Third International Workshop on the Japanese Diaspora

HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY & ARCHIVES and THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

Herbert Hoover Memorial Building, Stauffer Auditorium
HOOVER INSTITUTION, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Abstracts and Short Biographies of Participants

September 10–11, 2024

Day 1: September 10

ARCHIVAL STUDIES for the presenters and discussants
8:30–11:30 am
Reading Room, Herbert Hoover Memorial Building

11:30 am–12:00 pm: Lunch (provided to the presents and discussants)

PRE-WORKSHOP PUBLIC LECTURE
12:00–1:30 pm PDT

"Crafting Japanese Immigrant Nationalism in 1930s' Hawai'i"
Lecture is preceded by short presentations on the publication of *Japanese America on the Eve of the Pacific War: An Untold Story of the 1930s* and its broader agenda by Eiichiro Azuma, Roy F. and Jeannette P. Nichols Professor of American History, University of Pennsylvania; and Kay Ueda, Curator of the Japanese Diaspora Collection, Hoover Institution.

Mire Koikari, Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Prior to World War II, Japanese immigrant nationalism flourished in the US territory of Hawai'i. At the center of this little-known phenomenon were *imon bukuro* (comfort bags), gendered artifacts embodying *sekisei* (sincere hearts) of immigrant women who were eager to gift their labors of love to Japanese soldiers—those aboard the navy training vessels visiting Hawai'i as well as those deployed in the battlefields in mainland China. Far from a localized phenomenon, this grassroots campaign was part of the larger tale of Japan's empire-building in which island and homeland, gunboat and sewing needle, and territorial conquest and seaborne expansion all played crucial roles. Showcasing three archival gems in the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection of newspapers—*Nippu Jiji*, *Hawaii Hochi*, and *Jitsugyo-no-Hawaii*—the presentation explores how a seemingly innocuous story of women and handicraft presents a surprising opportunity to reconsider the intertwined history of Japan and Japanese America from a transpacific perspective.

WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS
1:40 pm–5:00 pm PDT
Presentations are hybrid in-person and online.

1:40–1:45 pm: Opening Remarks, Kay Ueda

1:45–3:15 pm: **Session 1: Economic Networks and the Japanese Diaspora**
Session Discussant: Yoko Tsukuda

Presentation 1: "Ethnic Firms and Japanese American Settlement in Territorial Hawai'i"
Issay Matsumoto, University of Southern California

Although immigration historians have studied exclusion from settlement and land ownership on the US continent, many contemporaries of the exclusion era turned to Hawai'i—where land ownership was not systematically restricted—as a site for US-Japan reconciliation through the economic opportunities afforded to socially mobile Japanese immigrants. In 1919, Hawai'i-based Euro-American lawyer Carl Carlsmith expressed his disapproval of the 1913 California Alien Land Law and hailed Hawai'i as "the meeting point between America and Japan," where the Japanese community in Hawai'i could promote goodwill between the two countries. In 1921 Japanese industrialist Shibusawa Eiichi described Hawai'i as an "experiment station" to test the promise of US-Japan international friendship. In the landmark 1922 naturalization case *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, Hawai'i immigrant and Supreme Court plaintiff Takao Ozawa himself argued that while Japanese immigrants' "earth hunger" was the primary target of anti-Japanese racism in California, prejudice was "innocuous in Hawaii." In a 1926 *Nippu Jiji* editorial, Hawai'i newspaperman Sōga Yasutaro celebrated local efforts to institutionalize land ownership, for they would "raise the position of the Japanese community in Hawaii and increase the confidence in them by people of other nationalities."

Using English- and Japanese-language newspapers in Hawai'i archived in the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection, as well as census and land conveyance records, this presentation examines the institutionalization of Japanese American settlement from 1917 to 1941, a missing yet crucial period during the exclusion era, between annexation and statehood. While the rise in the economic status of the Japanese in Hawai'i has been documented by historians, this paper shows how Japanese immigrants and their US citizen children secured this status in Hawai'i by establishing institutions for acquiring land and attaining home ownership. It argues that the Japanese community appealed to broader Euro-American settler society—rather than simply pursuing a distinctly Asian or Japanese mode of settler colonialism in reaction to White settler racism—while building integrated ethnic firms that drew upon homeland capital. To make this case, this essay traces the creation and growth of two joint-stock real estate development companies, the International Trust Company (ITC) (Kokusai Shintaku Kabushiki Gaisha) and the American-Japanese Investment Company (AJIC) (Nichibei Tōshi Kabushiki Gaisha), and empirically illustrates how their services helped establish the Japanese American community in subdivisions across O'ahu. Although capital accumulation by Japanese immigrants remained small relative to that of other ethnic communities, the scale of the ITC and AJIC's activities was unprecedented at the time due to an increasingly broad range of resources and networks available to Japanese immigrants across class divisions. The institutionalization of Japanese settlement in Hawai'i deepens our historical understanding of exclusionary White settler racism by illuminating the inclusionary activities of egalitarian Euro-American allies in the business community.

Issay Matsumoto is a doctoral candidate in the History Department at the University of Southern California (USC), where he is completing a dissertation that examines the relationship between the rise of tourism in Hawai'i and the state's growing connections with Asia and the Pacific after World War II. His research has been supported by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, the Immigration and Ethnic

History Society, and the CUNY Asian American / Asian Research Institute, as well as various institutes at USC. He also has a forthcoming peer-reviewed article in *American Quarterly* (December 2024) that examines the transpacific material culture of women's aloha wear.

Presentation 2: "Amid Successive Empires: The Japanese Question in the Global Localities of Davao and Guam"
Maria Cynthia Barriga

Recent developments in Japanese studies have approached the Japanese diaspora from a global history perspective. Historians such as Eiichiro Azuma and Mariko Iijima have shown that Japanese settlers since the nineteenth century have crossed the official boundaries of the US and Japanese empires, sustaining a cross-imperial and cross-regional diasporic network of people, goods, and ideas. Jun Uchida has demonstrated how one Japanese locality was tied to this global network through its mobile merchants. This presentation follows their connectionist approach, dwelling not on the network and its flows but rather on the points where these flows intersect. The intersections have been called "contact zones," "hybrid spaces of encounter" (Judith Bennett), and "vortices (swirling whirlpools of social and cultural interaction)" (Mark Pendleton, 2020). With a nod to these terms, Barriga refers to "global localities" to align with the aforementioned historians and, responding to them, raise the local perspective in global history.

The areas of study are the Philippines—specifically the province of Davao, which had the largest prewar Japanese population—and Guam, both of which experienced rapid and successive imperial transitions during the 1940s. In the early twentieth century, the Philippines and Guam were peripheries of the US empire and hosted Japanese settler communities. They were invaded by the Japanese military in December 1941 and then were recaptured by the United States after Japan's defeat in 1944 (Guam) and 1945 (Philippines). While Davao was a Filipino-Japanese frontier, Guam was an island that was ruled by the US Navy and was increasingly cut off from its neighbor, Japanese-occupied Nan'yō Guntō. Moreover, while Davao's prewar Japanese community held economic influence and was controversial in the context of Japanese imperial expansion and the emerging Philippine nation-state, communities in Guam were distanced from Japan and maintained familial ties with CHamorus, the indigenous people of Guam.

Given their imbricated histories of US-Japan imperialism, Filipino and CHamoru nation building, and transforming indigenous identities, Barriga inquires into "the Japanese question." Following Caroline Hau's *The Chinese Question*, which unpacked the concept of Chineseness to examine (in Hau's subtitle) "ethnicity, nation, and region in and beyond the Philippines," Barriga's research examines the Japanese question to shed light on aspects of race, nation, empire, and indigeneity. It asks: (1) How did locals define "Japanese" and distinguish it from "Filipino" and "CHamoru"?; (2) How did people navigate multiple senses of belonging?; and (3) What were the costs and benefits of locals' Japanese connections during a period of violent imperial transitions?

To answer these questions, postcolonial historical analysis is employed on archival materials and oral histories recorded in English, Japanese, Tagalog, and Bisaya preserved in Japan, the Philippines, Guam, and the continental United States.

Maria Cynthia Barriga is an assistant professor at Hitotsubashi University. Her research interest is on the changing dynamics of Japanese and non-Japanese locals in the Philippines and Guam during the rapid imperial transitions in the 1940s (World War II), from the United Sates to Japan and back again.

Presentation 3: "The Hidden Center of the Diasporic Network: Osaka and Its Shipping Empire, 1920s–40s"
Yuki Hoshino

The geographical range of the Japanese diaspora, from Asia to the Americas, is truly immense. Yet, there was one private institution that touched it all: Osaka Shōsen Kaisha (OSK). As the second-largest shipping company in twentieth-century Japan, OSK was the physical carrier of hundreds of thousands of migrants from Japan to Asia, Africa, North America, and South America. Not only did it serve as the physical infrastructure connecting the diasporic communities to Japan, OSK also boasted an extensive network of offices and travel agents abroad. In the process, it became the vanguard of expansionist endeavors, constructed its own intelligence, and invested heavily in emigration companies. For OSK, migrants and diasporic communities were simultaneously customers, business partners, and "commodities" intended for sellers and buyers of Japanese labor.

A study on OSK, then, provides two key insights into the history of the Japanese diaspora. First, it clarifies the economic mechanism through which diasporic activities fed back to mainland Japan. OSK is known to have been a largely independent actor in the construction of the global maritime network, negotiating directly with foreign governments and businesses and determining the possible destinations for migrants. Yet, little has been explored about how the fruit of Japanese expansionism, including the earnings of migrant laborers and the profits of their business activities, were channeled back to and had an impact on mainland Japan. As a shipping company, OSK reaped multiple layers of profit, from simple fare income and import-export business to dividends from emigration companies. OSK was central to the mechanism through which the fruit of expansionism was funneled back to Japan.

Second, this study uncovers a global urban geography, centered not on Tokyo but on Osaka, that has gone unnoticed in the all-too-often assumed Japan-to-world model. Thanks to OSK, Osaka was better connected to continents such as South America and Africa in the 1930s than Tokyo was. This geography of maritime networks may in turn explain some of the regional dynamics of emigration, in which many of the prefectures of western Japan produced larger numbers of migrants than those of eastern Japan. How OSK contributed to the making of this geography remains an important question in the study of diaspora. In exploring OSK's roles as the carrier of migrants, the intermediary beneficiary of migrant labor, and the producer of an Osaka-centered global geography, the documents at the Hoover Archives provide crucial insights. The Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection is a powerful tool in mapping the expansive network of OSK agents, which extended deep into rural areas. OSK-endorsed hotels and agents dot the archival landscape at incredible frequency. In addition, while OSK does not appear prominently at the finding-aid level, the Hoover Archives' collection, which represents extensive diasporic communities, is sure to include materials attesting to the company's omnipresence. This study helps address the penetrating influence of OSK on the conditions of migration and the everyday lives of diasporic peoples.

Yuki Hoshino is a PhD candidate in history at Stanford University. He is currently working on his

dissertation, “Global Imperial City: Osaka, 1920–50,” which reconceptualizes the city of Osaka, previously considered a domestic merchants’ capital, as a globally connected center of Japanese imperialism in Asia.

Discussant’s Comments and Q&A

3:15–3:30 pm: Break

3:30–5:00 pm: **Session 2: Transpacific Mobility & Transwar Mobilization**
Session Discussants: Toyotomi Morimoto and Alice Y. Tseng

Presentation 4: “Transpacific Liminality: Taiwanese Diaspora in the United States during World War II”
Yi-Ting Chung

Were Taiwanese migrants considered Japanese or Chinese by the US government during World War II? Prior to the onset of the Pacific War, migration flows from Taiwan were subjected to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 even after it became a Japanese colony after 1895. This is because the restrictive regulation operated to exclude Chinese migrants based upon ethnicity instead of nationality. To the US legal apparatus, Taiwanese migrants’ “Chinese ethnicity” inexorably eclipsed their “Japanese nationality.” The US declaration of war against Japan, however, called for a renewed understanding of Japanese colonial subjects in the United States that could distinguish friends from foes and identify subjects to be mobilized versus those to be interned.

Tracing the life trajectories of the US Taiwanese diasporas, this paper explores how the onset of the Pacific War prompted both the US government and the Taiwanese migrants to reassess the latter’s relationship with the Japanese empire. As a result of the Chinese Exclusion Act, only a select few Taiwanese migrants—usually students pursuing higher education—made their way across the Pacific before 1945. Documentation accounts for only five identifiable Taiwanese individuals present in North America during World War II: James King (王振明), Ai-Chih Tsai (蔡愛智), Khe-Beng Chiong (鍾啟明), Chiung T. Ling (林炯東), and Ah-Hsin Tsai (蔡阿信). Mustering information from personal memoirs, newspapers, organizational publications, governmental documents, and oral interviews, this paper aims to reconstruct their lived experiences on both sides of the Pacific to articulate a transpacific narrative across the historical juncture of war. Specific sources include *Taiwan Sōtoku Kōbun Ruisan* (Official documents of the governor-general of Taiwan), travelogues of the Taiwanese students published on *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō, Tâi-oân Bîn-pò* (Taiwan people’s news), *Tâi-oân Chheng-Liân* (Taiwan youth), and *Tâi-oân Kàu-hoē Kong-pò* (Taiwan church news).

This paper argues that the study of transpacific Taiwanese diaspora, while limited in number, yields significant analytical value. To the Japanese and the US empires, the perceived Chinese ethnicity and Japanese nationality of Taiwanese defied a clear-cut definition as allies or enemies for either side. Whereas scholars have examined how such liminality of Taiwanese subjects factored into Japan’s mobilization policies in Taiwan, virtually no English scholarship has attended to its implications on the other side of the Pacific. This invisibility of the Taiwanese migrants to the United States was a result of not only their scarce numbers but also the way in which they were subsumed into the umbrella category of

"Japanese American." Treating the Taiwanese diaspora as its own identity is, therefore, also an effort to interrogate the epistemological premises of "Japanese America" from the vintage point of Japan's colonial migrants. In doing so, this project seeks to contribute a new understanding of the relationships among race, empire, and war while bringing Japanese colonial history into dialogue with recent historiography on the US empire and transpacific studies.

Yi-Ting Chung was born and raised in Taiwan. Her academic concerns lie in the marginalized communities who were excluded, sacrificed, and forgotten in the making of the Japanese empire. Her current research direction examines how the colonial subjects of the Japanese empire—Okinawans, Koreans, and Taiwanese—traversed the Pacific while treading the complex boundaries of nation, empire, and race between Japan and the United States in the first half of the twentieth century.

Presentation 5: "From War Painter in Imperial Japan to Diasporic Painter in Postwar United States: The Case of Kawabata Minoru's Art and Troubled Trajectory"
Kimihiko Nakamura

Painter Kawabata Minoru (1911–2001) navigated two entirely different modes of world power: the empire of Japan prior to and during World War II and, afterwards, the US hegemony that expanded its economic, political, and military power into Asia during the Cold War. Despite the seismic shifts in power dynamics in the Asian-Pacific-American region throughout the twentieth century, Kawabata established himself as painter by repeatedly changing his locations, identities, and painting styles. A Japanese painter who emigrated to the United States in 1958, Kawabata became a peripheral figure in the Abstract Expressionist movement in New York. While existing literature and museum surveys on Kawabata predominantly focus on his postwar abstract paintings, his artistic journey did not simply begin in 1945. Before World War II, Kawabata had already gained international exposure, having completed his elite education in oil painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (1929–34) and subsequently visiting Hawai'i (August 29–November 19, 1935, according to sources from the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection), followed by stays in Paris, Rome, and New York (1939–41). Furthermore, he was a respected painter involved in producing state propaganda prior to the collapse of the Japanese empire in 1945. During the war, Kawabata was stationed on Southeast Asian islands including Borneo, Tarakan, and Leyte, creating "campaign-record paintings" (*sakusen kirokuga*) for war art exhibitions and illustrations for newspapers.

The conventional Japanese art historiography too often treats the wartime and postwar periods as completely separate, undermining historical continuity and neglecting wartime experiences of artists such as Kawabata. This impedes a better understanding of his postwar activities. This paper seeks to situate Kawabata's practice in its transwar historical and sociopolitical context, roughly from the 1920s to the 1960s. By doing so, this paper considers how the Japanese empire and the postwar American hegemony were entangled within the field of visual arts. As one of the foremost male painters in the transpacific region across the transwar period, Kawabata offers a unique lens for delineating how at this time social and political milieus in artmaking were transposed from the setting of imperial Japan into the new cultural context of America as an ascendant superpower.

Under the empire of Japan, Kawabata's life was constantly defined by imperial coercion, and he

eventually served as agent of Japanese imperialism and colonialism. Meanwhile, in the postwar period, ex-war painters like Kawabata were actively "adopted" into the New York art world, where they contributed to the rise of American art. The Japanese émigré painter's postwar activity reflected the Cold War–era ideology of US-Asian integration that promoted a reciprocal alliance as well as the expansion of US power into Asia. This study will demonstrate that the art and career of Kawabata, who traversed the Pacific Ocean, mirrored the intertwined national histories within the Asian-Pacific-American region throughout the twentieth century.

Kimihiko Nakamura is a doctoral candidate in East Asian art history at the Heidelberg University, Germany. He researches modern Japanese and Asian diasporic and Asian American art.

Presentation 6: "Being and Becoming Nikkei: Intergenerational Stories of Japanese Grandfathers in North Celebes after World War II"
Median Mutiara

In the 1920s, the first Okinawan fishermen migrated to the northern region of Celebes (currently Sulawesi) from Singapore. Primarily involved in the fishing industry, they served as precursors to Japanese expansionism and collaborators with the Japanese navy in key areas of the Dutch East Indies (currently Indonesia) archipelago, including North Celebes. Through extensive espionage activities, employing tactics such as marriage with locals, establishment of small businesses, and constant relocation, the Japanese commenced their military action in the Dutch East Indies. The Japanese occupation lasted from 1942 to 1945, leaving a legacy of imperialism marked by harsh conditions, widespread suffering, and famine. Following Japan's surrender in 1945, people of the Japanese diaspora and soldiers in the Dutch East Indies were divided into two groups: those maintaining allegiance and those renouncing it. The majority obediently returned to Japan, leaving behind spouses and children in North Sulawesi. They are the Nikkeijin with war background, setting them apart from other Japanese descendants with non-war background.

Due to limited studies of ancestors and identities among Nikkeijin with war backgrounds, this study seeks to explore the narratives of third- and fourth-generation Japanese descendants from North Sulawesi. The key questions include the intergenerational stories about Japanese grandfathers (first generation, or Issei) and how these narratives shape Nikkeijin's understanding of Japanese heritage and identity. The study draws upon interviews and observations of the third- and fourth-generation Japanese descendants and archives from the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection and the National University of Singapore library to provide historical context on the Japanese diaspora in the Dutch East Indies/Indonesia from the 1920s through the post–World War II period.

The qualitative data was gathered during eight months of fieldwork in 2017 in Oarai, Japan, a town where a Nikkeijin community from North Sulawesi has resided and worked since the late 1990s. Oral history techniques and sensory ethnography were employed to engage with participants sensorially and emotionally. This methodology serves as an indispensable tool for eliciting and documenting the lived experiences and memories of participants, thereby fostering a holistic understanding of their identities and cultural heritage.

The analysis reveals that the postwar separation left the second generation of Nikkeijin yearning deeply for their Japanese fathers, profoundly influencing their emotional narratives passed down to the next generations. For the third generation, Nikkei identity was inherited and preserved through fragments of family memorabilia, newspaper clippings, and poignant anecdotes with tragic, farewell endings. These stories serve as mediums for the reconstruction and reproduction of intergenerational memories and identities, transcending time, space, and generations.

Median Mutiara is an independent researcher in sociology and anthropology of migration. She completed her PhD at Nagoya University, where she conducted a sensory ethnography of Japanese descendants from North Sulawesi, as migrant workers in Japan.

Discussant's Comments and Q&A

Day 2: September 11

ARCHIVAL STUDIES for the presenters and discussants
8:30–12:00 pm
Reading Room, Herbert Hoover Memorial Building

12:00 pm – 12:45 pm: Lunch (provided to the presenters and discussants)

WORKSHOP PRESENTATIONS and WORKSHOP DISCUSSION
12:45 pm– 5:00 pm PDT
Presentations are hybrid in-person and online.

12:45 pm – 2:15 pm**: Session 3: Race and Japanese Overseas Expansion**
Session Discussant: Mire Koikari

Presentation 7: "Empire, Rice, and Jim Crow: The Japanese Diaspora in the Early Twentieth-Century Gulf South"
Mishio Yamanaka

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a few hundred Japanese men and women moved to the Texas Gulf Coast to establish rice-farming colonies. While the field of southern history has in the past hardly acknowledged the presence of Japanese migrants, some Japanese historians such as Sidney Xu Lu now use settler colonialism as a framework to situate Texas as part of Japan's overseas expansion movement. Building on this new research scheme, this paper explores the Texas Gulf Coast as a crucial site for the Japanese understanding of American racism and Japan's quest for imperial expansion. This research is part of a book project about Japanese and Japanese American communities in the early twentieth-century Gulf South. It will examine Japanese Southerners with a particular emphasis on their anti-Black racism and their engagement with agricultural commodities such as rice, shrimp, and cotton.

This paper first argues that the Japanese settlement in the Texas Gulf Coast drew together the interests of Japanese officials and White Southerners. After the US Civil War, the rice-farming business modernized the Gulf South economy, and the reputation of Japanese rice seeds incentivized Texans to welcome the Japanese. At the same time, the Japanese empire strove to build a greater influence across the Pacific by creating new migration outposts. Imperial officials deemed Texas an ideal destination since many local Whites positively accepted the migrants. Despite harsh anti-Black racial violence and Jim Crow laws, Japanese settlers considered the Gulf South a haven from American racism.

Second, this paper elucidates how Japanese settlers manipulated local racial hierarchy and constructed their racialized identity. In Texas, Japanese colonists deepened their relationship with local Whites. Furthermore, they upheld the Jim Crow system and unhesitatingly disparaged the Chinese to demonstrate themselves as a distinct minority group. While the Japanese remained complicit with local racial norms, successful rice-farming ventures forged the idea of Japanese superiority to Whites. When Japanese settlers wrote home about their successful rice-farming businesses in Texas, they often highlighted how much they performed better than Whites. This racialized self-representation bolstered Japan's overseas expansion and migration movement to Latin America, Asia, and the Pacific.

Lastly, this research highlights Japanese settlers' complex reactions to anti-Japanese sentiment. Although naturalization remained a dilemma for Japanese colonists in Texas, they maintained their amicable relationship with White Texans. These Japanese farmers continued being optimistic even when Texas passed alien land laws to restrict Japanese land ownership. Furthermore, the Texas Gulf Coast became an important trade hub for Japan's imperial commodities, such as shrimp and cotton, throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Using a wide range of local English materials, Japanese records, and newspapers available in the Hoji Shimbun Digital Collection, this paper sheds light on the Gulf South as a crossroads between the Japanese empire and the United States.

Mishio Yamanaka is an assistant professor at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan. Although she was originally trained as a historian of the postbellum South, she currently examines the history of the Japanese diaspora in the Gulf South.

Presentation 8: "Discourses of Discrimination: Outcastes in Confinement"
Koji Lau-Ozawa

Alongside the confinement of Japanese Americans in the United States during World War II, tensions ran high within the diasporic community around perceptions of identity, belonging, loyalty, citizenship, and ancestry. While most research in this realm has looked at these themes within the binary categories of Japanese and American, much less research has examined the realm of caste on the incarcerated population. How did notions of caste, and in particular *burakumin* identity, impact the experiences of Japanese Americans within the context of the incarceration camp?

This paper turns to discussions of *burakumin* within the incarceration camps. In originally embarking on this topic, Lau-Ozawa searched to understand the experiences of *burakumin* themselves in incarceration camps. It became clear through archival research that there were very few firsthand accounts from actual *burakumin*. Instead, there was a plethora of rumors, anecdotes, whispers, and

accusations. Such discourses reveal both the discrimination faced by *burakumin* and, perhaps more tellingly, the anxieties of non-*buraku* Japanese Americans as they confronted a crisis of positionality. Many of the accounts recorded in the incarceration camps mirror narratives that appear in prewar newspaper articles, including short stories recounting instances of hidden identity and broken marriage proposals. By examining discourses on *burakumin* within a diachronic framework, the paper traces continuities and changes in the ways in which *buraku* identity is framed as well as how the caste designation is related to by non-*buraku* persons.

In assessing discourses on *burakumin*, Lau-Ozawa focuses on two primary groups of sources: accounts of *burakumin* in Japanese American newspaper publications; and the notes, correspondence, reports, and diaries of social scientists who were embedded within the incarceration camps. They include social scientists employed by the Community Analysis Section (CAS) of the War Relocation Authority, as well as those involved with the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS). The CAS and JERS files include both published works as well as more informal accounts from interviews recorded by researchers. Such materials provide insight into the firsthand accounts of Japanese Americans who spoke about *burakumin* while incarcerated.

By examining these materials, Lau-Ozawa looks to understand the longer currents of social dynamics that carried through from prewar communities in both Japan and the diaspora. The experience of *burakumin* within the Japanese diaspora is a topic that has gained more attention in recent years, yet it still remains critically understudied. Reading along the archival grain, the position of *burakumin* can be approached by paying close attention to the spaces of exclusion and points of discrimination.

Koji Lau-Ozawa is a UCLA Chancellor's Postdoctoral Fellow in Asian American Studies and American Indian Studies. His research focuses on the history and archaeology of the Japanese diaspora, in particular intersections of World War II incarceration and Indigenous land. Lau-Ozawa earned his PhD in anthropology at Stanford University and an MA in anthropology at San Francisco State University.

Presentation 9: "Against 'Type': The Takao Ozawa Naturalization Trials and Discourses of Whiteness in the American and Japanese Empires"
Michael Roellinghoff

In this paper, Roellinghoff analyzes the 1916 and 1922 naturalization trials of Takao Ozawa, a Japan-born California-educated resident of Hawai'i who (unsuccessfully) attempted to naturalize as an American citizen. He did so by asserting the supposedly "Caucasian" Ainu roots of the Japanese. At this time, the American state denied Asians (broadly defined) the right to naturalize or own property in the United States. Asian exclusionism was driven by racist "yellow peril" panic, which, while severely limiting Asian immigration to the United States and British Commonwealth, justified Euro-American colonial expansion in Asia. For Japanese critics on both sides of the Pacific, the vice-like nature of empire thus represented a "white peril" (Japanese: *hakka*), which dispossessed Asians of land in Asia while simultaneously denying them rights to Indigenous land in North America.

Some chose not to outwardly challenge the exclusionist logics of American naturalization law but to subvert them by claiming "Caucasian" heritage. Ozawa's own claim relied on long-standing

anthropological theories on the racial origins of the Ainu and, as such, implicitly drew from nineteenth-century European travelogues as well as craniometric research on stolen Ainu remains. As Kirsten Refsing observed, at a time when Euro-American empires threatened to colonize Japan itself, European observers cynically held up the "Caucasian" Ainu as "mirrors to reflect the superiority of the white race," precisely to comparatively denigrate the "Mongolian" Japanese. However, in Hokkaido, with the support of American colonial advisors, Japanese settlers subsequently adopted the subjective position of White American homesteaders and worked to transform the island to resemble not the Japanese mainland but the United States. And, just like White settlers in the American West (to which Hokkaido is so often compared), they aimed to replace the Ainu entirely on the land.

By appropriating a quasi-Ainu identity in seeking the recognition of America's racial gatekeepers, Ozawa reproduced the eliminatory settler colonial discourses of Japanese Hokkaido in order to claim the right to settle on unceded Kānaka Maoli land in Hawai'i. Though, as the Supreme Court legally defined Whiteness—which the proceedings show to be an ill-defined, slippery concept—precisely through its exclusion of Asians, Roellinghoff also shows that Ozawa (knowingly or unknowingly) challenged not only naturalization law but the very basis of settler colonial racial hierarchies in the United States. In making this argument, he offers a close reading of the Ozawa trials grounded in transpacific, Asian settler colonial, and critical Indigenous studies scholarship. This paper utilizes resources from the Hoji Shinbun Digital Collection, including articles from the *Nichibei Shinbun* (San Francisco), *Nippu Jiji* (Honolulu), and *Shinseikai* (San Francisco) newspapers, together with other primary texts such as Ozawa's own self-published pamphlets and metropolitan Japanese critiques of White supremacism.

Michael Roellinghoff is an assistant professor in the Department of Japanese Studies at the University of Hong Kong. He is currently completing a book project on the Japanese colonization of Hokkaido, its transnational entanglements, and its impact on the Indigenous Ainu people.

WORKSHOP and SESSION CHAIRS

Eiichiro Azuma is the Roy F. and Jeannette P. Nichols Professor of American History at the University of Pennsylvania. He specializes in Japanese American history; transpacific migration, diaspora, and settler colonialism; and interimperial relations between the United States and Japan. He is the author of the award-winning *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford, 2005) and coeditor of two anthologies, including the *Oxford Handbook of Asian American History* (2016). His latest research monograph, *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan's Borderless Empire* (University of California Press, 2019), received the 2020 John K. Fairbank Prize in East Asian History from the American Historical Association. Both of his monographs have been translated into Japanese. Azuma's third monograph, *Brokering a Race War: Japanese Americans in the Pacific War and the Occupation of Japan*, is forthcoming from Oxford University Press. In the past, he served as a Harrington Visiting Faculty Fellow at the University of Texas at Austin and a Ministry of Science and Technology Visiting Professor at National Chengchi University in Taiwan. Since 2020, Azuma has been visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Mire Koikari is a professor of women, gender, and sexuality studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Born and raised in Japan, she earned her MA and PhD at the University of Wisconsin–Madison prior to her relocation to Hawai'i in 1997. Her research interests include gender, race, militarism, and transnationality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She is the author of *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in the U.S. Occupation of Japan* (Temple University Press, 2008), *Cold War Encounters in US-Occupied Okinawa: Women, Militarized Domesticity, and Transnationalism in East Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), *and Gender, Culture, and Disaster in Post-3.11 Japan* (Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2020), which was translated into Russian (Academic Studies Press, 2024). Her current research project, *Cultivating Masculinity for the Oceanic Empire: Manly Visions and Maritime Strategies in Japan's Pelagic Frontier*, examines the construction of oceanic masculinity in imperial Japan.

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