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沖縄における多人種の人々 — 第三の空間と3つの次元のコロニアリズム —

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Okinawa's Mixed Race People: Third Spaces and Tripartite Colonialism

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Key Words : mixed race, colonization, Okinawa, hapa, post-war Japan

I . Introduction

This paper analyzes the attributes of Okinawa as a space where mixed race and colonialism play a role distinct from mainland Japan. The purpose is to discuss race and multiraciality in a historical context in post-war Japan, primarily in the 1950s and 1960s. The reason for focusing on Okinawa is twofold: the first because of Okinawa's status as a repeatedly colonized space by Japan in 1879, and later by the U.S. from 1945-1972; and secondly on the basis as a region of many mixed race births.¹⁾ My discussion examines identity formation in Japan in the context of multiraciality in Okinawa as a tripartite colonized space, Okinawa as a colonized region, and blood and culture. I use examples of race, Japanese colonialism, and the Okinawan experience to illustrate the range of perceived Japaneseness in Japan. These examples provide models to facilitate the understanding of identity formation of mixed race populations in Okinawa and mainland Japan. I seek to expose the inconsistencies of the pure blood ideology of what constitutes Japaneseness, in order to decipher how Japaneseness is created, perceived, ascribed, or not granted in mixed race people.

This study of multiracial people in the 1950s and 1960s has meaning for our present day understanding vis-à-vis the issues of transnational adoption, war orphans, race, and multiracial identity. Numerous multiracial children were born in the aftermath of World War II in Japan and Okinawa, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War.²⁾ Many of these children were easy to recognize by people in their countries because of their mixed race phenotype. These physical characteristics went beyond a benign label of inherited genetics to a stigma of illegitimacy. Multiracial people embodied colonial power relations between the U.S. and Japan. The phenotype of multiracial people made them politically marked bodies—colonized bodies among a colonized population.³⁾

II . Notes on Terminology

I use the terms race and ethnicity in this essay and treat them as social constructs. Race refers to the construction of groups based on shared genetics and genotypic quantification reflected by phenotype.⁴⁾ This construction creates social significance by grouping people whose biological characteristics are present in some groups more than in others. Ethnicity refers to what is usually considered to be a subgroup of race that includes a shared history, culture, religion, geographic origin and language—those characteristics that can be taken with a person to a different region. Nationality refers to a national culture or political affiliation. The term monoracial distinguishes those who are identified as not being of mixed race, whereas multiracial and biracial refer to people who are identified as having socially and genetically mixed racial ancestry. I use mixed race and multiracial interchangeably to refer to people of multiracial descent.⁵⁾ All translations of Japanese will be my own unless otherwise noted.

III . Identity Formation in Japan

In order to examine post-war multiraciality in Okinawa and mainland Japan, a discussion on racial formation is necessary. Because the population under study is both American and Japanese, I use studies on racial formation in the U.S. and in Japan as a context for the studies about mixed race people in the U.S. and in Japan. Most studies on comparative race and ethnicity emphasize their origins using a model based on monoracial formation in the U.S.⁶⁾ Some of these racial theories apply to the mixed race population under examination in my study because of their partial American background. However, multiracial people do not seamlessly fit into theories designed for monoracial race formation. I argue that a critical analysis of multiracial people requires the use of theories and studies of mixed race populations.⁷⁾ Studying multiraciality reflects how we have come to understand race. I employ the definition of race as a social construct. Hapa history, or mixed race history illustrates this construction because multiracial people do not fit into the existing racial categories. They question the essence of racial groups because they simultaneously belong to multiple racial groups, but do not belong wholly to any one. Human migration and racial mixing facilitated the mixing of people, creating “third spaces” where cultural and linguistic fragments of two majority groups combine to form a hybrid community.⁸⁾ In this article I focus on identity formation pertaining to race and blood, and the identity formation of multiracials in Japan. My discussion begins with the concept of tripartite colonialism, Okinawan multiraciality, multiracial identity, blood and race, and later explores examples that are not related to differences in blood but have to do with cultural and linguistic ambiguity such as multiracial third spaces.

IV . Tripartite Colonialism

Multiracial people in Okinawa possess a history that is layered with colonization on three levels. Leo Ching stated in *Becoming “Japanese,” Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* the Taiwanese have a triple identity, local (Taiwan), national (China), and colonial (Japan).⁹⁾ Multiracial

people in Okinawa were influenced by a tripartite colonization as well: Japan, the U.S., and as a mixed race person within a colonized body in Okinawa. Multiracial people in Okinawa were an unsettling reminder of the ever-present U.S. occupation of the islands long after the return of Okinawa to Japan in 1972. For Okinawans, the war could never be forgotten. Alongside Okinawans, multiracial people existed as visible reminders of Japan's defeat that had become provisionally incorporated into Okinawan society. Multiracial Okinawans did not fit into the available racial categories because they were neither proper Japanese, nor proper Okinawans. They occupied a third space that could be defined either on or off of the military bases. Their blood was a sign of a stigma that revealed visible features equated as non-Japanese.

The first period of colonization began with the Japanese take over of the Ryūkyū Islands in 1879.¹⁰ Colonization efforts gave Okinawans partial but not equal access as Japanese. Okinawans faced institutional discrimination with regard to employment on the mainland.¹¹ The distinctions between Japanese and Okinawans were even apparent in Nikkei communities overseas because they formed separate social and occupational circles. In Peru, the Nikkei maintained a community separation along the lines of *Naichijin* and *Uchinanchū*.¹² The slight cultural and physical differences of the Okinawans as seen by the mainland Japanese systematically divided the Japanese along strict racial lines even outside of Japan.

The next period of colonization occurred following World War II, when Japan sacrificed Okinawa at the Battle of Okinawa and as part of its wartime losses, granting the U.S. access to Okinawa's strategic military location.¹³ It is thought that the Japanese "military protected the interests of the Japanese state at the expense of Okinawan civilians."¹⁴ The U.S. military occupied large areas until 1972 when they returned the islands back to Japan. During the time of U.S. Occupation, a second colonization occurred on the islands. The presence of the U.S. military served as a reminder of Okinawa's subordinate position in their own country.

The third part of the tripartite colonization is the colonized body of multiracial people. Many of these children were easy to recognize by people in their countries because of their mixed race phenotype. These physical characteristics went beyond a benign label of inherited genetics to a stigma of illegitimacy. Multiracial people embodied colonial power relations between the U.S. and Japan and Okinawa, with Japan and Okinawa occupying the subservient role. The phenotype of multiracial people made them politically marked bodies, inherently colonized people, and foreign.

V. Okinawa Multiraciality

In Okinawa, during the post war period, many multiracial Okinawans were characterized as not possessing a complete sense of Okinawan identity and were not considered fully ethnic Okinawan.¹⁵ Many multiracial Okinawans operated in a social system defined primarily by others. They did not possess the autonomy of self-identification as expressed by Edward Said.¹⁶ Their identity was formed not by a negotiation between perceptions of the "Self" and "Other," but primarily by the "Other." This resulted in a significant group of mixed race people largely defined by monoracial Japanese. Mixed

race Okinawans were not only marginalized because of their racial origins but also cast as a symbolic reminder of Okinawa's subordinate position within the U.S. colonial relationship. Marika Suzuki whose research at the Amerasian School in Okinawa reflects the experiences of multiracial people in the late 1990s and early 2000s stated:

Most of the multiracial people in Okinawa have an Okinawan mother and an American father who serves in the U.S. military. Because of the ambivalent status Okinawa experienced when Okinawa was caught between Japan and the U.S., the stereotypes of Amerasians tend to connote negative images. Thus Amerasians in Okinawa have generally experienced greater hardships than multiracial people in mainland Japan. [Japanese] people tend to connect the image of sex entertainment with Amerasians, an image further fueled by the high divorce rates and high number of single mothers among Amerasian parents.¹⁷⁾

VI. Multiracial identity

In addition to the factors of the “Self” and “Other” influencing identity formation, the physical space of the surrounding environment contributed as well. Teresa Williams-León's findings in the 1980s revealed that multiracial people living on the military bases in mainland Japan were able to create what she described as a “third space.”¹⁸⁾ This invisible and communal space occupied by the bilingual and bicultural multiracials promoted a shared belonging to a multiracial subculture unique to the dependants of American military personnel. This third space available to multiracials who had access to the bases functioned as an entity in itself for providing protective isolation from the dominant Japanese society. In Okinawa, the boundaries of the third space were formed in ways similar to those in mainland Japan. Mixed race people who had access to the military bases or English language education benefited socially because they had protective isolation but also because they had access to spaces where speaking English provided them with upward mobility. In short, being bilingual was advantageous in Okinawa where the division of people happened physically because of the fences of the bases, and racially because of the reality of tripartite colonialism. In order to understand the larger picture beyond space and language, it is important to examine of the role of governments in shaping multiracial identity.

Multiracial people were not granted citizenship by the Japanese government until 1985 because Japanese citizenship was only granted if the father of the child was Japanese.¹⁹⁾ In addition, the U.S. government did not recognize multiracial American Japanese as U.S. citizens because many had absentee fathers and because their births were not recorded with the U.S. embassies in Japan. On the Japanese side, many people were not legally recorded in the family registry even though they had been raised by their biological families or had been unofficially adopted into families, and were left as ‘stateless persons’ having no nationality, no benefits of citizenship, or as in the case of Keiko Koseki, no record of existence.²⁰⁾

Public policy for education, employment, immigration, and citizenship can override racial

inadequacies associated with perceived racial differences. For the case of the Okinawans, colonization was not motivated by an interest in cultural exchange but rather for political and economic gain. These reasons allowed the Japanese to briefly ignore their racial prejudices and the racial differences of the Okinawans. For mixed race people, Japanese citizenship was not granted nor was any legislation passed to try and resolve the issues of statelessness until much later. This denial of nationality in the twentieth century by the government is rooted in the definitions of Japaneseness as explained in Japan's blood ideology.

VII. Blood and Race

Findings by Cullen Hayashida, followed by Jennifer Robertson's research on blood and eugenics, builds upon a similar trajectory that equates race and blood during the pre-war period. The study of eugenics proliferated in tandem with the rediscovery in 1900 of the research by Gregor Mendel on the studies of genetics and inheritance. The pseudo-scientific explanations of racial formation and racial categories arose, which claimed to explain human races and placed value on desirable human traits.²¹⁾ Around the same time in Japan, during the 1920s, research by Japanese scientists explained racial differences between Japanese and Koreans.²²⁾ Shortly thereafter, research by Furukawa Takeji used the racial types to develop a theory that linked race, blood type, and temperament.²³⁾ Race and blood type were used to maintain racial categories that existed before the research provided any definitive correlations. In other words, pseudo-scientific data that supported the racialized ideology reinforced the pre-existing racialized categories. Furuhashi's research on blood and race validated the prevailing racial distinctions. Building upon that research, theories on blood types and temperaments came to reinforce the concepts of national character, and what is known to exemplify Japaneseness. Blood ideology reinforced the "uniqueness of the Japanese people as a race and culture. The source of this uniqueness and superiority is in the blood."²⁴⁾ Hayashida unveiled the development of the Japanese social hierarchies using blood ideology and racial formation.

Eugenics as a field gained greater attention as human populations began to scientifically understand patterns of inheritance toward the end of the nineteenth century. Intentional selection for desired traits complicated Japanese notions of blood and race. As stated by Robertson, "minzoku signified the conflation of phenotype, geography, culture, spirit, history and nationhood."²⁵⁾ Shared blood constituted the Japanese race. Defined more concretely, "blood remains as an organizing metaphor for profoundly significant, fundamental and perduring assumptions about Japaneseness and otherness; it is invoked as a determining agent of kinship, mentalité, national identity, and cultural uniqueness."²⁶⁾ Clear distinctions based on blood ideology of what characteristics were equated with Japanese, and what characteristics were equated with racially mixed people entered the public discourse near the beginning of the Meiji period. Within this discussion on blood and eugenics, Jennifer Robertson identified two positions in relation to eugenics in Japan, the mixed-blood and the pureblood.

As early as 1884, Takahashi Yoshio, a Keio University graduate and journalist, articulated the mixed-blood position encouraging racial mixing in the debates on racial mixing. Takahashi advocated

for mixed-blood marriages and the mixing of Japanese stock with Whites to produce hybrid offspring that would “create a taller, heavier, and stronger [more] superior Japanese race, thereby making it possible for the Japanese to compete successfully with Europeans and American in international affairs.”²⁷⁾ Clearly the social anxieties of Japanese modernity are reflected in the theory of eugenic blood mixing. Although Takahashi saw future multiracial people as possessing a hybrid vigor, opponents of his recommendation viewed miscegenation as initiating hybrid weakness and dilution.

Katô Hiroyuki, a veteran politician critical of the mixed-blood position, endorsed the pureblood position. The pureblood position articulated maintaining separations and distinctions. He emphasized that if blood mixing occurred, the blood purity would be diluted, thereby destroying the Japanese race because there would be no certain social basis of improvement. In other words, possessing pure blood would improve the race overall, whereas mixed blood would contaminate it by making it less valuable. Although the pureblood position prevailed, both were debated in eugenics literature until 1945, and in other incarnations following the war. The main conclusion of the pureblood position was that blood mixing would constitute a new race, incapable of being pure Japanese and unable to adequately embrace the culture, spirit, and national identity of Japaneseness. Robertson added by stating that the pureblood position was “anchored in a centuries-old construction of radical otherness transposed into a new vocabulary.”²⁸⁾ In other words, distinctions of race, caste, class, and ethnicity were now organized around modern terminology. Defined by blood ideology and reinforced by pseudo-science, Japanese racial purity could be distinguished by comparison to the polluted blood and therefore character of mixed-race people.

Taking the concept of blood purity with Japaneseness and applying it to the case of mixed race people and to Nikkei becomes problematic for two reasons: blood and citizenship. The Nikkei and mixed race people both possess Japanese blood. Their inclusion into Japanese society was conditional and partial. According to the theories on blood and reinforced by Japanese policy, Japaneseness is lost over time, lost when overseas, and lost when diluted with non-Japanese blood.

VIII. Conclusion

Multiracial Okinawans disrupt the formation of a national Japanese identity because they do not satisfy the requirements of Japanese blood ideology construction as previously discussed. Okinawa was a space colonized by Japan precisely because it was labeled as outside of mainland Japan. Following the war, mainland Japan sacrificed Okinawa to the U.S., and another layer of colonization, or perhaps imperialism, blanketed Okinawa officially until 1972, yet the U.S. military is still present in substantial numbers.²⁹⁾ Multiracial Okinawans manifest a third aspect of colonialism because they are recipients of a power relationship where another body, namely Okinawan society defined by monoracials, exerts control. They are ascribed an identity by Okinawan society that is not Japanese, not Okinawan, nor American. They symbolize a human by-product of a power relationship in which they had no control. I argue that the position multiracial Okinawans occupy in Okinawa is an example of a more complex form of tripartite colonialism. Observing the diverse ways in which monoracial groups are treated as

Japanese or not treated as Japanese allows for a greater understanding of the process of identity formation of multiracial Japanese groups on the mainland and on Okinawa.

Notes

- 1) No accurate birth rates of mixed race people immediately following World War II exist. However, higher birth rates of mixed blood children were recorded in most port cities and areas where U.S. military bases existed than in regions where there was little contact. The exact numbers of mixed race birthrates is unknown, however, it is estimated that there were somewhere between 5000-20,000 births. For further information see Kanzaki Kiyoshi, "Shiro to kuro: nichibei konketsuji no chousa houkoku" 白と黒-日米混血児の調査報告 (White and Black: U.S.-Japanese Multiracials, An Investigative Report). *Fujinkoron*: 39 (3), 1953: 128-139 and Robert Fish, "The Heiress and the Love Children: Sawada Miki and the Elizabeth Saunders Home for Mixed-Blood Orphans in Postwar Japan." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History. Manoa, University of Hawai'i. 2002).
- 2) For multiracial babies orphaned in Japan after World War II see Elizabeth Hemphill, *The Least of These: Miki Sawada and her Children* (New York: Weatherhill, 1980), after the Korean War see Ji-Yeon Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camp: Korean Military Brides in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2002) 39-40, and after the Vietnam War see Kieu-Linh Caroline Valverde, *Racially Mixed People in America*, ed. Maria P.P. Root (Newbury: Sage Publications, 1992) 144-162.
- 3) I employ the definition of colonialism whereby a powerful body exerts full or partial control over another body creating an "other" for purposes of self-identification.
- 4) Teresa K. Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima, "Reconfiguring Race, Rearticulating Ethnicity" in *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed Heritage Asian Americans*, eds. Teresa K. Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 9.
- 5) Kip Fulbeck, *Part Asian, 100% Hapa*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2006). As stated by Fulbeck, hapa refers to the Hawai'ian slang term "hapa haole or half white" meaning, "of mixed race heritage with partial roots in Asian and/or Pacific Islander ancestry." In the 1950s the term hapa referred to the children of Whites and Hawai'ians and the in between caste created from the intermarrying of Whites and Hawai'ians. U.S. mainland Asian Americans have broadened the term to mean mixed race of Asian descent, not limiting the definition to half White. This move of non-Hawai'ians using a Hawai'ian term is controversial because some Hawai'ians believe their word is being used without their permission and the original meaning has changed.
- 6) See Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2nd Edition. (New York: Routledge, 1994).
- 7) Studies on mixed race Japanese include: Nathan Strong, "Patterns of Social Interaction

and Psychological Accommodation Among Japan's konketsuji Population” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, Department of Psychology, 1978). Strong's work pioneered the studies of multiracial people of Japanese descent. It examines Japanese and American (both White and Black) people in Japan and their social relationships; Christine Catherine Iijima Hall, “The Ethnic Identity of Racially Mixed People: A Study of Black-Japanese” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, Department of Psychology, 1980). Hall studied thirty multiracial Black-Japanese in the Los Angeles area and the psychological aspects of their self-esteem refuting previous literature that contended they had mental and psychological problems; George Kitahara-Kich, “Eurasians: Ethnic/Racial Identity Development of Biracial Japanese/White Adults” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Wright Institute, Department of Psychology, 1982), Kitahara-Kich studied multiracial Japanese Americans in the San Francisco area, and developed an identity development model; Michael C. Thornton, “A Social History of a Multiethnic Identity: The Case of Black-Japanese Americans” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Department of Sociology, 1983), Thornton studied thirteen Black Japanese interracial couples in Kansas, Washington D.C., Michigan, and Massachusetts, and how the interracial family shaped the identity of their multiracial children; Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, “The Voices of Amerasians: Ethnicity, Identity and Empowerment in Interracial Japanese Americans” (Ed.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, Department of Education, 1986) Murphy-Shigematsu studied Amerasian identity of multiracial Japanese Americans living in the Midwest and northeastern U.S.; Teresa K. Williams-León, “International Amerasians: Third Culture Afroasian and Eurasian Americans in Japan” (M.A. Thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, Department of Asian American Studies, 1989), Williams studied bilingual multiracial Japanese Americans (both White and Black) who grew up with their nuclear families on the military bases in Japan.

- 8) Williams-León, *International*, 2.
- 9) Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese” : Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- 10) George H. Kerr, *Okinawa: The History of an Island People* revised edition (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 2000) 381-397.
- 11) Alan S. Christy, (1993) “The Making of Imperial Subjects in Okinawa,” *Positions* 1:3, 617.
- 12) Steven Masami Ropp, “The Nikkei Negotiation of Minority/Majority Dynamics in Peru and the U.S.” in *New Worlds, New Lives: Globalization and People of Japanese Descent in the Americas and from Latin America in Japan* ed. Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Akemi Kikumura-Yano, and James Hirabayashi. (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002).
- 13) John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War Two* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999).

- 14) Julia Yonetani, "Future 'Assets,' but at What Price? The Okinawa Initiative Debate," in *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power*. (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003) 257.
- 15) Byron Fija, interview by Lily Anne Yumi Welty, August 13, 2009. Haebaru kyan, Okinawa, Japan; Naomi Noiri, "Two Worlds: The Amerasian and the Okinawan" *Social Processes In Hawai'i* Volume 42, 2007, 211-230.
- 16) Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage, 1978).
- 17) Marika Suzuki, "Empowering Minority Youth in Japan: The Challenge of the AmerAsian School in Okinawa." M.A. Thesis Stanford University, December 2003, 10.
- 18) Teresa Williams-León, *International Amerasians*, 77.
- 19) Ayumi Takenaka, "Peruvian and Japanese-Peruvian migrants in Japan," in *Global Japan: The Experience of Japan's New Immigrant and Overseas Communities*. (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003); See Keiko Kozeki, 小関桂子, *Nihonjin Keiko: Aru konketsu shōjo no shuki*, 日本人桂子; ある混血少女の手記, (Japanese Keiko: The Memoirs of a Multiracial Girl) (Tokyo: Bunka Hōsō Shuppanbu, [東京]文化放送出版部, 1967).
- 20) Keiko Kozeki, *Nihonjin Keiko*, 79-87, by unofficial I mean without formal paperwork, and not from a formal adoption agency; Roberta Levanbach, "Bi-racial children in Okinawa." *Christian Century*, November 1972, vol. 89, no. 41, 1156. For more information on post-war stateless multiracial people see Kieu-Linh Caroline Valverde, "From Dust to Gold: The Vietnamese Amerasian Experience" in *Racially Mixed*, ed. Maria P.P. Root, 146-147. Following the Vietnam War, multiracial children and their mothers in Vietnam endured intense social humiliation and Communist persecution. Although many multiracial Vietnamese Americans were allowed to come to the United States after the passage of the Amerasian Act of 1982, proving paternity was difficult in Vietnam because many of the documents were destroyed. The Amerasian Act of 1982 was the first piece of legislation that dealt with the issue of children fathered by American citizens in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia or Thailand. This gave permission for only the mixed race children to immigrate and not their Asian mothers to immigrate to the U.S. Children initially had to prove their father's identity but later acceptable proof included "birth certificates, marriage licenses, or letters from and photos of the father." Proof was difficult to obtain as many documents were destroyed to protect the families from Communist persecution (150-151). Ironically, Japan was excluded from this legislation.
- 21) Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity*. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 262-263.
- 22) Cullen Tadao Hayashida, "Identity, Race and the Blood Ideology of Japan." (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, Department of Sociology, 1976), 146-147. Hayashida cites the researchers Kirihara and Haku (1923), and Furuhashi and Kishi (1926).
- 23) Hayashida, *Identity*, 147.

- 24) Hayashida, Identity, 175.
- 25) Jennifer Robertson, “Biopower: Blood, Kinship, and Eugenic Marriage,” in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan*. Jennifer Robertson, ed. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 333. Minzoku can be translated into a race, a people, or a nation.
- 26) Robertson, Biopower, 329.
- 27) Cited in Robertson, Biopower, 335.
- 28) Robertson, Biopower, 336.
- 29) Laura Hein and Mark Selden, “Culture, Power, and Identity in Contemporary Okinawa,” in *Islands of Discontent: Okinawan Responses to Japanese and American Power*. (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers), 5. Although Okinawa is less than one percent of Japan’s landmass, it houses seventy-five percent of the U.S. bases and military in Japan.

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沖繩における多人種の人々
-第三の空間と3つの次元のコロニアリズム-

リリー・アン・優美 ウェルティ

キーワード：多人種，植民地化，沖繩，ハーフ，戦後日本