

DOES THE ANGLICISING OF NAMES BURY ETHNIC IDENTITY?

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SUMMARY

Stuart Hall argues that ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are and this study argues that the anglicising of names may suggest a formal change of identity but does not bury ethnic identity. By analysing seminal narratives from and about the collective identity of three ethnic groups, this qualitative investigation considers Hall's reference to ethnic identities. The thesis demonstrates how institutional discrimination and exploitation has affected the attitudes and experiences of the cohort and as a result, their ethnic identity. Research focused specifically on naming practices and reactions to racial labels. Subjective attitudes and narratives from and about this cohort will also provide understandings of past beliefs and ideologies. The study cohort includes; Australian South Sea Islander, Chinese-Australians and Indian Punjabi Sikhs. Interdisciplinary theories of assimilation, acculturation, pluralism, hybridity and bicultural identity have been presented as a context. The impact of political discrimination stemming from legislation like the *White Australia Policy* and social exclusion will provide the context wherein the cohort's identity was challenged. The research has been framed through the interdisciplinary and comparative fields of ethnic studies, sociology, history and psychology. Findings will contribute to the international knowledge base for ethnic identity and assimilation.

STATEMENT



HIGHER DEGREE THESIS

AUTHOR'S CONSENT

MASTERS DEGREE

This is to certify that I, JANE CHRISTINA GIBSON being a candidate for the degree of Master of Research, am aware of the policy of the University relating to the retention and use of higher degree theses as contained in the University's Higher Degree Research Thesis Preparation, Submission and Examination Policy.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project has been a journey that started off heading in one direction and ended up in another. At this more insightful destination, further understandings about my own ethnic identity have been discovered. The topic of my research project, accidentally evolved from; (a) remembering a story told to me when I was a child about naming practices, (b) hearing testimonies from Australian South Sea Islanders who struggled with assimilation and, (c) being born in Australia, with Pacific Island and Scottish heritage. The collision of these seemingly unrelated items evoked my curiosity and became congruent to compiling this comparative study of three ethnic groups within Australia.

Thank God for the countless blessings I received in many forms throughout this project. I feel so grateful to have my husband Billy Muavae Opetiaia understand the importance of my study that allowed me to delve further into my interest of naming practices. His generous giving of time, love and humour enlivened my journey. Loving thanks to my dearest children; Anthony Ambrose Everard, Jayme-Lei Kerera, Jazmyn Leua and Billie Rita Avalya. They emanated patience and enthusiasm, whether they were navigating the piles of books at home, changing nappies or listening to parts of my research. Thank you to both of my parents Everard Kafoa and Atfoa Kerera Gibson who's sharing initiated this direction. Together with my siblings and their families, they poured an abundance of support and love into me, and my family's life, while I invested time into this research. This gratitude and recognition extends also to my husband's parents Limu Billy Tapuloa and Rita Nifo Opetiaia and family who provided continual devotion and encouragement. There is an endless list of family and friends here and abroad whom I adore. With my families they prayed for me, acted as study buddies, provided extra office and quiet spaces, transported my children to events, cooked meals, brought over my favourite cheesecakes and gifted other items during my fourth pregnancy (whilst trying to write up my thesis) and study periods. I give thanks for each of you.

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DOES THE ANGLICISING OF NAMES BURY ETHNIC IDENTITY?

CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH & THE COHORT

Stuart Hall contends that ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are (Davis 2004, p. 183) and this study argues that the anglicising of names is an important practise that may suggest a formal change of identity but does not bury ethnic identity. A sense of in-group belonging by ethnic groups distinguished by factors such as cultural similarities, history, language and racial kinship (Corenblum 2014, p.357). By analysing seminal narratives from and about the collective identity of three ethnic groups, this qualitative investigation considers Hall's thesis with reference to ethnic identities. Research focused specifically on naming practices and reactions to racial labels. The thesis demonstrates how institutional discrimination and exploitation has affected the attitudes and experiences of the cohort and as a result, their ethnic identity. The study cohort includes; Australian South Sea Islander (ASSI) descendants based in Queensland (QLD), Chinese in New South Wales (NSW) and Victoria (VIC) and Indian Punjabi Sikhs in NSW. Selection of the cohort was based on their ancestral arrivals as coloured and indentured labourers to Australia in the nineteenth century. Segmentation of these groups was conducted according to geographical location. Historically, references to non-White persons have evoked racial hatred or assumptions of under-privileged communities (Hut 2007, p. 24). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2006), a higher proportion of descendants lived in these regions after settlement than other parts of Australia.

Subjective attitudes and narratives from and about this cohort will also provide understandings of past beliefs and ideologies. Perceptions of the cohort towards racial epithets and their sharing of experiences with racism is a priority of this research. Words such as, 'kanakas and coolies', were used throughout the colonial period as labels for the

ancestors of the study cohort. The impact of discrimination stemming from legislation like the *White Australia Policy* and social exclusion will provide the context in which the cohort's identities were challenged.

The research does not propose to analyse all narratives by descendants of these three ethnic groups and it should be noted that the number of narratives differ across the study cohort. This narrative selection will be outlined in chapter one and details from each group will be presented in chapter four. The literature review will incorporate how naming practices are part of the assimilation process and that the anglicising of names for groups like the ASSI in some cases represent forced Anglo conformity. Interdisciplinary theories of assimilation, acculturation, pluralism, hybridity and bicultural identity have been presented as a context. The political concept of multiculturalism was introduced in the 1970s (Poole 1999, p.114). It has been criticised for over-focusing on cultural identities and differences and a lack of focus on the structural inequality of ethno-cultural groups. In this thesis, the term is broadly used in this study to refer to political claims of all cultural minorities but will not be used as a theoretical framework. This research has been framed through the interdisciplinary and comparative fields of ethnic studies, sociology, history and psychology. Findings will contribute to the international knowledge base for ethnic identity and assimilation.

The research affirms arguments by Alba and Nee (1997) that assimilation theory is changing as a contemporary application to the study of immigrants and their descendants. In general, classic assimilation theory sees immigrant or ethnic and majority groups following a 'straight-line' convergence, becoming more similar over time in norms, values, behaviours, and characteristics (Brown & Bean 2006). Some research has postulated that European groups immigrating to the United States in the early twentieth century experienced full assimilation within three to four generations (Martin & Nakayama 2010). This paper argues that full assimilation will not occur in its ideology that immigrants will abandon their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness (Van Oudenhoven et.al. 2006, p. 642). In contrast to early theories of acculturation moving from a unidimensional approach to a

model that Van Oudenhoven et. al. (2006, p. 640) describe as a multidimensional process espoused by researchers such as Ryder and Paulhus. According to their view immigrants 'may relate to their heritage and host cultures to different degrees in domains such as attitudes, values, behaviours, language and cultural identity' (Van Oudenhoven et.al. 2006, p. 642).

When I was a child, my father Everard Kafoa Gibson told me a story about his name. His father, Frederick Alexander Gibson, was a Scottish merchant who made his home in the remote Pacific Island called Rotuma with a local woman named Vamarasi. Frederick told my father Everard that he had given all his children European names as first names because he believed that with their surname, Gibson, it would be easier for them to fit in at an English school and find work. They were given Rotuman middle names to remind them of their mother's heritage. My father reflected that his father had been right and that over the years his English names had helped him in some ways to assimilate more smoothly in Australia.

My mother Atfoa Kerera Paulo Magrave (also spelt Mangreve and Managreve by her family) is Rotuman, and she and her siblings were given traditional island names to reinforce cultural pride and to maintain connection to family namesakes. Migrating to Australia, my parents gave my siblings and me English names. My grandfather's story must have planted a seed at a subconscious level within me because I gave my children English first names but linked their second names to either Pacific Island names or named them after parents and grandparents of Pacific Island heritage.

In Australia it is a common practice to have names that represent part of an ethnic heritage and of British or Anglo origins. Whilst researching for this paper, it became evident that my naming practices have been influenced by my ethnic heritage. My motives in naming have been a form of connecting the present to history and recognising the significance of both maternal and paternal family namesakes and ethnic origins. Both my husband and I

have the same links in our own names, showing the passing on of these naming practices to us, and we have given our other three children namesakes and bicultural links to my parents and ancestors: Anthony Ambrose Everard, Jayme-Lei Kerera and Jazmyn Leua. Feinberg states that using namesakes from the past implies a ‘merging of the present with the past’ (Feinberg 1982, p. 582). The continuity of descent lines also indicates the hope that sharing a name will resemble the characteristics of that namesake. My fourth child Billie Rita Avalya was born during this research (2014). My husband Billy and I chose a name linked to his parents. Even though their first names appear to be Anglo – Billy and Rita – these names are in fact bicultural and we chose a female spelling. By applying the Anglo names we connected our fourth child to them as namesakes.

In 2013, I heard testimonies from fourth and fifth generation Australian South Sea Islanders (ASSI) who shared the experiences of their ancestors and how many of the ancestors of the ASSI were forced to leave or were abducted from their villages. In the process, ship registrants and recruiters anglicised their island names. The magnitude of this struck me as I heard in their stories how they are still struggling to assimilate even today. Descendants spoke of how they were now choosing to change their names back to a traditional name as a form of reconnecting with their heritage. With my Pacific Island and Scottish heritage I felt connected to these Pacific Islanders and recalled my own family stories. I became curious about the experiences that shaped their attitudes and it was at this point that I decided to research the naming practices of the ASSI further and to compare the findings with two other ethnic minority groups in Australia.

The study differs from previous scholarly research because it is the first comparative analysis of the naming practices of Australian South Sea Islanders, Chinese and Indian Sikh ethnic groups who arrived as indentured labourers and went on to contribute significantly to Australia’s rich diversity. The comparative approach to the different naming practices of three cohorts of descendants of groups subject to institutional discrimination and exploitation has the potential to contribute to knowledge about the impact of these forms of racism in Australia.

The comparative study of narratives from three ethnic groups will be driven by the central question:

- a. How did the attitudes and experiences of coloured labour impact on their naming practices and ethnic identity of their descendants?

Sub-questions that will be addressed:

- a. How have the types of narratives portrayed the maintenance or anglicisation of names by the descendants?
- b. How have experiences with racism impacted the assimilation experiences of the study cohort?
- c. What representations of past assimilation experiences are revealed through present narratives?

Perceptions and attitudes are central to the identity process, and in particular, how they are shared helps preserve and maintain identity (Cohen 1974). Through analysing story and media narratives further understandings about how the host culture has impacted the ethnic minority group will be examined. Whilst there are narratives that focus on migration experiences such as the assimilation of the three ethnic groups, there are limited discussions about anglicising of names. Limited discussions about naming practices could indicate that ethnic groups may not have viewed this practice as a significant part of their assimilation experience. Despite the limited references towards naming practices by seminal narratives across the three groups, themes and differences will be identified. The inconsistent number of authors referring to the anglicising of names has revealed that specific ethnic groups, such as the Woolgoolga Sikhs, have maintained their cultural naming practices by using Indian names. These themes and differences will be critical for understanding the trends in naming and experiences with racism and group labels used by dominant English speaking British Australian communities, also referred to as the host culture, Anglo or Anglo-Celtic communities in this thesis.

The research seeks to understand the process of assimilation and negotiated identities of these three ethnic groups and investigates how assimilation is represented through the

naming practices of the study cohort. This research does not include linguistic theories but recognises that languages and common dialects offer distinctive patterns to identify the ethnic origins of a name. The selection of narratives includes online repositories such as digital collections, printed publications and film narratives that refer to naming practices. The categories of narratives used for each group include:

- a) Digital collections
 - i. ASSI: Digital interviews
 - ii. Chinese: Electronic story narratives.
- b) Documentaries
 - i. Sikhs: Short film.
- c) Published books
 - i. ASSI: Autobiographies.
- d) Research by academics and community researchers
 - i. Sikhs: Compilation of interviews in print publication and dissertation
 - ii. Archival historical research for all groups.

Davias (2013) posits that there has been little in the way of writings from the Australian South Sea Islanders. The limited number of written narratives indicates a lack of recording of experiences between generations as expressed by Nagas in chapter five. ASSI narratives include:

- *Wacvie* (Bandler 1977)
 - *Welou my brother* (Bandler 1984)
 - *Fragments of a lost heritage* (Fatnowna 1989)
 - *No regrets* (Edmund 1992)
 - *Hello, Johnny! Stories of my Aboriginal and South Sea Islander family* (Edmund 1996)
 - *3 among many* (Doyle, Fatnowna & Ketchell 2000)
 - *Fields of sorrow* (Andrew & Cook 2000)
 - *Faith of our fathers, a journey of three Fatnownas (1866-1999)* (Fatnowna 2002)
- and

- *Australian South Sea Islanders 150 years: what does it mean?* (State Library of Queensland (SLQ)).

This investigation looks specifically at narratives about or written by Indian-Sikh Australians based in NSW, but there is very little available. As Joshi (2000, p. vii) contends, little has been written about the Indians in Australia and almost nothing has been written about the second generation of immigrants. Globally, non-Sikh pioneers in Sikh studies, WH McLeod and N. Gerald Barrier, have contributed to the study of Sikhism and have been cited by many authors of Sikhism. There has been a steady growth of scholarly literature on Sikhism internationally over the last two decades (Singh 2011, p.2) including writings and scholarly research on the Indian diaspora but not specifically by Indian writers from NSW. Indian Punjabi Sikh narratives include:

- *Temple on the hill* (Rasool 2008)
- *A Punjabi Sikh community in Australia* (Bhatti & Dusenbery 2001)
- *Indians in a white Australia* by (de Lepervanche 1984)
- *Indian Diaspora: Voices of Grandparents and Grandparenting* (Singh 2013), and
- *The Sikh diaspora in Australia: Migration, multiculturalism and the imagining of home* (McCarthy 2013).

The intention of this research was to concentrate on Chinese-Australian descendants living only in Victoria. However, despite the plethora of stories available from archives and institutional records, it became necessary to include seminal texts from descendants in NSW because they address the naming practices of Chinese migrants. Fitzgerald encourages larger collectives to investigate generic practices (Fitzgerald 1997, p.14). Kuo (2013) also validates the strong connection between Sydney and Melbourne Chinese descendants. Chinese-Australian narratives include:

- *Chinese Australia* (Asian Studies Program, La Trobe University 2015)
- *Big White Lie* (Fitzgerald 2007)
- *Dragon Seed in the Antipodes* (Yuanfang 2001)
- *Golden Threads* (Wilton 2004)

- *Making Chinese Australia: Urban elites, newspapers and the formation of Chinese-Australian identity 1892-1912* (Kuo 2013)
- *Red Tape Gold Scissors* (Fitzgerald 2008), and
- *The Chinese Heritage of Australian Federation Conference* (Asian Studies Program, La Trobe University 2000).

‘Indentured labour’ and ‘coloured labour’ will be applied as overarching descriptions of the ancestors of this study cohort. All three groups are from ethnic and non-white backgrounds, constituting coloured labour within this study (Fitzpatrick 1965). Indentured labour has also been referred to as ‘slavery’, ‘temporary slavery’ and ‘blackbirding’ (Irvine 2004, p. 4), explained later in chapter three. There is consensus among historians (Northrup 1995) that coloured and indentured labour arose in direct response to the abolition of slavery in areas such as the ‘British Caribbean (1833), French (1848), Danish (1848), and Dutch (1863) Caribbean’ (Mahmud 1997, p.641). Mahmud (1997, p.640-641) determines critical relationships between slavery and indentured labour by stating that ‘the main successor to modern slavery was the institution of indentured labor, which served as a bridge between slavery and modern forms of contract labour’. He argues that the ‘triangular trade between Europe, Africa, and the Americas was the precursor of modern global capitalism’ (Mahmud 1997, p.641). The impact of labour supply and changes in slavery within the global market has a direct impact on what indentured labour meant in Australia. Instead of gaining an opportunity to improve their family financial status, the majority of labourers found themselves exiled into bondage, exchanging one form of poverty for servitude tainted with death and disease.

The forefathers of the study cohort will loosely be referred to as migrants or immigrants due to the nature of their arrival to Australia. In accordance with historical literature (Moore 1992) this paper will refer to the ancestors of the ASSI specifically as Kanakas, which will be defined in chapter three. Throughout the literature of Chinese in Australia (listed in chapter one) they have been referred to as Chinese-Australians, hence the use of this term in this study. Indian Punjabi Sikhs will be referred to as Sikhs within this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW, METHODOLOGY & METHOD

The review of literature outlines significant aspects of ethnic identity. The link between a person's name and their identity is a strong one and is recognised by many to be one of the most stable elements in an individual's identity (Neethling 2008). Hall contends that 'identification' is one of the 'least well-understood concepts' (Du Gay 2000, p.16). Its complexity stems from having to draw on meanings from both the expansive and the psychoanalytic repertoire without being limited to either (Hall 1996, p.2). Across the social sciences there has been an upsurge of theoretical debate about ethnic identity (Fenton 2010; Hutchinson & Smith 1996; Peterson 2012; Yang 2000). Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999, p.39) argue that, 'racial and ethnic identity are critical parts of the overall framework of individual and collective identity'. The study reinforces judgments that ethnic identity is a process that will never be completed. Ethnic groups adopting cultural naming practices indicate why the assimilation across generations of descendants will be restricted.

Literary and theoretical manifestations of ethnic identity are often discussed as a social construct (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito 1999; Fenton 2010; Yang 2000; Guibernau & Rex 1997; Cohen 1974). According to Epstein (1978), the most useful structure for this analysis is the selection of the cohort based on their physiognomic and physical characteristics and ancestral origins. Ethnic identity is a synonym for ethnicity (Yang 2000) and is the outcome of subjective perceptions based on objective characteristics such as physical attributes, presumed ancestry, culture, or national origin (Yang 2000, p. 39). There are different definitions, measures, generalisations and comparisons across disciplines regarding ethnic identity (Fenton 2010, Hutchinson & Smith 1996, Peterson 2012, Yang 2000). These differences often cause confusion and alter definitions (Trimble & Dickson 2003, p. 500). One of the most widely used definitions of ethnic identity is that it is a 'dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group' (Trimble & Dickson 2003, p. 63). For the purpose of this

study, the cohort was selected based on ancestral origins. Three ethnic groups and their ancestors were identified according to the economic contribution they made as migrant indentured labourers. Ethnic names are an affiliate construct of this group. Phinney (1990) argues that individuals demonstrate their attitudes towards cultural belonging through their use of ethnic names. The application of these ethnic names to their descendants becomes a form of cultural representation.

Ethnicity is a matter of degree (Sollors 1996, p. 375) and subject to different interpretations (Yang 2000). Fozdar et. al. (2009, p. 26) states that ethnicity ‘offered social scientists an alternative to shortcomings with the concept of race as a means to understand the variations in identity affirmation and cultural assertion among human groups’. Cohen affirms, ‘the question is not which definition [of ethnicity] is the most valid but which is the most helpful in the analysis of certain theoretical problems’ (Cohen 1974, p. ix). Identification with and feeling a part of, and ethnic group but also feeling excluded from other groups because of this affiliation is an important consideration of ethnicity. Ethnic groups often share common ancestry and/or similar culture, race, religion, language, kinship, or place of origin. Within a dominant host culture, ethnicity exists when individuals claim a specific ethnic identity and are defined by others as having that identity (Sollors 1996). This affiliation can contribute to higher levels of exclusion from host communities depending on perceptions and reactions between different groups.

Following migration into a dominant host culture, the ethnic identity of an individual and cultural belonging can become malleable, dynamic and problematical (Westin et. al. 2010). The common theme presented in the research is that ethnic identity and assimilation is not a uniform, straightforward matter, particularly for the descendants of migrants. Empirical research from anthropology, linguistics, psychology and sociological disciplines have presented evidence of how the naming practices have changed and evolved for minority groups such as Jews, (Lawson & Glushkovskaya 1994; Cotts & London 1994), Poles (Johnston 1965), Italians, (Fucilla 1943), Chinese (Kang 1971) and South Africans (De

Klerk 2002, Emmelhainz 2012). From these experiences it has become clear that migration drives changes in identity.

Assimilation is a key concept in the study of immigrant and intergroup relations (Alba & Nee 1997). This study has adopted assimilation as an overarching framework for the investigation of naming practices by immigrant descendants. This research acknowledges that historically the Australian Government was intolerant of other cultures. The cohort was compelled to assimilate into the host country and therefore sociological perspectives of assimilation are crucial to this study. Migrants bring cultural beliefs, customs and traditions as part of their ethnic identity. The struggle to maintain this identity as they assimilate into a host country brings many challenges (Safran 2008). Becker (2009) argues that for migrants and their descendants, first names can be a powerful indicator of sociocultural assimilation that reflects the competing influences of two cultures. Migrants and their descendants anglicising their names could be seen as an example of conforming to the host culture (Alba & Nee 1997). This study posits that racial and political factors and legislation such as the *White Australia Policy* have disrupted the assimilation and identity of migrants. Intermarrying over several generations also impacts the interchanging of Anglo and ethnic styled names. This would support the anthropological perspective (Mair 1963) that characteristics of racial origins diffuse into the dominant host culture over time. Theories that contend that complete assimilation can be achieved over a period of time into the host culture (Mair 1963, p.134, Epstein, 1978, p.2) are challenged by this thesis, based on first and second-generation descendants using names that represent their ethnic origins. Descendants have adopted a flexible identity in the assimilation process.

Acculturation and assimilation have been used as synonyms and subsets of each other (Sam 2006). However, in opposition to these Teske and Nelson (Sam 2006) consider acculturation and assimilation to be two separate and distinct processes that may be differentiated on a number of dimensions. This paper agrees with Teske and Nelson in their proposition presented by Sam (2006) that acculturation is bidirectional and both the ethnic group and host culture can influence each other as opposed to assimilation, which is

non-influential from the ethnic group on the host culture. This bidirectional process is best represented by the Centenary Federation celebrations in 2000, where immigrants and Indigenous Australians were highlighted by the Australian Government as contributing to the vibrant culture of Australia. During the acculturation process, immigrants may experience changes in their cultural identity but their personal identity according to Schwartz et. al. (2006, p.1) has the potential to ‘anchor immigrant people during their transition to a new society’. This anchor could refer to maintaining or using names from their country of origin.

Berry (2005) argues that that acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological changes that involve mutual accommodation. Based on Berry’s model of acculturation, The Interactive Acculturation Model by Bourhis et al. (Van Oudernam 2006, p.642) describes the accommodative approach to integration:

Host nationals believe that immigrants are entitled to preserve their heritage culture while simultaneously adopting aspects of the national culture. Those who endorse this strategy anticipate the gradual evolution of a multicultural society.

Hage (2007) discusses the power relations between Government and migrant groups. It has been clear that there has been a suppression of ethnic groups within a nation that has been articulated by the white Australian. This struggle is portrayed throughout the narratives of the cohort. However there have been gradual changes over the years within the host nation accommodating difference. The State Library of Queensland in 2013 showcased the experiences with ASSI communities as impacting the culture of Australian communities. Schools have incorporated events such as international food gatherings to cultural performances by students.

Horowitz states that pluralism is when groups maintain aspects of their unique identities (Horowitz 2000). Pluralism arises from the relationships amongst a number of different groups that together form a new community. This notion portrays a more social cohesive despite being racially and ethnically diverse (Hage 2007, p. 80). When pluralism is encouraged and accepted, immigrants are more likely to maintain a strong ethnic identity.

Unique identity aspects include speaking their native language at home, using ethnic names and eating traditional dishes to their country of origin, immigrant groups that remain relatively separate in their social interactions to the host community, tend to maintain their ethnic identity and culture for longer periods of time and generations (Guibernau & Rex 1997). This is evident in the narratives from the Woolgoolga Sikhs. Other aspects to pluralism such as tolerance (Hage 2007, p.80) are important to consider when understanding the extent to which ethnic groups are able to maintain a strong ethnic identity. In the mid-seventies Australia represented itself as a nation that encouraged ethnic groups to maintain their cultural identities and positioned itself as a more tolerant society. This was a distinct move from the White Australia period of harsh government policies designed to contain assimilation.

Bicultural identity is defined as individuals who have been exposed to two different cultures and have internalised them both (Huynh e. al. 2011). These individuals adopt the relevant culture they want to portray, depending on the situation or environment in which they find themselves (2011, p. 828). Chinese narratives have demonstrated this bicultural nature through the use of multiple names. This type of 'blendedness' attempts to find harmony between two cultures (Huynh et. al. 2011, p. 828) is demonstrated by the fusions of identity later expressed in chapter four in Wilton's (2004) assessment of this negotiation. Not only does this research demonstrate how narrative can provide insight into understanding the individual self, but it also provides a significant indicator of the collective identity by using the individual's personal narrative from the three ethnic groups. Polkinghorne (2013, p. 136) claims that narrative is the cognitive process that gives meaning to temporal events by producing various kinds of stories whereby the individual has constructed a private and personal story that links diverse events in their life into a unified and understandable whole. These are stories about the self and are the basis of personal identity and self-understanding and provide answers to the question 'who am I? The narratives expose redemptive meanings through stories of suffering and adversity within their experiences of racism and victimhood. This will be discussed further in chapter five. McAdams and McLean (2013) define narrative identity as a 'person's

internalised and evolving life story, integrating the reconstructed past and imagined future to provide life with some degree of unity and purpose' (McAdams & McLean 2013, p.1).

Psychologists have long discussed the connection between an individual's name to their personal identity and sense of self (Dion 1983). A name provides cues about gender, the bearer's identity, family status, religious affiliation and ethnic identity (Kang 1971). Gerhards & Hans (2006) argue that the selection of a child's first name is an important cultural decision for immigrant parents because it forms the social identity that the parents want as an introduction in the community. Gerhards & Hans explain that the name indicates the 'pure preferences' of the parents, which has long-term consequences for the child (Gerhards and Hans 2006, p. 4, 5). This thesis agrees that giving a child a first name that is common in the native population represents a voluntary and desired identification with the host society on the part of immigrants. Research (Van Oudenhoven et. al. 2006) into immigrants and host societies however, has criticised the limitations imposed by receiving countries. Marginalisation, community pressure to conform has often led immigrants and their descendants to involuntarily make decisions about cultural identification such as speaking English rather than their native tongue at home. Becker (2009) affirms that immigrants with an ethnic first name 'bear a distinct social label, that results in a meaningful different set of social encounters, self-image, and ethnic consciousness'. In contrast to other indicators of identification, naming practices measure real behaviours, not only attitudes or intentions (Becker 2009). Hence, first name selections are more permanent and might be better indicators of immigrants' emotional identification.

The choice of name does not require a major investment by parents and virtually no preconditions need to be met. Immigrant parents are free to choose a native first name for their child even though they might not speak the language of the receiving country and have no contacts with the native population. Undergoing a process to change surnames by immigrants and/or their descendants from cultural to Anglo or vice versa, presents attitudes towards ethnic identity. Whether voluntary or not, the choice to maintain or change names

by individuals contribute to understandings of assimilation. More assimilated parents still have the possibility of choosing an ethnic name for their child, even though they may have lost the language fluency or cultural knowledge of their ethnic ancestors (Sue & Telles 2007, p.1387). Everyone has a first name and names can be quantified on a continuum from ethnic to non-ethnic (Sue & Telles 2007, p.1387). Naming is therefore an especially useful indicator of the emotional link between the individual and their ethnic origin and host culture.

According to Emmelhainz (2012), name changes can represent identity elasticity. The changes make clear the breaks in identity that transform a person's life and social relations: this is seen in name changes upon conversion or taking religious vows. In both examples, personal name changes act symbolically to mark a shifting identity or manifest a complex self-narrative in the social context. Issues such as names representing racial and cultural origins are one such fluctuating factor within the assimilation process. These fluctuations are changes in behaviour over time in the use of traditional ethnic names or adopting Anglo names for their descendants.

Qualitative research methodology has been chosen to investigate the attitudes, experiences and behaviours of the study cohort. Inductive reasoning has been used with an interpretive approach to investigate the meaning-making attitudes and experiences of human subjects. Overarching interdisciplinary methodologies of ethnic studies have been adopted as a comparative framework. Yang (2000, p. 27) states there is no consensus among researchers as to a definition for comparative methodology, however he terms it as a set of techniques that attempt to describe, and explain similarities and differences across social units. Like cultural studies, ethnic studies draw from multiple disciplines of the social sciences and humanities. As Yang suggests, by using this approach, the study aims for a more complete and thorough understanding of the cohort from various dimensions and perspectives.

Ethnic identity is not a fixed categorisation but rather a fluid and dynamic understanding of self and ethnic background (Phinney 2003, p.61). Drawing from the disciplines of cultural studies, migration and ethnic studies, psychology, sociology and history, an interdisciplinary approach has been chosen for this study. There are several advantages for combining the research, insights, skills and methodologies of various scholars from different disciplines (Yang 2000). This thesis in brief, seeks new understandings to enhance the research by integrating specific concepts, ideas and techniques and increasing the development of comprehensive frameworks to optimise explanation of social phenomenon such as ethnic identity.

Theorists were selected based on their connection to ethnic studies and identity through their research and discipline. The work of scholars such as Hall and ethnic studies academics Steve Fenton, John Rex and Philip Yang frame the study. Hall's reference to ethnic identities introduced interest in attitudes and experiences from the cohort. Fenton, Rex and Yang's theories on ethnic identity assisted with establishing a domain such as naming practices as an area of research. The sociological paradigm that has constituted the most dominant perspective on immigrant group mobility is classic assimilation theory, which dates to the Chicago School in the 1920s. Sociologists Shibutani and Kwan argue that how a person is treated in society depends 'not on what he is but on the manner in which he is defined' (Hirschman et al. 1999, p. 144). They also refer to social distance created by racial classification and difference, which impedes assimilation. This study considers the experiences and attitudes of racial names as examples of this social distance, which has continued to be experienced by fourth or fifth generation immigrants. Critical theory in assimilation and ethnic identity from psychologist Jean Phinney and sociologists such as Milton Gordon, Richard Alba and Victor Nee underpin the study. Assimilation restrictions in the form of racial labels, policies and pressures from host communities were interpreted using research from Phinney, Gordon, Alba and Nee.

Clandinin and Huber (2010) affirm that narrative inquiry is an interpretive approach that involves storytelling as a methodology. As a fairly new qualitative methodology, the

researcher is positioned as the storyteller. It can be argued that this position implies a biased reconstruction of events but its concepts are essential to this comparative study. Despite conflicting definitions of 'realism', 'postmodernism', and 'constructionism' (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 375), the general consensus among scholars is that the 'story becomes an object of study, one by which people shape their daily lives and interpret the past in terms of these stories' (Connelly & Clandinin 2006, Mitchell & Egudo 2003). Connelly and Clandinin (2006, p. 375) rationalise that:

The word 'story' is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful...Using this method, follows a recursive, reflexive process of moving from field (with starting points in telling or living of stories) to field texts (data) to interim and final research texts.

Adopting concepts such as 'Biographical Gestalt' (Karamelska & Geiselman 2010) provides an indication of the respondents' negotiated identity and their place in society. This methodology of German sociologists Fritz Schütze and Gabriele Rosenthal, later adapted by Koleva and Popova is relevant to understanding how the cohort defines their ethnicity in a host culture. By analysing autobiographical texts that reconstruct life history, answers to fundamental questions regarding the impact of attitudes and experiences towards traditional and racial names have been formulated. Texts are an expression of the life history from the subject's perspective and are not restricted to a particular event or guided by interview questions. From the late 1970s, analysing autobiographical data became part of the methodological toolbox of sociologists. Narrative structuring, according to Polkinghorne, 'has a part-whole or Gestalt organization' (2013, p. 137) and that the 'self is more fully understood by the part-whole narrative structure and this narrative conceptualisation of separate life events contributes to the meaningful whole that we are.' (2013, p. 137). Narratives by individuals directly contribute to the ethnic collective identity and provide valuable insight into how the cohort has assimilated into their host communities.

This method of inquiry is useful to this investigation as it identifies places of temporality and sociality. Story narratives and media discourse were analysed from five generations of

descendants of the ASSI, Sikhs and Chinese. It is important to note that individuals were selected from these regions based on their birth at this location or the significant amount of time they spent living in these regions. Regions defined as; QLD for ASSI, NSW for Sikhs and VIC for Chinese-Australians. The intention is to create a conceptual framework within which different kinds of field texts and different analyses can be used. This thesis borrows from the methodology of narrative inquiry to analyse and map stories of descendants. Stories from descendants (in the form of autobiographical narratives for example), to ascertain trends, implications and processes, that construct a collective ethnic identity (Smith 2001). More specifically, to further understand of how descendants view the anglicising of names and racial labels.

Discourse analysis examines the structures of discourse such as text and talk (Yang 2000, p. 33.). Jorgensen and Phillips maintain that in discourse analysis, 'theory and method are intertwined and researchers must accept the basic philosophical premises in order to use discourse analysis as their method of empirical study' (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, p.4). As a widely used research method within the humanities, it is a method relevant to this study because of the focus on using written and spoken texts and their relationship to social contexts such as ethnic identity. Linguistics and language structure are not included within this study, however consideration will be given to the discursive meaning such as perspective, implied knowledge and relationships to historical and political contexts.

The research does not detail a chronological description of experiences nor does it cover all publications from each ethnic group, as that would require a more extensive research. Instead, seminal narratives were selected because they specifically note the anglicising of names, the names of their ancestors who lived in Australia. Included are stories from descendants who referred to their own feelings and those of their ancestors towards racial labels. This is an attempt to understand the past within the present and determine whether there are any reoccurring historical themes.

Literature authored by the cohort is limited but there has been a progressive increase in stories and research over the years. Descendants reported limitations in writing skills and

lack of publishing resources and opportunities as reasons for the scarce number of narratives. Selection is further explained in chapter four but has been heavily impacted by the limited number of publications by indentured labourers and their descendants. Narrative sources included historical archives, libraries, academic journals and online collections. The Internet and social media have offered more opportunities for the cohort to publish stories about their experiences online. Archival research and ethnographic anecdotal contributions from observers and researchers have been included. Print publications authored by the study cohort were limited and accessing them proved to be difficult. Findings will reveal when writings were made available or how little has been written on the experiences of coloured labourers.

The research demonstrates the critical symbolism of names and the perception of subjects towards their names (Kim 2007) by examining findings from comparative and investigative studies on names from ethnic minority groups outside the study. Comparative methods investigate identical factors across the three ethnic groups, identify cross-unit differences such as origin cultures and examine similar and varying characteristics across the cohort. Using this method, the study uses specific experiences from individuals to provide a representation as a collective of each ethnic group. Case-specific comparison employs a systematic analysis and in this thesis the focus is limited to three ethnic groups. In order to achieve comparability, it was necessary to include a variety of narrative discourses to analyse.

Components of biographical Gestalt, a 'biographical whole' (Karamelska & Geiselman 2010) will be interpreted by linking and comparing experiences with other respondents from the same ethnic group. Understanding lived experience, behaviours and attitudes, typically includes three steps: 1) the experience itself 2) the memory of it, 3) and the act of re-arranging experience and memory into something new (Karamelska & Geiselman 2010). Throughout the narratives the respondent actualises their interpretation of the past. As sociologists Schütze and Rosenthal recommend (Karamelska & Geiselman 2010), the study has produced a structural description of various narratives and then analyses topics

that are relevant to the study rather than what was particularly important for the respondent. Finally, experiences will be segmented, analysed and compared across the three groups.

CHAPTER THREE: IMMIGRATION HISTORY

Globally, the cohort was part of the two million Asians, Africans and South Pacific Islanders who signed long-term labour contracts in the 19th century, in return for free passage overseas, modest wages, and other benefits (Northrup 1995). The experiences of these indentured migrants of different origins and destinations share several themes of exploitation, racism and assimilation (Saunders 1984). Migration was driven by economic factors and this chapter will compare the migration of the cohort and the context in which they were brought to Australia.

Ancestors of the study cohort made a significant contribution through their toil to the economic success of some of Australia's most important industries – agriculture, fishing and mining. Whether or not the social and economic experiences were traumatic or acceptable, how the labourers conveyed this to their descendants (in particular, through the maintenance of cultural customs such as naming practices) is a point to be investigated. This study argues that the trauma they experienced influenced the way some groups, like the ASSI and the Australian-Chinese, readily adopted the anglicising of their names. It was only in 1994 that the Federal Government finally recognised the Australian South Sea Islander community as a distinct cultural group. This recognition came as a response to the *Call for Recognition* report. Formal documentation 'acknowledged the injustices of the indentured labour system, the severe disadvantage suffered by the South Sea Islanders and their descendants, and their contribution to the culture, history and economy of Australia' (Australian Human Rights Commission n.d). The Commonwealth Government also launched a number of initiatives to enhance awareness of injustices by working with the Queensland Education Department to include historical experiences in the school curriculum. The former Office of Multicultural Affairs received \$240,000 in federal funding over three years to help ASSI access government services. According to Australian Human Rights Commission, during this time, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade sponsored six ASSI to visit their native islands to study their culture. Later in 2000 and 2001, the Queensland Government endorsed an *Action Plan – Australian South Sea Islander community* (SLQ 2011).

Name-calling (Lampe 1982) or racial labelling is explored in this study. The attitudes of individuals and their emotional identification are analysed through selected narratives in order to understand their responses to labels such as 'kanakas' and 'coolies'. The ancestors of the ASSI were often referred to as 'sugar slaves', 'blackbirds' or 'kanakas' (Northrup 1995). 'Kanaka' is a Polynesian term for man, and was used in the early twentieth century to describe Pacific Islanders who were part of the labour trade (Moore 1985). The term also came to imply ethnic origin and language (Barman 1995) and still has controversial connotations. Kanakas were indentured for Australian industries such as the sugar trade, particularly in Queensland (Moore 1992). 'Kanaka' was often used by British Australian communities with negative connotations but today the ASSI proudly refer to their cohort as Kanaka descendants and these feelings will be described later in chapter four.

The story of the ASSI migration is different to the Chinese and Indian cohort. Many were coerced and abducted, the practice, which became known as 'blackbirding' (Irvine 2004, p.4). It is important to note that even though not all the ASSI were blackbirded (Moore 1992) as the ASSI disembarked from ships, many were given new names or anglicised versions by the ship registrants to make it easier for the officials to pronounce. Australians considered the ASSI as inferior to Europeans and legislated to control and eventually deport the labourers (Moore 1992). Unlike the Chinese and Indians, this cohort formed a strong bond with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders because they identified similar experiences in forcible removal and changes to their identity. As a result, many of the ASSI identified with Indigenous community because of their experiences with victimisation, however the ASSI have had to fight a longer battle for recognition from the Australian Government and for specific services such as housing, health and education (Moore 1992). The conversion of the ASSI came later in the nineteenth century and will be discussed in chapter three. This paper posits that Christianity had a significant impact on the ASSI during the nineteenth century because they and their future generations were unable to return home regularly like the Chinese and Sikhs to maintain this aspect of their ethnic identity.

More than 30 million Indians left India between 1834 and 1937 (Anderson 2009). This migration was part of the global movement of Asian labour and formed part of the 'coolie system' (Mahmud 1997, p. 639). In 1837, forty Indians were brought to NSW on five-year terms of servitude and two other contingents were sent to South Australia (Saunders 1984, p. 215). Many coolies were subjected to invasive medical examinations, endured deplorable mortality levels on their transportation, were mistakenly categorised as convicts instead of coolies, and often had to spend the night in a prison before embarking on their ship (Anderson 2009). Many of the descendants in this study travelled from India to New Zealand before coming to Australia in order to increase land holdings and economic positions. During this period, they were able to acquire land holdings in Australia.

The terms 'asiatics and coolies' were used to refer to the Indian and Chinese migrant labourers (Choi 1975). The term 'coolie' refers to unskilled manual labourers from various parts of Asia during the colonial era of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It is still considered a derogatory term by Indians and Asians who were mistreated and subjected to forced indenture. Because Indian coloured labourers were from part of the British Empire, the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen recorded their births, deaths and marriages and if a coloured labourer gave birth to a child on board a ship, the records gave the child's name, but the parents were listed as 'coolie'. Most of the records on Indian coloured labour are not yet digitised and it has not been possible to search for specific labourers' names in the National Archive catalogues. Other institutions like the State Library in Queensland provide clear notices that 'immigrants were very mobile and names could be spelt variously' (SLQ 2015).

Over six million Chinese left Hong Kong alone between 1850 and 1939 (Skeldon 1995) forming part of the 'coolie system' (Mahmud 1997, p. 639). In the late 1840s over 3,000 Chinese were imported as indentured labourers to fill a shortfall on pastoral properties that was caused by the cessation of convict transportation (Wilton 2004, p. 9). Fitzgerald (2007, p.8) states that the Chinese were enslaved by this coolie trade. Large numbers of free workers were attracted to the opportunities in the goldfields but many of them were able to

return to China (Wilton 2004), as they were not indentured. The first census in Victoria in 1854 counted 2,341 Chinese but by early 1855, there were more than 17,000 (Choi 1975, p. 19).

Many Australians believed that Asiatic labourers were competing for jobs, and did not intend to assimilate into the Australian way of life (de Lepervanche 1984). Ian McLaren's (1985) text, *The Chinese in Victoria: Official reports & documents*, incorporates official reports about the Chinese in Victoria from 1850 to 1900 including documents on the movements of Chinese within Australia and various submissions that made recommendations to limit their inclusion within the Australian community. McLaren notes minimal communication between European and Oriental parties, attributing this to language and racial barriers at the time. He attributes the lack of preserved Chinese manuscripts from that time to racial misunderstanding, hostility and mutual ignorance of opposing cultures. In 1855 the Victorian Government passed 'An Act to Make Provisions for Certain Immigrants', which stipulated that only one Chinese could travel with every ten tons of shipping (Choi 1975, p. 20). This Act set the lead for other colonies in Australia to curb the arrival of Chinese migrants. To get around this, shipmasters landed their Chinese passengers in NSW and by 1857 when the next census in Victoria was taken, the total number of Chinese increased to 25,424 Chinese (Choi 1975, p.20). In 1861 Fitzgerald (2007, p.13) affirms that among this census, there were only eight women recorded as being part of the 25,424 Chinese.

The Methodist Church constructed a church for the Chinese in Castlemaine, VIC (Jupp 2001, p. 201), and the first church to make a concerted effort to convert the Chinese labourers. Three Chinese preachers were trained but the number of Chinese converting to Christianity was small (Jupp 2001, p.201). Like the Sikh ancestors, the Chinese upheld their religious beliefs from their homeland.

Zimmerman (2012) asserts that the laws, together with the ideals of the sovereign nation, directly affected the identities of immigrants and natives as individuals and collectives. Government policies that made up the 'White Australia Policy' and that impacted the study cohort ancestors include the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* and the *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901* (Saunders 1984). Immigrants were subjected to a controversial dictation test, which was often used to exclude and deport individuals. Fitzgerald (2007, p. 5) states that the discriminatory practices of white Australia involved multiple exclusions, including cultural and administrative ones.

In its quest for a 'White Australia' the new Federal Government in 1901 ordered the recruitment of Pacific Islanders to cease (Irvine 2004). Historian Clive Moore (2001) states that a total of 7,068 Islanders were repatriated back to the islands between 1904 and 1908 and a further 194 Islanders departed in the years leading up to 1914. In 1901, when the deportation order was first made, there were around 10,000 Islanders in QLD and northern NSW, with one third in Mackay QLD. This continued until 1906 when a Royal Commission allowed migrants who had resided in Australia for more than twenty years to stay. Also, those who could convince the government that they would be in danger if they returned home were allowed to remain. As a result, around 1,500 Islanders were officially allowed to stay and around another 1,000 remained illegally (Moore 1992). Today there are more than 20,000 Australian born descendants who identify themselves as ASSI (State Library of Queensland 2014).

Government policies in the early 1900s were not the only factor that impacted the migrant assimilation experience into Australia. Towards the end of the 19th century, missions from the Presbyterian and Anglican churches and a nondenominational group converted the Islanders to Christianity. Australian religious leaders forced the ASSI converts to deny their cultural mythical beliefs (Moore 1992) and they were expected to dress, speak and name descendants in accordance with the culture of the religion and the white community. By 1904 most ASSI had converted to Christianity (SLQ 2013). There was a decline in

followers due to the tensions with white Australians but in the 1920s all but a few families followed prominent Islanders (Moore 2001).

McCarthy refers to the racism built into the White Australia Policy (McCarthy 2013, p.111). Fitzgerald (2007, p.5) states that the racial exclusions were still 'powerful and persistent'. He asserts that many Chinese came to Australia with the intention of making enough money to return to their villages and comfortably support their families like many of the Sikhs (2007, p.26). The Chinese were culturally isolated and by 1901, the number of Chinese departures was escalating from 45,000-50,000. There were an estimated 29,627 Chinese left in Australia (Choi 1975, Fitzgerald 2007) as a result of the White Australia policies. Fitzgerald (2007, p. 13) provides estimates that between 1901 to 1939, Chinese-Australians made 80,000 journeys to or from Australia. This provides insight into the significance Chinese-Australians gave to returning to their homeland. As a result from these travels, a strong bond with ethnic culture and customs were maintained.

McCarthy refers to immigration policies as one 'invisible barrier' between the Sikh and Australian communities, continuing what Hage termed, 'White Colonial Paranoia' (McCarthy 2013, p.26). Hage defines this paranoia as one that emerges from the fear that 'Europeanness or Whiteness and the lifestyle and privileges that are seen to emanate directly from that' is in jeopardy (Hage 2002, p.419). He refers to skin colour as a form of European Whiteness and one of the most important foundations of dignity and hope. In 1901, there were approximately 3,000 Indians in Australia, with most of them living in NSW and QLD (de Lepervanche 1984; Jupp, 2001; McCarthy 2013). Descendants of Indian coloured migrants constitute an important part of the mosaic of overseas Indian communities (Lal 1998). As they were British subjects, they did not require visas to enter Australia. Indians who came prior to 1901 were allowed to stay but many chose to return to India. Small numbers of Sikhs who lived in places like the USA, Canada, Britain and Australia were soon joined by many others, as violence, land shortage, and economic pressures drove more and more Sikhs to seek their fortunes abroad. Between 1933 and 1947 there were approximately 2,100 Indians in Australia (McCarthy 2013).

Indian Sikhs were treated differently to the ASSI and Chinese cohort under Government policies because they were British subjects. For example, Indians earned the right to vote in Australia in 1925 (Bhatti 2001; McCarthy 2013). By 1926 they were eligible for a pension and could bring their wives and children from India for six months at a time. The ASSI and the Chinese were not eligible for any of these benefits. The unsettled conditions prevailing in 1947, post-partition Punjab also led many Sikh men to seek a more fruitful life in Australia with their Punjabi wives. The birth of their children in Australia entitled them to naturalisation thereby creating the first true Sikh Australians (Singh 2013, p.83). The community continued to grow and by 2001 there were approximately 20,000 Sikhs in Woolgoolga, New South Wales (Bhatti & Dusenbery 2001). Today Sikhs represent about 25 per cent of the total population of Woolgoolga. They are a mixture of the descendants of the original settlers and later migrants who came to join relatives and to marry within the community. Like the Chinese, Sikhs who travelled abroad saw it as a temporary measure as they intended to return home. According to Bhatti and Dusenbery (2001) many of them did earn enough and returned to India after varying lengths away and only a minority stayed in Australia and 'families living in and near Woolgoolga are the result of that decision' (Bhatti & Dusenbery 2001, p.32).

Racism has been generally defined as 'any attitude, belief, behaviour, or institutional arrangement that favours one racial group over another' (Yang 2000, p. 145). Racial groups 'secure their own identity by stigmatising other groups on racial, geographic, ethnic, economic or ideological grounds' (Sakinofsky 2009). The ASSI, Chinese and Indian ethnic groups all experienced racism in the form of ideological, attitudinal prejudice, behavioural and institutional discrimination, as a result, in particular, of the 'White Australia Policy' (Northrup 1995). Racism was prevalent in the 1800s when ASSI were assimilating into Australia. Forced from the beginning to live outside mainstream society, the ASSI were never considered as long-term settlers and potential citizens. Sugar growers wanted cheap labour and city-based liberals did not want to fraternise with what they believed to be an 'inferior' black race (Irvine 2004). For the Queensland Government developing the resources of the colony and supporting the aims of the sugar entrepreneurs, was a major priority, and they appreciated the entrepreneurs' efforts to recruit labourers from the

Pacific Islands. Saunders states that the Government demonstrated that ‘economic expediency triumphed over racial antipathy’ (Saunders, 1982, p. 44).

Assimilating into Australia as a host culture was extremely difficult for coloured labourers. In April 1869, the Attorney General stated a policy should be determined to discourage the permanent settlement of Melanesians in Australia (Saunders 1984, p. 221). Queensland liberal parliamentarian John Douglas warned that:

The existence of a servile class amongst us, protected by special legislation and unincorporable with the permanent population of the colony [the British] is radically opposed to the genus of Australian colonisation.

It should be repeated that immigrants and their descendants did not necessarily want to assimilate into the host country. It was the expectations demonstrated through Government legislation that pressured immigrants to assimilate and conform.

Racial labels have become one avenue of language that project attitudes of hostility and discrimination, which have permeated the educational, social, legal, political and economic institutions (Saunders 1994). The racial label ‘coolie’ is thought to have originated from the South Indian language Tamil, where the word ‘kuli’, means wages (Yun 2008). Similar sounding words in other South-Asian languages are variations of the concept of hired labour. However, the term became synonymous with the thousands of East and South Asians who travelled to the Americas as part of a system of coloured labour used throughout the British colonies. It was used as a derogatory term after the 1830s as coloured labour became a replacement for slavery. In Australia this was a term often used for Chinese and Indians coloured labourers who were seen as socially inferior (Northrup 1985).

The Chinese experienced high levels of hostility and racism by the Australian Government and people (Fitzgerald 2004). Alfred Deakin (1856-1919) was one of the architects of the White Australia Policy (Walker & Sobocinska 2012, p. 52). Deakin, who served as Prime Minister for three terms in the first decade of Federation, had a fascination with India but was unapologetic about his dislike of the Chinese:

The yellow, the brown and the copper-coloured are to be forbidden to land anywhere ... The ultimate result is a national determination to make no truce with coloured immigration, to have no traffic with the unclean thing, and to put it down in all its shapes without much regard to cost (Walker & Sobocinska 2012, p. 52).

This harsh statement referring to efforts by the Government as a 'national determination' indicates the severity of bigotry faced by Chinese-Australians. Racial labels and phrases used such as 'the unclean thing' provided a foundation of discrimination that evoked various reactions (discussed in Chapter Four) from the Chinese-Australians. Fitzgerald (2007, p.x) states that 'Chinese voices are not difficult to find in Australian history' in the form of documents written in both English and Chinese, about personalities or business activities. However, according to Yuanfang (2001, p. 67) there were no autobiographical narratives written by Chinese Australians from 1939 to 1959 as a result of the harsh government policies at the time. Yuanfang (2007, p. 48) notes that writings from women did not appear in this period. She posits that the lack of stories written by females reflects the reality of immigration and low number of female Chinese living in Australia. The Legislative Council passed bills to control the Chinese population are included in historical texts and key submissions leading up to the Bill, which aimed to regulate the residence of the Chinese Population in Victoria (1985, p.21).

CHAPTER FOUR: NAMING PRACTICES

The narrative analysis from each of the three ethnic groups will be assembled under separate headings. The findings from the analysis will start with ASSI, followed by the Indian Sikhs and finally the Australian-Chinese.

Prior to the 1970s there were no published narratives of the experiences of the ASSI and research into naming practices was derived from eight narratives published after 1970. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2006), the majority of ASSI lived along Queensland's east coast, particularly in areas such as Mackay, Rockhampton, Brisbane, Townsville and Cairns. This is where the stories included in this research are sourced from, except for two major contributors whose insights into naming practices were pertinent to the study; highly respected ASSI leader, Faith Bandler, and Indigenous blackbird descendant, Ali Harry Ahmat. Bandler's stories, *Wacvie* (Bandler 1977) and *Welou, My Brother*, (Bandler 1984) are essential to include due to their relevance to the ASSI community. The 'Australian South Sea Islander Multimedia Storytelling Workshop' hosted by a new media journalism project, *CitizenJ* in Qld in 2013 produced a key a set of digital narratives, which have been analysed for the study.

Writers such as Bandler (1977, 1984), Edmund (1992) and Fatnowna (1989) were pioneers in sharing their ASSI experiences through their narratives (Davias 2013). The ethnic identity of each author is cultivated by a number of factors, including the passing down of stories, oral stories and histories (Fatnowna 1989, p.18, Lake 2002, p.2). The Fatnowna family has hundreds of descendants and although they are related, the Fatnowna authors mentioned in this paper refer to three different individuals, Noel Fatnowna, Teresa Fatnowna and Grahame Fatnowna who wrote the following:

- *Fragments of a lost heritage* by Noel Fatnowna (1989)
- *3 among many* by Grahame Fatnowna and other authors (Doyle et. al. 2000), and
- *Faith of our fathers, a journey of three Fatnownas (1866-1999)* by Teresa Fatnowna (2002).

Throughout the stories ASSI names have been altered and anglicised. The stories by Noel, Teresa and Grahame Fatnowna go into detail about the anglicising of their names. They are all descendants of John Kwailiu of Malaita Province in the Solomon Islands. They all discuss the various spellings that changed over the years from 'Fatana'ona', 'Fatna'hoona' to Fatnowna (Fatnowna, 1989, p. 59, 60, Fatnowna 2002, p.3). Noel surmises that the surname was anglicised due to the unfamiliar spelling and pronunciation whereas Teresa suggests that it was their ancestor (Kwailiu's cousin Fikui) who gave Kwailiu the name 'Fatnowna' (Fatnowna 2002, p. 3). There is no other evidence of why the surname was anglicised and the authors do not offer insights into the emotional impact of the name changes.

The implications of the anglicisation of the Fatnowna surname became apparent when Noel and wife Minnie left Mackay in 1975 to search for their lost relatives in the Solomon Islands. Complicated spellings were obstacles and Noel was forced to extend his search to incorporate similar sounding names of other families such as Hatana-ona and Gatana'ona to trace his genealogy (Fatnowna 1989, p.59). It became clear that the Fatnowna family name is a respected name (Fatnowna 2002, p. 17). Teresa said that Noel's quest set the precedent for other descendants of Islanders to rediscover their roots by making the pilgrimage to the homes of their forefathers (Fatnowna 2002, p. 14). Surnames became a crucial identifier for the ASSI to locate members of their extended family. It was not until the 1980s that the ASSI undertook investigations as collective community groups to search for lost relatives across the Pacific Islands.

Each of the Fatnowna family members included a list of sources as to where they obtained details about their genealogy within their publications. This technique was used as a way of preserving knowledge, or, as Keesing states, 'kastom' or customs that 'date back to the post-war Masina Rule movement' and the Biblical 'begats' lineage system (Fatnowna 1989, p. 64). In all these lists (Fatnowna 2002, pp.2, 29, 39, 87-133) it is clear that the anglicising of names is not overtly discussed but is evident in the descriptions of each family member or clan. It could indicate other pressures to assimilate. Their ancestor

Kwailiu and wife Orrani gave birth to five Australian-born children with child, a baby girl called Joy, born in 1891. They used Anglo names for their other children – Lucy, Cecily, Harry and Eva – which could indicate their efforts to assimilate into the host culture.

Grahame's (Doyle et. al, 2000) compilation of fifteen interviews from people from his community who were all born between 1916 and 1939 is the first published example of the collaboration between the ASSI and Indigenous community. ASSI interviewees all have Anglo names such as Harry, Mervyn, Noah, Mary, Clive and Bertie. None of them refer to the anglicising of their names, or names of their ancestors, but these are shorter narratives and provide a more general overview of their lives. Ahmat's story represents the bond and experiences shared by Thursday Islanders and Aboriginals. Matthew Nagas (SLQ 2013 YouTube) confirms that the ASSI generally identify themselves as part of the Indigenous community because they assimilated on the basis of colour and shared experiences of colonisation. Nagas said he had always considered himself as Indigenous because his father never spoke of their origins and it was his mother who eventually explained about their blackbirding experiences. Nagas frequently advised ASSI that their family was with Australia's Indigenous community (SLQ 2013).

Ali Harry Ahmat (Doyle et. al, 2000) has ethnic origins from Malaysia and Thursday Island (part of the Torres Strait Islands of Australia), Ahmat immersed himself into the community and conveys what some Indigenous and ASSI members have experienced with migration and naming practices. His story adds depth to the experiences of the ancestors of the blackbirded ASSI Ahmat states that his parents 'did not know their second names' (Doyle et. al. 2000, p. 9). Ahmat used his father's first name and gave his daughter his mother's name to continue his mother's legacy. This story illustrates how the past is connected to the present through the application of names from ancestors. A practice adopted by many cultures.

Edmund (1996) includes the tracing of the anglicising of names in her Vanuatuan family. Edmund's husband, Digger and his father and grandfather were not called by their Islander names. The officials who brought the Islanders to Australia, which seemed to be the practice at the time, renamed them. Edmund implies renaming made names easier to pronounce and write. She explains (Edmund 1996, p. 21):

The men were called Johnny or something like that and if the women married any of the men or became the partners of the men, they were just given the man's name and the man took the woman's name.

Edmund refers to her father in law and his father sharing the same name, Johnny. Digger's grandmother Bena took the name Bena Johnny and his grandfather became Johnny Bena. Digger's sisters' all had Anglo names with the 'surname' Johnny demonstrating the consistent use of Anglo names in the ASSI community – Elizabeth Johnny, Lucy Johnny, Rosie Johnny, Emily Johnny and so on, in accordance with the naming system. Just as the Fatnownas changed the spelling of their names, Edmund refers to the changes in spelling of her brother's name Johnny to 'Johnnie' (Edmund 1996, p.51, 52). This practice will also be discussed in chapter four, the Chinese-Australian narratives.

Edmund indicates that it was common practice for people to change their surnames to reflect the name of paternal or maternal ancestors (Edmund 1996, p. 21). Christian conversions at the time of baptism could change the name. Edmund's own father 'Johnny Sisseva' changed his name as an older adult, to his father's surname Headman but at his baptism, the minister changed it to 'Edmund'. Edmund does not discuss the reaction or feelings of her husband or relatives about this change in their name. She also states that people referred to ASSI individuals by names that might have represented their mannerisms, clothing or behaviour. She mentions people also referred to her father-in-law as 'Long Johns' (Edmund 1996, p. 22) because of the way he wore his trousers as a tall man, but again, she does not mention how individuals reacted to name changes and nicknames. Edmund's own children's names are of English origin and she uses her mother's name as a namesake for her first child, Isabel.

Andrew and Cook (2000) present a compilation of more than 18 oral histories but naming practices are only mentioned twice. The oral narrative by Poid within the text refers to Tom Solomon who was probably named after the island from where he was blackbirded from, namely the Solomon Islands. In Trevy's interview island names such as 'Yasserie, Motto and Marrau' were anglicised by white employers (Andrew & Cook 2000, p. 136). The strong emotional content reflects the individuals' history and experience of ASSI identity formation. Warkill's story is one of eleven in the collection and is the only digital narrative that refers to a naming practice. He was named after his father Thomas Warkill and grandfather, Tom Warkill. Feinberg states that through the application of namesakes the present and the past can be merged (Feinberg 1982) and Warkill's story is an example of this merger.

de Lepervanche (1984) is a non-Punjabi scholar who conducted anthropological and ethnographic research between 1968 and 1973 in Woolgoolga. She identified one custom, which she states sustained the visible ethnic identity among the Sikhs in Woolgoolga, the common use of the name Singh (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 142) meaning lion. Females use the corresponding word Kaur as a surname, but in Australia, Sikh women took on their husbands' name when they got married and so became 'Mrs Singh' (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 142). The overwhelming number of families who surname was 'Singh', created confusion at the markets because it was difficult to differentiate between the banana growing families who were named 'Singh'. To help clarify which Singh families were banana growers, the naming practice was changed to incorporate the family clan names or village names instead of using the generic 'Singh' surname. de Lepervanche notes that Sikhs in Vancouver retain the name Singh between their given name and the name of their village, similar to the Sikhs in Woolgoolga. Parents in Woolgoolga gave newborns Indian names but by school age, they were given English names by teachers because Australians were not 'willing to get their tongues around foreign syllables', choosing instead to use nicknames such as 'Charlie' or 'Nibsy' for 'Nasib' (de Lepervanche 1984, p. 142). Rasool's film (Journeyman 2008), describes the cultural challenges and Australian influences experienced by the Indian Sikh community in Woolgoolga. It explores the maintenance of the Sikh religion and arranged marriages. The film is less than thirty

minutes long and so does not contain a detailed account of the collective but, as with this research, uses the experiences of individuals to help understand the collective. Although the narrative does not focus on naming practices and reactions to racial labels, it is a rich source on the Sikh identity in Australia. It exposes the conflict Sikhs face as a minority group, assimilating into Australia as the host culture. One man expresses the film's premise by saying:

We try very hard to keep our culture, but I don't know how long we gonna struggle to keep our culture alive. It's not very easy.

In the film, two young Sikh-Australian girls Harbinder and Sarvie discuss their struggles in a white community as young women from an ethnic group with traditional cultural practices. Harbinder said that despite maintaining her ethnic identity, she often wondered how life would be as a white Australian because her identity as a Sikh woman did not allow for opportunities to negotiate marriage and social outings. Harbinder and her brothers all chose to marry Sikh partners from Punjab and have given Punjabi names to their children. The application of cultural names in Harbinder's story reinforces the case that her family will in all likelihood continue this naming practice and marrying within the Sikh community in order to maintain their ethnic heritage.

Rasool (Journeyman 2008) suggests that inter-marrying can influence the application of cultural names and challenge the identity of Sikhs. Sarvie was ostracised by the Sikh community when she married a white Australian. Her interview reveals her happiness with her partner and children but she also expresses sadness at the shame felt by her family and her isolation by the Sikh community. This isolation may be because she is a female because a male, Sikh Grewal, is still welcomed within his family and community despite marrying a white Australian woman. Grewal's parents both have traditional names but father Naseeb and mother Herbhajan (Journeyman 2008) do not discuss why they gave their son an Anglo name even though early in their interview they hoped Grewal would marry a Sikh woman to continue their cultural legacy. Naming him Brian may have been an attempt to assimilate into the host culture but their desire for him to marry a Sikh woman reinforces their resistance to fully assimilate. Thompson and Grewal's stories of intermarrying also present their children whom they gave Anglo names to. Both stories

validate the Sikh practice for adopting Anglo names as a form of negotiation between two cultures.

Within Australian communities, Indian Sikhs were not encouraged to maintain their cultural differences (Singh 2013). This became evident through the rejection of membership to institutions or exclusion to community events. Sikhs persisted taking regular return trips to their Indian homelands in an attempt to maintain their culture, despite community pressure and racism. The return trips encouraged same culture marriages to other Sikhs and, unlike the ASSI and Chinese; they were able to strengthen their identity as a minority group. Religious traditions were strengthened by these marriages because they upheld beliefs and perceptions back in their Australian homes. As a result the first Sikh religious temple (Journeyman 2008) was built in 1969 and became a clear expression of pluralism.

Punjabi community researcher Bhatti with the help of Dusenbery, a non-Punjabi American Sikh scholar produced a publication (2001) that pays tribute to the initiative and endurance of the Sikh community. Bhatti refers to herself as bicultural and a 'daughter of the village', and an 'Australian-born Punjabi Sikh' (Bhatti 2001, p. x). Bhatti provides a rich source of testimonies, stories and information about the evolution of the Sikh community. A key narrative in this study, it delves into the cultural struggles faced by her Punjabi Sikh forefathers and their descendants. The publication is unique as it includes interviews (2000-2001) from both the Sikh community and non-Sikh members. Although the text does not feature narratives that focus on naming practices, it reveals trends of traditional ethnic names in those interviewed and Sikhs who chose Anglo names for their children after they had graduated from tertiary education. After the young men graduated, many returned to the Woolgoolga community to extend their families' agricultural businesses and generated growing respect from the non-ethnic community.

Singh (2013) uses the case studies from various countries to formulate an understanding of the collective diaspora of Indians, including those from Woolgoolga. Singh (2013, p. 286)

refers to names and questions why certain names are given and others are not. His studies (Singh 2013) draw connections between the role of naming and the way in which individuals negotiate issues of culture and identity in the world. Singh (2013) uses the example of Indians living in Hawaii, to explain how her mother-in-law chooses the middle name of a bride. It is an honour for the bride and is selected according to the first letter of the wedding day's scripture verse. Families that chose Indian names as first names for their children did so that Americans would be able to pronounce the names, ensuring the children would not be teased at school (Singh 2013, p. 144). Some Indians name their children after events and calamities whilst others are named after gods and goddesses or have religious connotations. Those familiar with the Indian caste system know how a name defines one's status; hence with the erasure of the hierarchies of caste, more inventive names are being used (Singh 2013). This intertwining of religious practices is a common thread, sewing the past and the present into a tapestry of woven identities.

Rory G. McCarthy has also conducted empirical research on the Indian Sikh community in Woolgoolga. Family migration narratives were collected from Sikhs in two age groups, 35 and under, and 36 to 55. Using techniques such as participant observation, and informal and semi-structured interviews, the ethnographic study provided understandings into how Sikhs feel toward their cultural homeland of Punjab. Some of his material is highly relevant to this study, even though his topic is not related. McCarthy's thesis challenged anthropological inquiries by using transnationalism as a framework to understand migration and movement. Earlier in the document, references are made to sociological bicultural notions. In effect the multi-stranded social relations become complex and interrelationships are mediated differently according to (in this case) social spheres. The Sikhs in Australia maintain existing family obligations and ones that are religious, political and ethnic in nature (McCarthy 2013, p. 16).

McCarthy (2013, p. 138) tells the story of Jorahvar Singh, an atypical Woolgoolga Sikh, whose grandfather and father attempted to assimilate into Australian society and 'opted to name their male children with Anglo names as well as Indian names' (McCarthy 2013, p.

143) because the males were the breadwinners of the family and would provide the connection between two cultures. Jorahvar broke with this tradition, even though his family had been in Australia for over 100 years, and gave his children full Indian names, stating that they should no longer have to adopt 'Australian ways' (McCarthy 2013, p. 144). Jorahvar reasons that, 'Australians can have any name; we are a diverse group of people. We should be proud of whatever heritage we have,' (McCarthy 2013, p. 144). McCarthy points out that this indicates Jorahvar does not see his ethnic and host culture rivalling each other. The family maintained their connection to their homeland by visiting Punjab, sharing stories, keeping tokens, attending Sikh religious services and eating Indian cuisine. Sojourners such as the Sikhs and Chinese replicated their homeland village and cultural beliefs to their residence in Australia. This mirroring of ethnic culture is a representation of a negotiated ethnic identity. Wise (2004, p. 32) posits that this replication and mirroring is an important factor of transnationalism. Through Jorahvar's story, McCarthy demonstrates the flexibility of some Indian Sikhs who function and adapt to both Australian and Indian cultures. Jorahvar's narrative also points to some of the nuances present in his community.

Fitzgerald (2008, p.20) claims that Europeans were 'unable to master the complexities of Chinese names, or were unconcerned about the problem'. This contributed to the anglicising of names by the Chinese-Australians in what Fitzgerald (2008, p.14) claims is a changing of identity that is never static. Fitzgerald suggests the following reasons for the anglicising of the names of Chinese labourers and their descendants:

- The different dialects convey multiple uses of individuals' names, causing an incorrect selection by Australian employers or institutions
- The desire to hide or fabricate an identity to avoid deportation or other legal matters
- The changing of birth names and married names from Chinese into English
- The adding of extra letters to complete a sound of a name
- The difference of name ordering of Chinese to Australian
- The variations in spelling due to different interpretations of sounds by Australian officials when transcribing documents. Children of the indentured labourers who

were not fluent in their dialect would become translators for their parents and, at times, would incorrectly record the Chinese text, and

- The replacement of individual family names with business names.

Sir Leslie Joseph Hooker is a descendant of the Chinese cohort. Fitzgerald (2007, p. xii) affirms that as the founder of the real estate firm L.J. Hooker, Leslie was born Joseph Tingyou but anglicised his father's name for his business name. It is important to note that his father was a railway hooker. Leslie reportedly made this change to conform to 'white Australia' (Fitzgerald 2007, p. xii).

The conventions of anglicised spelling have changed throughout the years and there is an absence of 'sophisticated rendering of names' (Fitzgerald 2008, p. 20). Janis Wilton (2004) writes about her Australian-Chinese heritage in Sydney and her chapter *Hidden Identities* explains that families would maintain their cultural beliefs and practices at home but they would anglicise their names in an effort to conform to the mainstream community. However, this resulted in a loss of connection with family history, which, Wilton said, made it harder for descendants to track their ancestry. The Chinese Museum in Melbourne provides a guide for those researching their Chinese-Australian ancestry. The guide confirms Fitzgerald's (2008) finding that families often became known by their business name and that Chinese 'swap their names around to suit western conventions' (Rule & Couchman 2011). It explains how the Chinese typically spell their names but also how these names change over the individual's lifetime. For example, parents change the names of their babies as they grow into school children. Other seasons in a person's life when their names would change include retirement years. Women did not traditionally take on their husband's name, which is illustrated in the story by Wang Zheng-Ting (Zheng-Ting 1997) about Mrs T.C. Chinn (nee Miss M. Wong) who was accepted as a member of the Sydney Philharmonic Society in 1902 and who followed the western custom of taking on her husband's name.

The story of Mrs Tong and her family (Couchman 2009) also describes a Chinese woman who adopted the western tradition of taking the name of her husband Chin Tong. However birth certificates indicate she was also known as Ah-Tong Youk, Hue Lue, Sue Tong and Sue Hoe. This could have been due to any number of suggestions raised by Fitzgerald (2008) relating to issues of dialect, incorrect spelling or the desire or need to fabricate an identity. Mrs Tong's husband was also known as Chin Tong, Chun Toong, Chin Toong or Chung Tong. According to Couchman (2009), the Tong family should have been known as the Chin family but official records and birth certificates use Tong as the surname. Their five children are listed as having both Chinese and Australian names, suggesting that the Tongs may have maintained their ethnic identity through their choice of names but also provided an anglicised version to assimilate into society. These five children included Bou Youk (Alice) Tong, Bow Jun Chung (Elsie) Tong, Kay Sing (Willie) Tong, Boo Line (Ethel) Tong and Bow Meu Chin (Phyllis Edna) Tong.

Patricia Foord (2009) traces the migration of her great grandfather William Lew Shing (Leu Sen). Lew Shing married another Chinese Australian, Bridget, in Ballarat. William's son Walter lists William's name on his birth certificate as Lue Sen rather than Lew Shing, which is now used by her family. Foord describes how her grandfather Arthur cut off his 'queue' (plaited hair) and possibly anglicised his name at this time to Lew Shing (La Trobe 2015). It was also recorded that all Lew Shing's children and descendants started to use Anglo names from about 1904. Names such as Lesley, Arthur, Walter, Howard, Desmond, Hazel, Gladys, Louise, Freda, Yvonne, Audrey and Winifred were recorded in Foord's narrative. Maintaining cultural ties with the homeland was of utmost importance to William Lew Shing. He saw himself as a sojourner in Australia and after he died his family exhumed his bones and returned them to China in March 1918, fulfilling his promise 'To one day return home' (Foord 2009).

As with the Sikhs, the Chinese immigrants also sent their children back to China to be educated and to learn their religious beliefs. Kate Bagnall (2009) writes the story about Chinese born Chun Quan and his Chinese-Australian wife Mary who sent their son Willie

back to China for an education in 1913. Their desire to maintain links with both cultures is demonstrated through their choice of an Anglo name and their decision to send him back to China. Bagnall asserts that the children who ‘grew up in two countries, two cultures, two languages and with two homes...brought a richness to Australia through their international links’ (Bagnall 2009).

Yuanfang (2001) provides a seminal text that has narratives written from Chinese immigrants between the years 1872 to 1994. According to Yuanfang (2001, p.9) the narratives were written by Chinese who:

- Came to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century
- Arrived around the time of World War II
- Were born in Australia
- Are of Chinese descent and migrated from south-east Asian countries and regions, and
- Arrived recently from the People’s Republic of China.

Yuanfang (2001) notes that in addition to the narratives produced by the earliest Chinese immigrants, most narratives were written in the 1980s and 1990s. She states that early narratives were challenging to read and critique (2001, p. 8). It should be stated that this research acknowledges the earlier texts but were not included in this analysis, as they did not convey naming practices. These earlier narratives include; *Jong Ah Sing’s Diary, My Life and Work*, Tam Sie’s unpublished memoir and Kwan Hong Kee’s unpublished *Autobiography of Mr. Kwan Hong Kee* (Yuanfang 2001, p. 9, 10).

CHAPTER FIVE: RACISM

Racism can manifest, from government policies to racial labelling to institutional discrimination. Each of these factors, impact the ethnic identity of the study cohort. The findings will begin with the reactions to racism from the ASSI, followed by the Sikhs and conclude with the Chinese-Australians.

Warkill, Nagas and Yasserie are three of eleven interviewees who provide a response to racism (SLQ 2013). Warkill refers to his school years as a milestone in his life. He does not mention racial labels specifically but he said he did not understand why white children would want to associate themselves with him as a coloured boy. Warkill's confusion about school politics and his identity intensified throughout his teen years, but he does not detail his experiences and emotions.

Enares (SLQ 2013) adopts a more pluralist approach and argues that the ASSI are not Indigenous to Australia and need to create a specific identity, unique to the ASSI. Nagas disagrees and states that the ASSI and the Indigenous community share the same experiences of rejection and exploitation. Nagas recalls how ancestors chose not to talk about their history, as it was associated with shame, discrimination and injustice. His recommendations include:

- Recognition by the Australian Government to provide special allowances for housing
- Education and medical services like the Indigenous community, and
- Emphasising the importance of ASSI sharing stories in the education network of school so new generations can learn from each other.

Yasserie (SLQ 2013) provides insight into why the ASSI chose not to talk about their experiences. She recalls asking her father when she was nine years old about the chains

kept on the cane farm they lived on, owned by a white Australian. Her father quickly replied:

Shhh, don't let the big boss hear you say that...see those chains up there, they chained around our people...to stop them from running away.

Yasserie expresses emotions of oppression and suppression that are still felt by her family and community today. The narrative ends with a subdued Yasserie who smiles between her tears demonstrating the raw emotion still felt by descendants today.

There have been some differences between communities and descendants that have experienced blackbirding and being labelled 'kanakas'. Historically the ASSI felt that this derogatory term should not be used as a formal reference to descendants brought as labourers from the Pacific. Edmund said she spent a happy childhood in the part of Mackay referred to as Kanaka Town by the white community. She 'never liked the term Kanaka Town' (Edmund 1992, p.12) because it seemed to be used in a derogatory way. She also stated that Islanders never used the term 'Kanaka'. Australian South Sea Islander, Nasuven Enares (SLQ 2013) supports this view when discussing the establishment of the ASSI United Council in Tweed Heads in 1975 as a political force to represent the ASSI. Enares said they considered using the word Kanaka to represent descendants of coloured labourers from the Pacific but, because of its derogatory connotations, they chose the term Australian South Sea Islanders instead. Enares goes on to say that the word Kanaka needs to be 'revalued' (SLQ 2013) in the 21st century. There are some ASSI who feel pride when being labelled 'kanaka'. Kirk (SLQ 2013) uses the term 'Kanaka' when describing herself by stating, 'I'm a proud Kanaka descendant'. There is evidence that this word is indeed being revalued by Hawaiian Kanakas who promote pride and respect when using this term when referring to native Hawaiians (Houghton Mifflin Company 2005, p. 271).

Noel Fatnowna's autobiography provides many insights into racism (Fatnowna 1989, p.33). Fatnowna was eleven in the 1940s, when he began to learn what it meant to be black in a white world. School children called him a 'nigger' (Fatnowna 1989, p.33) and although he did not know the meaning of the word, he eventually reacted physically by hitting one of

the taunting children. Fatnowna said the names 'black fella', 'darkie' and 'nigger' particularly upset him, 'I heard it and it really hurt me' (Fatnowna 1989, p.34). His brother Christian Harold and other Islander children experienced many fights because of racial tension and felt they were not being treated as human beings. In a response to not being served because of his colour, Noel states, 'I was so mad that I felt like punching him to death' (Fatnowna 1989, p.46) and these instances he said, 'used to get under our skin' (Fatnowna 1989, p.36).

Although Fatnowna never forgot the white people who were kind to them, and diplomatically states, 'history is history now' (1989, p.36), he shows concern about losing his culture and merging too far into a white Australia despite referring to his family as 'fringe dwellers' or 'outcasts in a white world' (Fatnowna 1989, p. 157). Struggling with an assimilated identity he asked, 'Would we someday be just a lot of white blackfellas in Australia?' (Fatnowna 1989, p .57). This led to his return to search for his family in March 1973 in the Solomon Islands. Reflecting on the generations of ASSI in Australia, Fatnowna refers to the challenge living in two cultures with Australia being his home. Beyond the racial labels and assimilation, descendants 'will never change the colour of their skins, but their minds and ways, belong to the white man' (Fatnowna 1989, p. 174). Although not mentioned by Fatnowna but intermarrying is one factor that could contribute to changes of skin colour or assimilation.

It would seem that with only rare references to racial labels and experiences, contributors aimed to focus on more positive aspects of assimilation by ASSI into white communities. In Grahame's compilation (Doyle et. al. 2002, p. 123), Babongie refers to the ill treatment of blacks only briefly and whilst Sheppard felt racism escalate in the 1940s in Australia neither she nor the other ASSI interviewed, discussed experiencing racism firsthand. Throughout the oral histories recorded by Andrew and Cook (2000), there is little written on the experiences of racism. Mooney and Trevy discuss the segregation of islander children. Trevy explains the segregation of ASSI children and the white community

initiating the building of two different schools to that there was not merging of racial groups (Andrew & Cook 2000, p. 137).

Another chapter in Edmund's book (1992, p. 69) articulates how she felt about racism and how she experienced 'real hurt' because her sick father was not treated at the local hospital because of his colour. She responds to this act of racism by medical staff by saying, 'God forgive you, because I never shall' (Edmund 1992, p. 69) and states that the painful memories of racism extended to reacting to older South Sea Islanders calling her, 'that little half caste' (Edmund 1992, p.1). Edmund represents the inability of ethnic minorities to adopt bicultural characters.

de Lepervanche (1984) notes the complex nature of the racial situation between Sikhs and Australians in her anthropological fieldwork about the Sikhs. This relationship was also investigated by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and aired on television in 1984. de Lepervanche postulates that changes to prejudiced attitudes are not possible without removing or addressing the original sources of discrimination (de Lepervanche 1984, p.27). Both de Lepervanche and the ABC conducted interviews and identified how the minority group was being discriminated by the host culture of Australians. These ABC episodes included *Sikh women make themselves at home*, *At home with Aussie Sikhs 1984* and *Sikhs joining the club in country NSW* (ABC Splash 2012). The *ABC Splash TV* (2012) series claimed that the Sikhs have integrated successfully into the thriving community. It portrayed the change of attitudes by locals and that Sikhs were now permitted to participate in team sports, attend the local venues and children are being accepted into the local schools. Sikhs interviewed by de Lepervanche in Woolgoolga referred to the prejudiced attitudes of Australians as being 'irritating' and 'absurd' (de Lepervanche 1984, p 16). In this same interview some Sikhs shared responses that were mellow in nature, stating that they 'did not speak with bitterness' (de Lepervanche 1984, p 17). In fact, during her interviews, the Sikhs spoke with humour about the racism they experienced. They encouraged patience and were optimistic about a change, or improvement in relations. There were, however, other Sikhs who expressed hurt and anger

from the episodes produced by non-Sikhs. It was clear from the narratives and reports of this period that there was tension in the community compounded by articles in *The Australian*, titled '*The Strangers*' of Woolgoolga (de Lepervanche 1984, p.18). Other articles found by de Lepervanche fiercely contest any racial segregation.

Similarly, Rasool's film (Journeyman 2008) does not detail experiences of racism with Sikh descendants and this is most likely due to its theme of cultural influences such as marriage and religion. However, it mentions the impact of the White Australia Policy, which prevented coloured people from entering New South Wales after 1901. The subsequent expulsion of coloured labourers caused feelings of hostility from the labourers and their descendants towards the host culture. Bhatti and Dusenberry (2001) use stories from both Punjabi and non-Punjabi residents to demonstrate what it means to live in a multicultural Australia. However, the controversy over inclusiveness has been a tremendous challenge to the Sikhs, who faced racism, just like the ASSI and Chinese, due to their ethnic origins and arrival as competitive cheap employment. Racism and inclusion according to Woolgoolga resident, Danny Dosanjh, has now plateaued to a level of 'tolerance' in the relationship between Punjabi and non-Punjabi members (Bhatti & Dusenberry 2001, p.184).

Yuanfang (2001, p. 5) found it difficult to extract information from Chinese people in Melbourne and Sydney. This is particularly significant to the study as she explains that people were reluctant to talk about personal details. If they eventually did share their stories, they chose to convey how the Chinese were ill-treated in Australia. The Chinese were systematically excluded from the legendary bonds of mateship and actively discriminated against and regarded as inferior (Fitzgerald 2007). Similarly to the rest of the study cohort this reference to issues with assimilation demonstrates the representations of past experiences in present narratives. Also, of the victimhood themes that were also shared by the ASSI.

The story of the Tong family in chapter four illustrates the impact of the *White Australia Policy*. The narrative highlights experiences shared by many other Chinese families during this time who were challenged by the dictation and other entry tests as they returned to Australia. These tests and policies kept married Chinese immigrant couples apart until the 1960s when the regulations were finally loosened.

Author Brian Castro is a Chinese descendant whose autobiographical fiction *Birds of Passage* (1983) aimed to expose racism in the Australian-Chinese context. Although it does not directly relate to this study, it is regarded as the first book in Australian history that promotes ‘dirty Chinks and bloody Chongs’ as literary heroes (Yuanfang 2001). The vulnerability of the Chinese descendants is further explored by Yuanfang (2001, p.66, 67) who highlights Castro’s conclusion that the Chinese during this period ‘yearned to become invisible’ because of their feelings of rejection. Fitzgerald’s research aligns with Castro’s hypothesis on invisibility because he explores reactions of silence from the Chinese community (Fitzgerald 2004, p. 116) and concludes that the silences emerged from the hostility felt in earlier years. This reaction is shared with the ASSI response (chapter five), as reflected in Yasserie’s story. Historian Henry Chan also alludes to this tradition of privacy and silence in the mid-1980s (Fitzgerald 2004, p. 116).

Toylan Ah Ket (La Trobe 2015) recalls the story of his father, William Ah Ket. William was a leading figure in the Chinese Australian community during the years of Federation. He attended the Melbourne University and in the 1900s he with other Chinese leaders publicly opposed unfair laws imposed on the Chinese community. William Ah Ket’s story is important to include in this chapter as it reveals perceptions of the Chinese community towards government policies. William held many positions and was called as delegate by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce to represent Victoria at the Conference of Overseas Chinese and attended the first National Parliament for the new Republic in 1912. With experience as a barrister, William was appointed as the Acting Consul-General for China in Melbourne in 1913-14 and again in 1917. His constant lobbying demonstrated the rise of

Chinese confidence to stand against racial discrimination and the reaction of the community towards their ill treatment.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The diaspora of ancestors of Australian South Sea Islanders, Chinese-Australians and Indian Punjabi Sikh Australians has prompted anthropological, ethnographic, cultural and sociological investigations. Shared traits of the study cohort will be outlined within this chapter. Assumptions that the cohort wanted to assimilate rather than acculturate into Australia should be dismissed. Economic and labour forces that drove their migration and arrival to Australia are a common story. However, the exploration of how assimilation impacted naming practices of this study cohort is unique, as with their experiences with racism and racial labels. Like other minority groups around the world, experiences with racism have influenced attitudes and identity (Harris et. al. 2013). The central research question of how attitudes and experiences of coloured labour impacted on their naming practices and ethnic identity of their descendants will be discussed.

The traumatic departure from homeland is clearly evident in the narratives from the ASSI. Stories of ancestors being blackbirded are key examples of what contributed to the loss of their culture, language, beliefs and customs. According to Cohen (Mikula 2008, p.51) ‘diaspora’ such as those compared within this study, normally exhibit several common features:

- Generally a traumatic departure from homeland
- A collective memory about the homeland
- Leaving the homeland in search of work to pursue trade or colonial ambitions
- A strong ethnic consciousness over a long time
- A return movement
- A possible unsettled relationship with host societies
- A sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in host cultures, and
- The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries.

There were more than 80 islands that were impacted during this departure from villages. The fragmentation of memories of homeland, family life became clear as descendants told of grandparents and forefathers not sharing stories of their homeland or of their feelings towards experiences marking their arrival into Australia. Although the narratives do not

indicate a traumatic departure for Sikhs and Chinese, the circumstances surrounding their travel such as invasive medical examinations were no doubt traumatic for some groups. These examinations and experiences may have been a contributing factor to the lower number of females (chapter three) travelling to Australia. Although the narratives discuss government policies as obstacles to spouses joining them, there is evidence to suggest that these scenarios could have deterred conservative families.

Leaving the homeland in search of work is a clear motivating force as discussed in the early history of the study cohort. Results have varied across the cohort. Sikhs for example, were able to become firmly established in a profitable banana growing industry in Woolgoolga. The Chinese-Australians have demonstrated a clear increase in business holdings with now strong political ties with trade between China and Australia. The ASSI are yet to be recognised by the government as eligible to receive the same allowances to housing, health and education for example, as the Indigenous community. This indicator serves as a notice that their ethnic identity is yet to be fully appreciated.

A strong ethnic consciousness is represented through the Sikh stories. Jorahvar's confidence in both cultures provides insight into the maintenance of the culture, custom and beliefs passed on by his parents and forefathers. The sharing of digital narratives for example by the State Library in Queensland and institutions like La Trobe University assist with educating descendants and the wider community about ethnic consciousness. This paper posits that this consciousness is represented in various ways such as appreciation and respect for the study cohort through inclusion. Education systems and entry parameters have changed since the Polynesian School segregation for ASSI children. Sikhs developed a trend of educating their sons in tertiary institutions (Bhatti & Dusenbery 2001) but many returned once they had finished their studies to maintain their family business. This practice became a point of appreciation by Woolgoolga residents and thus enhanced their appreciation of the Sikh ethnic community.

A return movement has been consistent for the Chinese and Sikhs as represented through the narratives analysed. In the late 1970s, others back home to the Solomon Islands flagged Noel Fatnowna's trip as a key contributor to the return movement by the ASSI as a motion to reclaim their ethnic identity and discover more about their ethnic heritage. The movements have increased as immigration policies have become more flexible in comparison to earlier years, which were compressed by the Australian Government.

This compression signalled troubled relationships between the study cohort and the host culture. Narratives provided multiple examples of conflict and distress experienced by these groups. However, a sense of solidarity gave hope and affiliation as represented by the relationship ASSI have with Indigenous Australians. The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries may not have been imagined during the early years of migration. Woolgoolga resident Danny Dosanjh (chapter five) affirms the tolerance between the Sikhs and white community. Yet, stories of intermarrying and the merging of cultures have indicated situations of acceptance and inclusion. The paper will conclude with descriptions of how Australia has moved as a nation from tolerance to inclusion.

The attitudes and experiences of indentured labourers have impacted on maintaining ethnic names throughout the generations of the study cohort. From the ASSI narratives it is evident that the historical experiences of the anglicising of names by employers, religious leaders and ship registrants, the descendants have encouraged and sometimes forced anglicising of names since the 1800s in Australia. Edmund (1992), Fatnowna (1989) and Bandler (1977, 1984) communicate the struggle experienced by the ASSI through their story narratives. They also demonstrate groups of ASSI who resigned to being integrated into the culture of the dominant host country.

The ASSI endured harsh treatment and chose not to disclose many of their experiences with their families, also choosing to accept the anglicising of their names by employers,

religious leaders, ship registrants and other authoritative figures. Stokes reminds us that ‘the formation of personal and group identities is inherently a dynamic, intricate, social process, and an individual’s personal identity, are inextricably bound up with its relationship to a collectivity’ (Stokes 1997, p.5).

Joshi (2000) observes as well how little there has been written by Indians in Australia about their experiences. This study contends that more writings from the cohort are necessary in order to gain further grounded understandings of the cohort but it should be noted that this scarcity is a characteristic of all ethnic minority groups. Sikh and Chinese-Australian authors have indicated that stories were not shared or recorded due to various reasons such as the racial tensions that evolved from lack of employment opportunities and government policies. They see a need for descendants to be resourced and supported to share their experiences. Although there have been collaborations between institutions such as the State Library in Queensland, further government funding and opportunities are necessary to support new projects that educate descendants on their ethnic identity. Programs enhancing skills such as language and creative arts will increase the number of stories. Social media and digital collections have provided an effective method of collating narratives and may be the alternative to limited printing opportunities.

The findings contribute to the knowledge about the impact of racism on assimilation. Stokes (1997, p. 143) posits that ‘assimilation, in the sense of complete adoption of Australian characteristics, is acknowledged as unlikely in the first generation of adult migrants’. The context of the White Australia laws and the political climate described in the narratives indicate that this is true for the ancestors of the study cohort. The naming practices of the three ethnic groups also demonstrate the progress of assimilation by the anglicising of names. This is particularly evident in the case of the Chinese-Australians who often had multiple names and adjusted these accordingly.

Deakin predicted that the Australia of the early 21st century would be thoroughly white, without a single ‘black or even dark skin among its inhabitants’ (Walker & Sobocinska

2012, p. 52). It is obvious Deakin's comments fell far short of current Australia's identity because it is now an ethnically diverse nation because of the multiple nations represented by its citizens (Rex 2002, p.99). Historical research and personal narratives from ancestors and descendants of the ASSI, Chinese-Australians and Sikhs highlight the difficulties facing assimilation for the study cohort's ancestors and how this impacted on the attitudes and identity of the study cohort. Although racial prejudice is said not to be tolerated in the public arena (Stokes 1975, p.142), we can see through the stories of the ASSI that this is an area that still challenges various communities today.

The effects of the *White Australia Policy* show up clearly in the stories of isolation and suffering from the study cohort. They were affected by the decades of 'conflict over economic and social interests in which discrimination against coloured competitors mounted at both working-class and petit-bourgeois levels; prejudice arose to justify this and contributed to further discrimination' (de Lepervanche 1984, p, 54). de Lepervanche shows how the Sikhs in Woolgoolga have moved upward in Australia's capitalist system and have transformed their position from wage-labourers to small landowners. Chinese-Australians too have achieved this movement as a collective but the ASSI have struggled to maintain the same momentum.

As stated previously, for the ASSI it has been a harder journey to maintain a strong ethnic identity. Their ancestors were arrived from at least 80 different islands, and over the years were forced to find a connection with Indigenous Australians. Fatnowna (1989) and Nagas (Doyle et. al. 2000) illustrate this bond in their stories. This partnership with another culture has not been represented throughout the other Sikh and Chinese narratives. Although the Indian Sikhs and Chinese have different castes and language dialects they were able to stay more connected to their homeland by returning to marry spouses from their own ethnic heritage and by improving their financial status enabling them to support their relatives back in their homeland.

Hall (1996) posits that hybridity refers to the recognition that minority groups, in this case the ASSI, Chinese and Indian Sikhs, draw their identity from both their ethnic origins and their host country. Jorhavar's story represents a new generation of descendants who embrace bicultural identity and are confident of their hybridity. With the loosening of immigration laws and promotion of Australia as a multicultural and ethnic nation, today's generation contribute new narratives that could provide new insights into how the descendants have chosen selective assimilation.

Dixon and Durrheim remind us, 'Questions of who we are often intimately related to questions of where we are' (2000, p. 27). It became clear that as with the movements of the cohort as a diaspora, the geographical locations of NSW, QLD and VIC became limitations. Selecting geographical locations for the study cohort was essential to provide a structure to the research but as demonstrated by the Chinese narratives it is necessary to move beyond the location to enhance insights that are offered by the cohort despite their location. Conversely the congregating of ethnic groups in the regions chosen supported and enabled the maintenance of ethnic identity. The ASSI cluster in QLD enabled the digital collection to be compiled (SLQ 2013). The same is true for the Chinese community in VIC, who contributed to the many resources that are now stored in the Chinese Museum. Their contributions also include narratives within the Asian Studies Program in the La Trobe University and at the Chinese conference archives held in the year 2000. The paper suggests that further exploration of ethnic groups should extend to transnational experiences between the study cohort and their ethnic homeland. This would provide a deeper understanding of how their identity may be negotiated and what developments may occur from new locations. The narratives did not specifically express emotions of immigrants who travelled home. However the travel process did impact on their assimilation because through these travels affirmations of self and ethnic identity were formed through the process of retrieval, recollection and reconciliation. These are all critical elements in the maintenance of ethnic identities.

Autobiographical narratives show the continuity of the ethnic identity and culture of the study cohort, despite discriminatory policies of the host culture. Yuanfang (2001) shows how the Chinese-Australian autobiographies provide access to the ethos that guides beliefs and attitudes of the Chinese community. Yuanfang (2001, p. 48) further argues that ‘auto biographers’ reveal the agency of culture in the enactment of this type of discourse. Cultural resources are used and the writing practice of incorporating these elements into the narrative projects the author as a model for the reader and a representative of the collective. This paper has explored individual narratives to explore understandings of this collective.

These narratives vary in length, time, format and content but the traits of perseverance, endurance, faith, resignation and assimilation have been revealed throughout the stories. The stories have been portrayed mainly from the perspective of the study cohort and assumptions about how ancestors may have been affected and although there are themes of victimisation, affliction, discrimination and confusion, there are clear achievements and hope from each of the stories. The interpretations of authors or interviewees through these narratives also demonstrated accentuated perseverance and the choices made by the study cohort to construct an Australian identity, in many cases a bicultural identity.

Collaborations such as Doyle et. al. (2000) and the ‘Australian South Sea Islander Multimedia Storytelling Workshop’ hosted by *CitizenJ* in Qld in 2013 have not focused on the anglicising of names but have indicated how practice played out through project collaborations. This cooperation is particularly evident in Doyle et. al. (2000). The stories gathered and recorded for events such as the 150-year commemoration (2013) have contributed to the maintenance of ethnic identity and are increasing because of additional project submissions by the community. The availability and production of this collection, symbolises the commitment by the Australian Government to recognise the arrival of the ASSI and support for cultural initiatives that help commemorate their contribution to the country. In many of the narratives in the State Library in Queensland, descendants exhibit their pride in their heritage and what their ancestors have contributed to Australia.

The contribution by both ethnic and non-ethnic authors such as Bhatti, Dusenbery, de Lepervanche and McLeod have formed a considerable pool of seminal texts about the Woolgoolga community (Bhatti & Dusenbery 2001) and demonstrates a rich approach to exploring ethnic identity. The maintenance of ethnic names has been exhibited differently for each of the ethnic groups. The ASSI were more receptive to anglicising their names and continue to use English names. With the call for more resources to record stories, more digital story projects are being planned and are underway but have not been included in this analysis. This would be a significant asset to future research that would help to identify recent trends in storytelling, particularly through the use of social media and digital technology.

This paper recognises that further research is important and continued investigations would make important contributions to the field of study in ethnic identity, acculturation and power relations. Academic scholars such as McLeod (2000), Moore (1992), de Lepervanche (1984) and Dusenbery (Bhatti & Dusenbery 2001), Fitzgerald (2007), McCarthy (2013) demonstrate the significant contributions from scholarly academics observing, interviewing and researching experiences of the cohort. Further research using these techniques would provide primary data in the voice of ethnic authors. Author of modern African literature Chinua Achebe, encourages, 'a re-storying' (McCardle 2013) in the 21st century by communities whose stories have been told by Western authors. Bandler (1977) supports this idea, stating that historians tell the stories of those affected but that communities should be sharing their own stories, feelings and experiences.

This paper argues that the host culture has adopted the ethnic identity of the cohort into the national umbrella of what it means to be Australian in 2015. Stokes agrees with Rex that Australia has become an ethnically diverse nation and Stokes claims that Australia values multiculturalism. He goes on to say that Australia has become a more complex society and now embraces ethnic minority groups. It is certainly evident that there is a plethora of ethnic festivals and events around the country, such as the CurryFest in Woolgoolga. The major cities in Australia all have Chinatowns, which attract tourists and offer a dynamic

dimension to the community. Teaching institutions now incorporate ethnic inclusion strategies and translators are offered in hospitals. Major institutions such as museums, libraries, universities, galleries, all provide collections that represent the union of various cultures and religious beliefs are accommodated through the development of relevant places of worship for ethnic groups. This paper surmises that although there are examples of where ethnic groups have not been fully incorporated, it is certainly evident that Australia as a nation has moved forward in providing opportunities to express ethnic identity as part of its identity as a nation.

This study concludes with returning to Hall's reference to ethnic identities. The narratives analysed from the study cohort clearly demonstrate how factors of this identity, such as naming practices has been negotiated by the ASSI, Chinese-Australians and Sikhs despite an intolerant White Australia that attempted to bury their ethnic identity through assimilation. It is the position of this paper that both ethnic and cultural identities are intertwined:

Cultural identity is a matter of becoming as well as being. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything, which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being externally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere recovery of the past...identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past (Yuanfang 2001, p. 149).

Over the years as Australia became a more tolerant society the merging of cultures has prompted a more accommodating social cohesion. The findings from this comparative study reveal how experiences have impacted the subjective sense of what ethnic and cultural identity means to the cohort.

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