korean/Chosenese and Japanese roots.
国際児 kokusaiji	international child	Once popular in Okinawa. Rarely used by academics. Regarded as "PC" by some people, but " <i>kokusai</i> " (international) itself is commonly racialized in Japanese.
混血児 konketsuji	mixed-blood child/offspring	Still used in academic and other historical writings. Rarely used in mass media, and some usage guides consider it discriminatory.
混血 konketsu	mixed blood	Rarely used in mass media. However, it continues to be used to define racial (<i>jinshu-teki</i>) or racioethnic (<i>minzoku-teki</i>) mixture in definitions of "haafu" and related blood-quantum terms, as "blood" (<i>chi</i>) is commonly used as a metaphor for descent, including racial or racioethnic descent.
アメラジアン Amerajian	Amerasian	"America-centric" term used by Pearl S. Buck to refer mainly to children fathered by American servicemen in Asia with local women. Used in Okinawa with essentially this meaning by AmerAsian School Okinawa (AASO). Otherwise, the word has practically no currency in Japan.
ユーラシアン Yuurashian	Eurasian	Used in Japanese mainly as a geographical term. Rarely used as a racial term in Japanese media. Occasionally used in Japan by racially mixed people brought up in English-speaking environments.
雑種 zasshu	mixed race, hybrid, cross	First Japanese translation of "mixed race." Now deemed derogatory toward people but still used in biology to mean " <i>haiburiddo</i> " (hybrid). A "mutt" or "mongrel" dog might be called a " <i>zasshu</i> " or " <i>buchi</i> " or " <i>mikkusu</i> ."
あいの子 ainoko	betweenner, hybrid, cross	Rarely used in mass media, and considered discriminatory as a label for people. However, occasionally used to describe "mixed" or "hybrid" designs, and animals such as dogs, cats, and fish.

Chart 2: Current usage of Japanese terms for racial mixture (Hyoe Okamura, 2017)

Itō Gingetsu (1871-1944) is best remembered for *Nik-Kan gappō mirai no yume* [Dreams of the future of a Japan-Korea union], a novel about the unification of Japan and Korea. He published the work in 1910 several months before Korea joined (was annexed by) Japan and became a part of Japan called Chōsen. But he set the story 70 years in the future, after there had been considerable mixture of the two populations, and some mixture with other national populations. The novel follows the offspring of mixed marriages through their various upbringings. In the novel, some critics claimed that mixed people were of bad character and questioned their loyalty to the union. Others contended that so long as they were raised to be patriotic, there would be no problem. Some ethnonationalists (*minzoku-shugi-sha*) in Japan today also worry about the loyalties of *haafu* and dual nationals.²⁴

Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965), one of Japan's most popular novelists, lived for a while in Yokohama, and several of his stories reflect an insider's view of interracial relations in the city. In *Nikukai* (1923), a movie director admires a girl who has some "western blood" (*seiyō no chi*). He especially likes the "whiteness" (*shirosa*) of her skin, which was different from the "whiteness" of a "westerner" (*seiyōjin*) and had an "Oriental" (*Tōyō-teki-na*) look about it. He describes her beauty as more like that of a "mixed-blood child of a Chinese and Portuguese" (*Shinajin to Poruchugiisu to no konketsuji*).²⁵

When the protagonist of *Chijin no ai* (1925) falls foolishly in love with a big-eyed, playful "modern girl" (*moga, modan gaaru*) and tells her she looks like Mary Pickford, she responds that people say she looks like an *ainoko*. Later he says some of her features are like those of a "westerner," and he tells her they "depart from [those of] a Japanese" (*Nihonjin-banare ga shite iru*). This is a variation of an expression that is still very commonly used today to describe someone who looks or acts a bit differently from what a "typical (racialized) Japanese" is supposed to be like. In a theater lobby, people whisper about her. "What is that woman?" "An actress maybe?" "Maybe a *konketsuji*?" In the past, racially-mixed people were likely to hear whispers of *ainoko* or *konketsuji*. Today they hear *haafu*.²⁶

Realistic *haafu* in the fiction of Kitabayashi Tōma

The 1920s and 1930s were decades of "internationalization" (*kokusaika*) for people living in port towns like Yokohama. Ships from all over the world visited the ports, and the local bars, restaurants, and hotels were patronized by "marines" (seamen) of all nationalities. Many foreigners also resided in the towns, and not a few were permanently settled. The novelist Kitabayashi Tōma (1904-68) set his stories in and around the waterfront of Yokohama, and he himself was a well-known *mobo* (*modan booi*, modern boy) denizen of the entertainment districts of Yokohama and Tokyo. Kitabayashi brought his *haafu* (mixed-blood, *ainoko*) characters to life. Their backgrounds ranged from tragic to privileged. Some grew up as the children of sailors, or orphans, in an *ainoko buraku* (mixed-blood slum) in the Sagiya, Negishi neighborhood of Yokohama. He called them *kokusaiji* (国際児, international children), and likened their ignorant mothers to old shoes cast off by their foreign lovers. Some of his mixed-blood characters become delinquents and criminals. His main characters, though, rise above their circumstances and some become heroes. Or they are brought up by parents who provide them with good schooling, but they face ordinary problems as they grow up and learn how to survive as adults.

Kitabayashi used the term *haafu* very sparingly, preferring *ainoko* and *konketsuji*. But *haafu* appears in scenes involving intimate conversations between local people, which suggests that the word was familiar among "Hamakko" (Hamaites, Yokohamans), including the mixed-blood characters in his novels. Some of his mixed-blood characters have street handles like "Ainoko [Name]." But at least one character refers to Henry, a popular mixed-blood lad who creates a lot of jealousy among his girlfriends, as a "kirei-na *haafu*" (beautiful half).²⁷

Kitabayashi was familiar with the neighborhoods and haunts in which he set his novels, which capture the local milieu, and in places read like anthropological reports. His wife had been a

classmate of the vocalist Satō Yoshiko (1906-78), who was born in Kōbe to a French mother and a Japanese father. Satō makes fictional appearances in two of his stories, the 1930 novel *Machi no kokusai musume* [International girls of the cities], and the 1955 novella “*Konketsuji shōfu Rizu no shōgai*” [The life of the mixed-blood prostitute Rizu].

One of Kitabayashi's more interesting characters is the protagonist of the short story “*Hikyō naru [Yaroo] Joo*” [Joe the coward/Yellow Joe], published in 1937.²⁸ Joe's father, an American of German descent, managed a small hospital in Berkeley (California), and his mother, as described in the American way, was “an Oriental with poison black hair and foxy eyes.” She was actually Japanese, but as the novel explains, “in America, whether you're a Jap or a Chink, or even a Malay, you're the same ‘Oriental’.”

Kitabayashi, a hack writer in the eyes of critics who are mesmerized by Tanizaki, knew how to tell stories, some tragic, others more hopeful. He could be accused of using his racially-mixed characters to vent his own animosities toward arrogant white westerners. But compared to Tanizaki, who used his characters to express his fetishes about feminine beauty, Kitabayashi attempted to see Japan's mean streets through the eyes of *ainoko*, *konketsuji*, and *haafu* – long before World War II, the postwar Occupation, and the birth of the “GI baby” generation.

The postwar “mixed-blood problem” that wasn't

The genetic legacies of the Allied Occupation of Japan from 1945-1952 include today's descendants of the children who would not have been born in Japan, or anywhere, if not for the ways in which the Empire of Japan was dismantled and occupied. Of concern here are the relatively few such children who were born between mainly male Allied military personnel and mostly Japanese women, for they became the focus of the so-called “*konketsuji* problem” that nagged some critics and officials into the 1960s.

The “problem” was not about the many kinds of mixed-blood children who had been born in East, Northeast, Southeast, and Pacific Asia, between Japanese and local people, before and after the end of WWII. Nor was it about the much larger populations of various kinds of mixed-race people who were already in Japan when the Occupation began, or those who were born in Occupied Japan between Japanese, or between foreigners, or between Japanese and foreigners who were not affiliated with the Allied Powers. And it did not refer to racially-mixed children in Okinawa, which was captured by the United States in 1945, separated from Japan, and not returned until 1972.

The “problem” concerned only the relatively small population of children who were born in Japan to Japanese women and mostly foreign military personnel during or shortly after the Occupation of Japan – or rather, it concerned social attitudes toward such children.

A 1953 survey conducted by the Children's Bureau of the Ministry of Welfare reported that 3,490 “so-called mixed-blood children” were known to local obstetricians and midwives. “So-called” (*iwayuru*) alluded to the fact that “mixed-blood child” (*konketsu jidō*)²⁹ was the technical name for such children, as well as the fact that the survey included only the children of Japanese mothers and foreign soldiers or military-affiliated civilians. Hence mixed-blood children of foreign mothers, and of foreign fathers of “Japanese, Chinese, or Korean descent,” were excluded. “Consequently, only children whose skin, eye, and hair color, and facial features, are notably different from those of the Japanese race (*Nihon jinshu* 日本人種)” were objects of the survey.³⁰

The 1953 survey also excluded children living in child welfare facilities, including orphanages, which accounted for about 1,500 children, including so-called “mixed-blood orphans” (*konketsu koji* 混血孤児). So in 1953, there were roughly 5,000 – and possibly as many as 10,000 – children in Japan who were fathered by Occupation personnel.³¹ Mixed-blood orphans constituted part of the

much larger population of children of all ages who had lost their families during the war. Some war orphans were taken in by relatives, some by orphanages or welfare facilities, and a few survived on the streets.

The 1953 survey covered practically every conceivable aspect. The following general profile illustrates the diversity of the conditions of the mainstream “so-called mixed-blood child” population:³²

84.3% had American fathers. 7.7% had fathers of other known nationalities, and the nationalities of 8.0% of the fathers were unknown.

77% had been acknowledged by their father, 20% were unacknowledged, and acknowledgment was uncertain for 2.9%.

Their presumed “colors” were 86.1% “white,” 11.5% “black,” and 2.5% “unknown.”

19.4% were being raised by both “Real Parents,” 48.8% by their “Real Mother Only,” 16.7% by other relatives, and 26.3% by biologically unrelated “caregivers.”

During the Occupation, Japanese journalists and foreign correspondents in Japan published very few reports about the children fathered by Occupation troops. Some early reports angered GHQ/SCAP (General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers), which prohibited articles and books that criticized Occupation policy or otherwise threatened to disturb public order. Some books, articles, and fictional stories came out in Japan immediately before and after the Occupation ended in 1952. The rest of the 1950s saw an explosion of publications examining the moral effects of U.S. and other foreign military bases on women and children in surrounding communities, prostitution, and the so-called “mixed-blood-child problem” (*konketsuji mondai* 混血児問題).

The phrase “X *mondai*” suggests that X is a problem. The meaning of “*konketsuji mondai*” becomes clearer when considering the difference between “*mondai jidō*” or “problem child” and “*jidō mondai*,” which refers to family, social, and policy problems involving children. The “mixed-blood-child problem” was more about society than the children. And as such, it had many practical and emotional aspects.

The more practical aspects concerned policy, such as how to educate the earliest postwar-born population of so-called mixed-blood children, who by then were beginning elementary school, their first step toward formal socialization as Japanese. The more emotional aspects involved race. Some commentators questioned the capacity of Japanese society to accept and absorb children who were visibly different. They were seen as bastard “droplings” (*otoshigo* 落とし子) or the “fruits” of defeat. Their very existence reminded some people that Japan had lost the war and some of its women had become lovers, wives or prostitutes – if not rape victims – of foreign soldiers.

The main “problem” that such *konketsuji* faced was ignorance and a lack of confidence on the part of society at large – an uncertainty about whether Japan could absorb so many children who physically stood out and invited the scorn of some people. However, the most vociferous social critics, though cautionary, believed that Japan could, and should, make room for the children, who after all were the children of Japanese.

To make a very long and complicated story short, Japan had, in the course of its history, already absorbed a number of conspicuously mixed-race people representing all social classes, high and low. In this regard, very little had changed. The postwar segregationists and doomsayers (both a minority) lost. The mainstreamists and qualified optimists won. The vast majority of the children adapted and survived, and Japan itself adapted and survived.

Several of the many mixed-blood youth who became popular as models, singers, or actors during the “mixed-blood talent boom” of the late 1960s and 1970s benefited from the support and encouragement of *Remi no Kai*,³³ a group founded in January 1953 by a few well-known, older mixed-blood personalities. Hirano Imao (1900-86), its leader, was a translator, novelist, and poet. His father, a French-American attorney, Japanophile, and occasional diplomat, had nicknamed him “Remi,” after a homeless boy in a French children’s book. Other key members included Fujiwara Yoshie (1898-1976), Japan’s most famous tenor at the time; Egawa Ureo (1902-70), an actor; Satō Yoshiko (1903-82), a mezzo-soprano; and Watanabe Akeo (1919-90), a violist and conductor. Some others were invited but did not join. Supporters included the novelist Kitabayashi Tōma, whose stories included *Minato no Nihon musume* [Japanese girls at the harbor], which he wrote for the 1933 movie of the same title, starring Egawa Ureo, whose father was German, and Inoue Yukiko (1915-2012), whose father was Dutch. Brochures clearly described their roles as those of *konketsuji*. Both continued to be partly or fully active after the war.³⁴

Remi no Kai was the first organization formed of, by, and for mixed-blood people, to advocate the mainstreaming of the postwar-born generation into Japanese society. Hirano’s activism remains the most important but forgotten story even in Japan. Sawada Miki (1901-80), the “mother” of the mixed-blood orphans at Elizabeth Saunders Home she founded in 1948, has been turned into a national hero by several accounts of her life, including a heavily illustrated book for children. Sawada – the “segregationist” rival to Hirano’s “integrationist” approach in the battle of *konketsuji* publicists – appealed to Colonel Crawford Sams, the Chief of SCAP’s Public Health and Welfare Section, to support her orphanage. Sams had the authority to order the Japanese government to help her, but he rebuffed her, apparently because he favored the government’s mainstreamist stance.

Sawada felt that “her children” would be better off if raised, educated, and Christianized in her protected facilities, to prepare them for life outside Japan, as adoptees or emigrants. Hirano and his *Remi no Kai* promoted life in Japan. Hirano himself registered a number of orphaned children as his own, in his family register, which secured their status as Japanese and gave them a father. And he and *Remi no Kai* were instrumental in the production of the 1964 film *Jidōsha dorobō* [Car thieves], which had a nearly all-mixed-blood cast, including himself. Several of the young performers went on to be well-known actors or musicians. (Figure 3)

Hirano published an article titled “*Konketsu jinsei ki*” [Chronicle of a mixed-blood life] in 1953, which precluded a longer book by the same title that came out in 1954. (Figure 4) The article and book included a number of anecdotes about his personal experiences growing up in Yokohama in the 1900s and 1910s. One anecdote, which he repeats in one of the six “Remi” books he wrote between 1958-69, relates how he and Fujiwara Yoshie, who attended the same mission school, were teased by other kids who said, “If you play with a half-half, you’ll become a half.”³⁵ Hirano described himself and other racially-mixed people as *konketsuji*, not *haafu*. He detested the word *ainoko* because he had been taunted with it as a child. Hirano reported that Satō Yoshiko wept at a *Remi no Kai* meeting after being called “Ainoko O-Yoshi”³⁶ by a journalist she knew. Some people, however, got used to it as a name for what they were.

Hirano wrote about nationality and language, treatment by others, and feelings about belonging – the same sort of matters that figure in the lives of many *haafu* today. His most important and influential book is *Remi wa ikite iru* [Remi lives], a prize-winning work of juvenile literature written also for adults, first published in 1958, and re-issued in several later editions.³⁷ (Figure 5)

The “mixed-blood talent boom” and the rebirth of *haafu*

Early post-WWII images of mixed-race people in Japan were those of men and women born before or during the war, some of whom were already well-known actors or musicians before the

war. By the time the first generation of postwar-born Japanese and foreign mixed-blood children reached their mid-teens or early 20s in the late 1960s, the fashion and entertainment worlds were already familiar with the faces of many pre-postwar-born mixed-blood, mostly Eurasian models and singers. By the 1970s, *ainoko* had been largely replaced by *konketsuji*, and *haafu* had emerged as a synonym that would generally replace *konketsuji* by the 1980s.

The earliest mixed-blood male and female idols were born before the end of the war. Wanibuchi Haruko (b. 1945), and her younger sister Akiko (b. 1948), were both child models in the early 1950s who sometimes appeared together. Wanibuchi studied music from her Japanese violinist father and Austrian pianist mother and appeared on magazine covers as a prodigy violinist, as well as a cute girl who promised to blossom into a beauty, and she did. She became one of Shōchiku's main theater draws at a time when major film companies were beginning to feel the impact on their revenues of the spread of television. (**Figure 6**)

Some early-postwar-born mixed-blood celebrities still command attention today. The most prominent names are (in order of their birth) Maeda Bibari (b. 1948), Yamamoto Linda (b. 1951), and Kusakari Masao (b. 1952). Yamamoto debuted as a model in her early teens, become a singer, and had a roller coaster career, but she still amazes fans with her powerful, rhythmic and well-preserved voice and body a few times a year. Maeda, who studied ballet, became a musical actress, and this remained her principal occupation, but she also dazzled the public as a leggy bathing beauty in some of Shiseidō's most celebrated cosmetics ads, and now and then still adorns a magazine cover. (**Figure 7**) Kusakari, who modeled and sang, became a very versatile stage, film, and TV actor active today.

The September 1967 issue of *Kindai eiga* (Modern Movies) reported that Japanese show business was experiencing a "*konketsu tarento buumu*" (mixed-blood talent boom).³⁸ It featured eight postwar-born mixed-blood female stars, including Yamamoto Linda and Maeda Bibari. All were of part racialized "Japanese" and part racialized "European" or "American" descent. But some mixed-blood stars, such as model and actress Mari Annu (b. 1948), and singer Aoyama Michi (b. 1949), were not part "white." Mari Annu's father was from India and she sometimes modeled with her two sisters. Aoyama was usually represented in contemporary Japanese media as having a "black soldier" (*kokujin-hei* 黒人兵) father. In the United States, the September 1967 issue of *Ebony* dedicated its cover to Aoyama and Tina Noda, an aspiring model some sponsors thought "too dark" to model, and six other youth who figured in the cover story titled "Japan's rejected: Teenagers fathered by Negro soldiers face bleak future in hostile land."³⁹

The postwar "boomer" population peaked in the mid-1970s and the supply of fresh mixed-blood talent had dwindled by the early 1980s, by which time the term *haafu* had all but replaced *konketsuji* in mass media. The boom included a few racially-mixed "imports" who had no connections with Japan. The best remembered is Agnes Lum of Hawaii (b. 1956), who was a bikini-busting idol in Japan from 1975-1983. Men's and women's magazines alike fetishized her beach-girl body as a symbol of healthy womanhood.

Fewer *haafu* and other racially-mixed personalities debuted during the 1980s and 1990s, but the period was not a dark age. Ogino Anna (b. 1956), now a professor of literature, received the Akutagawa Prize in 1991, the Yomiuri Prize in 2001, and the Itō Sei Prize in 2008 for different novels. Renhō (b. 1967), a model in the late 1980s, became a newscaster in the 1990s and a politician in the 2000s, and is now the president of the Democratic Party of Japan. Born a national of the Republic of China (ROC), she weathered a change of nationality and name changes of the kind that are familiar to many offspring of parents with different nationalities.⁴⁰ Miyazawa Rie (b. 1973) illuminated Japan's bubble economy from the mid-1980s and well into the 1990s as a super teen idol and model. Today she is one of Japan's most highly acclaimed and awarded stage and film actresses.

Japan's embrace of its slowly growing population of racially-mixed people is perhaps most clearly seen in the official recognition of racially-mixed people with Japanese roots. Japan honored the vocalist Fujiwara Yoshie (1898-1976) and the artist Isamu Noguchi (1904-88) on commemorative stamps in 1998 and 2004. And the first three athletes in Japan to receive the government's "People's Honor Award" were the children of Japanese mothers and foreign fathers: Baseball player Oh Sadaharu (b. 1940), son of a Japanese mother and Chinese father, in 1977;⁴¹ baseball player Kinugasa Sachio (b. 1947) a Japanese mother and an American father, in 1987; and sumo wrestler Taihō Kōki (1940-2013), child of a Japanese mother and a Russian father, in 2013.

The "racial ceilings" that may have existed in local and national beauty pageants have also been cracked if not broken with the crowning of Miyamoto Ariana as Miss Universe Japan in 2015 and Yoshimoto Priyanka as Miss World Japan in 2016. A few people complained that Miyamoto's darker skin and facial features disqualified her as a "Japanese" beauty queen. However, her crowning as a representative of Japan got practically no negative attention in mainstream mass media. Most complaints were voiced in Internet forums and blogs, where a few people – as in all countries – habitually idealize racial purity.⁴²

While this paper is not about media images, a word must be said about reportage and other representations of *konketsuji* and *haafu* in news and entertainment media after the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-52). Thousands of newspaper and magazine articles, and numerous fictional works, movies and comics (*manga*) featured *konketsuji* and later *haafu* in various ways. Some representations had inevitable undertones of curiosity, and some genres of fiction, movies, and comics exploited themes of delinquent *konketsuji* heroines and heroes. But racially-mixed personalities in Japan, most of whom are Japanese, have generally been featured as part of the country's "natural fauna" so to speak. Racially negative articles are rare. There is more racist voyeurism in vulgar men's magazines, but that is the nature of the vulgar beast. Reportage and photojournalism related to the so-called "*konketsuji mondai*" was generally sympathetic. Most media today take racial mixture in stride, without comment, but some quarters of popular culture have nurtured "*haafu* mania." And as this report will show, there is a pathological racist obsession with "*haafu-sa*" (ハーフさ half-ness).

The roots of *haafu* advocacy

The turn of 20th and 21st centuries also brought revolutionary developments in the Internet that enabled some people in Japan who considered themselves to be "mixed" in a "racial" or "ethnic" sense to communicate through the World Wide Web. In 2000, Tomiyama Maria founded the Children of Peace Network (CPN) in Okinawa prefecture.⁴³ The aim of CPN was to help members find their (usually American) fathers via the internet. Tomiyama and other members, all born in Okinawa, generally labeled themselves "Amerasian" (*Amerajian* アメラジアン).

As a racial term, "Amerasian" usually denotes a person whose mother is an Asian and whose father is an American serviceman. The term was used in this sense by Pearl S. Buck in the 1960s, but it did not get much attention in Japan until the late 1990s. In the 1960s, *Asahi shinbun*, a major national daily newspaper, introduced "Amerasian" through translation as *Amerika-Ajia-jin* (アメリカアジア人 America-Asia-person), but it was usually transliterated as *Amereshian* (アメレシアン) or *Amerashian* (アメラシアン) and is now *Amerajian* (アメラジアン). In 1998, some mothers of "mixed blood children" (*konketsuji*) or racialized "international children" (*kokusaiji*) in Okinawa established the AmerAsian School of Okinawa (AASO), and a number of Japanese papers reported this in the course of covering local news of human interest.

During the 2000 G8 summit in Okinawa, the islands received a lot of media coverage for political, economic, and environmental reasons. Again, the small school attracted some attention

due to the “*Amerajian mondai*” (Amerasian problem/issue). Some major newspapers characterized AASO as a self-advocacy movement.⁴⁴ However, the “voice” of the movement was that of the mothers of the children, not of the children themselves, or of other racially-mixed people in Okinawa. Tomiyama Maria, the leader of CPN, started her activities with AASO, but a few months later broke her ties with AASO because it did not wish to advocate for mixed-race adults in Okinawa. CPN ceased its activities in late 2000, the year it was launched. The reasons it disbanded remain unclear.

In 2002, Stephen Murphy-Shigematu published a book called *Amerajian no kodomotachi: Shirarezaru mainoritii mondai* [Children of Amerasians: The unknown minority problem/issue]. This book, which focuses on Okinawa, East Asia, and the author’s own life, has probably been read and cited by more people writing in Japanese about mixed-race people in Japan than any other.

In September 2002, before there were any SNS (Social Network Service) websites in Japan, I began a site called “*Die Kreuzungsstelle*” (www.kreuzungsstelle.com), which means “crossroads.” It hosted the first BBS (Bulletin Board System) in Japan for people to share their *haafu* experiences in Japanese (see my editorial, “The ‘human duty’ to deracialize nationality,” also in this issue). Mixi,⁴⁵ Japan’s first major SNS, began in 2004, and from 2004 to 2006 three websites devoted to “mixed” people were established on mixi: Sam Baron’s Hapa Japan (aka “*Haafu no kai*” meaning “Society of *haafu*”), Jamie Belton’s HArts (a community site for “*haafu* artists”), and Edward Sumoto’s Mixed Roots Japan (including Mixed Roots Kansai). And in 2008, Marcia Lise and Natalie Willer began Hafu Project, a photographic study of *haafu* in Japan. The film *Hafu*, directed by Megumi Nishikura and Lara Takagi, released for theaters in 2013, and as a DVD in 2015, grew out of this project.⁴⁶

Most of these early efforts to create communities of people with mixed identities lost their vigor within a few years. The most active project was Edward Sumoto’s “Mixed Roots Japan.” MRJ promoted “Social Dialogue” and advocacy of mixed identity in Japan not limited to race but including also cultural and other experiences. From 2008 to 2011, MRJ organized a music event called “Shake Forward” every year, and from 2010 to 2012 it convened an annual Mixed Roots Academic Forum at Osaka University. Today MRJ has a modest Facebook and Twitter presence, while Sumoto remains personally active on many fronts. A search of the Internet will produce many links related to *haafu* but most are to sites that feature celebrity gossip, or forums for grumbling about experiences in Japan, rather than calls for protest against social discrimination and misrepresentation.

The film *Hafu* depicts “the mixed-race experience in Japan” of five people with very different family backgrounds. Its taglines are “Japan is changing” in English and “*Nihon wa tayōka shite iru*” [Japan is diversifying] in Japanese. The film is pitched to a global audience and has been subtitled in seven languages. The filmmakers recognize that “the word ‘*haafu*’ itself stresses having the blood of a foreigner” (*haafu to iu kotoba jitai, gaikokujin no chi o hiku koto o kyōchō shite iru*). Yet they define *hafu* or *haafu* as meaning “half Japanese” – when in fact the word is not limited to racially-mixed Japanese. The film’s celebration of “half Japanese” is widely praised – yet “half Japanese” encourages the sort of racialization of “Japanese” that the filmmakers, and the people who appear in the film, seem to dislike.⁴⁷ (Figure 8)

Hirano Imao’s *Remi no Kai*, active in the 1950s and 1960s, was the first advocacy movement by, of, and for racially-mixed people in Japan. But advocacy on behalf of mixed-blood people in Japan goes back to at least a 1931 article by Kitabayashi Tōma, who would later be a member of *Remi no Kai*. In the article, “*Konketsu musume no machi: Jenii no aika*” [City of mixed-blood girls: Jenny’s elegy], which was published in a popular women’s magazine, Kitabayashi estimated that there were from 2,500 to 3,000 mixed-blood people in Yokohama at the time. He clearly stated that *ainoko* was not a nationality (*kokuseki*) but were of various nationalities, including – through their mothers – Japanese. The article was devoted to the plight of “*ainoko* girls” who end up prostitutes. He said

that international romances and marriages were popular and mixed-blood children would quickly increase. He concluded on this note: ⁴⁸

Whether this [trend] is good or bad, I cannot say, but as a result, those called konketsuji have come to be viewed less heretically than in the past. This, at least, is fortunate. Because being treated like rare oddities, being made the objects of low-class curiosity, is, for them, the most unbearable and anguishing thing.

The advent of *haafu-gao* and *haafu-gao* makeup

In 1986, the fashion magazine *an-an* used the word *haafu-gao* (ハーフ顔 half-face), possibly for the first time, in a cover story titled “*Wakai onna no kao ga haafu-ppoku natte kita*” [The faces of young women have become *haafu*-esque]. The article attributed this in part to the fact that young women were taller and thinner than those of earlier generations. The article shows photographs to support its contention that the figures and faces of “Japanese” women, especially models, were on a par with those of “foreign” models, and were comparable to *haafu* and so-called “*Nihonjin-banare-shita*” (日本人離れした Japanese-departing) features, which were similar. It then showed women how to dress, do their hair and make up their face, to affect such features.⁴⁹

In 2008, several women’s fashion and beauty magazines featured *haafu-gao* makeup. The January 2008 issue of *S Cawaii!*, one of the most popular magazines among women spanning their late teens and early 20s, featured makeup techniques to create a “slightly foreigner-like half-face” (*chotto gaikokujin-ppoi haafu-gao*). The *haafu-gao* was large print but was qualified in smaller print as meaning “*haafu- & kuootaa-gao*” (ハーフ&クオーター顔). Readers were invited to transform their “originally Japanese-face” into a “half-like face.”⁵⁰ The 5 November 2008 issue of *non-no*, a popular bi-monthly fashion magazine, featured a pull-out “handbook” on how to create a “deep-sculptured half-face.”⁵¹ The February 2008 issue of *MAQUIA*, a slightly more “sophisticated” fashion magazine for young women beyond their mid-teens, featured a cover story that urged readers to “Aim to be the half beauty (*haafu bijo* ハーフ美女) of your yearnings!” The banner spanned two pages beneath photographs of four then talk-of-the-town *haafu* personalities – two models representing “lively faces” (Mori Izumi and Rinka), and two newscasters representing “intellectual faces” (Takigawa Christel [Kurisuteru] and Yamamoto Mona). The cover even personalized the faces – “intellectual Christel-gao” and “lively Rinka-gao” – using the familiar “name-gao” (name-face) formula, which can define the face of any animal, vegetable, or mineral. The article led with the claim that “The difference between *Nihonjin-gao* and *haafu-gao* is the depth of the eyes (*me no okuyuki*) and the breadth of the face (*kao no yokohaba*)!” The article ended with instructions on how to massage one’s face to help create the illusion of a *haafu-gao*.⁵²

The March 2008 issue of *BLEND*A presented the faces of singer Beyoncé, figure skater Asada Mao, and actress Tsuchiya Anna as typical of respectively *gaikokujin* (外国人 foreigner), *Nihonjin* (Japanese), and *haafu* (half) faces. The feature suggested that readers begin with a massage to prepare their face for a *haafu gao* look. It stressed that, in the modeling world, *haafu* were at a peak of popularity on account of having the deeply carved facial features of a foreigner but the beautiful skin and irises peculiar to Japanese. *Haafu* were “hot” because girls throughout Japan yearned to have their *haiburiddo* (hybrid) look. The article entirely focused on creating the illusion of deeper set eyes and sculptured cheeks. Yet the “‘*Haafu-gao’ meiku!!*” (Half-face makeup!!) in the Japanese title was represented as “How to make Half-Japanese Face” in English. The English directly contradicts both the essential meaning of *haafu* as “half foreign(er)” in Japanese, and the object of the makeup techniques to create this “half foreign” look. The racist logic is clear in the “Japanese” minds of the copywriters, but is muddled in their “English” minds, which translate *haafu* as “half-Japanese” without thought as to what it actually means in practically all contexts.⁵³

The cover story of the June 2008 issue of *BLEND*A was “This summer, go as a “half-like” woman!” The article featured the usual makeup methods to create the sort of faces that have “transcended country and race” (*kuni to jinshu o koeta*). It focused on “Face, Eye, Lip & Cheek” as the features a girl who wanted a *haafu-gao* would have to change. The title of the “Eye” section was “Race-conversion techniques: How you do your eyes will transcend national boundaries” (*Jinshu henkan jutsu: Me no tsukurikata wa kokkyō o koeru*). The feature also promoted color contact lenses to help effect a *haafu-gao* look. “When the bloods of Japanese and foreigners mix” (*Nihonjin to gaikoujin no chi ga mazaru to*), it said, four colors of irises are common. The lenses were black, brown, green, and gray.⁵⁴

The November 2013 issue of *Koakuma ageha* introduced five styles of makeup to transform the “country” of a girl’s looks – American, British, French, Spanish, and Korean. The question was, “Even if you say half-face, which country is it?” (*Haafu-gao tte itte mo dono kuni no koto!?*). This exemplifies the manner in which, almost always, *haafu* is used in a context that implies “half foreign” – the assumption being that the “unmentioned” half is “Japanese.” The rejoinder was “Of course [you, we] love Nippon! ♥” (*Mochiron Nippon dai suki! ♥*).⁵⁵ Caricatures, not photographs, of the national models were shown – Blake Lively (American), Twiggy (British), Brigitte Bardot (French), Penélope Cruz Sánchez (Spanish), and Dara (Sandara Park, Korean). Different *Ageha* house models were made up to effect the different looks – which shared the predictable big eyes with tinted contacts and long lashes, highlighted nose ridges, lowlighted rosy cheeks, and pinkish white skin. The magazine is for young women who, as the title suggests, have “come up (graduated) from being little devils” to being flashy and sassy, young girly (devilish) adults. The “genres” of *ageha* styles included Lolita, Street Casual, Princess, Glamorous, Queen, Lady, Girly, and Rock. All but a few of the models in the main articles and ads had blonde or light hair. Few had dark hair, and none had black. All had pink-tinted pasty-white complexions and eyes that would glow in the dark if you turned off the lights.⁵⁶ Even *Snip Style*, a hair-styling magazine, joined the “*haafu-gao meiku*” frenzy, since part of “looking *haafu*” is having full hair, if not also an “attitude.”⁵⁷ (Figure 9)

In 2016, a few makeup artists promoted seemingly new approaches. The May 2016 issue of *MAQUIA*, as though flogging a flagging horse, referred to *haafu-gao* makeup as “still in vogue.” As though to say it was not only for girls having fun, it promoted “half-face makeup for adults” and stressed the need to “Be conscious of the roundness (*marumi*) peculiar to [the faces of] Europeans and Americans!”⁵⁸ As though innovating for the sake of innovating, one of the cover stories of the October 2016 issue of *Biteki* claimed that the standards of beauty were shifting toward *haafu-gao*. A natural-looking “nuanced half-face” (*nyuansu haafu-gao*) was essential. The object was to create “the nuances of a *haafu-gao*” (*haafu-gao no nyuansu*) in a way that people would not think your *haafu-gao* contours were created by makeup.⁵⁹ And the December 2016 issue of *MAQUIA* alleged that the “keys” to creating a now-ish “Northern-Europe-descent half-face” were “color” (*iromi*) and “transparency” (*tōmeikan*). The article appealed to the envies of readers who see someone around them and think, “[She’s] Japanese, but somehow seems like (evokes the feeling of) a half...”⁶⁰

The marketing of *haafu-gao* makeup

Articles about *haafu-gao* makeup feature are neither regular nor frequent, but come in erratic, seemingly whimsical spurts. Only about one in 50 of the magazines I regularly checked billed a *haafu-gao* makeup feature on their covers, which generally show all features.⁶¹ This may seem a small figure, but taking into account how magazines are designed, and the larger social milieu in which they thrive, it is meaningful.

Haafu-gao is only one of many makeup themes that magazine editors continually shuffle and innovate in order to create the impression that each issue is different. *Haafu-gao* makeup has attracted attention for over a decade as of this writing in 2017. Its novelty has worn off, and it may

have passed its peak in popularity, but it hangs around as a quasi-perennial theme. In the meantime, practically every issue of practically every major fashion and beauty magazine features well-known *haafu* house models, some of whom are pictured in *haafu-gao* makeup articles. Moreover, parts of some *haafu-gao* makeup articles are recycled in makeup handbooks in the form of “mooks” (magazine-books) put out by the same publishers. And, as with other makeup themes, copywriters constantly come up with new catch phrases and tag lines to give the impression that *haafu-gao* makeup objectives and techniques are evolving.

As makeup articles, *haafu-gao* features are not at all unique. Like other makeup articles, they are essentially “infomercials.” Their main purpose is to showcase cosmetic products and even the clothing and accessories worn by the models. The cosmetic goods featured in the articles are usually identified by maker and product name, and may even be priced.

Products specifically marketed as *haafu-gao* cosmetics or appliances are also evolving. In March 2009, the Seven-Eleven Japan group, which operates 7-Eleven convenience stores in Japan, released a new cosmetics line named Para Do which was billed as “*Haafu-Gao Kosume*” [half-face cosmetics]. The line included eye shadow and cheek color palettes and rouge gloss. Model and TV personality Suzanne (b. 1986), whose real name is Yamamoto Sae, lent her (faux) “*haafu-ppoi*” (ハーフっぽい half-like) face to leaflets and package inserts. (**Figure 10**) The contour palettes and other items in the line were ordinary “generic” cosmetic goods. Only the branding and blurbs were new.

Since then, several cosmetic makers have marketed ordinary products as *haafu-gao* aids – everything from eye and face makeup to false lashes and double-lid fibers, tapes, and glues, to color contact lenses. One line of tinted contact lenses specifically labels three colors: “Natural,” “Quarter,” and “Half.” Another company markets a pink plastic nose clip that, if worn for fifteen minutes, will help create a *haafu-gao* look by raising your nose – for how long is not said, but it comes with a freebie case to pack it around.

The idea of marketing conventional cosmetics as ways to effect an “exotic” look is not new. In 1959 and 1960, fifteen-year-old Irie Miki (b. 1944), also known as Vera Ilyan, the daughter of a Russian father and a Japanese mother, promoted an already existing cold cream that now promised – only because her face was featured – to create the “exotic coloring” associated with “the appeal of an *ainoko*” (*ainoko no miryoku*).⁶² Irie rivaled Wanibuchi Haruko as a cover girl on women’s and fashion magazines in the early 1960s. In 1964, when she was 19, Irie was named the world’s most beautiful model at the International Fashion Festival in Las Vegas.⁶³ The world today knows her as Vera Ozawa.

As a fake style of makeup, *haafu-gao* is part of the larger *dekame* (デカ目 big eyes) makeup style that has its roots in the exoticization of the naturally larger and deeper set eyes of some Japanese personalities who have no family history of racial mixture. Double-lid appliances go back to at least the 1930s. They have generally been promoted as ways to balance asymmetrical eyes or make both eyes more prominent, but today the same products are also being promoted as ways to effect a *gaikokujin* or *haafu* look. “*Dekame*” is increasingly associated with *gaikokujin-gao* (外国人顔 foreigner-face) – the alien sister of *haafu-gao* – or *gaikokujin-feisu* (外国人フェイス foreigner-face) as an advertisement in the September 2015 issue of *Ranzuki* put it, using the Japanization of English “face.”⁶⁴ The catch phrase on the cover of this issue of *Ranzuki*, describing a *haafu-gao* feature, was “Analyzing the faces of sweet-half girls is the shortest path / to becoming a cute half-face...”⁶⁵

“Face” as used in *haafu-gao* and *gaijin-gao* in the names of make-up styles could be compared to the “face” of “yellow-face” and “black-face” and such on Broadway and in Hollywood. In Japan too, actors and actresses, including racially-mixed performers, commonly perform in “white” or “black” or “Chinese” or other “alien” and even “half” faces on stage and screen.⁶⁶ The difference,

though, is that the “faces” affected by individuals in the course of their everyday lives are motivated by personal feelings – including complexes – about one’s natural face, rather than by mechanical compliance with a script that calls for a particular racial look. Both stage and personal makeup are intended to “deceive” others. Personal makeup is also a form of self-deception.

The *haafu-gao* makeup fad was anticipated in 2007 when the May issue of the women’s fashion magazine *ViVi* ran a cover feature called “*Gaikokujin-gao ni naru ai meiku*” meaning “Eye makeup to become a foreigner-face.”⁶⁷ The eyes to emulate were those of eight Hollywood celebrities – Lindsay Lohan, Mary-Kate Olsen, Ashley Olsen, Jessica Alba, Nicole Richie, Mischa Barton, Paris Hilton, and Rachel Bilson. The article did not mention Japanese, but it implied that the eyes of “foreigners” such as Jessica Alba were different in four ways, all of which resulted in “foreigners” having bigger, deeper set, more striking eyes. The article showed readers how to create the illusion of such *dekame* with standard items like various shades of eye shadows, eyeliners, brow pencils, mascara, and applicators and brushes, using techniques familiar to cosmeticians for decades. Nothing about the article was new – except for the manner in which, page-after-page, it “stylized” – or rather “racialized” – the effects as *gaikokujin-gao* (foreigner-face), *gaikokujin-fū* (foreigner-style), and most prominently *gaikokujin eye/ai* with English “eye” more often than Japanese “*ai*.”

The Internet teems with rumors about popular models and other personalities who are pursued by “suspicions of being half” (*haafu no giwaku*). One such person is Nakamura An (b. 1987), a model, actress, and TV talent. Her real name is Nakamura Yūko but she styles herself Anne Nakamura. In her case, after a lot of handwringing, internet gossipers conclude that she is a “pure Japanese” (*junsui-na Nihonjin*) who has “Japanese-departing” (*Nihonjin-banare shite iru*) facial features. In an article about Nakamura in the September 2016 issue of *MAQUIA*, the “beauty journalist” Saitō Kaoru (b. 1955) raves about Nakamura’s *iroke* (sensuality), which meets her highest standards of sexiness. She especially praises Nakamura’s “beautiful features, so deeply carved and sharp [you will] think is [she] a half?” (*haafu? to omou hodo no hori no fukai kukkiri shita bibō*).⁶⁸

Conclusion: *Haafu-gao* as racism

This report has described changes in the language of racial mixture in Japan, spanning over a century and a half, from the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa periods, to the present Heisei era. The changes are reflected in the uses of first *ainoko*, then *konketsuji*, and now *haafu* – all three terms, and others, sometimes together – in Japanese literature, film, and mass media, which generally have shown an “admiration” for especially “Eurasian” features. The admiration of “white skin” as a mark of beauty predates significant contact with “Caucasian” or “Western” standards of beauty.⁶⁹ However, Caucasoid skin, even when “white,” is generally considered inferior to “Asian” skin racialized in Japan as “Japanese” skin. Avoidance of direct sunlight today is again fashionable for health as well as beauty reasons. The bronzed beach-girl, beach-boy skins that were popular in the second half of the 20th century are less fashionable today, but honey-toned skin, whether natural or the result of moderate tanning, still has a place in the diverse standards of attractiveness that are found in Japan.

Japanese with darker skins stand out. Quite a few dark-skinned mixed-blood youth debuted as singers and actors in the 1960s and 1970s.⁷⁰ Only a couple lasted very long, but statistically this may not be significant, as practically no one lasts very long in the entertainment world. When roles for “black *konketsuji*” in contemporary films dried up, so did acting opportunities. “White *konketsuji*” who are not “Japanese” enough face the same problem. Practically all *haafu* actors and actresses play mostly if not only “Japanese” roles. On the other hand, racially-mixed Japanese whose features depart too far from a racialized “Japanese” face may encounter a racial ceiling when it comes to casting, or employment in jobs reserved for people who “look” Japanese. Generally, *haafu* entertainers don’t go around calling themselves *haafu*. And protocol in the entertainment world

frowns on racializing people, except on goofy variety shows. But the rules are different in the jungle of gossip magazines and the wild woolly web.

Some *haafu-gao* makeup articles have promoted “plastic [surgery] class” (*seikei-kyū*) makeup techniques. The November 2015 issue of *ViVi* featured a cover story that showed how to create a “petit-cosmetic-surgery” effect with makeup that “balances your facial structure” so your “eyes become naturally big” – “big eyes [you] were born with in a ‘half-like-face’ (*haafu-ppo-gao*).”⁷¹ There are strong elements of “fantasy indulging” and “make believe” and “costume play” in makeup. But women who have strong stigmas about their appearance understand that, while the advantage of makeup is that it is not permanent, the disadvantage is that, when it comes off, those it was intended to lure may be shocked.

Predictably, some cosmetic surgery clinics have also been capitalizing on the *haafu-gao* craze. Takasu Clinic, a widely advertised chain of cosmetic medicine clinics, promotes the racialization of beauty on its website. One of its plugs for cosmetic surgery and other procedures states that “Generally, halves and quarters of whites and Japanese, compared to pure Japanese, have many visually superior features.”⁷² This is followed by a long list of the allegedly more beautiful features. Takasu Clinic’s webpage also has a “half” page that contrasts “Western” (*Seiyōjin* 西洋人) and “Oriental” (*Tōyōjin* 東洋人) features, and offers *seiyōjin-gao* (西洋人顔 westerner face) and *haafu-gao* (half-face) as cosmetic surgery options.⁷³ Such promotions exemplify the spirit of the racist heart that beats in the beast of the beauty industry.

Everyone agrees that character is more important than looks, but this does not resolve the complexes of people who have serious stigmas about their faces. The beauty industry exploits these stigmas, and some magazines directly promote indulgence in “wannabe” envies as a way to deal with personal complexes about one’s appearance. “*Konpurekkusu*” (コンプレックス) commonly appears in frank discussions of makeup motives. The cover of the August 2010 issue of *Biteki* shouts “Your COMPLEXES / vanish with this!”⁷⁴ The complexes include monolids, not having a small face, and having a quiet [plain, flat] face. The same makeup techniques that are used to create *haafu-gao* come to the rescue. With the techniques and products shown in the article, readers with complexes can double their lids, and create the illusion of deeper set eyes in a smaller, more contoured face – like the models on the cover, neither of which is *haafu* and one of whom has naturally big eyes.

The January 2008 issue of *Nikkei entateinmento* exemplifies both the racialism that enables the *haafu-gao* fad and the racism that it inevitably nurtures. Looking back at 2007, the magazine featured *haafu-gao* as one of nine key words in the entertainment world that year. It listed sixteen “half beauties” (*haafu bijo* ハーフ美女) – actresses, models, TV personalities, and newscasters. It cited a Fuji Television drama production center chief as saying that “You need a reason, like a role, to cast blue-eyes and blondes, but the hair and iris colors of many of the popular half girls are close to those of Japanese. That many were born and raised in Japan and normally speak Japanese, including slang, is also a big point.” The article stressed the numbers of children born between Japanese and American or British parents (about 2,200), but in fact they were very small compared with the numbers of children born between Japanese and other – mostly Chinese, Korean, and Filipino – nationality parents (about 22,000).⁷⁵

The *Nikkei entateinmento* article not only racialized *Nihonjin* (Japanese) and *gaijin* (foreigners), but underscored the fact that *haafu* who look more like racialized “Japanese” than racialized *gaijin* are economically and even politically more valuable to Japan. The article said “*Haafu* can melt into works [dramas] set in Japan without a sense of disharmony (*iwakan naku*).” The writer thought this represented how much Japan’s “mental sense of distance toward Europe-and-America has shrunk.”⁷⁶ “Distance” alludes to the strong sense of rivalry between the “yellow” and “white” races that has driven the development of Japan since the country was forced to open its ports to Americans and

Europeans in the middle of the 19th century.

Nikkei entateinmento cited cosmetic surgeon Takasu Katsuya as saying, “Trends in looks fluctuate with the economy and social conditions. In periods of economic growth, European-style faces, which symbolize a bright future, tend to become popular.” The writer recalled that, “at the peak of the bubble [in the 1990s], Miyazawa Rie, whose father was Dutch, was hugely popular.” Takasu reportedly said that “Asian beauty” (*Ajianbyuutii* アジアンビューティー) is becoming more popular internationally, and a number of Japanese women have placed high in recent international beauty pageants. If the economy remains stable, there will be even greater interest in “Asia Oriental faces” (*Ajiaorientaru-na kao* アジアオリエンタルな顔).

The writer’s conclusion took a turn that reveals the deeper racist significance of the racist *haafu-gao* craze. With the 2008 Beijing Olympics approaching, and the world turning toward Asia, the writer said, “it might be good if from here on [we Japanese] don’t go out of [our] way to become ‘foreigner-faces’ (*gaijin-gao* 外人顔).”⁷⁷ This may not sound like a discriminatory remark. But it “alienates” Japanese (including many *haafu*) who happen to have naturally *gaijin* (foreigner) or *gaijin-ppoi* (foreign-like 外人っぽい) faces from their right to feel that they are Japanese.

One of the *haafu* celebrities listed in the *Nikkei entateinmento* article was Takigawa Christel. Takigawa was born in France and has Japanese nationality through her mother. As a trilingual TV announcer and newscaster who has also modeled, she was seen as an ideal choice to help pitch Tokyo’s bid for the 2020 Olympics in 2013. In this sense, the “*haafu buumu*” of the early 20th century bore fruit. But the “*konketsu tarento buumu*” of the late 1960s and 1970s also set the stage for the acceptance of at least some *haafu* as representatives of Japan. In 1979, a Liberal Democratic Party poster with catch phrases like “Gazing at the tomorrow (future) of Japan with a big view (vision)” featured the face of Hiroko Grace Hollie, a ten-year-old child model. Hiroko Grace, as her fans know her, was born in Japan but happened to have an American father and a Japanese mother. Under Japan’s Nationality Law at the time, she did not qualify as a Japanese national through her mother, and hence was only a U.S. citizen through her father.⁷⁸ Like many political posters, the LDP poster was run as a full-page ad in some weekly magazines.⁷⁹ Some critics opposed the use of the “only half Japanese” girl, but senior LDP officials defended the poster.⁸⁰

Though *haafu-gao* is a new makeup style, its racist logic is old and familiar. At its crudest, it encourages the simplistic image of *haafu* as one-half racialized (Asian) “Japanese” and one-half racialized (European) “American” – like the caricature in the 1991 issue of the weekly magazine *Shūkan hōseki*.⁸¹ (Figure 11) In the hands of more sophisticated beauticians, it encourages pride in the supposedly “unique” and “pure” qualities of racialized “Japanese” skin and eyes. It fetishizes facial contours, noses, eyes, and hair that are widely associated with “foreigners” racialized as “Caucasians” or “Westerners.” It exoticizes especially *haafu* who exhibit the desired “foreign” features in their otherwise “Japanese” faces. All of this encourages greater admiration of, and preference for, people who have such features, including Japanese who have no history of racial mixture in their families. And it sustains a discriminatory climate in which mixed-race Japanese are treated as “less” or even “not” Japanese.

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Figure 1. Cover and obi (promotional band at the bottom) of Mr. Yuniyoshi (text), Drawing Studio Management (caricatures), *Haafu mania: Nihon no yūmeijin no konketsu o karikachua de dai shōkai!* [A big introduction through caricature of famous mixed bloods of Japan!], Tokyo: Shakai Hyōron Sha, 2013. (Author's collection)



Figure 2. Cover and obi (yellow promotional band) of Sandra Häfelin (text) and Hira Matsuo (cartoons), *Nippon zaiju haafu-na watashi no setsujitsu de waraeru 100 no mondai* [100 pressing and laughable problems I have as a *haafu* residing in Japan], Tokyo: Media Factory, 2013. "Such an imagine is a delusion!" declares the obi, refering to the 3 red-checked stereotypic *haafu* girl qualities: Beautiful, Bilingual, Brilliant. The sad looking boy in the box says "I can't speak a word of French," and people say, "Really? Unbelievable!" (Author's collection)



Figure 3. Devi Sheth (later Mari Annu, born 1948), whose father was from India, playing a “brown” (buraun) mixed-blood teen girl (left), and Yasuoka Rikiya (1947-2012), who was born in Italy, playing a “black” (buraku) mixed-blood teen boy, in this still from Tōhō’s 1964 production of *Jidōsha dorobō* [Car thieves]. The film had a practically all-mixed-blood cast, including Sheth and Yasuoka, both of whom became popular action-film actors. The movie was inspired by Hirano Imao’s *Remi no Kai*. Hirano himself appeared in the film as an “old white man” – an image he despised in real life, according to his daughter, who said he had a stigma about his somewhat Caucasoid features. (Author’s collection)



Figure 4. Cover of Hirano Imao's *Konketsu jinsei ki* [Chronicle of a half-blood life], Tokyo: Nihon Shuppan Kyōdō, 1954. (Author's collection)



Figure 5.

Cover and obi (promotional band at the bottom) of Hirano Imao's *Remi wa ikite iru* [Remi lives], Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1993. Illustrated by Hirano's son in law, Wada Makoto, with comments by his daughter, Hirano Remi. Obi reads, "Why am I an *ainoko*? The single tear of a mixed-blood child becomes a star of encouragement that seeks hope and happiness for the many mixed-blood children that will follow." (Author's collection)



Figure 6. Wanibuchi Haruko (right, b. 1945) with Tsugawa Masahiko (b. 1940) in Shōchiku's 1960 production of Kawabata Yasunari's 1927 novel *Izu no odoriko*, the third make and second postwar remake of a film that has made every leading starlet famous – except Wanibuchi, who was already famous. She had just turned fifteen when the film was released, but she had been a child and teen idol since the early 1950s, and had already played leading roles in movies since 1955. (Author's collection)

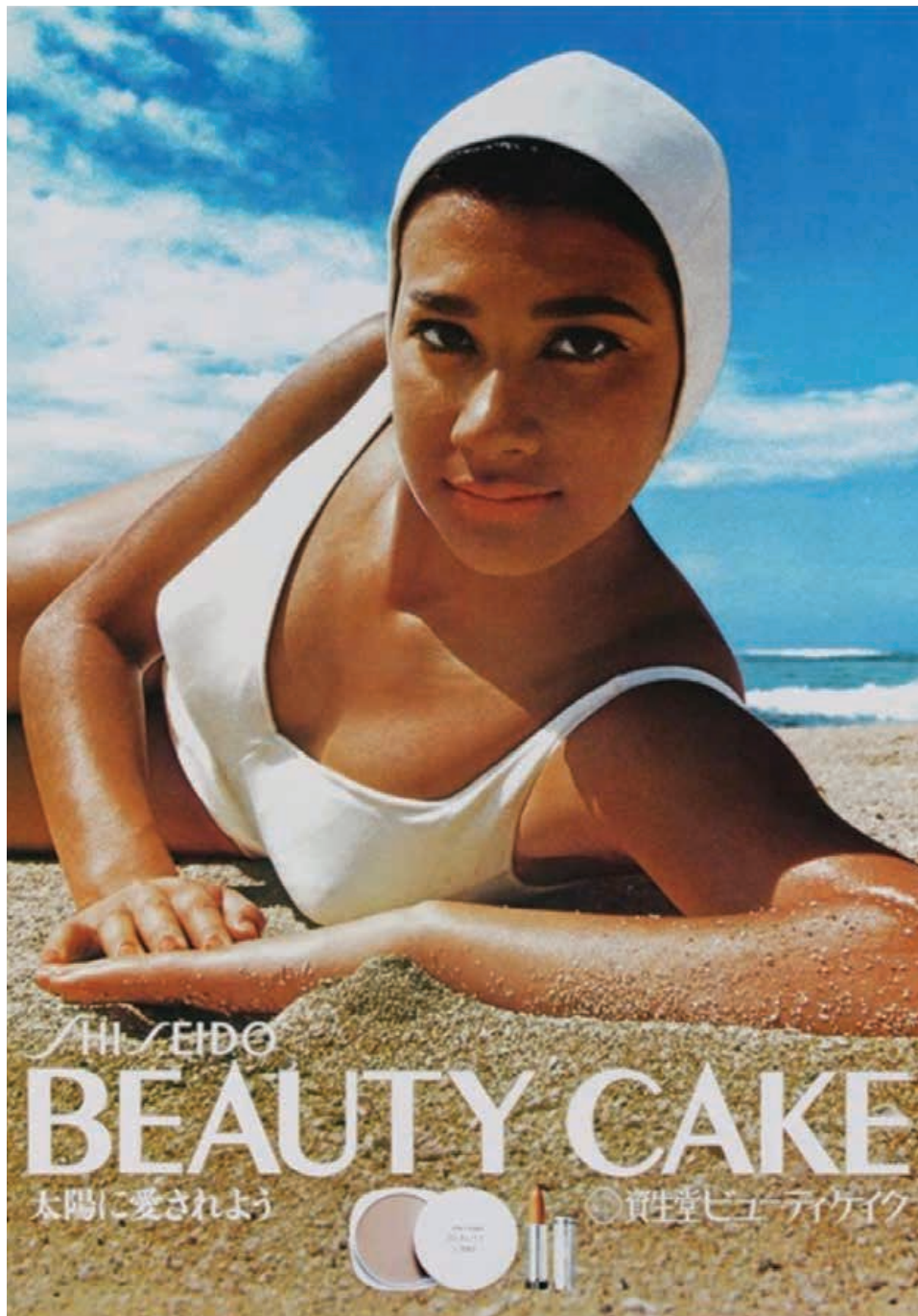


Figure 7. Maeda Bibari (b. 1948) as a Shiseidō Summer Campaign Girl in 1966 when she was about 18, two years into what would become a career as one of Japan's best known musical stars. She also modeled for Shiseidō's sun-block products, sometimes in the same magazine ad or TV commercial that promoted its suntan oils. When older she promoted the company's line of skin-whiteners. She is still a perennial cover girl on major magazines read by mature women. (One of many images in virtual public domain on the Internet, including Shiseidō's Facebook page (Shiseidō's Facebook page, timeline of 22 April 2014. [<https://www.facebook.com/shiseido.corporate/photos/a.561177830572098.1073741829.548424035180811/715091578514055/>])).



Figure 8. Publicity leaflet for *Hafu (The Film)*, 2013, directed and filmed by Nishikura Megumi and Takagi Lara (as their names are represented in Japanese).

The catch phrase reads “Meet Japanese of the new generation”. The man and the woman, two of the five people who tell their stories in the film, are identified as Japan x Ghana (top) and Japan x Australia. (Author’s collection)



Figure 9. Cover of *Snip Style*, October 2009, a magazine for hair stylists and beauticians. The small round white-on-brown blurb says, “Whatever [people] say, in the end, everyone wants to become *haafu-gao* . . .” The pink and white titles below it say, “With voluminous hair and sculptured makeup, create a *haafu-gao*!”

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モバイルキャンペーンサイト

詳しくはこちら

もっとキレイ、もっとハッピー
"Happy Suzaring" more!

Figure 10. Model and TV personality Suzanne (Yamamoto Sae, b. 1986) lends her faux “haafu-ppoi” (half-like) face to a promotional leaflet for a contour palette and related Para Do cosmetic aids marketed by 7-Eleven. The ad promises consumers a sculptured “haafu-gao” look. The products and techniques are standard. The “haafu-gao” naming is a marketing ploy to create and exploit the envy of a stereotypic “half-face” look.



Figure 11. Caricature of stereotypic “half” in four-page article in weekly magazine, *Shūkan hōseki*, 7 March 1991. The article, in a column called “Old-man’s news”, is titled “Nostalgic half talents.”

NOTES

1. In this paper, I use “racial mixture” and “mixed race” in the sense of “mixed blood” (*konketsu*) in Japanese, which metaphorically reflects such English expressions. There are no other comparable terms in Japanese. I use “race” in both its narrower sense (*jinshu*), which racializes skin color and other physical features, and its broader “ethnonational” sense (*minzoku*), which racializes “nationality” in the ethnographic sense of “ethnicity.” In principle I do not endorse racialization, but racist terms are part of this study, and I use them accordingly, sometimes bracketed, sometimes not. The same goes for “mixture” and its Japanese equivalents – I use them not because I like them, but because they are embedded in my primary sources. I use “racio-ethnic” to more clearly speak of “race” in both its narrower and broader senses. I view “descent” and “ancestry” and “lineage” as universally valid terms for describing individuals in relation to their biological parents and predecessors. Every human being has a unique family history apart from questions of “race” or “ethnicity.” I use “blood” when translating Japanese terms in which “blood” (*ketsu*, *chi*) is used as a biological metaphor for descent, whether or not racialized. I use “culture” to mean precisely “culture” (*bunka*) with no implications of “race” (*jinshu*, *minzoku*) or “ethnicity” (*minzokusei*), and without any sense of obligation of descent or ancestry. I do not use “heritage”, which has come to be highly racialized in English, because there is no linguistic foundation in my Japanese sources for its use. Its nearest equivalent in Japanese would probably be “blood” as a metaphor for whatever it is that someone “inherits” through their parents. National identities of individuals or their parents are civil, not racio-ethnic, nationalities. “Asian” and other geographical identities also speak of place rather than race. All racio-ethnic labels are reproduced as found in primary sources, whether or not they are considered “acceptable” or “appropriate” by one or another standard today. Family names appear first except when citing names from sources in which they come last. Japanese terms are romanized according to the New Hepburn system, except in citations of other representations. I have shown Japanese script only for words or expressions that specifically label racial qualities. Please consult my Japanese-language papers for full descriptions of the primary lexical and other sources.
2. This paper is based on hundreds of primary sources, from dictionaries to popular magazines, many of them in the author’s personal collection. Only a few sources have been cited here.
3. “[*Nippon wa*] *sekai de ichiban majirikke no nai junsui-na minzoku de arimasu*” ([日本は] 世界で一番混じりつけのない純粋な民族であります). This claim was made on the website of Mizuho no Kuni Memorial Elementary School by its principle Kagoike Yasunori. The school was supposed to have opened from April 2017, but Kagoike, the director of the school’s development company, had to withdraw the application for government permission to operate the school in the midst of a scandal about land acquisition, construction costs, funding, and negative publicity regarding the treatment of children in other schools the company oversees. The message remained posted until the website was taken down on 13 March 2017.
4. See <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-4062> for an image of the painting in the Rijksmuseum and particulars about the work. Cornelia van Nijenroode’s story is told in Leonard Blussé 1988 (Japanese), and related English and Dutch works which I have not seen.
5. Japan annexed Ryūkyū, then a kingdom claimed by both Japan and China, as a domain in 1872 and made the islands a prefecture called Okinawa in 1879.
6. Linguistically, “*ainoko*” is nominal “*ai*” + genitive “*no*” + nominal “*ko*.” “*Ai-no*” is a very productive form which qualifies the things it prefixes as being “between” (*ai* 間) or “mutual to” (合い) two or more other things. Historically, 間 and 間の prevailed as script for “*ai-no*” in relation to “*ko*” (児, 子) meaning “child” or “offspring.” Today, 合 and 合い are more common. The view expressed in some early English sources, that *ainoko* derives from *Aino* as a form of *Ainu* in reference to one of Japan’s indigenous peoples, is linguistically untenable. Some writers, again mainly in non-Japanese sources, state that, since “*ai no*” can also mean “of love” (愛の), “*ainoko*” in reference to a racially mixed child means “child of love” or “beloved child.” But this is folk etymology. *Ai no ko* (愛の子) is sometimes used in names of nursery schools, and at times is used with other nuances, but it has no currency as a synonym for “mixed-blood child.”
7. “*Zatsu*” (雑) has the feeling of “assortment” or “miscellany” or “variety,” hence “assorted,” “unsorted,” “miscellaneous,” or “various.” In some contexts it connotes “unruly” or “promiscuous.” Prefixed to “*kon*” (婚) or “marriage” it forms the word “*zakkon*” (雑婚), an older term for “mixed marriage” especially

between racially different people. Combined with “kon” (混), which means “mixture” (see next note), it forms the word “konzatsu” (混雑), which is one of the more general Sino-Japanese terms for mixture.

8. “Kon” is the most common Sino-Japanese (SJ) morpheme similar to “mix,” “mixed,” and “mixture” in English. “Ketsu” is the primary SJ morpheme, both for physiological blood, and for “blood” as a metaphor for biological lineage in a family, racio-ethnic nation, or race. SJ compounds follow Chinese syntax rules, hence “kon + ketsu + ji” = “mixed-blood child/offspring.” Though appearing after *ainoko* and before *haafu* in the history of racist labels in Japan, “*konketsuji*” is today the standard definition of both.
9. See my papers, Okamura, “‘Konketsu’ o meguru gensetsu,” 2013, and Okamura, “‘Haafu’ o meguru gensetsu,” 2016, for more examples and full linguistic particulars.
10. Episode 108, 18 January 1930. *Perushiya neko* [Persian cats] was published under the pen name Shimizu Kōsuke. Kitabayashi’s real name was Shimizu Kinsaku. I had not yet seen *Perushiya neko* when I first reported my findings of “*haafu*” in Kitabayashi’s *Machi no kokusai musume* (1930). See Okamura, 16 June 2013. This is my first public disclosure of the use of “*haafu*” in *Perushiya neko*.
11. Kitabayashi Tōma, 1932 and 1937.
12. Kitabayashi Tōma, 1930.
13. Kitabayashi first uses “*Ireppu*” as a reading for “*konketsuji*” in “Shōfu (Onna) Rori” [Prostitute (Woman) Lori], the lead story in his *Minato no Nihon musume* [Japanese girls at the harbor] anthology (1933). The term is used twice in this story, and both uses survive in a 1973 anthology. The term appears to mean “Europe” on the strength of Kitabayashi’s “Eurasian” as “Ireeshian,” which is also a reading for *konketsuji* in the same story. The standard Japanese term is “Yooropa” following Portuguese and Dutch “Europa,” whereas Kitabayashi is Japanizing English “Europe.”
14. Kitabayashi Tōma, June 1931 and 1933.
15. *Weekly pureibooi*, 16 July 1974, 7.
16. Here “half-caste” is *haafu-kasuto* (ハーフ・カスト) in Japanese. It is now more commonly *haafu-kaasuto* (ハーフ・カースト). Most “half-” compounds in English have katakana forms with and without the “mid dot.”
17. Ishihara Shintarō, *Sandee Mainichi*, 20 April 1956, 110.
18. The Japanese title of the journal article, “*Kokusai konketsuji*” (International mixed-blood children/people), is represented in English as “Men of Half-blood in the Diplomatic History of Japan” (Naganuma Kenkai, *Shien*, No. 56, March 1953). The title of the 1953 movie is written “*Konketsuji*” and generally read “*Konketsuji*.” The main title of the 1971 record jacket is written “*Konketsu Marii*” but read “*Ainoko Marii*” and the English title is “Half Blood Marie.”
19. Graphically, クォ reflects a w-glide hence “*kwa*,” whereas クオ reflects “*kuo*.” They could represent different pronunciations but are generally conflated. “*Kuootaa*” (クオーター), which represents “quarter” in numerous compounds adopted mostly from English, is now the more common form. “Quarter” could also be “*yon-bun-no-ichi*” (四分の一 one-fourth), but this expression is used mainly to describe, not label, a quantum of something.
20. See Mr. Yunioshi 2013. This was a domestic sequel to *Jinshu mania* [Race mania], a similarly designed volume by Watanabe Takayuki, put out in 2010 by the same publisher. Though Watanabe’s book clearly uses “*jinshu*” (race) in its title, it bears the English title “*Ethnicity Mania*,” and the subtitle states that the book introduces “the ethnic roots of famous people” (*yūmeijin no esunikuruutsu*) through caricature. In Japan as well as in countries like the United States, “race” and “ethnicity” are often conflated.
21. See Yamamoto et al., 1998.
22. Häfelin Sandra, 2013. Häfelin (Haefelin) was born in the United Kingdom to a Japanese mother and a German father, and raised mainly in Germany, but now resides in Japan. Some of the content of her books, and the manner in which they are illustrated, may actually deepen some stereotypes.
23. Morita, 2003.
24. Itō Gingetsu. *Nik-Kan gappō mirai no yume* [Dreams of future of Japan-Korea unification]. Tokyo: Sankyō Shoin, 1910. The book was published on 24 April 1910. The historical annexation took place on 29 August 1910. By 1945, when Japan lost Chōsen (Korea) under the terms of surrender at the end of World War II,

population migration and intermarriage between the peninsular and prefectural populations of the Empire of Japan was common.

25. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, *Nikukai*, 1923, in Tanizaki 1967.
26. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, *Chijin no ai* [A fool's love], Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1925. My translations. Anthony H. Chambers translated the novel as *Naomi*, New York: Vintage International, 2001. He freely translates "*ainoko*" as "Eurasian," which obscures the metaphor.
27. The scene and phrase appears in both *Perushiya neko* (op cit.) and its revision as *Kyoryūchi no oka* (op cit.). The *haafu* in the cited phrase is the only instance of *haafu* as a standalone word.
28. Kitabayashi Tōma, "Hikyō naru Joo", in Kitabayashi Tōma 1937, 371-409. In the novel, Joe is nicknamed "Yellow Joe" (*Kiirōi Joo*) on account of his skin color, but the association of "yellow" with "coward" in English invites ridicule, hence the Chinese characters for "coward" (*hikyō*) in the title are read "yellow" (*yaroo*) in the novel.
29. In the expression "*konketsu jidō*" (mixed-blood child), the word "*jidō*" refers specifically to a "child," whereas "*konketsuji*" – while morphologically also "mixed-blood child" – may also refer to adults.
30. Koseishō Jidōkyoku, 1953, 1-2. The survey was not about mixed-blood children generally, but only about those who were offspring of Allied Forces personnel, and as such were the focus of diplomatic and welfare issues. The much greater number of other mixed-blood offspring were unrelated to the Allied Occupation.
31. 10,000 would be an upper limit. Some contemporary writers reported rumors of 200,000 while those with actual numbers said 5,000, possibly 10,000, no more than 20,000 allowing for underestimates.
32. Op cit., Koseishō Jidōkyoku, 1953, percents computed.
33. The original name of the organization was "1953-*nen Kai*" abbreviated "53 *Kai*" (*Go-san Kai*) after the year it was formed. Later it was called "Remi no Kai." Hirano used "Remi" to mean not only a homeless child, but also the sort of child he had been when growing up in a discriminatory world.
34. The silent film *Minato no Nihon musume* (Japanese Girls at the Harbor) directed by Shimizu Hiroshi (1903-66) was released by Shōchiku on 1 June 1933, just two weeks after the publication of the novel. In the movie, which departs significantly from the novel, Egawa plays Henry, who in the novel is a "*konketsuji* (*ainoko*).\" Though the novel never clearly identifies another main character Dora as a *konketsuji*, publicity materials for the film version describe both Dora and Henry as *konketsuji*. While the film and its director are still somewhat well-known, Kitabayashi is all but forgotten. Egawa appeared in a number of postwar films and was doing mainly TV work when he died. Inoue ceased acting after the 1930s but wasn't forgotten, and last appeared in a 2004 film.
35. Hirano 1953, 66.
36. Satō Yoshiko's nickname as a vocalist was Carmen O-Yoshi. "Carmen" was her trademark work throughout her career, during which she also wrote essays and taught music. In the 1930s, she modeled for and then married the French-trained artist Satō Kei (1906-1978), who had the same family name and signed his works as "Key."
37. Hirano Imao, *Remi wa ikite iru* [Remi lives]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1993.
38. "Geinō kai wa konketsu-tarento buumu jidai" [The entertainment world (has entered) the mixed-blood talent boom era], *Kindai eiga*, September 1967, 100-101. "*Konketsu-tarento*" means a singer or other such entertainer of "mixed blood" (*konketsu*). This term included not only "part-white" but also "part-black" people, such as Aoyama Michi and Mary Jackson, and other "part-name-your-race" people.
39. Era Bell Thompson, *Ebony*, September 1967.
40. Renhō acquired Japanese nationality through a notification pursuant to special provisions made when the Nationality Law was revised from 1985. In 2016, some political opponents questioned her loyalty when it came to light that she (or her father, who had handled the notification) had not completed the procedure to end her Taiwanese nationality. Dual nationality is a gray-zone issue in Japanese law, and "choice" rules complicate the lives of tens of thousands of Japanese who are born every year between Japanese and foreign parents, as well as Japanese born between two Japanese in states with right-of-soil nationality laws. Other national Diet parliamentarians who were born to parents of different nationalities include

Tamaki Denny (born 1959), who was born in the Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa) when they were under U.S. administration. Legally he was Ryukyuan through his mother, and like other Ryukyuans he became or resumed being Japanese when the islands were returned and resumed being Okinawa prefecture in 1972.

41. The People's Honor Award was created for Oh when he broke the world's homerun record in 1977. Some critics objected that Oh was not a national of Japan. His nationality prevented him from participation on Japan's national team when he was in high school. However, under Japan's professional baseball rules, he and some other Japan-born foreign athletes have been excluded from "foreign player" quotas. Regardless of his nationality, Oh is widely recognized in Japan as one of the country's most highly respected global citizens.
42. The few objections raised in some quarters in Japan are reminiscent of those from some Japanese Americans to racially mixed candidates in Japanese American beauty pageants. See Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain, 2006. As of this writing, "Nissei Week Queen" candidates, in addition to meeting age, citizenship, and marital status requirements, must satisfy a racialized "nationality" requirement which states: "**Nationality:** Candidate must be a minimum of fifty percent (50%) Japanese ancestry. *Candidate will supply supporting documentation, including parents' names and birth certificate, if requested.*" (<http://www.niseiweek.org/become-a-court-member/>, last viewed 27 January 2017, emphasis in original).
43. Tomiyama was her family name at the time. She now goes by Higa.
44. "Self-advocacy movement" is a translation of "*tōjisha undo*," which means a movement of, by, and for immediately concerned people – in this case, offspring of racio-ethnically different parents.
45. Stylized "mixi" (as it is styled) is read "*mikushii*" in Japanese, and is so named because it facilitates on-line social mixing.
46. Hafu Project's logo is "ha-フ / ハ-fu / half japanese" and its website tagline reads "'Hafu' / Half Japanese / A dialog about being between two cultures" (see <http://www.hafujapanese.org/>). The Japanese title of *Hafu* the film is ハーフ or "*haafu*." Thanks to the project and the film, "*hafu*" and its plural "*hafus*" have gained a few users in written English. However, speakers of English will usually say "half" and "halves" – or "*haafu*" if they know Japanese. Some bloggers and vloggers use cutesy expressions like *halfie*, *halfsie* or *halvsie*, and even *mixie*, in reference to mixed-race people, not necessarily related to Japan.
47. See <http://hafufilm.com/> for details.
48. Kitabayashi, November 1931, 423. In the story, the Chinese characters for "*konketsu musume*" (mixed-blood girl) are read *ainoko* (between).
49. "*Wakai onna no kao ga haafu-ppoku natte kita*" [The faces of young women have become half-like], *an-an*, 13 June 1986, 6-24.
50. "*Haafu-gao ni naru meiku reshipi*" [Makeup recipe to become a half-face], *S Cawaii!*, January 2008, 98-101.
51. "*Hori-buka haafu-gao meiku kōza*" [Deeply carved (Sculptured) half-face makeup workshop], *non-no*, No. 21, 5 November 2008, 111-118, 127-134.
52. "*MAQUIA meiku teian, mezase akogare no haafu-bijo!*" [MAQUIA makeup proposal: Aim to be the half-beauty of your yearnings!], *MAQUIA*, February 2008, 68-85.
53. "*Ima atashi ga naritai no wa / 'Haafu-gao' meiku!! / How to make Half-Japanese Face*" (sic) [What I want to become now / "Half-face" makeup!! / How to make Half-Japanese Face (sic)], *BLEND A*, March 2008, 148-153.
54. "*'Haafu-gao Summer Ver. meiku': Yo ni mo utsukushiki meiku-jutsu*" [Summer version "Half-face makeup": Very beautiful makeup tricks], *BLEND A*, June 2008, 74-89.
55. "*Nippon*" is italicized here because it is written in phonetic *katakana* rather than in graphic *kanji* (Chinese script) for emphasis.
56. "*Ano kuni no haafu-gao ni naritai / Yūmeijin o mane-kko*" [I want to become a half-face of that country / (Be) an imitator of a famous person], *Koakuma ageha*, November 2013, 87-91.
57. *Snip Style*, October 2009, features "voluminous [full] hair" (*rittai hea*) along with "deeply carved [sculptured] makeup (*horibuka meiku*)".
58. *MAQUIA*, May 2016, 86. "*Ō-Bei-jin tokuyū no marumi o ishiki suru!*" [Be conscious of the roundness peculiar to (the faces of) Europeans and Americans!].

59. *Biteki*, October 2016, 80. “*Kono aki, bijin no kijun wa haafu-gao ni shifuto shite imasu!*” [This fall, the standards of (being) a beauty are shifting to half-face]. “*Biteki*” means “beauty” or “beautiful” and is commonly used to translate “aesthetics” or “aesthetic.” The magazine’s glossy pages are unpretentiously devoted to the promotion of beauty products.
60. *MAQUIA*, December 2016, 128. “*Nihonjin na no ni, doko to naku haafu no hito mitai . . .*” [(She’s) Japanese, but somehow seems like (evokes the feeling of) a half . . .].
61. This study is based on a 10-year collection of magazines displayed in ordinary bookstores. The collection consists of 31 magazines with “*haafu-gao*” related stories (27) representing 18 different magazine titles. The 31 magazines are separately listed after the Bibliography. $1.4 \text{ percent} = 3100 / 2160 = (100 * 31 \text{ issues in 10 year period}) / (18 \text{ titles} * 10 \text{ years} * 12 \text{ issue/title/year})$. This computation is an estimate based upon the author’s informal collection of data via personal observation, rather than formal tracking of publication data over time.
62. At least seven variations of the “*ainoko no miryoku*” [appeal (attractiveness) of *ainoko*] ads appeared during the last months of 1959 and early months of 1960 in several major mass magazines. I am indebted to Bill Wetherall for bringing the ads to my attention.
63. Anon., “*Kokusai-fasshon moderu dai-ichi-i, Irie Miki san ni kiku*” [An interview with Irie Miki, the top international fashion model], *Asahi shinbun*, 1 June 1964, 9.
64. *Ranzuki*, September 2015, 47. The issue includes several “*haafu-gao*” features.
65. Ibid. Cover. “*Ama-haafu no ko no kao o bunseki suru no ga ichiban chikamichi / Kawaige haafu-gao ni naru tame ni*” [Analyzing the faces of sweet-half girls is the shortest path / to becoming a cute half-face].
66. So-called “blackface” is usually translated “*kuronuri*” in Japanese, which means “blackening” the face by daubing or smearing soot or some other dark material on the face. Several other Japanese and Sino-Japanese terms are used to refer to the guises used by performers when playing a role of the opposite sex, of a different age, race, or even species.
67. “*Gaikokujin-gao ni naru ai-meiku*” [Eye makeup to become a foreigner-face], *ViVi*, May 2007, 200-207. The article was linked to the 2007 launch of the magazine *Gossips Press*, which featured Hollywood celebrity gossip. *Gossips Press* reportedly became just *Gossips* from February 2010.
68. *MAQUIA*, September 2016, 52-53. The title of the article is “*Nakamura An kara himotoku, genzai-kei no sekushii*” [Present-form (style) of sexiness, revealed from Anne Nakamura]. The “*himotoku*” and “*genzai-kei*” are playful. “*Himotoku*” originally means “to untie a cord” as one around a scroll in order to open it and see its contents. The “*genzai-kei*” in the title is also the grammatical term for “present tense.” Elsewhere in the article, “*genzai-kei sekushii*” (with a different character for “-kei” meaning “-related”) and “*imadoki sekushii*” mean “contemporary / happening / now-ish sexiness.”
69. Older paintings and woodblock prints are convincing evidence of the historical value placed on whiteness, whether natural or created. Early 20th century magazine covers and ads for beauty aids also show the extremes to which some women went to whiten their faces. See Wagatsuma 1967 for his attempt to point this out, although he over-racializes the subject, possibly because at the time he was deeply involved in “*konketsuji* studies” and felt compelled to explain the greater prejudice that was shown “black” mixed-blood children.
70. “*Kuroi konketsuji*” (black mixed-blood children) were sometimes called “*kuronbō*,” which means “blackie” or “darkie” but not necessarily “nigger” is the sense that this English word is often used. Kitabayashi Tōma sometimes used the term with a contemptuous tone, such as when spoken by a mixed-blood hero confronting an Indian villain. But the word, sometimes *kuronbo* rather than *kuronbō*, is also used to refer to a child or an adult with a deep tan, or to black kabuki garb, or even to black ears of grain.
71. *ViVi*, November 2015, 243. *ViVi*, one of Japan’s oldest and most popular fashion magazines, targets women in their late teens, 20s, and early 30s. It is sold in several other Asian countries, and its Chinese edition is popular in both the Republic of China and the People’s Republic of China. Several of its house models have ranked among the most glamorous, exotic, and idolized models who publicly identify as *haafu*.
72. “*Ippan teki ni hakujin to Nihonjin no haafu ya kuootaa wa, junsui-na Nihonjin to kurabete, bijuaru-teki ni masatte iru tokoro ga ooi desu.*” Viewed 4 January 2017. <http://www.takasu.co.jp/topics/column/face/74.html>
73. Ibid., <http://www.takasu.co.jp/topics/special/half.html>

74. "Anata no KONPUREKKUSU / Kore de kesemasu!" [Your COMPLEXES / (You) can eliminate (them) with this!]. *Biteki*, August 2010.
75. *Nikkei Entateinmento*, January 2008, 53-54. The magazine is published by a subsidiary of *Nikkei shinbun*, Japan's largest financial newspaper. The article featured two graphs of recent vital statistics reported by the Ministry of Health and Labor. One showed the total number of Japanese children born between a Japanese parent and a foreign parent (about 22,000 annually during the early 2000s). The other showed the number of children born to a Japanese parent and an American or British parent (between 1,400 and 1,600 annually). The second table showed breakdowns by the sex of the foreign parent (about 1,600 and 400 Japanese children born in 2005 had respectively American or British fathers). The statistics represent annual tallies compiled by the civil nationalities (not races) of parents. Many researchers cite the official statistics to dramatize the increase in the number of "interracial" Japanese children and label them "haafu." The distorted manner in which the *Nikkei Entateinmento* article racializes "haafu" as the offspring of "Asian" Japanese and "Caucasian" foreigners is typical in mass media.
76. *Ibid.*, 54. "Ō-Bei ni tai suru seishin-teki kyori-kan ga chijimatta." [(Japan's) mental sense of distance toward Europe-America has shrunk].
77. *Ibid.*, 54. "kore kara muri shite, 'gaijin-gao' ni naranai hō ga ii no ka mo!?" [not going out of (our, Japanese) way to become "foreign-faces" might be good! no?].
78. The 1950 Nationality Law was revised effective from 1985 to allow children born to Japanese women married to foreigners to acquire Japan's nationality matrilineally. The law provided a three-year window during which minor children born within 20 years of the effective date of the revision were able to acquire Japan's nationality by filing a "Nationality acquisition notification" (think "claim") pursuant to the special transitory measures stipulated in the revision. Until then, matrilineal nationality was possible only if the mother was unmarried. Under both the 1899 and the pre-revision 1950 Nationality Law, children who were born out of wedlock were generally able to become Japanese through matrilineality. And under older and present laws, children born in Japan to unknown or stateless parents become Japanese through a place-of-birth rule.
79. *Shūkan Yomiuri*, 7 October 1979, 55. My thanks to Bill Wetherall for providing me with clippings related to the LDP poster controversy.
80. Minoru Inaba (The Associated Press), "LDP Kicks off Campaign but Critic Bounces Back With Charges of 'White Woman Complex'", *The Japan Times*, 23 September 1979, 13.
81. *Shūkan hōseki*, 7 March 1991, 112-115. The article is a retrospective of nearly 20 female singers and talents who were popular during the "*konketsu tarento buumu*" centering on the 1970s. The women represent a number of parental nationalities, including India, and not all are *haafu*. The lead states that "Half talents fill the gap between us [Japanese] and the foreigner (*gaijin*) models who exist way above the clouds." The introduction rephrases this as "[The existence of half] is not an existence as distant as foreigners, and not as close as Japanese." The magazine, which targeted mainly male commuters, no longer exists.

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THINK PIECE: The Asian Turn in Mixed Race Studies: Retrospects and Prospects

by Emma J. Teng, Ph.D., M.I.T.

In 1930, the young Han Suyin (pen name of Rosalie Chou, 1916-2012) read this passage in a book called *Races of the World*: “Racial mixtures are prone to mental unbalance, hysteria, alcoholism, generally of weak character and untrustworthy...” Shaken, she prayed, “Oh God... don’t let me go mad, don’t let my brain go, I want to study.”¹

Probably the most famous Eurasian author of the 20th century, one who served as a major interpreter of China to the West during the tumultuous Cold War era, Han was haunted by these words and driven throughout her life by a determination to prove them untrue, fighting the pronounced stigma and the obstacles faced by mixed-heritage individuals during her era. As she highlighted in this famous scene from her autobiographical *A Mortal Flower* (1965), such stigma was not only a product of social prejudice, but also heavily reinforced by scientific and pseudoscientific discourses of the time.

From our vantage point today, it is a good moment to take stock of how far we have come (or failed to come) over the century that separates us from Han’s birth. How have popular perceptions of “mixed-race” peoples changed in Asia and across the globe? How have academic discourses evolved? And perhaps most importantly, how have “mixed” individuals themselves advocated for their equal rights and recognition? The articles in this pathbreaking issue of *Asia Pacific Perspectives* address these vital questions and others, focusing their analyses on historical and contemporary manifestations of “mixedness” across East Asia.

“Mixed race” first became a subject of serious study in the 19th century, when European and American debates over race placed the issue of “human hybridity” at the center of a battle between monogenists and polygenists, with their radically divergent views on the unity of the human race.² Whereas the former argued for the essential unity of mankind, the latter proposed separate origins for the different human races, which they regarded as analogous to distinct species. The question of human hybridity was pivotal in this regard: if the human hybrid was shown infertile like the mule and other animal “crosses,” then the polygenist thesis, and the notion of race as species, could be substantiated. Since ample evidence to the contrary existed in the American South, Latin America, British India and elsewhere, racial theorists like Paul Broca, Herbert Spencer, and others developed various theses of hybrid racial degeneration to support the contention that racial amalgamation was unnatural, abhorrent, and detrimental. Based on such theories, “racial mixtures” were said to inherit “the worst of both sides,” to be biologically, mentally and morally inferior, and given to degeneration over time. Scientists cited as supporting evidence a host of problems purportedly common among mixed-race individuals: physical abnormalities, stunted growth, low fertility, alcoholism and addiction, promiscuity, duplicity, mental instability, suicidal tendencies, and below-average intelligence.³ As Dr. H.N. Ridley proclaimed in a paper on the “Eurasian Problem” presented to the Straits Philosophical Society in 1895, for example: “Taking the race as a whole they are weak in body, short-lived, deficient in energy and feeble in morals. Even a little admixture of native blood seems to result in an individual who possesses the bad qualities of both races.”⁴ In this manner, the medical and scientific discourses on hybrid degeneration lent credibility to long-standing cultural and religious taboos against intermarriage. Like US anti-miscegenation laws of the time, scholarly discourses were mainly focused on white and nonwhite unions.

Against the thesis of hybrid degeneration, others argued that miscegenation was a productive force, enabling the emergence of new, “intermediate” racial types from the crossing of parent stocks. Alluding to examples from plant and animal breeding, some even argued for “hybrid vigor” in mixed offspring, suggesting that mixed-race populations could more readily acclimatize to settlement and development of tropical colonies than “pure” Europeans. Although this remained a minority position among European and American racial theorists, the notion of “constructive miscegenation” gained traction among Latin American eugenics advocates, as elucidated by Nancy Stepan.⁵ In Asia as well, Japanese and Chinese racial theorists touted the possibilities of constructive miscegenation as a means of strengthening the national racial body, a project of particular urgency in the context of a perceived global struggle for the survival of the fittest.⁶ In Japan, Takahashi Yoshio’s treatise “On the Amelioration of the Japanese Race,” published in 1884, advocated intermarriage between Japanese and Westerners for eugenic purposes. This notion of eugenic intermarriage gained such currency among “scholars and politicians” in Japan that Baron Kentaro Kaneko was prompted to write to Herbert Spencer for advice in 1892; and despite Spencer’s urging that such intermarriage “should be positively forbidden” to prevent racial degeneracy, the Japanese government ultimately declined to institute anti-miscegenation laws.⁷ Similarly, in China, preeminent Confucian philosopher and reformer, Kang Youwei (1858-1927) advocated “yellow and white” intermixing as a vehicle for “racial improvement” and the survival of the Chinese race. He moreover suggested that Chinese intermarriage with the “darker races” would also benefit the cause of “unifying” the races of the world. Hence, eugenics discourse, which really gained momentum in the early 20th century, was put to diverse uses: invoked to justify anti-miscegenation laws and other racial hygiene policies, on one hand, but also to promote racial intermarriage and genetic heterogeneity, on the other. Such examples demonstrate the necessity of understanding the history of racial theory within a comparative framework.

A very different approach to the study of mixed race came to the fore in the 1920s and 1930s, with a flourishing of sociological investigations of racial intermarriage and “mixed bloods.” Led by sociologist Robert Park and cultural anthropologist Franz Boas, a new generation of scholars turned away from natural science and took the position that “racial problems” are sociological or cultural rather than biological. Refuting the prevailing Anglo-American conviction that miscegenation was biologically harmful, as promoted through texts such as *Races of the World*, sociologists like E.B. Reuter argued that: “It appears to be fairly well-established as a biological fact that, as such, neither inbreeding nor outbreeding has any beneficial or injurious consequences.”⁸ Nonetheless, they asserted that race mixing had great *sociological* significance, and that mixed-race populations could be utilized as a “key” to understanding race relations and sociological processes of cultural contact across various racial and cultural “frontiers” globally. East Asian sociologists, many trained by Park and others of the Chicago School, participated actively in producing research in this area.

Although sociologists did much to counter the notion that “racial hybrids” were “biologic freaks,” their turn away from biology was incomplete. Indeed, a certain paradox emerged as Park and others denied the existence of “pure races” in any strict sense, but continued to use the terms “mixed-blood” and “pure-blood” as sociological categories, even reifying the former as a distinct sociological type.⁹ Perhaps most infamously, Chicago School sociologists developed the theory of the “mixed blood” as a “marginal man” who suffers from inner turmoil and malaise, because he “lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less of a stranger.”¹⁰ Equally controversial, Reuter and others promoted a type of “hybrid exceptionalism” in arguing that “mixed bloods” had higher levels of achievement and success than minorities of “pure blood.” Although never entirely displacing life science and physical anthropological approaches to the subject, the sociological paradigm became influential with the post-World War II repudiation of Nazism and associated racial ideologies. The UNESCO Statement on Race, for example, drafted in 1949, pronounced race to be a purely social

construct, and strongly refuted the myth of hybrid degeneracy: "evidence points unequivocally to the fact that race-mixture does not produce biologically bad effects."¹¹

A third major turn came in the 1990s, with the genesis of Mixed Race Studies and Critical Mixed Race Studies. As an interdisciplinary field, Mixed Race Studies diverges significantly from the scholarship of the preceding decades in its intimate relationship with organized social movements led by mixed individuals and families themselves. Largely aiming to destigmatize mixed race, interrogate dominant constructs of race, and contest "monoracialism," with its grounding in traditions of hypodescent (commonly referred to as the "one drop rule"), this newer body of scholarship emerged in tandem with collective organizing and political activism around mixed race issues, most prominently the demand for institutional recognition of multiracial identities. A pioneer in this field, clinical psychologist Maria Root, proposed a "Bill of Rights for People of Mixed Heritage" in 1993. At the same time, the flourishing of interest in "hybridity" as a critical category in postcolonial theory promoted a large wave of scholarship on the discursive and representational aspects of this phenomenon, and its relation to complex hierarchies of power. Further feeding into the development of this field was a "boom in biracial biography," as identified by Paul Spickard in 2001: a flowering in the publication of biographical and autobiographical narratives centered on the lived experiences of mixed heritage peoples. Unlike the earlier natural and social scientific attempts to fix "mixed race" types, or make broad pronouncements regarding the effects of racial intermixing, the more recent literature has frequently emphasized the historical and cultural contingency of race as a social construct, its fluidity and instability, and the liberatory or contestatory nature of hybridity. Critical Mixed Race Studies in particular, aims to "critique processes of racialization and social stratification based on race," and to "address local and global systemic injustices rooted in systems of racialization."¹²

Signaling the institutional arrival of Mixed Race Studies was the publication in 2004 of the Routledge reader, *"Mixed Race" Studies*, edited by Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe. The publication of this text, which anthologized an array of key examples of historical and contemporary scholarship on mixed race, was a major breakthrough for this new field and facilitated the further development of university curricula in this area. Yet, notably marginalized in this volume were the experiences of mixed-race subjects in Asia, or the work of Asian thinkers on the subject of racial and cultural hybridity – a reflection of the broader orientation of this field as well as the status of Asian Studies itself within the Anglo-American academy. More recently published collections, such as *International Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Mixing* (Edwards et al. 2012) and *Global Mixed Race* (King-O'Riain et al. 2014) similarly give scant or no attention to Asia.

Anthologies are selective, of course, and no single volume can cover the entirety of any domain of knowledge. Such lack of visibility is nonetheless notable in light of the fact that Asian perspectives had earlier been included in an anthology published in Temple University Press's Asian American History and Culture series, *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans* (2001). This volume dedicated a section to mixed-heritage Asians in a global context, with chapters on Britain, the Netherlands, Japan, Surinam, and Thailand. Moreover, the earlier wave of sociological work by the Chicago School and others had often focused quite centrally on race mixing in Asia – an area of the world that has exhibited immense diversity in its histories of cross-cultural contact, trade, migration, conquest, colonialism and nation-building. Why, then, did scholarship on Asia so often find itself at the margins of the new field of Mixed Race Studies?

One answer might have to do with the continuing tendency to conceptualize race predominantly in a binary, white-black fashion in contemporary American public life, even as there is widespread awareness of the growing demographic diversity and complexity of the nation. This majority-minority binary is one that Asians fit awkwardly, as theorized by various scholars. Perhaps equally

important is the status of Asian Studies within American academic institutions. Asian Studies is still perceived by some as a “niche” field, mostly of interest to those who seek specialized knowledge of Asia and less relevant to broader, more generalizable theoretical discussions within the academy: a problem that scholars of Asian Studies have struggled against for decades. Compounding this geographic marginalization is the necessity of mastering a difficult Asian language (or languages), which limits the field’s general accessibility and reinforces the image of Asianists as “specialists” within a narrow domain. For many reasons, then, opportunities for comparative discussions, even with Asian Americanists, are less readily available than one might hope.

A further obstacle to the development of Mixed Race Studies with an Asia focus is the fact that the concept of “race” itself is not easily defined within the Asian context, encompassing as it does a broad swath of nation states and cultures across East, Southeast, South, Northeast, and West Asia. Chinese and Japanese concepts of “race” and ethnic identity, for example, have differed historically from American concepts and also from one another. Although Western racial theory was imported into Asia from the 19th century on, it was also adapted to suit local purposes and political agendas, and thus itself “hybridized” in the process. For many in East Asia, the construct of “mixed blood,” which denotes a wide variety of mixed heritages, including not only white and Asian, but also black and Asian, Chinese and Japanese, Hakka and Punti, Korean and Malay, is more pertinent. In what ways does “blood” as a construct correlate, or not correlate, to the construct of “race”? What is the relationship of “blood” to ethnicity, or to culture, language, nation? How have various material contexts shaped the formation of racial, ethnic, cultural, and national identities across, and intra-Asia? How have histories of colonization, imperialism and militarism profoundly shaped these processes, and left legacies that many still grapple with today? If defining “race” in the Asian context is far from straightforward, defining “mixedness” is equally challenging -- as evidenced by the heated battles over defining the term “Eurasian” on Wikipedia and various online forums.

The challenge, then, for Asia scholars is to develop more rigorous comparative frameworks that can account for these differences yet remain relevant to broader theoretical discussions. Adding to the vibrancy and vitality of these conversations is the participation of scholars located in Asia, who bring different perspectives and often different questions to bear on our analysis of “mixedness.” In this manner, the study of intermixing and hybridity not only enriches our understanding of Asian societies across historical time, but also our understanding of mixed identities and processes of racialization as global phenomena.

A major step toward this goal was taken with the convening of the international symposium, “Negotiating Identities: Mixed Race Individuals in China, Japan, and Korea,” hosted by the University of San Francisco Center for Asia Pacific Studies in April 2016. Bringing together scholars from the US, Canada, Britain, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Australia, working in disciplines ranging from sociology to history, cultural studies, media studies, and international education, the symposium provided fertile ground for discussion of new research on the varied crosscultural encounters that led to the creation of interracial families in East Asia, and the question of how those of mixed heritage have negotiated their identities in East Asian societies, historically and today. How have East Asian societies regarded “racial mixing”? What have been the varied meanings of “mixed race” across cultures? How did different institutions emerge in reaction to the “problem” of “mixed-bloods”? Under what conditions have those of mixed heritage been idealized as racial or cultural intermediaries? How have mixed heritage individuals themselves organized to fight for their rights and recognition? With the aim of fostering stronger links between Asian Studies and Asian American Studies, the symposium featured a roundtable on contemporary perspectives on US Mixed Race Studies. In addition to the global perspectives represented by conference participants, an especially valuable aspect of the symposium was the opportunity for panelists and audience

members to share their personal experiences and viewpoints on “mixedness,” with a candor and respect that Han Suyin would have appreciated.

There is a broader movement afoot. Since the 1990s, Asia has enjoyed a boom in the publishing of memoirs, local community histories, pictorial collections, and other [often nostalgic] works memorializing the experiences of mixed communities in Asia. In 2005, Singapore opened the Peranakan Museum to showcase the unique and “eclectic” culture of the Peranakans, with their mixed Chinese and Malaysian heritage. Online communities, NGOs, and other groups have worked actively to bring mixed identities to the fore – with some focused on the building of collective identity or the recording of shared history, and others more directly engaged in activist struggles for political rights, equity and inclusion. Mixed identities in Asia have thus gained increased recognition, even as local concerns surrounding migration, intermarriage, labor, and citizenship have become hot button issues in many Asian societies. The continuing popularity of mixed celebrities, now of increasingly diverse backgrounds, has also kept “mixedness” in the media across Asia. Scholarship on intermarriage, mixed race, and other mixed identities in Asia is flourishing, produced by scholars based in Asia and beyond, and across the disciplines of history, sociology, anthropology, literature, media studies, ethnic studies and postcolonial studies.

At the end of the day, however, we are still stymied by the problem faced by Chicago Sociologists decades ago: how do we study something called “mixed race” and at the same time contest the validity of so-called “pure races.” In labeling some “mixed” do we not inadvertently reinforce the notion that others are “pure”? Can Critical Mixed Race Studies maintain its “critical” edge if we adopt the position that “everyone is mixed”? In addition, the growth of anthropological genetics as a field and the increasing popularity of commercial DNA testing that promises to reveal “how much of a mixture is your own DNA recipe” or “what percentage European or African you are” serve as a new challenge to academic understandings of the socially constructed nature of both “race” and “mixedness.”¹³ We face other, less purely theoretical, challenges as well: we must ask ourselves whether the oft-proposed notion that “intermixing” will bring about a post-racial society is a simple distraction from other, more difficult questions of race and inequality? In what ways have conservatives used the “conundrum” of mixed race to challenge affirmative action and dismantle civil rights legislation in the US? Does the new racial cosmopolitanism of our global age mask the ever-widening divide of economic inequality and class? How do we explain the simultaneous hyper-visibility of “mixed” or “biracial” celebrities and the resurgence of white supremacy as an ideology and political movement? As a field of study fundamentally dedicated to the critical contestation of borders, how will Critical Mixed Race Studies respond to the renewed momentum in favor of borders and wall-building? Asian Studies scholarship, and Asian historical examples, must be taken seriously in our quest for answers.

The articles collected in this volume represent a major step toward this goal. Two other emergent directions in the field are shaping a new generation of scholarship. One is the globalization of Mixed Race Studies that is generating dynamic dialogues among scholars situated in the Americas, Asia, Australasia, Africa, Europe and the Middle East. The second is a shift away from the historical preoccupation with white/nonwhite intermixing to more sustained and comparative analysis of the wide spectrum of mixed families and identities beyond whiteness: for example, Indian and Japanese, Korean and African American, or Chinese and Mexican. Despite the rise of xenophobia, nativism and borders, then, this is an exciting moment to watch the field evolve in ways that Han Suyin perhaps never imagined.

NOTES

1. Han Suyin, *A Mortal Flower: China, Autobiography, History* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 148-149. Han is likely referring to Pouffe, *Races of the World* (London: Geographia, 1919).
2. See Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 2010).
3. See Emma J. Teng, *Eurasian: Mixed Identities in the United States, China, and Hong Kong, 1842-1943* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 95.
4. H.N. Ridley, "The Eurasian Problem," August 10, 1895, in *Noctes Orientales: Being a Selection of Essays Read before the Straits Philosophical Society between the Years 1893 and 1910* (Singapore: Kelly and Walsh, 1913), 54-56.
5. Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).
6. Yuehtsen Juliette Chung, *Struggle for National Survival: Eugenics in Sino-Japanese Contexts, 1896-1945* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
7. "Letter of Herbert Spencer to Baron Kaneko Kentaro, August 26, 1892," *London Times*, January 22, 1904, "SPENCER ON JAPAN; Full Text of the Philosopher's Remarkable Letter. He Tells Baron Kentaro Kaneko that Americans and Europeans Should Be Kept at Arm's Length," *New York Times*, January 31, 1904, p. 4, <http://nyti.ms/2gxVr0Z>, Manfred Berg and Simon Wendt, *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (New York, NY: Berghahn, 2014), 265.
8. Reuter, Edward Byron, *Race Mixture Studies in Intermarriage and Miscegenation* (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1931), 5.
9. Reuter, Edward Byron, "The Hybrid as a Sociological Type," *Publications of the American Sociological Society* 19 (1925): 59-68.
10. Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 33, no. 6, 1928: 881-893, 893.
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THINK PIECE: Political and Social Contexts of Multiracial and Multiethnic Relations and Individuals in Japan and South Korea

By Keiko Yamanaka, Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley

Introduction

I teach a course titled “Gender and Generation in Asian American Families,” in the Asian American and Asian Diaspora Studies within the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. I also teach a course titled, “Immigration and Multiculturalism in Asia,” for Berkeley’s International and Area Studies Department. The issue of “intermarriage and mixed race children” is a theme that attracts much attention from students in these courses. It has also produced a massive volume of literature since the 1980s.¹ The subjects are popular simply because they challenge the existing racial, ethnic and national boundaries and redefine individual and collective identities. They also re-evaluate the social distance between a minority group and majority group that usually stay far apart from each other.

For example, in my Asian American Studies course, following Milton Gordon’s concept of marital assimilation, I discuss an increase in intermarriage between an immigrant group – such as Japanese Americans – and the white majority group, as a measure of cultural assimilation into mainstream society.² In my Asian Studies course, I examine the topic in the context of emerging multiculturalism in East Asia as a result of an increasing number of international marriages between East Asian men and Southeast Asian women. In both cases, intermarriage across race, ethnicity and nationality brings together the people and communities otherwise separated, challenging the established racial and ethnic boundaries. It also forces people to adjust, and adapt to, cultural differences of the communities commonly seen as alien to them. In these new emerging relations and processes, individual and group identities are constantly shaped and reshaped at the intersections of race, class and gender.³ By definition, children of intermarriage are the major actors thrown into such new discourses, carrying a heavy burden of proving who they are, where they belong, and how far the two heritages come close in society.

This short essay has been inspired by my participation as the discussant on a panel at a symposium entitled “Negotiating Identities: Mixed-Race Individuals in China, Japan and Korea” held at the University of San Francisco in April 2016.⁴ As I reviewed the papers presented in the panel, I was struck by the similarity of South Korea’s experiences with interracial/ethnic relations and resultant multiracial/ethnic children to those of Japan, my native country. The topics and themes that the three papers discussed revolved around the intense stigma attached to the Korean women who had sex with American soldiers, all-around exclusion of Amerasian children (called *honhyeolin*) from Korean society, and more recently the negative societal reception of multicultural families and children resulting from international marriages between Korean men and Southeast Asian women. These types of incidents and stories abound in post-WWII Japanese society.

In an effort to seek common grounds for the experiences of the two countries, below I discuss the historical and structural contexts of post-WWII East Asia within which interracial and interethnic encounters across national boundaries occurred. My goal is to sort out the large historical, political and societal contexts that have given rise to the similar experiences of interracial/ethnic relations in Japan and Korea. For this purpose, this essay is intended to be food for thought and encourage future comparative research with concrete data from each country. I focus on two historical periods:

the first begins in the late 1940s, the period during which the American military alliance with Japan and South Korea (hitherto Korea) brought large numbers of American soldiers to each country. The second is the 1970s and afterwards, the period during which the global economy and demographic changes caused a surge of intra-Asian migration from Southeast Asia to East Asia, including Japan and Korea.

I should note that here I use the terms race and ethnicity differently from each other. By the term “race” I refer to physical differences, such as those of skin color and bodily stature, while I use “ethnicity” to signify cultural differences, such as those of language and religion.⁵ In the context of this essay, what I term the interracial encounter thus refers to sexual relationships between men of white or black race and women of Asian race with broad ethnicities, including Japanese and Koreans. What I term the interethnic encounter then refers to sexual relationships between men and women of Asian ethnicities, such as those between Japanese men and Filipino women. In the latter cases, physical differences of the children resulting from these relationships are smaller relative to those in the former cases. This is an important point to make in the East Asian context. In relatively homogeneous societies, physical difference plays a crucial role in constructing the “other” based on one’s biological and cultural origins. It is this social process that attaches the negative meanings to the multiracial/ethnic children, and it is the subject I will discuss in each of the two distinct periods.⁶

Multiracial Relations and Multiracial Children

In East Asia, soon after WWII ended in 1945, the intensifying Cold War against Communist threats triggered the large-scale migration of American soldiers to Japan and Korea. The American armed forces occupied Japan for seven years until 1952. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the American and allied military forces landed in Korea. Even after these events were over, the American military continued to maintain military bases in each country. This opened a new page of history in interracial interactions and relationships in the nations that had hitherto predominantly Asiatic populations. The presence of traveling American males of diverse races in Japan and Korea, most of whom were young and unmarried, immediately gave rise to intimate contact between these men and the local women working both on and off the military bases. Clearly these relationships, mostly informal, were built on unequal grounds. The political, economic, and therefore racial superiority of American males was overwhelming to the subordinated locals of war-struck and impoverished nations, especially young females with limited economic means. However, the stigma attached to the women in sexual relations with American men was harsh, and their biracial children – frequently deserted by their fathers – were disdained.

The exclusionary process of rendering mixed race children as social pariahs began as soon as they were born. In the early post-war period, the security alliance with the US ushered both Japan and Korea along a path towards economic reconstruction. But war-torn nations endeavoured to cultivate a spiritual unity among their members, who were hitherto divided by war memory, class, gender and many other lines. The ideology of social, and especially ethnic, homogeneity provided a sense of harmony, solidarity and equality across these lines toward the single national goal of rapid industrialization.⁷ In that consolidating process, biracial children – with their distinct bodily differences – clearly fell off the imagined territorial boundary and reminded the public of the painful and disastrous past.

In Japan, the nation defeated by the Americans, these Amerasian children symbolized a national shame and had no space to grow up in the country. At one point, there was even a program to ship the biracial children off to a farm opened in the jungle of the Amazon, Brazil.⁸ The discrimination against biracial children was even worse if their skin was darker, revealing their black heritage. In the 1959 Japanese movie *Kiku and Isamu*, a story of the two black Amerasian siblings in an impoverished

Okinawan village, presents the all-around exclusion such children met in a society struggling under the American military occupation.⁹

The ideological exclusion meant their institutional exclusion, commonly resulting in their low education, low-skilled occupations, and therefore limited social and geographical mobility. In postwar Korea many multiracial individuals remained poor, subsisting on unskilled jobs in the camptowns where American military bases existed.¹⁰ Neither law nor public policy helped to ameliorate their plight. The longstanding patriarchal Confucian legal system prevented mothers from registering children fathered by foreigners in their own household records. The institutional exclusion left the *honhyeolin* deprived of a supportive family life, and often left them with low self-esteem.

Multiethnic Relations and Multiethnic Children

Three decades later, Japan and Korea rose to be two of the wealthiest economies of Asia. By the 2010s, with the rapidly changing demographics and growing labor demands, each country attracted hundreds of thousands of migrants from Southeast Asia and other regions in the industries and occupations severely short of workers. Among them were tens of thousands of women who arrived each year and took jobs in the entertainment and sex industry.¹¹ In Japan, Filipino, Thai and other Asian women were admitted as professional entertainers but typically worked in bars and clubs where labor shortages were acute.¹² Some of them married their male customers and raised families.¹³ In Korea, a severe shortage of brides in rural areas prompted cross-border marriages brokered by international matchmakers. Immigrant wives from China, Vietnam and other Asian countries took care of their husbands' households and raised children.¹⁴ In the East Asian nation-states characterized by patriarchal family practices, social homogeneity myths, restrictive immigration policies, and a resulting lack of social incorporation programs, these women endured multiple inequalities and oppressions due to their sex, gender, class, nationality and citizenship status. The burgeoning literature on the subject frequently points to all kinds of abuses and exploitations, including trafficking and sexual slavery, at the hands of customers, employers, and even husbands and in-laws, who took advantage of the women's vulnerability as females, immigrants, workers, wives and mothers.¹⁵

The offspring of interethnic relationships between East Asian citizen males and Southeast Asian immigrant females also met prejudice and exclusion in their fathers' homelands. Similarly to their mothers, these children are commonly seen as different or other, and even inferior to their peers because of their mixed heritage and other sources of differentiation. Here, a caveat is necessary: As this population of children continues to grow, academic literature in Japan and Korea has yet to catch up. Due to the lack of existing studies I must limit my discussion here to Japan and experiences of Filipino children fathered by Japanese men. I discuss two groups of Japanese-Filipino children: Those born within stable families, and those born out of wedlock. In my research in rural Japan, I observed the children of the first group were raised to be Japanese, graduated from local schools, and had found respectable jobs.¹⁶ In other words, they were equal to their Japanese peers in every respect, including their physical appearance.¹⁷ The second group, those born out of wedlock to single mothers in either Japan or the Philippines, largely grew up in impoverished, single-parent households. In stark contrast to the former, the latter group was subjected to many legal, economic and other barriers frequently encountered by immigrants and their children in Japan.¹⁸ Due to Japan's patriarchal legal framework, until 2009 this group of Japanese Filipino children were not eligible for Japanese nationality.¹⁹ Even once they acquired it, however, cultural and institutional barriers – such as limited Japanese language, education and therefore viable skills – prevented them from enjoying their citizenship rights and a sense of belonging to the national community.²⁰

Conclusion

From the above discussions, I draw two major conclusions. The first is that exclusion of multiracial/ethnic individuals from the nation-state is a result of historical, structural and ideological conditions under which Japan and Korea operated at different points in time. In each historical context, gender, class, race and ethnicity intersect differently with one another, generating different dynamics that oppress multiracial/multi-ethnic children in different ways. In the early post-WWII period, Amerasians or *honhyeolin* are a product of intense regional politics of East Asia under the Cold War that landed many itinerant American bachelors on each country's shore. As a result, with their bodily marks of difference, illegitimate children from unequal interracial relationships are a racially distinct group that is relegated to the status of permanent outcast in societies which aspire to a harmonious and prosperous future. In contrast, children born to Southeast Asian migrant mothers and East Asian fathers since the 1990s become legitimate citizens of their fathers' country, physically and culturally Asian, and augmenting populations otherwise suffering from extremely low fertility. Although legal and other institutional barriers still challenge these multiethnic children, their individual and collective identities are currently being negotiated under East Asia's growing multiculturalism.

This brings me to the second conclusion. Examining the two historical contexts in which multiraciality and multiethnicity are constructed indicates a shift in the form and nature of exclusion in different historical and structural conditions of East Asia. A question is what of these large macro-changes trigger ideological and institutional transformations that result in exclusionary or inclusionary practices of multiracial and multiethnic individuals. Clearly such significant changes as the demise of communism and the rise of global economy have impacted every ideological and institutional base of society. Nonetheless, the question of how racial and ethnic boundaries move along the axis of race, ethnicity, class, gender and generation as a result of these epoch-making changes remains unanswered. One way to address it may be comparative studies of the shifting boundaries at the crucial historical moments between the two nations – Japan and Korea – that underwent similar circumstances. Precisely such studies comparing changes in policy, immigration and citizenship would elucidates the ways in which ideologies and institutions of race, class and gender intersect and transform themselves. It then also reveals differences of the two East Asian nations in these processes and discourses. For example, social incorporation of multiethnic children may take different paths between Japan and Korea, given differences in public policy and reception towards them, law and citizenship rules regarding their inclusion, and educational systems promoting their equality.²¹

In short, the examination of changing multiracial and multiethnic relations over the past 50 years is of critical importance to the emerging multiculturalism and tolerance of ethnic and cultural diversity in East Asia. In the context of growing economic and cultural integration of East Asia and Southeast Asia today, more open borders and fluid interactions of peoples of different backgrounds are increasingly occurring. And yet, the existing complex and unequal relations across the nations, ethnicities and genders make it difficult for the different groups to achieve an equal footing with the majority population. Research on changes in multiraciality and multiethnicity can suggest new directions towards more inclusive policies, open ideas and flexible identities in the more diverse and interactive Asia.

NOTES

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2. Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).
 3. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love, Second Edition* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008).
 4. A Symposium, "Negotiating Identities: Mixed Race Individuals in China, Japan and Korea," hosted by the Center for Asia Pacific Studies, University of San Francisco, CA, April 14-15, 2016.
 5. For theoretical discussions of race and ethnicity, see: Omi, Michael and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
 6. For social processes of constructing other, see: Robert Miles, *Racism after 'Race Relations'* (London: Routledge, 1993).
 7. John Lie, in *Multi-Ethnic Japan*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press; John Lie (ed.), 2015, *Multiethnic Korea? Multiculturalism, Migration, and Peoplehood Diversity in Contemporary South Korea*, Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies (IEAS) Publications, University of California, Berkeley.
 8. For Miki Sawada and her Elizabeth Saunders Home, see Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Global Families* (New York: NYU Press, 2013), 18.
 9. Tadashi Imai directed the movie in 1959.
 10. Onjung Joy Yang, "The Social Status of *Honhyeolin* in South Korea," a paper presented at "Negotiating Identities: Mixed-Race Individuals in China, Japan, and Korea," a symposium at the University of San Francisco, April 14-15, 2016.
 11. Labor in the entertainment and sex industry is conceptualized as one type of the "reproductive labor" that largely refers to "maintaining and sustaining human beings throughout their life cycle" (p. 32) in Thanh-Dam Truong, 1996, "Gender, International Migration and Social Reproduction: Implications for Theory, Policy, Research and Networking," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1: 27-52.
 12. Rhacel Parreñas, *Illicit Flirtations: Labor, Migration, and Sex Trafficking in Tokyo* (Stanford: Stanford University, 2011).
 13. Lieba Faier, *Intimate Encounters: Filipina Women and the Remaking of Rural Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).
 14. Nicole Constable (ed.), *Cross-Border Marriages: Gender and Mobility in Transnational Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2005).
 15. Sara L. Friedman and Pardis Mahdavi (eds.), *Migrant Encounters: Intimate Labor, The State, and Mobility Across Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
 16. Keiko Yamanaka and Takeshi Akiba, "Achieving Local Citizenship in Rural Japan: Filipina Wives in Organized Activism," in Yuk Wah Chan, David Haines and Jonathan Lee (eds.), *The Age of Asian Migration: Continuity, Diversity, and Susceptibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).
 17. I should note that many Filipino mothers in my study wish to teach their children their native language (e.g., Tagalog) and Filipino culture, but often find it hard in the mono-lingual and mono-cultural environment in which the children grow up.
 18. Eunice Akemi Ishikawa, Chapter 4, "The Return of Japanese-Brazilian Next Generations: Their Post-1980s Experiences in Japan," in Dennis Conway and Robert B. Potter (eds.), *Return Migration of the Next Generations, 21st Century Transnational Mobility* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009).
 19. Nobue Suzuki, "Outlawed Children: Japanese Filipino Children, Legal Defense and Ambivalent Citizenships," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (2010): 31-50.
 20. Nobue Suzuki, "Troubling *Jus Sanguinis*: The State, Law, and Citizenships of Japanese-Filipino Youth in Japan," in Sara L. Friedman and Pardis Mahdavi (eds.), *Migrant Encounters: Intimate Labor, the State, and Mobility Across Asia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
 21. One similar comparative study is my own: Keiko Yamanaka, "Diverging Paths, Converging Ends: Japan and Korea's Low-skilled Immigration Policies, 1990 to 2010," in John Lie (ed.), *Multiethnic Korea? Multiculturalism, Migration, and Peoplehood Diversity in Contemporary South Korea* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies (IEAS) Publications, University of California, Berkeley, 2015).

THINK PIECE: The “Human Duty” to Deracialize Nationality

By Hyoue Okamura, Independent Scholar, Kyoto, Japan

In Japan, people who “look” like they might have a “foreign” parent or grandparent are called *haafu* (half foreign blood) or *kuootaa* (quarter foreign blood). They may or may not be Japanese. If Japanese, their family histories may or may not include ancestors from other parts of the world, and might not even include anyone born in Japan. Japan’s nationality is raceless, there are no “race boxes” to check in Japan, and no law has ever racialized Japanese nationals. Yet *Nihonjin* or Japanese – the most common word for “the people of Japan” (*kokumin*) – is so widely racialized in Japanese society, and overseas, that people in Japan who “look” as though they might not be Japanese commonly find themselves the objects of attention, usually just simple curiosity, but sometimes discomfort or hostility, in extreme cases shunning or bullying. And those who are Japanese constantly encounter categorical exclusion from “Japanese” of the kind found in *haafu-gao* (half-face) fetishism (see my article, “The Language of ‘Racial Mixture’ in Japan,” elsewhere in this issue). Reflexive, habitual, and thoughtlessly racist language in mass media and academia rings harshly in the ears of people who feel themselves excluded or are otherwise upset by such language. In this article, I reflect on my own experiences and advocate some “human duties” to deracialize nationality.

My own journey through the “identity” maze

I was born in 1978 in Kyoto to a German mother and a Japanese father. I was raised in Kyoto prefecture, educated at local Japanese schools, and all my undergraduate and graduate education has been in Japanese universities. I have visited Germany a few times and the United Kingdom for a month or so. Otherwise, I have spent my entire life in Japan.

Some children and adults have called me *gaijin*. The word means “outsider” but is short for *gaikokujin*, which means “outlander” or “foreigner.” When referring to legal status, these words mean someone who does not possess Japanese nationality. On the street, though, they are commonly used to label someone who doesn’t “look” Japanese in the eyes of people who think Japanese is a race. In my generation, people like me have usually been labeled *haafu*. Though *gaijin* and *haafu* may be just words to the people who reflexively use them, they are generally used as racist labels. This makes them negative to individuals who don’t wish to be racialized. I hear *gaijin* as “You’re not Japanese,” and I hear *haafu* as “You’re not fully Japanese.”

When I was a child I would protest. “I’m not a *gaijin*. I’m Japanese.” Even today I have to correct some people’s impressions that I’m a foreigner. I first criticized the word *gaijin* when I was thirteen, in a middle school speech contest. My teachers usually paid attention to me and so I didn’t have to fight a lot of name-calling at school. In this sense I was lucky. Most kids like me experience curiosity but are accepted. A few face hostility alone and lack self-protective social skills. I survived. While I didn’t particularly like *haafu*, it didn’t sound as harsh as *gaijin*, and I got used to it.

As a teenager I thought about my identity – Am I Japanese or am I German? Where is my home? Where do I belong? While I thought about this, it was not my main concern at the time. I focused mostly on studying for university entrance exams and hanging out with friends. By 2002, at age 24, I wasn’t thinking much about my identity. I had come to the conclusion that I was Japanese. After reading the writings of people like Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu and Hirano Imao, however, I began thinking of my own experiences as part of a larger social issue. I felt that they had spoken to

people like me, and I realized that the “What am I?” question was still deep inside me.

In September 2002, I started a website called “Die Kreuzungsstelle” (www.kreuzungsstelle.com), which means “crossroads,” with the handle name Nikolaus, after St. Nikolaus of Santa Claus fame. The site consisted of a BBS (Bulletin Board System) and some columns. The BBS no longer exists, but its contents, representing many people, have been posted under “Voices” on the main page. Among the many columns, about one-third are by other contributors. The topics range from identity, dual nationality, and bilingual-ness, to labels like *haafu* (half) and *daburu* (double), school and other social experiences, and questions that people often ask – Where are you from? What languages do you speak? Which country do you like best or feel loyalty toward?

At the time, SNS (Social Network Service) websites had not yet taken root in Japan, but some people who had shared similar experiences visited my site and expressed their opinions. Many appreciated my work and wanted to hold meetings. Some had not had social contacts with others like themselves, or had only a brother or a sister to talk with about their experiences. *Die Kreuzungsstele* offered a place to discuss topics of mutual interest in Japanese. It was the first website of its kind in Japan to facilitate such a community.

In 2004 I organized a small meeting of interested participants in Yokohama. Fifteen such meetings were held between 2004 and 2006 in Yokohama, Kyoto, Tokyo, Kobe and Osaka. But I am not very good at organizing people and it was stressful. So I stopped the meetings, and *Die Kreuzungsstelle* resumed being just a web forum.

From about this time I began the research that led to some of the findings I have reported mostly in Japanese and now in English. I began to meet other researchers, Japanese and foreigners. Some researchers identified as *haafu*, and some researchers, including a few *haafu*, regarded *haafu* as objects of their research. I was frequently urged and pressed by some of my academic supervisors to conduct field work that would have required me to target *haafu*. At times I felt that some of my colleagues regarded me as a “specimen” in their “globalization” studies. However, in principle I am opposed to invading anyone’s private space in the name of “research” which, in my view, only deepens the “Japanese” racialization that created the racialized *gaijin* and racialized *haafu* labels to begin with. Hence all of my research has focused on the social history of racialization, in language and media representations. My object has been to demonstrate the pathology of racialization in the manner in which people are “objectified” for racial reasons in the marketplace of ordinary commodities like makeup, or in fashionable notions like “identity” based on racialized ancestry.

Human duties

As I demonstrate at the end of my article (in this issue) on the emergence of *haafu* in Japan, *haafu-sa* (half-ness) has become an object of admiration and envy in the entertainment and fashion worlds. I ask myself the question – Should *haafu* feel happy about the apparent fetishization of their faces and figures in mass media representations? This is a difficult question to answer. You could ask the same question about anyone who has traits that are praised or seen as “desirable” or “valuable” – athletic prowess, math skills, an ability to sing, play an instrument or write novels, make people laugh or cry.

I can’t blame those who make a living off their real *haafu-sa*, or off features that pass for *haafu-ppoi* (half-like). But what about the subtle and blatant racialization and commercialization of *haafu-gao*? Should the people who come up with such marketing schemes be allowed to racialize people without objection?

How does the fetishization of *haafu* affect the hundreds of thousands of Japanese and foreigners in Japan who are “seen” as *haafu* – and have to deal with people who gaze at them as they would an

animal in a zoo? As though to wonder why they don't look and act like the beautiful or handsome *haafu* models and assorted entertainers who sing, laugh, or primp for a living? Or why they are not multilingual like some *haafu* radio DJs and TV newscasters who switch languages on demand? And how does the racialization of "Japanese" effect Japanese who, though having no "foreign blood" in their family histories, are taken for *haafu* because they naturally look like they might be "mixed" in the eyes of people who racialize how "typical" Japanese are supposed to look?

Living as a *haafu* in Japan is heaven for some, a test of patience for many, and a few harbor serious stigmas about their appearance, partly nourished by unwanted racist attention. If you don't look too "outlandish" (*gaijin-poi*) and speak a couple of useful languages, you might represent Japan at an international event. But some employers and landlords balk at hiring or renting to people who look more like "outsiders" (*gaijin*). I myself have been in the position of having to "grin and bear it" when confronted by treatment I don't welcome. Getting along and survival often trump fighting discrimination.

As someone born and raised in Japan, who happens to have parents who represent different "races" in the eyes of many people, I have trouble accepting the idea that "race" (whatever it is) or "racial mixture" (whatever that is) define a person. Thanks to my research, I now know exactly what I am. I am my parents' son and my big sister's not-so-little brother. If it's anyone's business, I'm Japanese, and I have a family register and passport to prove it. I want only to live an ordinary life without having other people question "what" I am, or "where" I came from, as though I don't belong where I am.

I take comfort in knowing that most people like me have had similar experiences, long before me, throughout Japan's history. And it has been exhilarating to discover the writings of people who have had similar experiences, and others, whose words have inspired people to be proud but not arrogant about who they are, and who in their own ways have advocated an end to racism.



Figure 1. Caricature of stereotypical "half" in weekly magazine *Shūkan hōseki*, 7 March 1991. The article, in a column called "Old-man's news," is titled "Nostalgic half talents." (Collection of the author)

But how can racism end if racialization runs amok? As it does in U.S.-style race "boxes"? As it does in Japan, in "*haafu mania*" and *haafu-gao* phenomena? And in the stereotyping of *haafu* as "half-white, big-eyed, light-haired Americans" and "half-yellow, almond-eyed, black-haired Japanese"?¹ (Figure 1)

At the social level, a lot can be done. Most importantly, journalists, educators, and academics for whom the shoe fits need to stop racializing people. If you have an opportunity to talk about the population of Japan, you can point out that

Japanese are racially and ethnically diverse. You can add that hundreds of the world's local racio-ethnic populations are represented among Japanese, in increasing permutations and combinations that should not be forced into either conventional or designer identities. If an activist, you can write

letters to people and organizations you feel are nurturing the image of Japanese as a “pure” or “homogeneous” people – including magazine publishers, makeup artists, cosmetics makers, and plastic surgery clinics – asking them to portray Japan as a naturally diverse country, and then blog or otherwise publicize your protests. And all of us, including this writer, can work on ridding ourselves of our acquired habits of racializing others.

If I were to advocate some “human duties” to deracialize nationality in Japan, or anywhere for that matter, they might look like this.²

How you generally feel about race and ethnicity and identity is your business.

In public, however, be civil and respect the racio-ethnic privacy of others.

1. Avoid using “Japanese” as a label for race or racio-ethnicity.
 - Japanese represent people of all racial and ethnic descents.
 - In a civil society, there can be no “pure” or “half” Japanese.
2. Avoid using *gaikokujin* or *gaijin* with racial implications.
 - You cannot “see” or “hear” a person’s nationality or identity.
 - You might guess someone’s descent, but that’s their business.
3. Avoid labeling any individual or group of individuals racially.
 - Parents should think twice before labeling their children.
 - Teachers should not label their students racially or ethnically.
4. Avoid racially labeling yourself in public.
 - All individuals are “whole” and wholly whatever they are.
 - Labels like *haafu*, *daburu*, mixed, and hapa are racist.
5. Avoid engaging in activities that differentiate people racially.
 - If you racialize, you cannot complain about discrimination.
 - Accepting a job or an award with “racial” qualifications is racist.
6. Avoid taking pride in a nationality for racial or ethnic reasons.
 - If you must be proud, be proud of human qualities.
 - Don’t regard national cultures as racio-ethnic properties.

Racialization and racist acts have consequences. When someone accepts a teaching position or a modeling job on account of their race, someone somewhere is refused a job on account of their race. Whenever a beautician, journalist, or scholar anywhere in the world racializes Japanese (*Nihonjin*) – or regards someone as racially or ethnically “half” or “part” or “mixed” or “multi” or “bi” or anything other than just a whole human being, the biological offspring of two parents, whatever their respective racio-ethnic family histories – someone in Japan or elsewhere has to bear the anguish of being an object of crass public, commercial, or academic curiosity, of being treated according to one or another racist stereotype or expectation.

NOTES

1. *Shūkan hōseki*, “Ojisan shinbun: Natsukashi no haafu tarento” [Old man’s news: Nostalgic haafu talents], 7 March 1991, 112-115.
2. I was strongly moved by Maria Root’s “Bill of Rights of Racially Mixed People” when reading it – in Pearl Fuyo Gaskin, *What Are You?: Voices of Mixed-Race Young People* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999) – about the time I launched my website in 2002. Root now calls it “Bill of Rights for People of Mixed Heritage” (<http://www.drmariaroot.com/doc/BillOfRights.pdf>), and she has also published what she calls a “Multiracial Oath of Social Responsibility” (<http://www.drmariaroot.com/doc/OathOfSocialResponsibility.pdf>, last viewed 27 January 2017). However, both lack encouragements to refrain from racializing civil nations and individuals.

BOOK REVIEW: Jennifer Ann Ho, *Racial Ambiguity in Asian American Culture*

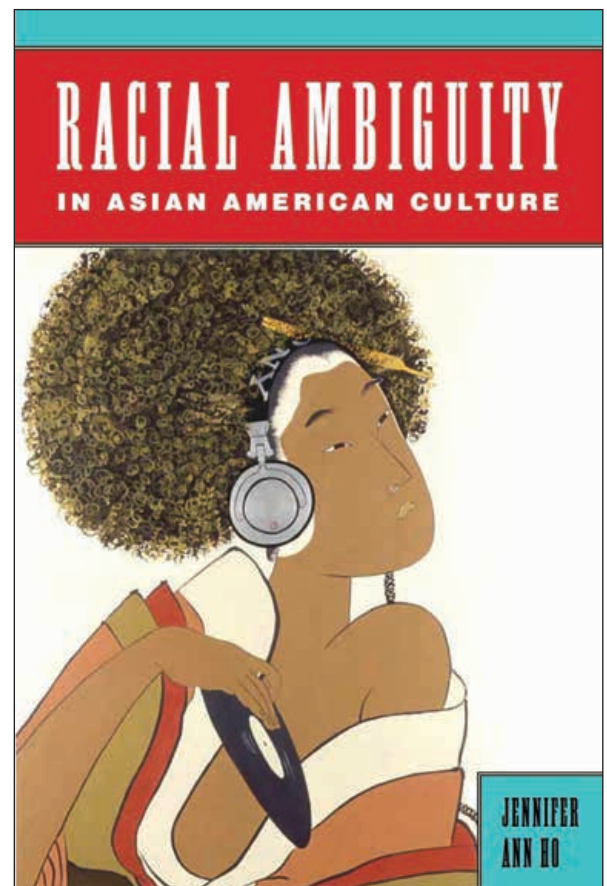
By Kristin Roebuck, Ph.D., Cornell University

Racial Ambiguity in Asian American Culture (Rutgers University Press) by Jennifer Ann Ho is a slender monograph that packs theoretical punch. Much of Ho's analysis focuses on interracial family formation, and on the epistemic and identity crises that interraciality entails in an American polity premised on monoracial myths. In the introduction, Ho provides a useful overview of Asian American studies from its genesis in the late 1960s to the present. Here she also foregrounds her argument that ambiguity "is the only truly productive lens through which to view race" because race as a social construct is "protean" and "inherently unstable" (p. 4). Each of the five chapters that follows is a self-contained case study of varying types of racial ambiguity, whose juxtaposition suggest a theoretical whole larger than the sum of the book's parts. A recurring theme is that racialized people are forced into singular and simplistic identity categories that belie the complexity and fluidity of their heritage, subjectivity, and self-expression.

Chapter 1 re-examines Japanese American internment during World War II through a little-known "Mixed-Marriage Policy" that exempted the wives and children of white Americans as well as non-white citizens of "friendly nations." Chapter 2 explores the transnational adoption of East Asian children by primarily white American parents. Chapter 3 unpacks the contested racial identity of Tiger Woods, widely hailed as African American to the exclusion of his Thai heritage. Chapter 4 gives a nuanced reading of racial subjectivity, performativity, and "passing" in recent works by mixed-race Asian American authors Paisley Rekdal and Ruth Ozeki.

The final chapter, Chapter 5, moves beyond the consideration of interracial families to question the racial boundaries of "Asian American literature." Ho argues for including "transgressive texts" in the canon. By transgressive texts, Ho means texts written by authors who are not Asian American, which nevertheless advance the political program "of social justice and anti-essentialism" (144) that Ho positions at the core of Asian American studies. While Ho expresses sympathy with the impulse to privilege Asian American authorship, she deems that privilege "problematic because it implicitly casts racial identity as the barometer for authenticity and hence valued knowledge" (141). Whether the field is ready to jettison the principle of Asian American authorship is a poignant question, and one hopes more scholars will join Ho in the debate.

In a brief and elegant coda, Ho ties her scholarly arguments to personal testimony about growing up "Chinese Jamaican," an autonym Ho abandoned as an undergraduate in California in favor of the more legible "Asian American." Yet she never abandoned her sense of otherness and ambiguity



"because I do, at heart, identify as Chinese Jamaican" (151). What's in a name, what's in a face, and what's in a race are questions that continue to vex American politics and personhood, and Ho's chapters bring into focus the inherent ambiguity of racial identity through a variety of analytic lenses. Ho is a professor of English and comparative literature, but her eclectic text offers something for everyone, ranging as it does from military history to the history of golf, from canonized literature to popular culture and digital ephemera like blogs.

At times, the reader may wish that Ho had done more analysis across chapters with their varied topics and lenses, highlighting links and ruptures while carrying theoretical insights from one chapter to the next. To take one example, Ho's reconceptualization and celebration of racial "passing" in Chapter 4 is fresh and provocative, and deserves to be woven as an intellectual thread throughout the fabric of the book. But Ho's discussion of "passing" begins and ends when the chapter does, leaving the reader to wonder, of the people and texts populating other chapters, whether all are "passing," none are "passing," or if "passing" has somehow lost its interest as an analytic mode. Upon reading the coda, one might ask: Is Ho herself "passing" as Asian American? Am I, the reader, "passing" as well? It does credit to the author that her book inspires novel and weighty questions. But for answers, one must look elsewhere.