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A Theory of MiXtopia: Critical Performance Life/Art in Three MiXtopias:
Teruya, Koza, Okinawa

by

Ariko Shari Ikehara

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Ethnic Studies Department

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Dr. Laura E. Pérez

Dr. Elaine H. Kim

Dr. Trinh T. Minh-ha

Dr. Ikue Kina

Summer 2016

Abstract

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Dr. Laura E. Pérez, Chair

ABSTRACT: The heart of my project lies at the praxis of life/art. I call miXtopia the sites where performance art blurs the line between life/art, where life is self-consciously in performative mode. At the life/art crossroad (X), life turns from mundane to marvelous in critical and creative performances. The *X* in miXtopia opens up passages between narrative and body through which I enter and exit at the crossroad of extra-text and inter-text between the real and fiction.

MiXtopia is a concept I have coined based on the practice of “art as life itself” where the mundane crosses into the marvelous, and the “souls of folk” meet at these and other crossroads. MiXtopia is conceptualized by fusing theories of *third*, non-binary spaces and methodologies taken from performance art. Like Allan Kaprow (1960s) and Judith Butler (1990), I stretch the definition of performance art by thinking of life as performance. Moreover, I reconfigure the third as *mixed* or hybrid being, object, or space to embody and describe a performative mode that operates through what I identify and name as a mixed-multiplying principle. The principle operates in the transnational and translational borders of Okinawa as other sites that are within the contexts of colonial, imperial and racial legacies of the world order. In this study, decolonial Okinawan cultural practices are explored through the non-binary theoretical and methodological framework of miXtopia, which brings into view the colonial, imperial, and racial elements of the tripartite relationship between Okinawa, America, and Japan, and complex forms of resistance and cultural persistence with respect to these. My theoretical neologisms aim to render elements of Okinawan culture legible as decolonial projects. MiXtopia merges critical ethnic studies analysis and performance art praxis to illuminate life as the crossroads of critical and creative performance in Okinawa, against histories of cultural and political imperialisms.

Many aspects of Okinawan life under cultural Japanese domination and U.S. military presence today could be characterized as decolonial performances through the blurring of the distinction between art and life, fiction and truth, the physical and spiritual, the real and surreal. I draw upon life/art as an organizing principle to study elements of Okinawa’s postwar culture

and life, which resist histories of imperialist cultural colonization, by illuminating the mundane, the common, that which comes from below, and the people as critical and creative F/actors (factor and actor) in the productions of miXtopia. In this dissertation, I present Okinawa's postwar life in three moments of miXtopia at the crossroads where power and people meet, Okinawa and America intersect, and "Okinawa's America" is produced. Chapter 5, "OkinawaXblack: Teruya Soul MiXtory" presents a rarely known black-Asian history that emerged at Koza Crossroad during the U.S. military occupation of Okinawa (1945 - 1972), in a district of Koza City (a former military town) called Teruya's Black District that existed from 1953 to 1976. Here, past is not fixed, but performative, or what Michel-Rolph Trouillot calls *pastness*, a *position* that critically opens up the idea of history in radial directions. OkinawaXblack is a miXtory (history, story, and mystery) of black, Okinawan, Japanese, and American, which is produced at the Koza Crossroad where black and Okinawan intersected and created Teruya's miXtopia, a mixed space, time, and life of the Black District. *X* represents place, "race," and space as simultaneously "black" and "Okinawan" and presents knowledge as mixed and multiplying, offering an epistemological flight *from* the colonial productions of impossibility of "life," thereby creating a potential *for* radical "blackness," "Okinawan-ness," "Japanese-ness," "American-ness," and "mixed-ness," that is, for a precious life.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother who has been my heart and soul throughout my journey. She passed away on Friday, November 28, 2015, as if she knew I was ready to complete my dissertation. Her name is Emiko Ikehara. She loved me unconditionally and showed me the beauty of the mundane as marvelous and the simplicity of the beauty in the spectacles of life. She modeled the performance artistic way of life, living grandly with humor, passion, freedom, and love, and to love life with grace, freedom, and independence. In my mother's MiXtory, I leave her teaching and legacy in these pages.

Thank you. Your daughter,
Ariko Shari Ikehara.

November 30, 2015

Acknowledgements

It is impossible to thank all the people, events, and miracles that have brought me to this achievement. It is therefore difficult to imagine and write down the names of all who helped me through the long arduous journey before and during my graduate years. However, if I believe in miXtory as an open-ended process, this is a start of showing my gratitude that will continue into the future.

First, I owe this intellectual feat to my chair, Dr. Laura E. Perez, who is my mentor, teacher, and friend who directed my dissertation, guiding me through the years of ebbs and flows of my graduate life. She challenged me to trust my instinct, to take a flight into the unknown in order to find the treasure within in completing my dissertation, which demanded the absolute commitment, passion, and love of self that no one else can fulfill. In her guidance, I reworked my limitations, assumptions, preconceptions, and habits into an intellectual, performative, and spiritual process in order to cross over into the unknown territories and possibilities where I cultivated and developed new skills and knowledge through her teaching and examples of U.S. Women of Color's decolonial thought and practice. I transformed as a scholar who cohabits borderlands in transnational formation with U.S. scholars, owing much to her patience, rigor, and trust in me to realize my dream.

My committee is my dream team of scholars whose work and characters I admired and respected through and beyond the dissertation process. Dr. Elaine H. Kim was the first professor whom I met first in 2009 when she began to mentor me. Her personal and professional experiences enabled me to recognize the historical relevance of who I am and what I study, and therefore allowed me to link and think Asia, Asian American and Asian Diaspora studies as relational and continuous "Asian" and "American" fields of study. Dr. Trinh T. Minh-ha's work profoundly impacted my art since the 90s when I was a student of Creative Arts at the San Francisco State University where I studied Performance Art as theory and practice. To be engaged with her as my teacher and a committee member has pushed me further into the realm of the in-between spaces where I merged and created art, politics, and Asia as a transnational decolonial framework. Her encouragements and feedback have impacted the way I think about language as power and beauty in various forms, contents, and context, intermixing Asia, diaspora, U.S. and third consciousness. Dr. Ikue Kina provided a critical Okinawan lens for my Okinawan chapters from another Okinawan perspective and position. Her advice on the dissertation as a whole has helped me to think through the Okinawa sections for precision and organization. Dr. Kina has helped me with language proficiency in thirteen articles I wrote for a column in the *Okinawa Times Newspaper* in 2009. The experience of working with Dr. Kina sharpened not only my language skills, but also my differential intercultural and interethnic lens.

I would like to acknowledge professor Dr. Onishi Yuichiro in his unofficial role as a committee member for providing critical feedback and advice on my writing, and the generous and general support for my project. I also want to acknowledge James W. Davis who was the advisor of the Inter-Arts Center program at the San Francisco State University where I learned the philosophy of life/art, and found my methodology, performance art. I acknowledge my intellectual community of scholars, artists, and everyday people who exemplify and model good fellowship and collegiality.

I am indebted to those individuals who invested in personal friendship while supporting my long and relentless academic journey. Brenda Robinson is my first friend who has supported me from the first time we met when I first arrived in the United States. She taught me the meaning of friendship, commitment, and love of sisterhood, and has provided a home to rest my mind, body, and spirit where I feel completely safe and cared for. In the same light, I acknowledge James Stockton, Susan Ozawa-Perez, Sumiyo Heianna, Pete Doktor, Wesley Ueunten, Annmaria Shimabuku, Mitzi Uehara Carter, and those who walked with me all seasons of my graduate life and studies.

The first of many special recognitions goes to the late Yuri Kochiyama, my *shero* who taught me to work and love life and politics with passion. Her words, “people may come and go, but work must go on,” and “you are my friend,” still reverberate in my heart and soul. As a mentor and friend, she opened my eye and heart to my roots as a primal site and path of art/life/work. In celebrating Yuri’s spirit of politics with heart, I want to thank the Women for Genuine Security members Gwyn Kirk, Debbie Lee, Ayano Ginoza, Margo Okazawa-Rey, Yoko Fukumura, Diana Cabcabin, Martha Matsuoka, and others whose commitment to justice and peace for Okinawa and other nations above all come from their genuine love for humanity. In this circle of sisterhood, I learned to incorporate Yuri’s teachings with my own space of politics across nation, “race,” ethnicity, language, tradition, sexuality, class, gender, and geopolitical location.

The journey would have been almost unbearable and impossible if not for those who have shown the undying belief, love, and commitment to my well being as a person. I owe many thanks (and apologies) to Ōshiro Yasuhiro sensei who has taken on the role of my surrogate father since I was ten, and whose love for me is deep and bottomless. His compassion, love, and lifework for Amerasians, children, and family were transferred to me as a fatherly love that I treasure to this day. Taira Setsuko-san, and Chieko Ne-chan along with Ōshiro sensei have been the rock that carries me through the thick and thin of my journey back and forth, and welcome me back whenever I return to my home, which at times feels ambivalent. I also want to recognize my friends in Okinawa and in the U.S who have supported me in various times, spaces, and places in my life as fellow travelers. A special community acknowledgement goes to Teruya and Koza residents who provided hands-on support and labor for my dissertation research.

I want to thank my family for the love and support, even while we are apart and, in some sense, strangers. I walked through the darkness of history and family matters in order to see clearly and knowingly where I stood before and where I stand now. The Ikehara bloodline is strengthened because of this journey that brought me home, this time, differently.

My heart is with my mother who has given me the body, mind, spirit, strength, power, energy, patience, humor, laughter, anger, passion, meaning, and love to live life as if to fall madly in love.

Terminology

Neologisms: MiXtopia, MiXtory, OkinawaXblack, Kozatopia, Champurū F/actor, YuntakuView

Amerasian: A term coined by Pearl S. Buck to describe the children who were born of the American military personnel and Asian women in Taiwan, Korea, Philippines, Vietnam, Japan and Okinawa.

Art/life: A sub-genre of performance begun in the 1960s, it experienced its heyday in the 1980s and 1990s. It was an art form that explored the crossroad of art and life through performance that pushed the limits of the conceptual line between them, thereby blurring and obscuring the border in between. I employ the term to reference performance art praxis, but I also use Life/Art to underscore “life” as *performing*. They are exchangeable and unitary; it is a matter of illuminating what (life or art) is animating what (life or art).

Champurū Motion: Champurū is an Okinawan word for mixing or mixed and is often used to define Okinawan cooking style. It is also a popular expression to represent Okinawa’s mixed culture of U.S. military, Japan and Okinawa, and is often used to promote and celebrate Okinawa’s multicultural and cross-cultural identity, history and society. I conceptualize *champurū* as a performative term, *champurū motion*, that churns and turns the world/life, which has been altered and transformed through the history of invasion, war, military occupation and presence. *Champurū motion* describes the everyday tactics of survival under imperial domination, military occupation, and Okinawa’s neocolonial “return” to Japan, as a movement, an interlocutor, a play/performance, philosophic conundrum, a situation that reproduces itself as a mixed-multiple force of both resistance and creative mechanisms that undercut the hegemony of the U.S. military and Japanese imperial ideological production (construction, inscription, proscription) of Okinawa as place, “race,” and space.

Champurū F/actor, Pro/motion and E/motion: F/actor is a mixed term that combines factor and actor. Pro/motion and e/motion recognize the *champurū F/actor in promotion and emotion*. E stands for the elegiac element of motioning the historical traces of imperialism, colonialism and militarism toward the present-future. Pro/motion works in tandem with e/motion where it ushers forward the “work” the e/motion elicits. Elaboration of this theory is discussed in the *Champurū Rhythm* section of Chapter 1, “A Theory of MiXtopia,” chapter, and the application is in chapter 3, “Koza Champurū.”

Chimu: Literally translated as the liver, but generally defined as heart, and/or soul, it is aptly understood as the gut, as in gut feeling. The term also accompanies onomatopoeias, words that sound like what they describe, such as *chimu don don* (don don is a sound of a drum), which means the heart is beating excitedly. Sometimes, the word describes the movement of emotions, such as *wa wasaa*, which describes the visual sight of someone who is restless or anxious. *Chimu wasa wasaa* captures anxiety in the body, or sees it in an other.

Eisā festival: This is an Okinawan performance that takes place during the Obon festival, which is generally recognized as an event “for healing and nourishment of the spirit and the safe return of the spirit of ancestors to their world” (Okinawa Prefectural Government, my translation).

Flemmwork: A hybrid term for the combination of fieldwork and my performance art character, “Flemm Fatale,” a character created in 1994 for an Inter-Arts class in the Creative Arts Master’s Program at the San Francisco State University, and was activated in my dissertation fieldwork. As a unit, it performs as a methodology, the art of being in between that walks on chance, dream, fantasy, reality, and indeed, surreality where art/life merges as one continuous performance.

Historical Laughter: The term refers to the postwar history of laughter from the long lineage of Okinawan performance that uses humor and laughter as a decolonial tool to critique domination from the prewar to the present

Icharibe Chōdē: An Okinawan expression, once we meet, we are brothers and sisters forever.

Konketsuji: Mixed-blood children. A common but derogatory term used in the early occupation period in which many children were born of U.S. military men and local Asian women.

Koza City: A former “American Town” built in the early 50s by the U.S. military during the occupation period.

Koza Crossroad/*Jujiro*: *Jujiro* is crossroad/intersection in Japanese. Koza Jujiro was built in 1945, and represents the physical place and social space of as a crossroad. The military built the road for transportation of military goods and personnel between Kadena Air Force Base and Awase Seaport.

Koza Riot/Uprising: On December 20, 1972, a hit-and-run accident of a woman by U.S. military personnel caused Okinawans to revolt against the military. It was the first and last such revolt and has left an indelible mark in the postwar history, memory, and legacy of Koza and Okinawa in the present. Some call it a riot, while others, an uprising, which captures the various perspectives and positions of the meaning of the event.

Kozatopia: Neoliberal celebration of Koza similar to Neoliberal multiculturalism in the U.S. (My Neologism.)

Life/Art: Life/Art illuminates the mundane “life” as *performing*. It is a re-articulation of Art/Life from everyday life that blurs the borders between art and life. (Also see Art/Life.)

MiXtopia: It is my concept of space as performative, dynamic, dramatic, expansive, playful, transformative, multiplying and mixing. Animated by *champurū motion*, *F/actor*, and *historical laughter*. This is space where life is performance of the mysteriously real. Mystery is the X (the unknown, un-named, unruly, uncompromised, uncommon, wild card, etc.), an interlocutor, a presence, or ghostly figure that is part of the anatomy/configuration of space. The mysterious element, X, creates an interlocutory effect that allows continuous flows (flaws) in and through the space of mixing history, story and mystery. In *MiXtopia* the ideological inscription of life events is reframed/re-performed, transforming a place into a space of movement (mixing and multiplying) toward freedom and pleasure.

MiXtory: A neologism that combines history, story, and mystery. *Nirai Kanai*: An Okinawan concept to denote an origin, “a place on the other side of the ocean,” according to scholar of

Japanese linguistics and Okinawan culture, Hokama Shōzen in *History and Culture of Okinawa* (1986).

Nuchi du Takara: The Okinawan concept that “Life is Treasure.”

OkinawaXblack or BlackXOkinawa: a mixed performative/performance space arises as the third. For this study, it refers specifically to the overlapping place, “race,” and space of Teruya’s Black District, but also a general concept that links to third or miXtopia space. (My Neologism.)

Owarai: The literal translation from Okinawan and Japanese is to laugh or laughter. The common definition is comedy or comedic performance.

Rensa-geki: A mixed-media film-play, shot separately as film and play and becomes one piece, that threads one genre (film) to the other (play) in continuous form. Rensa-geki was a popular mixed-media genre used by experimental artists during the pre-war era between 1931 and 1932.

Ryukyu, Ryukyuan: Okinawa was called the Ryukyu Kingdom during the independent era between the 15th and 19th centuries. Ryukyuan are the people of the Ryukyu Kingdom era. The terms gained a renewed life for Okinawans who seek independence from Japan. The movement garnered a place in academia in 2012 when Ryukyu Independence Studies were inaugurated at the Okinawan International University.

Shibai: Play or theater in Japanese.

Teruya’s Black District: A bar and entertainment district for black men who served in the military during the occupation of Okinawa. First established around 1952 or 1953, the district lasted until 1976.

Third: a movement/performance/space of difference and its pleasure as part of the epistemic break that illuminates the *in-between* in art and in life.

Uchinā, Uchinānchu: Okinawa/n in Okinawan language.

Yamato: A Japanese word that refers to Japan as the ruling dynasty of 4th century AD from which all emperors of Japan are descended (*A History of Japan*, Mason and Caiger, 1974).

Yamatū-Uchināguchi: A mixed Japanese-Okinawan that most Okinawans speak.

Yuimāru: An Okinawan expression for community support and compassion for each other.

YuntakuView: A term that combines Okinawan local communication style and the academic method of interviewing. The “View” captures the views of everyone involved, (My Neologism).

Yu and *Yo*: Okinawan and Japanese forms, and pronunciations of ‘world’, ‘time’, or ‘society’, respectively.

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Prologue

THE BACK STORY: HARLEM, NEW YORK 1993: ART X ACTIVISM: ROUTE TO TERUYA

This story begins with the letter I found in a thin manila folder, whose fresh “skin tone” had faded resulting in an uneven spreading of the darker shaded areas into an overall contour of the archive. It was one of thousands of folders that had been collected over many years that needed a home, many homes to be organized as an archive. The loose newspaper articles and clippings, documents of various sorts, posters and fliers announcing events and rallies —papers that had been read and clipped and events that had been attended and participated in—chronicled the political lives/ethos of multiple communities within and across the U.S. national border from the 1950s onward. In this mound of treasures, the most poignant were from the late 1960s and 1970s, the years of multiracial/ethnic/national alliances and coalitions, in summary, the years of the movement era.

Letters and other personal writings could be found amongst the heaps of papers of different tones and temperaments that had busted out from those four metal drawer cabinets and had spilled into a solid square room on the third floor of the low-income housing project called the Manhattanville Houses on 126th and Broadway in Harlem, New York. This was the home of Yuri Kochiyama and Bill Kochiyama, where they lived for over thirty years ever since they first moved into the housing project in December 1960. Together they welcomed and supported many political activists and prisoners, students, artists, family and friends who made repeated visits to see the Kochiyamas over the years in this apartment, where the Red Line on the New York Subway would make its presence known from their third-floor window. For instance, Malcolm X was Yuri’s friend and was one of the visitors to her home. Many people passed and crossed paths at the home of inter-Action, where race, ethnicity, culture, gender, class, nation and citizenship came together at the heart of the matter: the beautiful souls of Yuri and Bill along with their passion, commitment and love for life.

I met Yuri and Bill in the summer of 1993 when I visited New York to take a summer workshop at the Alvin Ailey Dance School. One of their daughters Audee, whom I had previously met, made this meeting possible, a meeting that became for me a life-changing event. That summer during what was also my first visit to New York City, I saw the smiles of kindness that made a deep impression in my heart; how deep and wide I didn’t know at the time. They treated me to dinner at an Italian restaurant in Manhattan and welcomed me to what would evolve into my love affair with the city of New York. Before we parted, they invited me to a film screening that would take place in their home later that month. I enthusiastically accepted and went on my way to be immersed in the training of dancing techniques.

When the day of the film screening arrived, I took the Red Line up to the 126th station, then walked down the long and solid stairs made of steel, which made me feel like I had slipped back in time to the golden age of manufacturing or to my own fantastical New York, until I stepped out of the subway station. I walked to the housing development and climbed up the stairs to the third floor. The building was old but sturdy and had a sense of history that I could feel but did not know. I knocked, entered, and there began my love affair with the politics from below. There

would be more film screenings, meetings, and celebrations that I would participate in, witness, and cherish, but the first experience of watching the film *Panama Deception* jolted my senses. I worried that any minute the FBI would burst in and “bust us” and that we all would end up in jail. As I sat there with others who watched, discussed, ate, and filled the room with laughter and camaraderie, I felt a strange excitement along with a circulating thought of something akin to danger. This sense of experiencing the thrill of fear arose from the depth of my gut and the consciousness of something else that occurred in and outside of my “self” as I knew it. Something had ruptured through this engagement that I didn’t quite understand but that moved me profoundly and caused a shift. I came back for another film screening and gathering. This second time I was much more at ease and present with my excitement over learning politics from the hearts of these souls. I saw and felt the beat.

I became one of the frequent visitors to the Kochiyama home and returned as often as three times a year. Soon I participated in helping to organize the archive and, along with the many volunteers, especially students, who contributed their time to the archival project, spent much time in that room full of papers that needed to be organized into a system of categories. My visits would be two weeks at a time, and most, if not all, of that time would be spent in that room as I would carefully read each item and placed it into the correct folder according to Yuri’s instruction. I came across so many fliers and posters that announced multi-racial coalitions and alliances of many groups. I was especially interested in the black-Asian relation and discovered many events that represented that relation during the 60s and the 70s. Feverishly reading and searching for more, I came across a folder labeled in handwriting as “Okinawa.” It was a thin folder and my heart almost jumped when I saw it. My mind stopped all other activities as I searched for more in the piles of documents. My hand held this folder, and my heart was beating in anticipation of what was inside, what seemed to be waiting for me or had waited for me. I opened the folder and noticed several informative items that were pressed and crisped. At once I showed it to Yuri, and she looked at the items and read the letter. Then Yuri looked at me and said simply, “It’s yours.” This is the beginning of this story, the story that follows me through art, activism and academia, and that, at this juncture, completes my dissertation. I am already in pursuit of an afterlife in which what matters are the souls, but to capture the soul in this time of life I present my final chapter entitled, “OkinawaXblack: Teruya Soul MiXtory.”

At the time of my discovery of the Okinawa folder, I was already an artist studying, performing, and theorizing performance art by focusing on the life/art principle. Through art, I explored the space of black-Asia through my own body, history, story, and mystery of spaces in between life/art that examine place, “race,” and space. From 1991 to 1995, I was entrenched in the art world and received a BA and an MA in the Creative Arts, focusing on the Performance Art of life at San Francisco State University. I was also dancing and made a daring move to train at the Alvin Ailey Dance School in New York. When I met the Kochiyamas, I was at the peak of my performance art, which I lived and studied as if nothing could move me out of this place that had become my life, my heart and soul. When I was moved by that strange sense of passion, however, I, or my body/soul, recognized in that room what I had been working through in my art. It was the soul recognizing its soul mates, what I define as soul-to-soul connection. Through Yuri’s connection, I performed my one-woman performance art piece based on my journeys from Okinawa to America in the black-Asia Pacific genealogy. In 1996, the 50th Anniversary Commemoration of the end of World War II, I returned for a second time to my homeland since

my departure at the age of fourteen.

My relationship to Yuri was a friendship. Yuri was my friend because that is how she defined our relationship even though she was my mentor and elder, and I accepted this way of being together, as friends. I witnessed her in action/movement as every day she would be in the street at a demonstration, at a concert enjoying the performance, at a meeting taking notes, at a university delivering a speech, at a marathon, or at other almost infinite number of events that happened over the years that I witnessed her in action. At night, we would take time to drink Japanese tea and eat Japanese dessert or *Okashi*. She intimated how she had changed her name to Yuri from Mary to reclaim her Japanese-American heritage. We talked about subjects that did not necessarily have to do with politics, and in fact, it was more about us getting to know each other as friends.

Afterwards, around midnight, when I thought that we would retire for the day, which had been full of activities, Yuri would begin her nightly activity of writing to political prisoners of all ethnicities. I witnessed her handwriting the letters on many occasions and was awed by her in action well into the night. Sometimes she would get up at dawn, take a train, and get on a bus to attend a rally or some other political event. On one cold East Coast winter morning, which I never warmed up to, Yuri woke up around four in the morning, took the train to some location on the lower east side and met with other activists who boarded a bus to Philadelphia to attend the rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal in front of the prison. I was too cold to get up and didn't make it that day, but other times afterward I attended different rallies with Yuri, such as the one at Folsom prison where the former Black Panther member Geronimo Pratt was being held. Sometime after that rally, Pratt was eventually released, and I was with Yuri at his welcome celebration, which was held in Dolores Park in San Francisco.

When Bill died, the relationship, in some ways, died too. The souls grew apart, and even though hers remained in the same place, the soul didn't recognize or acknowledge it. It was a hard blow to Yuri, and I know, as others know, that Bill's heart and Yuri's heart joined in a unified beat. In *Passing On: A Memoir*, she dedicates a chapter to her late husband, "A Tribute to My Bill," and begins with these words, "I could not have ever imagined life without Bill, so I cannot imagine my memoir without including some valuable memories about him" (23). But I remember the time right after Bill's passing when words could not be uttered and for a while Yuri was present but not present. My recollection of that time is blurred, but I will remember how she passed onto me, and many others, lessons about life through the example of her own life. I am forever grateful to Yuri, Bill, and their family, who welcomed me into their home like a member of their family. This is the legacy and the story of the letter I held in my hand back in the early 1990s and that now I hold in my heart twenty years later.

That letter was sent to Yuri from someone in Koza, so it includes stories of Koza. Since the letter was addressed to her as "Mary," perhaps her awakening took place before meeting Malcolm X. She was a Japanese-American who sought justice for her people and who never, in her engagement with activists in so many areas, forgot her roots. Teruya, Koza, Okinawa are my roots and home. My story begins at the Koza Intersection where the G.I. named John X typed a letter that described the situation of the Zengunrō (All Okinawan Baseworkers Union) strike in 1971 Okinawa. One recurring theme that keeps Yuri's memory in my heart is her system of

categorizing “races” into colors, using different color pens that corresponded to different ethnicities: black for black, red for Native American, yellow/orange for Asians, and so forth. She asked me each time what color she should use for me, and I always gave her the choice so that the manifold be made simple in our yuntaku time.

In Yuri’s Memory,
Ariko S. Ikehara
December 5, 2015

April 19, 1971

OKINAWA NEWS RELEASE: RE. APRIL, 14-15 ISLAND-WIDE STRIKE

On April 14, Zengunro, All Okinawan Baseworker's Union, initiated its third wave of 48-hour strikes against the American military. Demands were:

- 1) Stop the firing of Okinawan baseworkers (more than 4,250 have been fired since January, 1970)
- 2) Stop the replacement of baseworkers with machines (oppose automation).
- 3) Stop the secret, illegal negotiations between Japan and the U.S. over the conditions of the return of Okinawa to Japan.

On April 15, striking Zengunro workers were joined by workers from Kenrokyo, All Okinawan Federation of Trade Unions, (Mass Communication Union, Okinawan Teacher's Association, Government Worker's Union, Tobacco Worker's Union, Postal Worker's Union, Lawyer's Guild, and others) bringing the total number of strikers to 40,000, and focusing the strike on the opposition to the United States/Japan negotiations for the return of Okinawa to Japan. The April 14-15 strike concluded with a mass demonstration of 15,000-20,000 helmeted workers marching down the main street of Kosa City to the edge of Camp Sukiran, where the demonstration was dispersed by riot police.

Intensifying their protest against the secret negotiations for the return of Okinawa to Japan, to be ratified in early June, the Okinawan people will follow this third wave of strikes with mass demonstrations in Naha on Okinawa Day, April 28, and with an island-wide shutdown on May 11.

Recent trends in the American military's treatment of Zengunro point to the Brass's determination to break the back of Zengunro before the reversion of Okinawa to Japan. Zengunro workers are not permitted to hold union meetings on base, nor to hand out union literature on base. One worker was recently fired for this offense. A riot squad of American GIs is held on round-the-clock alert to put down demonstrations. Since the anti-American riot in December, 1970, American GIs standing riot control duty have been known to use their pick and ax-handle clubs against demonstrators. Incidents of violence between strikers and these GIs have increased sharply in recent months.

Dear Mary,

How did the Poplin Story go over?
We're anxious to hear.

Yours,
Okinawa Hobbits

“Lifelike art, [...], is ‘the shift of art away from its familiar contexts, the studio, museums, concert halls, theatres, etc., to anywhere else in the real world...continuous with that life, inflecting, probing, testing, and even suffering it, but always attentively’.”

(Performance Artists Talking in the Eighties: Sex, Food, Money/Fame, Ritual/Death, 22)

Chapter 1: A Theory of MiXtopia: Critical Performance Life/Art Performance Love of Life: “Life is a Treasure”

“Art/life,” a sub-genre of performance began in the 1960s and experienced its heyday in the 1980s and 1990s. It was an art form that explored the crossings of art and life through performance that pushed the conceptual limits between forms, blurring and obscuring the border in between. Combinatory terms like “art/life,” “living art,” and Allan Kaprow’s terms, “artlike art” and “lifelike art” (Fest 22) expressed a way of life through the form of art. The subtle yet profound differences between Kaprow’s two terms are crucial to understand the function of life/art and art/life in my work. While “artlikeart” “looks for meaning of art (Kaprow and Kelley 2003: 232), “lifelike art plays somewhere in and between attention to physical process and attention to interpretation” (241). My use of life/art and art/life as “lifelike art” pursues Kaprow’s questions: “Is playing at life, life? Is playing at life, ‘life’? Is ‘life’ just another way of life? ... Am I playing with words and asking real-life questions?” (240). The imperative for me is, what is the function of art when it has crossed into “life”? Here lies the in-between, the possibility and performativity, which is the position of my thesis.

In this dissertation, I draw upon life/art as an organizing principle to study elements of Okinawa’s postwar culture and life, which resist histories of imperialist cultural colonization, by illuminating the mundane, the common, that which comes from below, and the people as critical and creative F/actors (factor and actor) in the productions of miXtopia. Many aspects of Okinawan life under cultural Japanese domination today and U.S. domination, could be characterized as decolonial performances through the blurring of the distinction between art and life, fiction and truth, the physical or mental, reality and spiritual and ideological thought, action in surreal space. MiXtopia is a concept I have coined based on the practice of “art as life itself” where the mundane crosses into the marvelous, and the “souls of folk” meet at these and other crossroads. At the life/art crossroad (X), life turns from mundane to marvelous in critical and creative performances. The X in miXtopia opens up passages between narrative and body through which I enter and exit at the crossroad of extra-text and inter-text between the real and fiction.

The heart of my project lies at the praxis of life/art. I call miXtopia the sites where performance art blurs the line between life/art, where life is self-consciously in performative mode. MiXtopia is conceptualized by fusing theories of *third*, non-binary spaces and methodologies taken from performance art. Like Allan Kaprow (1960s) and Judith Butler (1990), I stretch the definition of performance art by thinking of life as performance. Moreover, I reconfigure the third as *mixed* or hybrid being, object, or space to embody and describe a performative mode that operates through what I identify and name as a mixed-multiplying principle. The principle operates in the transnational and translational borders of Okinawa as other sites that are within the contexts of colonial, imperial and racial legacies of the world order. In this study, decolonial Okinawan cultural practices are explored through the non-binary

theoretical and methodological framework of miXtopia, which brings into view the colonial, imperial, and racial elements of the tripartite relationship between Okinawa, America, and Japan, and complex forms of resistance and cultural persistence with respect to these. My theoretical neologisms aim to render elements of Okinawan culture legible as decolonial projects. MiXtopia merges critical ethnic studies analysis and performance art praxis to illuminate life as the crossroads of critical and creative performance in Okinawa, against histories of cultural and political imperialisms.

Aesthetics of The Mundane: The Unspectacular

I define Okinawan aesthetics as unspectacularly beautiful, characterized by a “beauty of simplicity that is created from living, the beauty of the smell, permeated by the sweat of life,” according to Hokama Shōzen (Hokama 185). Everyday life is the site of beautiful lives and wisdom. Watching a performance or walking in one’s neighborhood, one might recognize neighbors, schoolmates, family members and strangers, or even the self reflected on the stage or screen in different dimensions of life experience. Watching a local *shibai* (play) might cause people to speak back to the performers on stage (breaking the formality of performance and audience) wherein speaking is an improper, vulgar, uncouth, country, and/or unruly act of breaking the rule. Or in another situation, a bus driver might lecture a youth who tried to short him, despite the delays in the bus schedule. He (mostly men) will speak to that young person at length like an uncle, father or a stranger. This is an expression of *Icharibe chōdē*, an Okinawan philosophy that we are family/community/friend when we meet, whether at a performance, on a bus, a supermarket, or on screen. Although performance is different from everyday life, the creative works by Okinawan performers such as Būten, Owarai pōpō, FEC (Free Enjoy Company), and Okinawan filmmaker Takamine Go, create a passage—like mirror, a cross exchange in between the real and surreal, merging performance and life into one continuous space of play.

Okinawa’s Mixed-Multiplying Principle: Champurū

Champurū is an Okinawan word for mixing or being mixed and is often used to describe Okinawan-style cooking style. Today, the term *champurū culture* describes Okinawa’s multicultural identity, history and society. Okinawa has been multicultural since before the Golden Era (13th - 15th century) as part of the East Asia trade zone of the 10th century (Furuki 24). Theologian Ronald Y. Nakasone writes that: “Okinawan cultural fabric is [...] richly woven with North, East, and Southeast Asian motifs. And the American military presence brings yet another culture into the mix” (Nakasone 23). Okinawan scholar and director of Meiji University in Nago City, Yūten Higa considers *champurū* a creative power, illustrated in food making: “Creativity is the ‘multiplying,’ ‘mixing,’ and combining’ of things [...] to create a new thing” (Higa 2003: 14). For Higa, Okinawa as a whole arises from and exhibits, “the creative power of *champurū*” (Higa 14). In this dissertation, I further develop the idea of *champurū* by resituating it as a performative mode. Through cultural mixing, *champurū* creates third spaces between domination and creation that overturn hegemonic, colonial, imperial, ideological production (construction, inscription, proscription) of Okinawans.

Nirai Kanai: Okinawa's Mixed Root

Central to miXtopia, of third-space life, performance, and art, is the concept of *nirai kanai*, which refers to a spiritual and borderless space, “a utopia across the seas that brings good fortune and bountiful harvest” (“Folk Customs of the Ryukyus”)¹ Hokama Shuzen, a scholar of Japanese linguistics and Okinawan culture, provides the etymology and the meaning of *nirai kanai*:

ニライ・カナイ

ニライは「海の彼方にある根所」ニライの語源はニ・「根」・ラ「地理的空間を表す接尾語」・イ（方位をあらわす接尾語）で、「根所方」の意味であると思われる。

Nirai is ‘an origin/place on the other side of the ocean.’ The etymology of ‘ni’ is a root; ‘ra’ is a suffix that represents a geographical space; ‘i’ ‘a suffix that indicates a direction,’ is thought of as the direction of the root.

「祖先神のまします根所」が原義；「根所」に安らぎを求める；「死者の魂の行く所」という観念；生きている人に「幸福、豊穡をもたらすセジ（霊力）の源泉地」。さらにまた、死者の安らぎを求めたはずの空間に、死にまつわる恐れゆえの暗い地底観、海底観を生み出すという負の側面をも含みながら、それらのすべてを、生きる人のための楽土として美化し理想化して、広く知られる「海の彼方の楽土」観がつくりあげられていったものであろう。ニライの神は海の彼方からやってくると昔も今も信じられている。

The original meaning is ‘a place where the ancestral spirit exists’; a place, of a ‘root/source’ in which one seeks comfort in the idea of ‘the place where the spirit of the dead goes’; for the living, “an origin of a special spiritual power that brings forth happiness and abundance. Moreover, the space, where one’s purpose was to seek comfort for the loved one, includes the fear of death in the darkness and the feeling of defeat, where it brings forth the feeling that one is at the bottom of sea. The commonly known idea of the paradise on the other side of the sea was constructed by taking all the meaning (both comfort and fear), which was beautified and then idealized as the paradise for the living. In the past as well as today, people believe that the spirit/god of *Nirai* comes from the other side of the ocean. (Hokama 1986: 154. My translation.)

The idea of *nirai kanai* as a place beyond the physical world that resides within the inner spiritual realm serves also to illuminate the ontological, philosophical and physical third decolonial spaces where life is performative. It is expressed in the mundane: the spiritual practice infused in the daily living, blurring the line between the “other side” and “this side” of the ocean. This awareness of multi-spatiality effects a state of being in-between, a seamless movement that resists fixity and binary ways of being in the world.

¹ Okinawa Prefectural Government’s Website.

The Ryukyu Kingdom Era: *Nuchi du Takara*: “Life is Treasure”

The Ryukyu Kingdom, from 1429 to 1879, ended after 1609 when the Satsuma clan, who overwhelmed the Kingdom with violence, conquered Okinawa. The last king, Sho Tai, famously relinquished his throne in order to *choose life* over death for Ryukyans (Furuki 2003, Hokama 1984, Ueunten 1994, 2012). Wesley Ueunten locates the origin of the phrase “nuchidu takara” in a poem written “[i]n 1879, not long after *Nakafū Bushi* was composed, [when] the *Ryūkyū Kingdom* was forcibly annexed by Japan and became Okinawan prefecture (Ueunten 2012).² The poem, which was commissioned for Sho Tai, was written in poetic styles mixing Japanese and Okinawan, which Ueunten explains was “[r]ejective of Ryukyu’s hybrid and liminal existence,” the precarious position between China and Japan at the moment when the Kingdom became what Yamazaki, describes as “the internal colony.”³ *Nuchi du Takara*, life is a treasure, as a sentiment remains alive in changing *yu*, times, and is still used today as an expression of struggle against colonialism, and survival toward freedom.

A Passage: Soul to *Chimu*

Chimu, liver, heart or a sensation felt in the body/gut, (e.g., *chimu don don* and *chimu wasa wasaa*) is a common word used in everyday life in Okinawa and also in many traditional and popular Okinawan songs. A popular children’s song, *Tinsagu nu Hana* (Balsam Flowers) depicts the passing of tradition and knowledge to the younger generations through the sound of the sanshin (three-string instrument) and the tone of the lyrics sung by Okinawans. The song honors ancestors and expresses the journey of life and the hearts of *Uchinanchu* (Okinawans) of the past, the present, and the future generations to come. By singing, dancing, playing, listening and seeing Okinawan sound and image performed in the everyday, these songs become a foundation for teaching and nurturing the souls of Okinawans by making connections to the ancestors as they journey forward and back. A line in the song, “親ぬゆしぐとうやちむにすみり” (Uyanu yushi gutu ya Chimu ni Sumiri) roughly translates as, *Color your heart with the words of your parents*. The limitation of the second order of translation makes it nearly impossible to *get* the meaning, but the function of the song approximates those American songs that teach and pass knowledge, such as *Amazing Grace*, and other songs from the blues or lullabies. Repeatedly performing the songs, or engaging in *yuntaku* (chatting, in Okinawan), in the unspectacular space of the mundane keeps the spirit alive even during times of distress under colonial, imperial and military domination. Providing a more nuanced understanding of the use of Okinawan songs, James E. Roberson writes of the complexity of these songs, which were composed for “critical, contested, and at times contradictory sites of historical memory and of

² Excerpts from the poem, *Nakafū Bushi*

戦世ん濟まち弥勒世んやがてい *Ikusayu n sumachi, mirukuyu n yagati*
嘆くなよ臣下命どう宝 *Najiku na yo shinka, nuchi du takara*
Ikusayu (the world/era of war) will also end,
Miruku yu (the peaceful world/era of the Maitreya Buddha) follows soon after
Do not lament my dear subjects
For life is our treasure. (Quoted from Ueunten’s translation)

³ Refers to Michel Hechter’s analysis of the Celts in Britain. (“Okinawa’s History, Land and Identity.”)

continuing social dialogue” (Roberson, 2009: 684).

The songs produce a third passage similar to gospel or spiritual songs that allowed the spirit/soul to “escape” through the music in the time of slavery, Jim Crow, and other overtly oppressive times. This act of passing on the soul of Okinawan folk knowledge at the nexus of life/art allows the human spirit not only to survive but also to thrive with hope. Thus in the soundscape, the new generations who come from a different space-time history are still connected in the *chimu* (heart and body). The songs function as a passage that offers freedom and connection of *soul* to the ancestors and the world beyond. In everyday Okinawa, ancestors are part of life, and the overlapping spaces of different worlds are accessed through the “sound of Okinawa” in the style of what Wesley Ueunten describes as “inflection and tonal quality to express feelings and emotions.” This feeling in the sound is *umui iri*, which Ueunten describes “is seen as the life of the song; without it, the song is an inanimate object. And of course, without proper *umui iri*, a song is not Okinawan” (Ueunten 1994: 45). It is this sound that gives hopes and power to the people as another possibility, a passage even in the imminence of death. The song of *Chimu ni sumiri*, like The Sorrow Songs, functions as a portal/passage/tunnel that extends in all directions for soul traveling and for the space-place-soul connection that has been recognized in many renditions of the same phenomenon.

The sensing of the soul can be experienced in the everydayness of life/art performance spaces of what I am calling miXtopia, miXtory, champurū F/actor, and OkinawaXblack that I develop in this dissertation and further elaborate in later chapters. Okinawan humor also can be a decolonial method, built on the everyday experiences that draw upon the culturally mixed sense of the world. A combined form of irony, comedy, and performance, Okinawan humor circles the borders of life/art and produces a mixed space in which reality, spirituality and surreality overlap and form passages through which *soul* as the un-colonized and loving, of what Chicana feminist theorist Chela Sandoval calls “decolonial love”⁴ (*Methodology of the Oppressed*), is free to travel.

Concept of the Third

My overall project is motivated by the philosophical and artistic exploration of the *third* as a movement/performance/space of difference and pleasure as part of the epistemic break that illuminates the *in-between* in art and life. My own effort here is to create a specific kind of epistemic rupture that critically engages the work already spun by artists and scholars who employ theory situated in third, non-binary, non-reactive thought. My project enters at the crossroads and pays homage to performance studies, women of color feminist theories, and queer studies theorizing and mapping third space movements and being. Third as Movement contributes to the production of different knowledge and methodology in order to live—think, act and imagine—in the multiple pleasures of life, of art, activism and academia that are freer, and move beyond the (neo)colonial culture of domination. Third describes the performativity of place, “race,” and space that cross-references hybridity, third space, and the third phenomena beyond newer, less visible binaries. In *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha locates the negotiated spaces of culture in what he calls the “emergence of the interstices” (2). With Bhabha,

⁴ The term refers to U.S. Third World Feminists praxis of what Sandoval calls “differential consciousness,” which “is accessed through poetic modes of expression: gestures, music, images, sounds, words that plummet or rise through signification to find some void—some no-place—to claim their due” (139).”

I ask through his asking, “How do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable?” (Bhabha 2). I too am concerned with the dimension of culture as it is intrinsically connected to place, race and space, particularly the interstitial space of movement. With respect to Okinawa, I am concerned with where and how do mixing and thirthing emerge, and how one maps and speaks of in-between space and temporality. Unlike Bhabha, my primary interest is not finding or locating a subject, culture, community, gender, and so on, but rather pursuing the unknown of new possibilities of life beyond the known, in the crossroad where chance opens up a passage and offers a mysterious splendor/encounter.

Trinh T. Minh-ha’s concept of rhythm elucidates residue or resonance as a mystery that emerges from the in-between space of a “third ground,” as a relationship “between energies, languages, or between words, concepts, and concerns” (“Scent, Sound, and Cinema” 249). The third, Trinh posits, is a space of its own that is not a derivative of first and second but “formed in the process of hybridization which, rather than simply adding a here to a there, gives rise to an elsewhere-within-here/-there that appears both too recognizable and impossible to contain” (Trinh 2011: 37). I use and develop the idea of the third beyond binaries and national borders through Sandrow’s concept of second life (surrealism), third space (Homi K. Bhabha), as not the first or the second (Trinh T. Minh-ha), cross-dressing as mode of articulation (Marjorie B. Garber), as new mestiza consciousness (Gloria E. Anzaldúa), as diasporic vision (Grace M. Cho), as disidentification (José Muñoz), and in a multitude of other definitions of the movement of emerging and becoming. In my exploration of Okinawa’s miXtopia as a third movement, I follow the soulfulness of artlifecycle that builds bridges across nations, and creates a translational language that mix multiplies into one (decolonial) love.

Third as Movement: “A Sign” of Decolonial Love

I/i/愛

In a trans-linguistic performative text of the same sound in different languages, the multiplying “I” crosses other “I”s: “I” in English is phonetically (“ai”) in Japanese, which also means “love” in Japanese. While “ai” is the proper spelling, “I” is the more accurate sound in English of the Japanese word for love. Love expressed in the gestures and sensual movements of the inner soul is often expressed as a “third” movement. For instance, some gestures associated with the black power movement—the power to the people “fists in the air” and the friendly exchanges of high-fives—are signs of love shared in the realm of the unspoken and invisible that move and *tune* the soul. To cite Trinh T. Minh-ha’s definition again, rhythm is in the music of “love, hatred, attraction, repulsion, suspension,” and of the “two-way movement of receptivity.” The sensual residues, resonances and rhythm that she describes are “what lies in-between night and day and makes possible their process of alternation in alterity” (Trinh 2011: 57). In *Elsewhere, Within Here: Immigration, Refugeeism, and the Boundary Event*, Trinh further explains this process: “Thanks to rhythm of the heart, mind, body and soul can be poetically tuned. The effect of music is to solicit a situation of perpetual inter-tuning, in which the rhythm of another person is constantly adopted and transformed while the person untunes him/herself to vibrate into the music that is being performed” (Trinh 2011: 57). The soulfulness in the gesture

and sound represent a sign of love that tunes in with other souls who receive the message in a two-way movement, such as *black is beautiful*.

It is the thought process that resonates with Laura E. Pérez's observation of the power of transformation in the works of Gloria Anzaldúa and other Chicana artists who engage the power of the spiritual, cultural and political realms in the cosmology of the third. The power is the openness in the sight/site that sees the undercurrent in the surface of multiple variations of moving pieces and parts that cross over and through other moving objects, and subjects as sign. Anzaldúa's *Borderlands/La Frontera* intimates and Pérez formulates in her article, "Spirit Glyphs," the emergence of a third sign, a glyph, that serves as a sign of "the centrality of the marginalized, the mutable, and the unarticulated in the construction of fuller, and not merely partial and self-reflecting, knowledges and identities" (Pérez 1998: 52). This third sign reflects an intellectual position that refuses a colonial violence that reproduces the absence of women of color thought in favor of western male dominant knowledge. I find a comparative spirit in Lugones's concept of curdling and Anzaldúa's new *mestizaje* consciousness, which offer a third/mixed epistemology that de-centers dominant power into multiple possibilities through "radically loving" that makes "precious life" possible. Common to my work and the work of scholars I engage in this study is the notion of the invisible sensual spaces where a radical *third* loving recognizes that "black lives matter,"⁵ that *nuchi du takara* (life is treasure) in the translational language that the mixed-multiplying principle offers. Thus my work bridges yet another set of transnational borders from the Pacific by offering through my methodology a performative, artistic *way* of presenting life through third movement.

MiXtopia expresses being as life *performing*. Stretching the theories of third space, hybridity and mixed space, the mixed-multiplying principle is based on multiple simultaneity and movement wherein mixing, blurring, crossing, and merging happens between what has been previously discrete. Here, the theoretical and the theatrical, or the "marvelous" in surrealist terms, merges in a "playground that [of] art/life as one continuing space" (Sandrow 42). Like the surrealist marvelous, the principle of mixed-multiplying movement(s), recognizes simultaneous multiple realities of time, space, place, and "race," but also the mystery of encounters in crossing into another's/others' space(s), such as Trinh T. Minh-ha's entering the same spring as Theresa Hak Kyung Cha when Trinh writes, "This is so not necessarily because we share a similar background or interests as commonly thought, but perhaps because without planning it, we find ourselves entering the same spring" (*Elsewhere, Within Here* 108). It is the mystery in the crossing paths. And it is here that the spirit becomes s/Spirit (Laura Pérez), the I becomes I/We (Trinh T. Minh-ha), the signifier becomes signifyin(g) (Henry Louis Gates, Jr.), the profane becomes profound, and life becomes performance. It is also the fruit of my labor.

My labor of love and task is to define the principle through the ontology of movements in between and betwixt time, place, "race," and space. The following examples— U.S. feminist thought and analyses, especially their intellectual, spiritual and philosophical works, and the work of scholars like Fred Moten and Jennifer DeVere Brody who explore the notion of blackness as an ontological question—attend to the question of space from the perspectives of the ontological and philosophical realm and express the intellectual spaces where I workshop my thoughts and ideas of "in-between space" that are presented in the dissertation.

⁵ "Black Lives Matter" is a movement (2012 to present) protesting police brutality and police killings of black men and women in the United States of America.

In “‘New Mestiza,’ ‘world’-travelers,’ and ‘Dasein’: Phenomenology and the Multi-Voiced, Multi-Cultural Self,” Mariana Ortega provides a comparative analysis of the concept of *self* by dialectically examining both Latina feminists “world travelers” and Heidegger’s “Existential Analytic.” Ortega states that the features of the Existential Analytic “share the more contemporary accounts provided by Latina feminists” (Ortega 8). Delineating the difference between the traditional monolithic and the alternative accounts of subjectivity as multiple, Ortega elucidates the self precisely at the borderlands where the self is multiple and moving. Extending Lugones’s “world”-traveler as well as referring to Anzaldúa’s “new mestiza,” Ortega conceptualizes an ontological being beyond the confinement of a Heideggerian account of the self based on the concept of *Dasein*, “an active self who is constantly projecting itself upon possibilities” (5). Unlike Heidegger’s subject who is able to “be[ing] at ease” with the world, Ortega qualifies the condition of the “‘world-traveler’ [who] cannot be at ease in the world that makes the traveler an “alien” or a “stranger” (9). For Ortega, the self is a non-epistemic subject that does not rely on the ontic or material realities, but one that relies on the notion of “mineness,” (17) a way of being in the world, while the “epistemic” refers to “the modern self, the *ego cogito*” (4). Heidegger attempts to avoid the epistemic way of knowing the self in favor of a sense of the self as being in the world. Although this feature is shared in Lugones’s “world”-traveler, which has a different ontological account of the self that travels to different “worlds,” Ortega argues that Lugones does not clearly define the *self* that resides within these different persons that travel in these “worlds,” and asks similar questions to those I pose regarding Lugones’s claims of the *self* that expresses difference in contradictory situations. My concept of mixed/multiple ontology posits one is already multiple and multiplying—moving and changing. In response to being able to be playful in one “world” but not the other, I ask: Could all these “contradistinctions” be expressed in the ontology of third or mixed-ness that contains difference? In response to Lugones’s notion of “playful,” is it necessarily and (i.e., predetermined) always “confronting within” dominance? Could it be used as a strategy (i.e., humor, trickster, passer, etc.) that has both the creative and the resistive/radical elements *simultaneously*? In other words, can ontological being manifest as difference in character, form, or performance in these different “worlds”?

Ortega’s conceptualization of the non-epistemic, ontological self responds to the problem of naming a subject from already established and recognizable categories. Lugones’s “world”-traveler self gives the ontological, and the real, the contents and qualities of the non-epistemic subject whose multiplicitous self is similar to Anzaldúa’s *self* in *new mestiza* that is multiple and mutable. In a similar fashion, it is the quality of simultaneous-multiplying being that sets the self-aware and identifying Okinawans against fixed notions of the Okinawan subject, by exploring the constitutionality of Okinawan place, “race” and space as an ontologically concrete question. In *Borderlands*, Anzaldúa writes, “She, [the *new mestiza*] learns to be an Indian in Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an Anglo point of view. Not only does she sustain contradictions, she turns the ambivalent into something else” (101). I want to emphasize, however, that this ambivalence in transition or transformation is not only the painful, torn space of “nepantla,” but potentially also of a multiplicity of pleasure, delight, fun, playfulness and freedom, and transformative space where third/mixed emerges as a new consciousness, *mestiza consciousness*, in which “though it is a source of intense pain, its energy comes from continual creative motion that keeps breaking down the unitary aspect of each new paradigm” (Anzaldúa 102). While the paths may be different, the crossing brings us into one that holds multiple in the

same way that Trinh explains the “*twohold* (Cha’s multilingual hold) of black and red in which infinite shades of white exist” (Trinh, *Elsewhere, Within Here* 112).

Anzaldúa and hooks: Radical Pleasure

bell hooks’s *radical openness* is defined as a margin, a profound edge (hooks 1989: 206) that like Anzaldúa’s borderlands, is a space of resistance and transformation that defines the variation of miXtopia. Anzaldúa’s borderlands and hooks’s radical space present the third that opens up to creativity, freedom and pleasure. It is the third perspective of infinite potential born out of mutually exclusive ideas/practices of duality, and in spite of them, it describes a productive and generative self in mixed formation, where “In attempting to work out a synthesis, the self has added a third element which is greater than the sum of its several parts” (Anzaldúa 102). This new space lives in the movement of multiple gyrations, which hooks presents as a kind of conundrum, but recognizes the pleasure in its multidimensionality. To find pleasure in unlikely places, a process of Anzaldúa’s “deep-knowing” (e.g., “*la facultad*,” “*conocimiento*”) is required to cut through the provocation of dilemmas, dramas, and contradictions at the life/art crossroad. Ambiguity, produced in conflict, in turn produces the possibility of pleasure and a power of other knowing that emerges as a defiant political gesture or, as hooks aptly phrases it, an oppositional aesthetic act. Like Anzaldúa and many U.S. feminists of color, bell hooks’s concept of *radical openness* is a way to tear away the blindfold or to unshackle the chain of ignorance of dominance by cutting the truth into pieces to make peace. Invoking Anzaldúa’s Coatlicue state and “deep-knowing,” hook’s radical space cuts through the sedimentations of the colonial legacy aligned with the contemporary rendition of colonialism in different and modern disguises. It is the unresolved question of the past that calls forth the rupture, aperture and crisis of western knowledge production in the present. Deeper in to the earth, knowledge, and life-beings, we understand “West” as a historical construct and an idea that produced knowledge based on western models of “classification,” “system [s] of representation,” “model[s] of comparison,” for the “West and the Rest” (Hall 1992: 276–278). This deep-knowing creates what I call the epistemic rapture that refers to the pleasure derived from the effect of freedom produced in the act of rupturing dominant ideologies, a practice similar to Chela Sandoval’s “meta-ideologizing,” which is an “operation of appropriating dominant ideological forms, and using them whole in order to transform them” (Sandoval 2003: 82–83). Although neither Lugones nor Ortega identify pleasure as an outcome of struggle, bell hooks states, “We know struggle to be that which pleasures, delights, and fulfills desire” (209). The process through which pleasure is felt and experienced is akin to the experience of the Coatlicue state, which is like a meditative process that leads to what Anzaldúa calls *la facultad*, or deep-knowing (Anzaldúa 60). It resembles an incarnation, transformation, transportation, and movement that express the ontology of mixing and remixing between pre- and post-, which continues its movement of making/production. What is important in this movement is to recognize the moving parts rather than trying to capture the parts at their “resting” place lest it gives a false reading/sensing of what is going on in that space and misses and loses the performative potential of dynamic as “dynamite!” as J.J. in the 1970s TV show “Good Times,” put it.

Metaphysics of Love: Interstellar Blues

Black music inheres third potentials for pleasure of space in Jazz, Blues and funk in which art space offers freedom, expression/language, and possibilities beyond the material and the physical reality, propelling into the metaphysical space of real. In *Blutopia*, musicologist Graham Lock presents three pioneers of music, Sun Ra, Duke Ellington, and Anthony Braxton, whose utopian impulses can “fuse, forming a crossroads in the creative consciousness where visions of the future and revisions of the past become part of the same process, a ‘politics of transfiguration,’ in which accepted notions of language, history, the real, and the possible are thrown open to question and found wanting” (Lock 2). *Blutopia* is the title of a composition written by Duke Ellington and performed in 1944 (2), which Lock deploys as a conceptual framework to capture the potential revisions of the past and visions of the future through the musical styles and performances that created black life in *difference* for African Americans. In the book, Lock analyzes the function of music employed by Sun Ra and other Jazz/blues musicians as a vehicle to create and transform the present by opening up the vista in multiple directions. He shows the orchestration of Sun Ra’s music that reaches back through the slave era into the Egyptian past and forward toward the scientific age of the Astro future in the present space that calls up a third passage as a way to move through and out of the limitations of present western human possibility, imagination and freedom. Lock’s deployment of *Blutopia* liberates and recreates the notions of “I” and “We” in the *other* spaces of life through the performance of jazz and blues. For Sun Ra, the “Blues” has a different meaning that holds complexity. A lauded composer, philosopher, thinker and musical genius with a career spanning from the 30s until his death in the 90s, Sun Ra produced over 100 albums and recorded over 1000 songs, which makes him a prolific artist. His album covers are unique individually handcrafted art pieces that remind one of fluxkit, an art box that yields “multisensory, primary information,” (Higgins 34). Ra’s album, packed with the technical and professional information, represents his philosophy that combines astrology, Egyptology, and in Ra’s word, mythocracy. “Some Blues But Not The Kind That’s Blue,” is both the title of an album and a title track that meanders into a matrix of color, feeling, and form through wordplay. If not careful, some inattentive persons might miss a performance of black difference and intelligence in his delivery through Sun Ra’s mischievous practice of his expression, the “residual smile.” Besides albums and singles, Sun Ra also produced films and starred in documentaries about his work. *Sun Ra: A Joyful Noise*, directed by Robert Mugge (1980), is a documentary that profiles Ra and his Orchestra. The documentary bares Ra’s eccentricity and captures various live performances and his philosophy of the “non-human” whose story is mystery as his story and not HiStory. “It is not my history,” he repeats. The act of recovering the missing stories, of resituating the myths in his conceptualization of mythocracy, facilitate the remapping, redrawing and reordering of narratives to represent another story. It is an Afrofuturist version of double consciousness that Kelly shows in Ra’s work that inspired interstellar fellow travelers who “spoke metaphorically of space travel to bring attention to the conditions of black people in the United States” (Kelley 31). The mythocracy speaks to the European and white versions that make effigies of blacks as construction, a myth.

I read the musical cultural difference of “blutopia” and Ra’s “blue” as a mixed-multiplying possibility that theorists Fred Moten (2008) and Jennifer DeVere Brody (2005) each explore in their theorization of blackness as ontological question. The difference in Ra’s blue is akin to DeVere Brody’s “black ink” of interpretation and improvisation, which she conceptualizes “to press the issue of the link (or leak) between black ink and embodied forms of

blackness—of being black and black being” (Brody: 681). Ra and Brody render the possibility of “blue” and “black” as third passage or passing that also crosses into the “twohold” and “multilingual hold” (Trinh 2011: 112). The passages reflect the multifarious quality of third that transcends forms and “race” to space that according to historian Robin D.G. Kelly regarding Sun Ra’s music, takes flight through the transcendental power of surrealism and black music as a site of difference to *out* the race.

Recognizing the transcendental function and political power of music, Kelly writes, “...the most radical art is not protest art but works that take us to another place, envision a different way of seeing, perhaps a different way of feeling” (Kelley 2002: 11). Borrowing Sun Ra’s concepts of Afrofuturist and interstellar travelers, Kelly reveals the transformative power of Ra’s music where place and “race” take flight into an interstellar space of free love that was almost impossible in the white supremacist world for a black person living in the Jim Crow and segregated era of his/her “miXtopia.” Sun Ra’s notion of “alter/destiny” is “the idea that through the creation of new myths we have the power to redirect the future” (Kelly 31). Whether it is called self-love or metaphysical love, Kelly has shown that love, which is produced through the experience of interstellar traveling and imagination, is real as the surreal in a marvelous kind of way. As such, the notion of traveling that shows up in other texts as movement, crossing, middle passage, and transgenerational haunting (Cho) is the quality of movement that turns the impossible dream into the possibility of love, kinship and connection that are made in the border-crossings.

Queer In/Sight: Performance of Gender, Body, and Race

The metaphor of crossing or borders applies to the body in relation to race and gender, which have their specific problems with the historical construction of categories that make the body the site of conflict and violence. While Frantz Fanon (1967) takes up race, Butler (1990) takes on gender as a location where the body is contested through the notion of gender and gender performativity in which visibility conflicts with the heterosexual patriarchal notion of the biological assignment and signification of male and female. The biological body type is disrupted by the visual signification of, for example, transsexual or transgender bodies. But when a woman is misrecognized or not represented at all, what becomes the essence (ontological formation/trace) of a “woman”? What happens to that body that is recognized and apprehended by the society in which a certain body type is pre-assigned/determined as male or female? While Butler’s work intervenes at the site of gender (female, male) assignment, both Butler and Fanon explore their theoretical considerations through the body in which the ontological, phenomenological, and/or ideological crises occur on the visual plane. It is the seeing/being seen that illuminates the failure of closure of one category against other. How do you know if he is a he, or she is black/white? But here, the question or crisis presents possibilities by first attending to the notions, implications, and meanings of “black,” “white,” “male,” and “female” in the manifold, which has folded the black-white or male-female split.

Extending the body as a sight/site of inquiry, Sara Ahmed employs the concept of “orientation” as a phenomenological method to examine the ways in which queer bodies become orientated. Ahmed draws upon the work by Edmund Husserl on object of meaning as an organizing principle to investigate queer phenomenology as a methodology to understand what makes bodies orient toward or against certain directions. Ahmed situates queer genealogy in affective modality in which bodies come into contact with things in different “lines” to open up

new kinds of connection (Ahmed 2006: 154). Bodies are oriented toward something in space, and what moves the body to orient a certain way is a “line” with which bodies align themselves. The line refers to the orientation of the bodies that are affected by the way they inhabit space: where we face, which way we turn, and to whom or what we are attracted, and “the lines that allow us to find our way, those that are ‘in front’ of us, also make certain things, and not others, available” (14). I interpret the lines that are “in front” of us as dominant lines of consent, of convention, of tradition and of ideology; therefore, the subject or body is perceived as “out of line” or “off line” if this line is cut off or morphed into an invisible “line.” Ahmed describes this orientation as the social investment whereby subjects reproduce the lines that they follow, which leads to heteronormative space and time reproduced in the inheritance and reproductive timeline spectrum. Here, the “line” is predetermined; it is a social, historical, political and economic line for freedom or bondage, or something in-between. Ahmed indicates that proximity is important in understanding the relationship between the body and space, “redirecting our attention toward different objects, those that are “less proximate” or even those that deviate or are deviant” (2008: 3). Here we can see that, if something is not there, one has a relationship of distance, imagination or desire toward what is missing/absent. For Ahmed, migration and diasporic spaces are sites that open up possibilities of (dis)orientation, and queering the “line” is a disidentificatory act that can create a new path and new way of orientating the body to keep the out-of-line alive.

Ahmed’s “line” also crosses into Jack [Judith] Halberstam’s queer time and queer space, crossing lines of heteronormativity. Halberstam examines the process of archival retrieval by which a transgender individual, Brandon Lee, is reproduced in different discourses and cultural productions of queer identities. As the late Haitian historian, Michel Trouillot observed, “remembering is not always a process of summoning representation of what happened” (1995: 14). In short, *how* is as important as *what* in the retrieval process. In examining Brandon Lee’s biography, Halberstam exposes the space of the retrieval process in which the ‘passer’ and ‘cross-dresser’ are punished and deemed abnormal in the biographies of transgender persons. He shows that Brandon Lee (like other transgender people) was not transsexual or lesbian but instead was a transgender person who was not reduced to an identity, but rather was a person, a human (Halberstam 49). As illustrated by Giulia Fabi’s elucidation of “passing” as a strategy used by African American writers in early African American literature, the term “passing” or “passer” can serve a political function through the creative voice. In these novels, the “passer” has multiple functions as a “trickster” who represents someone who is transgender, transsexual, mixed race, or a cross-dresser who cross-performs across the class, gender, ethnic, nationality, and religious spectrum (Fabi).

As Butler, Muñoz, Fabi, and others including Marjorie Garber whom I will discuss later have demonstrated, defining transgender by fixing on a western categorization of gender creates a crisis between freedom and power. Butler brings forth the dilemma of transgender identity: he/she has the “appearance” of one of the genders, whether pre-operative or post-operative who challenges the western male patriarchal hegemony of gender. A similar dilemma or crisis of the body is experienced at the site of a mixed race body, when the body does not “fit” the “appearance” of either race. At this intersection, the regimes of vision that see conflict rather than the complete body at ease are confronted. Due to this crisis caused by the unwillingness to see/trust the real in the body and the seeing, “the very notion of ‘the person’ is called into question by the cultural emergence of those ‘incoherent’ or ‘discontinuous’ gendered [also mixed-race visual] beings who appear to be persons but who fail to conform to the gendered [mixed-race visual] norms of cultural intelligibility by which persons are defined” (Butler 23).

Marjorie Garber rescues my overlay of mixed race with gender in Butler's analysis by pointing to the category itself as the site of failure of intelligibility, exposed in Garber's study through transvestism. She writes, "transvestism is a space of possibility structuring and confounding culture: the disruptive element that intervenes, not just a category crisis of male and female, but also the crisis of category itself" (17). The body, whether gendered or "raced," interjects at the intersection of the *seeing/vision* of the unrecognized, and the already seen, and constructed body that shatters the categorical vision. To look *at* is to acknowledge the subjectivity of the subject, and this cross-dresser subject is rather elusive, which makes the act of *looking* insightful and technical. Garber's term "third sex" defines the specificity of cross-dressing, yet it also defies the fixity of category of sex offset by performativity, which "is a mode of articulation, a way of describing a space of possibility. Three puts in question the idea of one: of identity, self-sufficiency, self-knowledge" (Garber 11). To expound the idea that "cross-dressing is an index of a different kind of "category of crisis" is to begin with concepts of liminal space, the already blurred, moving targets, emerging matters, and the pleasure derived from the idea of the mixed as movement and "a sign" of love.

The Logic of Curdling-Separation: María Lugones

One might imagine María Lugones's term "curdled beings" as a counterpart to Garber's cross-dressers. The concept of "curdling" recognizes heterogeneity, multiplicity and the in-between-ness of things, places and people, illuminating the middle as a productive space of alternative knowledge production. The logic of curdling is able to recognize the person who is both lesbian and Latina as split-separated (in the logic of purity), and also curdled (impurity as sign of a different logic of the "impure") in one body. Yet, she also suggests that there is no space of "purity" since "split-separated is also and simultaneously curdled-separated" (Lugones 2003: 126). This concept of split-separated as curdled-separated describes one as a lesbian separates from non-lesbians, but at the same time, if the lesbian is Latina, she is a "curdle being" who stands in alliance with Latinas and Lesbians whose "Separation from domination is not split-separation" (142). Here Lugones's analysis of the third becomes penetrating, generative and translational in linking the specific situation with a universal characteristic of *third* movement. I argue that the logic of curdling is a language of the third and that puts lesbianism or Latin-ness as secondary to the movement of flexibility and transferability of a subject, because it is the logic of "curdling" which describes crossing and inhabiting of boundaries, and building of bridges to many worlds. This logic allows one to imagine that the mixed *can be* decoupled from the colonial, racial and imperial fixity of categories such as gender, race, and sexuality, thereby transforming and resituating them more expansively in the openness of possibilities. Moreover, curdling can also be an expression of multiplicity, heterogeneity, blurring and confusion through art as social reflection and commentary on life.

By exchanging temporarily the categories "lesbian" and "mixed-race," in a cross-translational border of exchange, I am able to show that both categories undergo the same process of construction in which the internal contents are constructed as unnatural elements of gender, race, sexuality, and other axes of oppression that the dominant ideology enacts.

Passing: “Middle” Passage

I consider the concepts of ‘passing’ and the ‘passer’ as translational terms that function like Sandoval’s “meta-ideologizing” and Henry Louis Gates Jr.’s “signifyin(g),” and the surrealist “marvelous” as decolonial methods that produce an epistemic rupture that is also a rapture, a pleasure gained by breaking the epistemic regimes in various formations and operations of power. Returning to Giulia Fabi and the pre-Harlem Renaissance African American writers, she shows their use of the figure of the ‘passer’ to have a “double valence,” and their “strategic bilingualism” to express “extravagant, aggressive territories of irony, sarcasm, and parody” (2001 4). Traditionally the ‘passer’ is a person who passes as white, and/or operates on a “line” that aspires toward whiteness; however, in these novels, passing is a strategy of “double valence” in which “[the] celebration of covert, coded literary practices of opposition and resistance places the greatest emphasis on the difficulties encountered by African American authors and on their need to negotiate with white audiences” (4). The passer, whether literary or real, has the effect of “erasing” the external signs of “blackness” while simultaneously maintaining the internal difference of an ontological fact of *mixedness* that operates in tandem. Fabi writes:

In early African American fiction, the passer (i.e., a mulatto or mulatta so light skinned as to pass for white) gave literary immediacy and mobility to several crucial issues: the cruelty and immorality of slavery, the hypocrisy of dehumanizing blacks while forcibly consorting with them sexually, and the potential crossing over of racial distinctions and hierarchies supposed to be natural and therefore immutable. The passer, whose body is marked by whiteness and disguises a mixed genealogy, enabled early African American writers to question whiteness as ‘unmarked category’ (Haraway 188), as the invisible standard to racialized others. (5)

By returning to the site/sight of passing as strategy in early African American novels, the strategy of “double valence” and “strategic bilingualism” used by these writers came to be understood as resistance, a subversive act to narrate at the meta-level of the novel, offering multiple modes of communication in the text that open up to the reader. It is a strategy to serve a political project that moves from the literary to literal reading. For example, “strategic bilingualism” is a literary device that speaks to a real situation in order to escape and expose racism: A dark-skinned black man “passes” linguistically by changing his speech patterns between black vernacular and the master’s language to shift the ending of the story. With strategic bilingualism,

characters shift from Standard English into the black vernacular as needed, the many metanarrative statements that point directly to the double-voicedness of texts (literary and otherwise), the use of multiple endings, the pervasive presence of black tricksters and a large chorus of visibly black characters who surround and guide the passer are some of the extravagant and distinctive literary strategies discussed in this book. (4)

Here the double-voicedness and the multiple endings function as decolonial techniques corresponding to Chela Sandoval’s notion of “differential consciousness,” which maneuver the social space from her formulation of women of color methodology. In these early novels,

‘passing’, as a strategy to maneuver social norms, reconfigure the gender line whereby a male cross-dresser passes as female to help the Underground Railroad project because dressed as a woman he might have a better chance of carrying out the task of freeing slaves (17). Although ‘passer’ is defined as a person who completely passes as white, other forms of ‘passing’ were employed to subvert the dominant narratives. While the writers should be recognized for their “radical departure from the ‘tragic mulatta stereotype’ that these early writings represent,” the most striking feature that Fabi underscores is the transformative and political power in the writing that showed the way in which *blackness* is transfigured and read “as a consciousness, as well as a condition” (15). Furthermore, she illuminates the politics of the “middle” status of the passer by, quoting Elaine K. Ginsberg, “...drawing attention to the fixity and constrictiveness of the racialized black and white subject positions between which he or she has to choose rather than to the fluidity of personal identity or the pleasures of “experiment[ing] with multiple subject positions” (5). The pleasures for the reader, especially those who commiserate with the characters, are drawn from the critical and creative function of the passer who inhabits simultaneous-multiple transferability of the literary space and real place.

Blackness as Mixed-ness, Queer-ness, and Asian-ness in the Middle/Crossing/Translation

The Passer in many disguises as subject, place, inanimate and animate object troubles the water of many national consciousnesses that do not consider the mixed sense of being or becoming “black,” “white,” or “Asian.” Being and becoming is an ontological concern that must be taken into consideration in the idea that mixed is a third passage as a critical and creative F/actor. To attend to the notion of exchangeability and mixedness, I return to Fred Moten and Jennifer DeVere Brody to explore further the ontology of *blackness* between being black and black being. Their texts are dense and performative, and they require a specific labor to unpack the multiplicity of subtle meanings in between the texts. In “The Blackness of BlacknessReading the Typography of *The Invisible Man*,” Brody examines the role of typography “in eliciting and soliciting (black) sensations and sensations of blackness—in moving us to respond to the calls (as in hailing) of black ink” (Brody 2005: 681). In similar ways, Moten pursues the ontological space of difference between blackness and being black “by way of the shadowed emergence of the ontological difference between being and beings” (Moten 2009: 180). Somewhere in this rich and engrossing article, he is intimating that there is an absence, excess and an essence of being in between that escapes the form, category, and sense to a state of unseen, unknown, in-sane, and ob-scene. The ontological domain that these two scholars pursue provides two different sets of redirections whereby race/place/space might be approached: blackness through mixed orientation, sensing and sensation. The ontological domains of race, place and space become intelligible when notions of mixedness \Leftrightarrow blackness become translationally fluid in the third.⁶ I am borrowing María Lugones’s use of the double-pointing symbol to show the creative space in the oppressed \Leftrightarrow resisting that expresses the movement in the tension held in the relationship that, as Lugones underlines, produces multiple realities: “It is from within these processes that the practice of shifting to different constructions, different spatialities, is created” (17). In this sense, “Black-Pacific” is a translational term defined by Bernard Lucious as “an emergent site of critical inquiry and cultural space at the interstices of

⁶ Based on the mixed-multiplying principle, *mixedness* animates *blackness* to produce *difference* = *black difference*.

three diasporas” that expresses simultaneously African Diasporic and Asian Diasporic so that Afro-Amerasian intersects and intermediates as both African American and Asian (Lucious 2005: 122). The term “Black-Pacific,” which is translational as well as transnational, allows the fluidity of place, race and space that I referred to in Lugones’s curdling logic.

The intellectual labor of translations between works situated in or addressing borders within and beyond the western nation/Atlantic ocean that reach the shores of the Pacific, is an extra labor of commitment, diligence and love in multiple places at once. To translate the translational *mixed* factor that crosses into transnational *third* – space, race and place – requires language/tongue that speaks in multiple such as the terms black-pacific, curdling, world traveler, miXtory and miXtopia. My theoretical project in this dissertation is not only to examine the relationship between three nations (i.e., Okinawa-U.S.; Okinawa-Japan), but in order to more properly do so, to animate the third, ontologically or otherwise, in various terms as meeting place in order to co-create and –produce many third passages/possibilities. Theorization from *third* allows for ideas of Asian as black, queer as straight, male as female, black as white, and place as space to become a possibility and a reality—if only for a historical heartbeat, precisely because they also are not either both and neither, both and more... yet.

Soul Beautiful!

Soul eludes “race” and offers divergent paths that lead to a crossroad. Two African Americans W.E. B. Du Bois and Sun Ra, while seemingly incommensurable, meet at the crossing. While Ra disavows sorrow in order to achieve happiness with beauty, Du Bois reaches similar goals in the throes of the sorrow songs. Before the phrase “black is beautiful” makes an indelible mark on U.S. history in the 1960s, Du Bois captures the beautiful as the expression of Soul, which he finds in the Negro folk-song, “the rhythmic cry of the slave” (Du Bois 1990: 180). In “The Sorrow Songs,” the last chapter of *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois captures the sound/pulse/impulse of the heart in the Negro song, expressing the weariness of the heart in *The Sorrow Songs*. These songs are recognized not only as the “sole American music, but also as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side of the seas” (Du Bois, 181). The “rare beauty” in the Jubilee songs that gets passed into the soul of another is preempted by the earlier event that reveals *this* beauty is not only rare but also spiritual. The Port Royal experiment in 1863, the event, which forced the South and the North to meet for the first time “after the capture of Hilton Head, and perhaps for the first time the North met the Southern slave face to face and heart to heart with no third witness” (181) exemplifies the power of beauty in the soul to soul connection. This demonstrates the power of beauty that produces movement in the soul, which possesses and passes into the soul of another who senses this “first meeting” as an event before and beyond the present. There is an uncanny *effect* of the *icharibe chōdē* in this meeting that resembles the meeting of strangers in the interment camps after the Battle of Okinawa. Moreover, Du Bois links the developments of songs that represent three types of developments from the African, to the Afro-American, to the third type, “a blending of Negro music with the music heard in the foster land. The result is still distinctively Negro and the method of blending original, but the elements are both Negro and Caucasian” (184). He further makes it clear that whites also influence the Negro song; it *is* nevertheless a Negro song. The song, which has no color but expresses soul, is the story that Du Bois wants to present. Here, soul is a third passage that carries the gift of story, song and Spirit in the hope that it becomes free.

Soul to Soul

Different souls flow in the sound carried in songs, in the rhythm moved by an Okinawan dance, *eisā*, calligraphed in words, movement, *chimu*, and everyday conversations that reverberate in an uninterrupted continuum space of many spaces of time in its motion of expanding and multiplying. If one is one with the polyphony and prismatic noise, then one may enter where others have dwelled. In the chapter, “Other Than Myself, My Other Self: Traveling Tales,” Trinh T. Min-ha multiplies the “I” by posing questions that require the reader to extend our mind’s I/Eye to see the “I” “elsewhere-within-here, or –there”: “Thus it is not ‘I’ that travels. It is ‘I’ who carries here and there a few fragments of It. In this cascade of words, where and which is the source finally? I or It? For memory and language are places of sameness and otherness, dwelling and traveling” (Trinh, *Woman, Native, Other* 1989: 28). This multiplication/repetition of aperture offers a pleasurable experience upon sensing the sound of the “historical heartbeat” of a different soul as Laura E. Pérez puts it, and in Lugones’s “world traveling” and Robin Kelly’s “interstellar fellow travelers” of the funk masters of the 1970s. The act of “passing of soul” that Du Bois illustrates in the Negro songs is invoked in this moment and emerges here in the space of mixed-multiple visions and sensings. This act of consciousness is in tune with Anzaldúa’s *conocimiento*, as articulated in *This Bridge Called Home*, that propels and recognizes other scholar/compañeros who have spoken. I have sensed the presence of these other scholars in my thoughts as I begin my “trespassing” performances into the realm of the third space where tension is but one aspect of life. The movement in the middle necessarily produces possibilities and limitations within this source of production, thereby setting the tone and the contour of unique differences of life in what Lugones calls “multiple spatial-reality.” As a fellow traveler in the third movement, I explore the production of different spatial realities and make my own unique move based on chance, performance, and the location of the third in between the U.S.-Asia-Pacific borders where the master language is secondary in champurū co/motion.

Soul Traveler

My *chimu* belongs in Okinawa, and my writing takes me back to the place where the soul dwells. Thus I write from a place of *chimu*, which recognizes a *kukuru*, soul and a place of an emotional, historical, physiological, and spiritual energetic sensual place of birth and knowledge, the *conocimiento* or facultad. It is also *hara* that Trinh locates at the center, “below the navel (the *oth* being connected with the heart, and the *path* with reason), radiates life [,]” and where she defines the instinctual to the consciousness as an “unsettling process” that “allows each part of the body to become infused with consciousness” where she also locates certain women’s womb writing (Trinh, *Woman, Native, Other* 1989: 40). When *conocimiento*, *chimu*, *hara*, women’s womb, and soul meet as a multiple one, the crossing of the marvelous is felt/held somewhere deep in the gut and travels with other souls in a simultaneous-multiple sensing like Lugones’s world-traveling. Borrowing from feminist philosopher Pedro J. Di Pietro’s phrase, “stretched out space” of what he calls *travesti reflexivity* (Pietro 2015: 7), miXtopia is a dynamic space that calls up Laura E. Pérez’s “historical heartbeat” (143), which extends the time-space continuum of *Chimu*. It is this *chimu* that hears the sound of the heartbeat felt in the gut/hara when the heart/soul travelers cross into and through each other. This again returns us to Trinh’s notion of rhythm in the form of sensuality that “doesn’t belong to the visible or to the audible, it hardly articulates. It is in the caress” (*Elsewhere, Within Here* 81). It is this caress that touches the soul that sound carries in the stretching. When listening to the stories of the elders and hearing the sounds of Okinawa, hearts open and connect to the beat of *their/our* history. A phrase in the

song, *Chimu ni Sumiri*, calls for the sense that is felt in the *chimugukuru*, the soul, which words cannot express. The encounter with a fellow soul traveler as crossing heartbeats that are heard as one movement, registers in the *chimu*, and allows the opening into the temporal fields of a meta-historical-physical vista. It is in this constant movement of art, activism and academics that I am constantly moved and I do fall in love, again. The scholars I sought and brought in to this study speak to the serious and critical task that I have taken on in the name of love of life/art. The level of sophistication and the intellectual rigor in their work leave an indelible mark on these pages. For me, and the scholars I engage, *third* is a position from which to engage the political, multiple and/or possibility/potentiality for the *soulful* life. The realities of the space are real, imagined and creative and full of contradictions, pain and pleasures.

MiXtopia is the third production of the life/art crossroad, a passage for freedom, creativity and what Hokama Shōzen defines as Okinawan beauty in which “one might say, the simplicity of beauty is born out of living, the beauty seeped in the sweat of life” (*Okinawa no Rekishi to Bunka* 185). Soul and Beautiful are terms that hail Okinawa and black simultaneously and perform “twofold” (Trinh, Cha). I follow Hokama’s definition of Okinawan beauty as “a way of life that reflects the thoughtfulness and consideration of life of people, who live on the island, living amongst each other in support and cooperation” based on simplicity of a communal life (185):

素朴、シンプル Simplicity

身の回りにある素材を活かして守る生活の知恵。

生活の中から生まれてくる素材な美しさ、生活の汗の匂いの染み込んだ美しさ、とでも言うのだろうか、それは赤瓦や白い漆喰の瓦屋根だけでなく、陶器、漆器、染織等々にも共通してみられる素材な美しさである。

沖縄の造形美について、しばしば「やさしさ」「おおらかさ」「あかるさ」と言う言葉でいい表されることがあるが、それらは、島に住む人たちの肩を寄せ合う生活の心づかいなのであって、それそのものが美意識、美的造形であるとはいえないようにおもう。(185)

Beauty and Form of Okinawa

Work with what one has in order to protect the everyday/living wisdom.

Beauty of simplicity that is created from living, the smell permeated through the sweat of life. It is the beauty of simplicity seen not only in the red tile and white stucco roof tops, but also common in the pottery, lacquer ware, dying and weaving, and other such art.

In regards to Okinawa’s representation of beauty, ‘kindness’, ‘generosity’ and ‘cheerfulness’ are commonly expressed, however, these (qualities) do not necessarily represent a sense of aesthetics or beauty, but they represent the way of life that reflects the thoughtfulness and consideration of life of people, who live on the island, living amongst each other in support and cooperation. (185)

(My translation)

The beauty of the simplicity of life from the “sweat of life” is the treasure and pleasure of life that I breathe into my work, which comprises art, activism and academia. As such, *third* is a sign of a beautiful life in mixed-multiplying movement. It is a sensual move toward life as it

happens by focusing on the intensity, diversity, sensitivity and directions of moving pieces and parts in between spaces of place, “race,” and space. The questions of ontology, quality, sense and motion are pursued and tracked in the analysis of Okinawa to induce the sensual quality of the beautiful.

Methodology: Fieldwork and *Flemmwork*

My methodology combines the social scientific method of ethnography, interviews and archival research, and a humanities method, performance art through *Flemmwork*, an art piece I created in 1994. Here, Flemm is recycled and reframed as a walking field worker. *Flemmwork* will be discussed extensively in the Everyday Performance section of this chapter. In the spirit of performance, I resituate English as a Second Language (ESL) as a performative mode of border language, creole, pidgin, Ebonics, and Spanglish and offer it as third passage site of critical and creative production of knowledge. I conducted ethnographic research at the former bar districts in Koza (Okinawa City) from August 2012 to January 2013, as well as from August 2013 to January 2014, where I completed six community interactive information gathering projects: (1) The Caravan Series; (2) The Mapping the History; (3) Walking Tour; (4) The Photo Exhibit; (5) Daily YuntakuViews (yuntaku, an Okinawan chat combined with an academic interview); (6) interviews. All research was conducted in Japanese language, and the primary and secondary materials were in Japanese, which I translated, analyzed, and incorporated into the dissertation. My method incorporated the local practice and custom of yuntaku, chatting, with a flexibility to reorganize my approach in the process that led to the development of translational and transnational neologisms and praxis based on reciprocity between academia and community, and the U.S. and Okinawa. My knowledge of the place and the ability to speak Japanese and Okinawan afforded me the “local pass” to access information beyond the limitations of research and formality. The term YuntakuView (YV) combines the local everyday chat and formal interview as a third methodology that allowed me to gather more generous and divergent information, capturing the mundane scene and landscape of a communal life. My insider/outsider/diaspora status was also a missing piece to the history that folded into other stories as mystery. Hence another neologism, miXtory (history, story, and mystery) was born in the field. The concept of MiXtopia was born out of a labor of love in the traveling film and conversation piece called the “Film Caravan Series,” which I conducted from November to December 2013. The labor required a critical and creative passion, commitment, and action to transform impossibility into possibility of a “third meeting.”

The “Film Caravan Series” was held in three locations, and became the platform by which to introduce my research, reach the community members and the stakeholders, and link the official history with the local stories and knowledge as we exchanged ideas and worked out some issues. Holding the series in multiple locations drove the project beyond the community, bringing the mayor, city staff, and media into the conversation about future development. The remapping project, which emerged after the film series, was the tipping point that changed the preconception of the public and officials that assumed this particular history was dead and forgotten. The remapping project allowed stories, memories and objects to be placed literally on the old map that the city’s archival department had provided and enlarged for the event. This activity gave the community members the central roles in narrating and recording their own history that was not part of the official history. People then proposed that we “walk” the history, using a “live map” that they had remapped with their stories, and next day, we walked the streets

according to the map as people shared more memories and stories during the walking tour. The map created a yuntaku space beyond the materiality of my research with more revelations and discoveries that continued to flow through the community in my absence, of which I heard a portion through the grapevine that still reverberates today. In phase II of ethnography, I curated a photo exhibit on the Black District, which was requested by the community to which I owed this research. In return, I created the Teruya Soul MiXtory Archive that will house my research findings and projects in article(s), book(s), exhibit(s), and other materials.

Performance Art and Art/Life as Praxis

In the introduction of *Performance Artists Talking in the Eighties*⁷ by Linda M. Montano, Angelika Fest ascribes the term and concept of “Life like art” to Kaprow, the creator of Happenings (public performances of chance) in the 1950s to explore the relationship between life and art. “Lifelike art, he argued, is ‘the shift of art away from its familiar contexts, the studio, museums, concert halls, theatres, etc., to anywhere else in the real world...continuous with that life, inflecting, probing, testing, and even suffering it, but always attentively’” (22). Fest gives further definition of art/life as understood by Montano: “Art/Life opens up the categories of art by dissolving conceptual, social and economic boundaries that tend to limit conventional art forms and artistic expressions” (Fest 30). Finally, she provides the following insight: “In [Montano’s] book *Art in Everyday Life*, she defines “living art” as a complex theory that states ‘life can be art,’ an aesthetic that enables her to live more fully, more truthfully, and spontaneously” (Fest 30). In *Performance Artists Talking in the Eighties*, the artists that Montano interviews describe how their performances become part of lifework that pays for rent, develops self-awareness, challenges dominant narratives and ideologies, and leaves things open and closed. Yet the art/life form also presents a fundamental challenge of having to sustain the form of art as life. Montano describes the challenge in this paradox: “the problem of recognizing and evaluating art that appeared to be identical to life remained unresolved for many audiences and critics” (Montano 31). The unresolved issue signals the problem around form in academia between theory and practice that questions, “What is art?” I explore this question of recognition by situating my work in the contemporary moment in order to reengage the 1970’s art/life dilemma by addressing the question from the multidisciplinary studies that merge theory, methodology and practice as intellectual, ideological performance praxis.

Performance Art Methodology: An Interlocutor

Performance art is an instrument and a language that historically developed to critique power. From Dadaists in Zurich, to Surrealists in Paris, to “Happenings” in the United States, to the Bauhaus in Germany, and to Gutai, a radical postwar collective in Japan, artists have employed performance art as a tool to disrupt hegemonic orders and dominant ideologies that

⁷ Linda M. Montano’s book, a collection of interviews of approximately 50 performance artists in the 1980s that took 10 years to complete and another 10 years to publish. There were 150 submissions but only 50 were possible for the publication. The life/art is the subject of theory and practice of performance art. The book is divided into four subject areas of Sex, Food, Money/Fame, and Ritual/Death to which the artists framed their responses.

operate within their particular social environments.⁸ Though performance theory has garnered a place in academia, the practice of performance art has not reached the same level of recognition as a discipline or field of studies in academia. Performance studies as a discipline straddles the boundary between art/non-art as a legitimized disciplinary field of studies placed within academia. While the practice of the more traditional performing arts such as dance and theater exists as a discipline within academia, the practice of performance art, for the most part, lacks this recognition perhaps because these are two different genres of art that present opposing histories and positionalities. Performance art differs from performing art in that the latter is an accepted art form for mainstream society while the former turns to an alternative practice and form that presents questions and difference. The question of life/art as a legitimate form of art raised in the 1970s by performance artists who challenged the status quo and power has not been resolved in the contemporary moment of art in which performance studies as a disciplinary field has emerged as a legitimate and intellectual field of interdisciplinary knowledge in academia. My work concerns art/life that challenges power in places, which performance artists, including surrealists and later avant-garde artists in the 1970s and 1980s, have explored, posed and performed. The questions of privilege, power and access in the context of “race,” class, gender and nation must be considered even within art forms that employ art as decolonial and anti-hegemonic practice. I explore the question that Montano and other artists posed during the height of the movement in the 1970s surrounding the issue of this recognizability, which also evokes the question of power by investigating the possibility of life as performance art.

Everyday, Language and Performance (Body Art)

My methodology models a performance art based on life/art praxis that tracks and traces the senses and movement of mundane-ness of life as a central component of investigation. It is a transnational method that crosses U.S.-Asia; English-Okinawan-Japanese mixed language borders, and is expressed as a performance art language that Gomez-Peña describes as crossing linguistic borders. This method de-centers and transfigures language (body and text) into multidimensional, spiral-thinking, violent juxtaposition, and cinematic text. Gomez Peña explains, “The way I construct them is in many ways like constructing a film. The way I edit—the syntax of my texts—is very inspired by the montage of experimental cinema” (Fusco 1995: 158). As a “linguistic border crosser” from another shore, my spiral-thinking texts⁹ are drawn

⁸ Performance art has various links to different forms of avant-garde tradition, but it came to be known as performance art in the United States in the 1970s influenced by the civil rights movement from which the feminist movement proceeded. Artists such as Vito Acconci, Karen Finley, Carolee Schneemann, Lynn Hershman, Allan Kaprow, and Adrian Piper are but a meager representation of the countless number of performance artists who cannot be mentioned here.

⁹ Homophones: *Kichi gai*
 基地外: *kichi gai* - outside of the U.S. Military bases
 基地害: (same sound; different kanji) Damage by the military bases
 基地ガイ (foreign signified text) A guy from the military bases
 基地 GUY (English tacked on to the Kanji) A guy from the military bases
 気遣い (different kanji; same sound) Crazy
 基地内 Inside the base
 基地無い (Have) No Base
 OUTside of the U.S. bases or (are they) crazy

from diverse fields: ethnic studies, performance studies (theory and practice), queer theories (performance, body and language), U.S. women of color feminist thought (decolonial, post-colonial), Asian Diaspora and Women's studies (Diaspora and transnational), and black vernacular, and in my own contribution, the black-Asian trans-lingual translation that simultaneously double tropes the *talk to the hand* as *talk to the fan*.

This mixed methodology attends to and engages with the demands of transnational research that requires a performance-based border crossing research. Performance art as theory and methodology imposes an element of experimentation that is playful, spontaneous and creative, which corresponds to the study of performance that “requires attending to all the modalities in play” (Amelia Jones 2008). This approach of mixed media experimentation is similar to the idea of crossing with fear of what María Lugones describes, reflecting on Chela Sandoval's concept of love, “as playfulness where it keeps one focused on the crossing, on the process of metamorphosis” (Lugones 2003: 27). My methodology is grounded in the everyday with a particular emphasis on the mundane, which is organized by the performance art practice of employing the body as a performance interlocutor that inter-crosses into what Edward E. Said calls the “unhoused exilic experiences,” the “hybrid combinations of realism and fantasy, cartographic and archeological descriptions, explorations of mixed forms (essay, video or film, photograph, memoir, story, aphorism)” (Said 1993: 330).

Everyday Performance: Walking and Sensing

As a researcher in these multiple iterations, I too am the object, subject, and performer in the field that crosses path with “experts,” de Certeau's “author,” members of the ruling/privilege class such as the Japanese, professionals, and any male. The performance gaze reveals historical, political, economic, and cultural relationships between Japan, Okinawa and the U.S., via its military presence. My performance persona of the mid-90s, reintroduced in my dissertation research, is named Flemm Fatale. Her performance fieldwork, *Flemmwork*, uncovers power where it shows up expectedly and unexpectedly, and discovers the panoply of mixtories in the mundane spaces of life. Therefore my body as historical, cultural, racial, political and social marking and making in my daily walking as fieldwork became multiple sites (cite, site and sight) of knowledge, where competing ideologies and “common sense” are felt, acted upon and exposed through my “body,” in various disguises, manifestations and dis/locations with and without my consent. Thus, my work seeks and records the continuum of past-present narratives of others that are inflected, refracted, and merged with my body that performs in the mixed multiples of miXtory and allows the emergence of multiple narratives/stories, crossing and trafficking into each other at the crossroad of art/life.

On Walking and Sensing as a research strategy, I take a cue from scholars/artists who privilege everydayness or the mundane as sites of praxis. Michel de Certeau's work in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) serves as a basic theoretical ground to understand everyday space and place in relation to the body. De Certeau states, “Many everyday practices (talking, reading, moving about, shopping, cooking, etc.) are tactical in character” (xix). He distinguishes tactic from strategy by describing the former as “fragmentary” and the latter as “proper.” The difference can be better understood as the difference between two knowledge producers: the makers/authorities—teachers, educators and scientists—and the users, the common people living and using the space, a place like the city for example. In differentiating two positions as a dichotomy De Certeau defines everyday spaces as being socially stratified and layered:

The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. ... The "proper" is a victory of space over time. On the contrary, because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time—it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized "on the wing." (xix)

Defining two structures in the social provides a guidepost in my strategy of walking, but I also follow the work of Argentine feminist philosopher María Lugones, who reworked de Certeau's tactical-strategist dichotomy by offering a generative methodology, streetwalker theorizing. Streetwalkers are defined as "those who are at odds with 'home.' The home-shelter-street-police station/jail/insane asylum-cemetery circle, in ever so many permutations, is their larger understanding of home. [...] I am suggesting hangouts as places that perform the disruption" (Lugones, footnote 209) Lugones discerns the limits of de Certeau's work, which is based on a western model of dichotomy, and develops a more generative framework. In "Tactical Strategies of the Streetwalker," she transforms the "fragmentary" tactic, distinct from the "proper" strategy, from a place of "no where" into a social space of "hanging out." Lugones manages this creation of a concrete place that is social, sensorial, multiple and transformative by insisting on the interconnectedness and performative power/meaning of the time-space dynamic. Lugones explains, "A crucial aspect of streetwalker theorizing is to uncover, consider, learn, pass on knowledge of the multiple tools of tactical strategists in having deep spatio-temporal insight into the social" (225).

Streetwalker theorizing is located on the street level where the negotiations of multiple senses move toward transformation of dominance and violence (Lugones, 210). Tactical sensing of this terrain discerns danger such as violence and hegemony by rerouting and reconfiguring the social-temporal spaces of resistance and production of knowledge. Here the "rerouting" and the "reconfiguring" of the "proper space" differ from de Certeau's "anti-text" that must be produced in an other space, an "indeterminate space" that is not proper (de Certeau 199). Lugones offers two concepts to achieve this goal of rerouting and reconfiguring the "proper space" of domination: "active subjectivity," an activity at the street levels by those who "disturb the abstract spatiality of social fragmentations," and "hanging out," a tactical-strategy that disrupts intermeshed oppressions. Taking her theory to the street level, she transforms "proper" space into a radical space of new epistemologies and knowledge production. Lugones explains, "An important aspect of passing on knowledge in hangouts is this passing of tools of resistance that enable us to see deeply into the social from the pedestrian level" (226).

De Certeau's notion of walking as a strategy is a performative: "to walk" as a space of enunciation—that appropriation as spatial acting-out of the place implies relations among differentiated positions (de Certeau 97-98). Like Lugones, Joseph Roach employs the strategy of walking in the city of New Orleans to "read" Mardi Gras as performance of differential spaces reproduced in festivals where "[t]he crowded spaces become a performance machine for celebrating the occult origin of their exclusions" (Roach 1996: 14). As a walker and a researcher, Roach "sees" the reproduction of power and privilege being performed in these repetitions of performances. These actors/performers who make up the streets create Roach's notion of "the spatial logic of a city," which is "built to make certain powers and privileges not only seasonally visible but perpetually reproducible" (Roach 14).

Similar to de Certeau, Lugones and Roach, the location of my inquiry of Okinawa, particularly of Koza and Teruya is situated on the ground level of activity, perspective, position, and the sense of the everyday. I am attracted to the work of Roach and Lugones because they engage performance and performative methods, but I recognize some degree of difference in how we define performance in our respective studies. I use walking as a method that is closer to Lugones's re-formulation of de Certeau's concepts of tactic and strategic into streetwalker theorizing. Like in the concept "curdling," the differences are worked through the internal and inherent conflict that arises in the work/movement of what Lugones describes as resisting-oppressing, which breaks down the interlocking oppressions and is "interactive, social, body to body, ongoing" (Lugones 223). I conceived my walking body more on par with Lugones, yet I differ by insisting on a different sense that reconfigures the intention, motivation and location of my everyday spaces of the mundane, unspectacular and unknown. Lugones writes, "[w]hat I am proposing is a viable sense of intentionality for moving against the interlocking of oppressions that animates oppressions as intermeshed" (216). Instead, I am not always aware, but waiting, in my Flemmwork, her streetwalker theorizing counterpart, for a chance meeting, or to be spirited away.

Language: ESL Con/Text

As body in triple (as cite/sight/site of knowledge discussed on page 41) functions in performance as methodology, language is also a site of production and performance. Yamatuu-Uchināguchi is the mixed Japanese-Okinawan that most Okinawans speak. This cross-linguistic formulation is where I feel at ease. English, on the other hand, is my second language that separates me from my body, from my homeland. Thus I have complex ways with English. In my speech, my body remembers what has been spoken previously through the vibration pulsating through my memories of the primary sound im/pressed upon the breath and body. The gap between the familiar (native speaker) and unfamiliar (foreign/ESL speaker) creates sound dissonance in both languages. When I speak, I negotiate and feel the crossing of language from the native to the foreign, and a choice, which is a conscious and unconscious effort, to cross/exchange or not produces variations of cross-fertilization of languages. The labor of moving in both directions reveals how much of my mother tongue is in my foreign speech. The sound-body facilitates what gets in (what gets translated) and what stays out (preserving the native tongue elsewhere) in the gap created in the crossing. What is the motivation/intention of crossing or redirecting into a no crossing zone? Crossing occurs in the translation by repeating its movement of undulation in which form and content trans-mutate, in mixed-multiplying movement. The no crossing is also effective and alive, and those elements that have not crossed into the space of translation remain not lost in translation, but not-yet translated. Awareness of this back-and-forth motion can be formulated into a sensual knowledge that remains in the fertilization of language between primary and secondary. It is the middle of translation that creates the motion into a fertility of language.

The movement like performance art is a labor that gives productive power of language speaks in multiple tongues in ESL as con/text makes the labor strangely pleasurable. In words of Carmelita Tropicana¹⁰, "I am very good with tongue."

¹⁰ Carmelita Tropicana is an alter ego of Alina Troyano, a Cuban Lesbian Performance Artist born in Cuba and grew up in New York City. She began her life as a performance artist in the eighties and

This facility of doubling the sound-body challenges me to rethink
the productive power in the middle
where the labor facilitated by the negotiation in the gap
produces an epistemology of the ESL in the ontological sense of the third¹¹,
which resists the totalizing of a subject by preserving the “lack”
(accent, senses, rhythm)
by refusing the “I” who attempts to naturalize the “i”
in the middle of translation.

English is *Secondary: English is Broken Here: Crossing and No Crossing*

In “Bilingualism, Biculturalism, and Borders,” Gomez-Peña and Coco Fusco, two renowned performance artists of Mexican and Cuban decent respectively, engage in a stimulating interview and dialogue relevant to the discussion of ESL as con/text. Gomez-Peña is a prolific performance artist, born and raised in Mexico; he migrated to the U.S. in 1978, and became a mixed-media performance artist in the 1980s. When asked, “What has it been like for you to take on writing in English?” Gomez-Peña responds,

To cross-linguistic borders decenters your voice. The border crosser develops two or more voices. ... If I had stayed in Mexico and had written only in Spanish all these years, my Spanish would be much more complex. But I don’t mind that. I think that what it has lost in possibilities of vocabulary and syntax, it has gained in conceptual strength. I am very interested in subverting English structures, infecting English with Spanish, and in finding new possibilities of expression within the English language that English-speaking people don’t have. I find myself in kinship with nonwhite English-speaking writers from India and the West Indies, Native Americans, and Chicanos.

When I make the choice to work in Spanish, English, Nahuatl, or Calo, I am expressing those transitional zones within my identity that are part of my life as an intellectual and as a border citizen. ... I feel that my voice as a poet is less effective, less public, and less transcendental than my voice as a performance or media artist.
(*English is Broken Here* 157)

While Coco Fusco is the questioner above, and presents her experiences with language as a Cuban-American in her book, Gomez-Peña is the one who in the interview with Fusco describes this ESL dynamic more precisely because his first language, land and identity is not American but Mexican. His crossing into the U.S., which reflects my own, makes the U.S. always the

continues to be active today as an artist, creator, and educator (*I, Carmelita Tropicana: PeRforMing Between CutluRes*, 2000).

¹¹ I am neither conflating nor suggesting ESL and bilingualism is the same; rather I am elucidating the performative capacity of the third text inherent in both forms to produce a radical text that interrogates hegemony of one language over another. My purpose here is to illuminate the potential of the space in between two languages as site of decolonial act, akin to what Walter Mignolo calls the “epistemic disobedience” that “takes us to a difference place, to a different ‘beginning’...” (Mignolo 2011: 45).

second place of reference that we share. Fusco also shares multi-cultural, national, racial, and lingual elements with Gomez-Peña, but her relationship with English is different. While Fusco was born in the United States and reclaimed part of her Cubano-ness by returning to Cuba, Gomez-Peña was born in Mexico and claimed the border between two nations as his performance art/life/work space. This subtle yet critical difference is what makes Gomez-Peña's sensibility much closer to mine¹². My own journey of coming to terms with English became the fertile ground upon which the mixed-multiplying principle was built. Thus my affinity with Gomez-Peña is the first movement, from here to there, where we discover English as a Secondary Language¹³ in crossing national borders. In Gomez-Peña's world/word, "This fusion (European, Ameridian, Afro-Caribbean culture) has created a kind of multicentric perspective in Latin American culture that allows for narrative, for spiral thinking, for violent juxtapositions, that take place in the world, in society" (154). A "border crosser" loses (language) in order to gain (context) to provide content its new context to language. The loss is not necessarily a permanent loss, but a suspension of potential words, waiting to hurl into a trans-linguistic border performance.

The performance language champurūed in ESL con/text performs like the border writing that performance artist Guillermo Gomez-Peña performs in a cross linguistic border in his language of performance art and text. In the Okinawa chapter, I explore the creative function and power of language in con/text with ESL based on Gomez-Peña's performance that interjects in the middle of crossing to create a performance space. Here, words (primary, secondary and tertiary) fail, and senses succeed as an aftereffect, like resonance, that transcends words into the realm of art where a mixed-media performance art can be translated in a multilingual speech act. It is a double conscious performative space that exceeds consciousness by opening up to externalized forms of perspective, position, philosophy and performance that intercross in mixed multiplying co/motion. What follows is another example of cross-border translation in a trans-linguistic con/text.

Trans-Linguistic Border Crossing: What Color Frog Am "I/i"?

If I could rename myself, I think I would have to select a figure not female, not divine, not even human: the blue frog. (from "Blue Frog" by Elaine K. Chan)

Trinh T. Minh-ha uses the quote above from the story "Blue Frog" by Elaine K. Chan to explain the process of what Chan calls "cultural and linguistic cross-fertilization." In her analysis of this story, Trinh shows that a mother's mis-translation from Korean "green" to English "blue" allows the daughter to find meaning in this translation. In Trinh's words, "Mother is the imperfect transmitter of a folktale whose voyage in time, across language and general has allowed it to acquire something new in its translation" (Trinh 39). This mistake allowed "an articulation of hyphenated identity" (39). For Chan, the color blue was a metaphor of sadness

¹² The distinction is crucial to understand the significance of one's roots, where one is born, which plays a role in how the world is understood and lived. The first language will always be the first, even if no longer spoken, like the mother (land) that remains one's homeland.

¹³ English as a Secondary Language parodies the English as a Second Language, but stressing the location of English as secondary to the primary language of one's first language.

that represented her relationship with her mother. As if to perform a signifyin(g) ritual of ESL translation (cultural and linguistic cross-fertilization), blue for me in the context of Okinawa would have been the ocean and the sky that give Okinawa a sense of paradise that is home to me. Thus blue becomes a metaphor of a home that inhabits the brilliance of blues and greens of the sky and ocean, yet a melancholy casts its shadow over this brilliance, reflecting the backdrop of imperialism, colonialism, militarism and racism. After churning and re/turning in transnational flow, Chan's blueness comes closer to Okinawa's sky and ocean whereby it becomes twofold or twoness. In this transnational routing process, I come to know the sad hue in Chan's blue in my Okinawa blue. In performing the trans-linguistic border reading, ESL stands in as a sign/language that works like a code, codex or glyph, to borrow from Pérez's discussion of Anzaldúa's work ("Spirit Glyphs"). Referring to James Hillman's notion of "soul-making," Pérez describes Anzaldúa's interest in the Mesoamerican glyph "both as sign of the language of the soul and as mediator of the growth of the soul or soul-making" (Perez 50). ESL functions as a glyph to stand in between and beyond two forms and offer another context to English in which multiple contents fill in the "lack" with con/text. Language has transitioned into a sign, no longer bounded by the limitations of English or a master language. Both primary and secondary languages can meet, read, and speak to each other as signs in a trans-lingual border crossing performance.

Third as movement is this crossroad of signs where performance and life merge as an ontological space of play that cannot be recognized in monolingual consciousness. In this dissertation, I partly reanimate my performance art/life persona of 1990s, as a framework in "Flemmwork." "Flemm" was and is the performance name of multiple beings in one body art, able to articulate the wholeness as a prism of multitude, of fracturing, weaving, turning, flying and moving in silence, and the stillness of life. Like Adrian Piper's Mythic Beings, my composite being of art-person is alive in Flemm performances of moving stillness, of expanded dissonance that can be understood—felt, experienced, known—through the act of silence. The expanding of silence into the sensuality of the ontology of in-between place, "race" and space in performance art allows an opening, possibility, and mystery of unexpected happenings: the chance that danced into a shimmering life. The dreamer in me understands the dreaming beyond the threshold of what is dream-able, and to dream on, full of passion in remembering a dear friend, Yuri Kochiyama, and her life of passion for justice that deeply moved those souls of black, yellow, red, white, and the rainbow. Her impact was/is significant, not because she was a shero and a prolific figure of human rights, but because taught me the beauty in the mundane and everyday people whom she loved and worked through her passion. In *Flemmwork*, it is passion that transforms the everyday as a mixed-multiplying space, a dynamic place as alive/life, the *soulfulness* of life that I call miXtopia. This life moves through the rhythm, tempo, and timing of the mundane and marvelous life. It is a performative inquiry into the third spaces of life that continues to be prepared in between when life, like chance, opens up Okinawan *yu(world)/English* you in unspectacularly marvelous co/motion.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 2, “Unspectacularly MiXtopia: Okinawa’s Historical Laughter” maps a genealogy of performance of laughter at the intersection of people and power to reflect the Okinawan *yu* affected by different empires. The historical laughter (signaling *hysterical*) defines a performance technique that deploys humor as a password or passage to subvert power from dominating the creative power of the everyday people as performance *f/act*. I discuss four entertainers and performance groups from the prewar to postwar Okinawa to show that laughter is a *champurū F/actor* that preserves life as a treasure (*nuchi du takara*). While chapter one provides the background of prewar history, Chapter 3, “Koza *Champurū*: History Before *MiXtory*” presents the production of culture and mixed life developed in the postwar occupation era. The chapter also examines economic development and cultural celebration in the contemporary production of place, focusing on an historic event, the 1970 Koza Riot/Uprising, that positions history as the question of the past in the unresolved matter of the present. Chapter 4, “Story, History, *MiXtory*: Analyzing Representations of Teruya’s Black District” looks at the production of knowledge by examining the postwar literature representation and Okinawa city’s archival collection and contemporary production of postwar history via an economic development project, which brings us to the most experimental Chapter 5, “OkinawaXblack: *Teruya Soul MiXtory*,” which records and is part of a performance art piece, and brings my body into the text as an object. The chapter includes a literary review and analysis of the representation and formation of Teruya’s Black District as a prelude to the main section. *Teruya Soul MiXtory*, *OkinawaXblack* is a *miXtopia*, which is created in the crossing of black and Okinawa as “two folds” of mixtories. Here, the notion of *chimu/soul* becomes lucid in the crossing of place, race and space as simultaneously black and Okinawan, blurring the real and myth into one continuous *miXtory*. It is not the end of the story, rather it is the beginning, middle, and the repetition of endings with new variations that make life go around, *champurūing*. The chapter presents the *miXtory* with unexpected encounters and crossings of the past, present and future in a *champurū* opera. *MiXtory* is a wheel of *champurū* that keeps turning and churning life into performance art. In the conclusion, I give homage to hostesses and represent them as *champurū F/actors* that turn *champurū* “bad” objects into “badass” subjects.

Chapter 2: Unspectacularly MiXtopia: Okinawa's Historical Laughter

*Historical laughter is the lifeline or the punch line in the story.
Biting and zany, visceral e/motion of humor throws the uppercut from the liver gut.
This sense of the gut being punched is the punch line being delivered.
Laughter is the sound when silence breaks.
Laughter is a sign of power failure.*

Koza Crossroad 2013

It is around 1:30 in the morning at Abby Road, a local bar¹⁴ in Koza, Okinawa. *Beatles* music is playing in the background while a couple in their late 40s enjoys beer as they tease and laugh together, conversing with the Master (the owner and bartender) and the customers, who are all Okinawan. I met the husband and wife during my fieldwork in 2013. They are local, regular customers who were born during the pre-reversion¹⁵ era. Mr. Taka, as I will call the husband, shared this story, which I will share as an anecdote.

It's lunchtime and Mr. Taka is sitting in the driver's seat of his truck, one leg plopped on the driver's window. Almost starting to snooze, his nap is interrupted by a conversation nearby. Two men, engaged in an intense conversation, are unaware of Mr. Taka's presence, whose body is hidden from view because the seat is in a reclining position. Though Mr. Taka tries to ignore the conversation, he is drawn by the sound, which makes him chuckle. Man #1 is anxious and needs to know more information about something that Man #2 is trying to explain repeatedly trying to appease Man #1. It is an interaction between a real estate salesman and a potential renter. Each question that Man #1 asks seems to lead into yet another question that is essentially the same question in revision. A comedy is in the question and answer session between the two men. Recognizing the difference in tone and rhythm of the voices, Mr. Taka guessed that Man #1 is Japanese and that Man #2 is Okinawan. With a smile, he silently says to himself, "He is Japanese," and returns to a daydream that has been interrupted. The punch line is delivered at the moment of the smile/laughter that recognizes the historical subject positions between Okinawan and Japanese. The ability to distinguish between Japanese and Okinawan in the sound of different tone, pitch and rhythm of voices is in the silent smile that knows about the history of imperialism and its legacy in relation to the production of Okinawan subjects as Other. The smile at the scene of the afternoon has now transpired into this moment of telling, bursting into laughter in the company of fellow travelers. We are in the house of MiXtopia! (Field Notes: December 13, 2013).

¹⁴ This bar is one of two primary locations of my fieldwork that allowed me to observe and interact with well-over 100 patrons that I have encountered during the two phases of my fieldwork in Koza from 2012 - 2013 (4 months) and 2013 - 2014 (6 months).

¹⁵ Okinawans born during the pre-reversion era (i.e., the part of U.S. military occupation from 1952 - 1972) are given the status of Okinawan citizenship with an Okinawan passport.



An Afternoon Break

October 10, 2015 (Photo by Toyozato)

This story is a riddle and poses more questions than answers. The key is this laughter, bursting at the seams, breaking down power from below where the common folk speak. It is an ideological farce, a mundane version of Chela Sandoval's "meta-ideologizing," which is a tool of subversion "of appropriating dominant ideological forms, and using them whole in order to transform them" (*Methodology of Oppressed* 82-83). This laughter belongs to the mundane, which exposes the failure of the powerful to fully penetrate into the everyday life where art of humor intercedes. Humor allows one to interpret the sense of the word and world—its tone, rhythm, and energy—that *laughs* against power, and is the powerful tool that many Okinawan performers deploy in their performance as critique and creativity life/art. I trace the Okinawan performance style of the mundane/common folk of what I call the "laughter from below" to demonstrate the skillful ways in which power is subverted at the very ground that attempts to colonize it. This laughter maps the history of colonial, imperial and racial oppression of the people through time and the history of Okinawa. Laughter can burst at any moment in history.

In 1951, the U.S. and Japan signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which officially end the war and occupation of Japan (1944 – 1951), with the condition that Okinawa remained occupied. During this time, the U.S. aided Japan's modernization and Okinawa's transformation processes, which established the tripartite relationship between three nations, and I argue, reinforced the cultural, ethnic, and political difference between Okinawa and Japan. The Ryukyu Government was established under U.S. military command, and Okinawa became a liminal subject that belongs to neither the U.S. nor Japan. The formal occupation ended in 1972, "reverting" Okinawa back to Japan, but the U.S. military bases remained as part of the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA), which allows the U.S. military to establish bases in foreign countries. In 2015, the 70th anniversary of the end of the war, the continuing presence of 75% of the military bases (32) (Women for Genuine Security) on Okinawa represents the tripartite relationship between U.S., Okinawa, and Japan where Okinawa is politically and economically disenfranchised. This relationship underscores the difference between Okinawa and Japan wherein Japan continues to treat Okinawa as the internal colony. The postwar Okinawa *yu* must be understood from this tripartite relationship: the U.S. as the occupier, Japan as a new modern nation state, and Okinawa as the occupied territory. At the nexus of militarism and imperialism, Okinawans emerge as colonial and imperial subjects. Referring to the seminal work of Tomiyama Ichiro, a scholar of Japanese and Okinawan history and culture, Ronald Nakasone, an Okinawan Diasporic "Buddhist cleric, academic, ethicist, and shō-artist" (Okinawa American

Association), underlines the significance of the annexation that secured the development of a Japanese modern state, through which “they (Okinawans) became Japanese citizens and imperial subjects” (Nakasone 2002: 11).

Challenged by the powerful legacy of imperialism, I argue that some Okinawans used and use everyday humor as a way of life to preserve Okinawan-ness, a tool of resistance against their production as “inferior” subjects. In Okinawa’s postwar life, laughter can serve as a third voice/passage for everyday people to subvert power. The *historical laughter* of my chapter subtitle refers to the long lineage of Okinawan performance that uses humor and laughter as a decolonial tool to critique domination from the prewar to the present. Performers employ laughter as a strategic device in various forms of performance: stand-up comedy, TV shows, competitions, stage and street theater, live performance/plays, photography, and film to “humor” the power. But more importantly, I propose laughter is a champurū F/actor of the mundane that can de-center power through the simplicity of *living* as the center stage on which an Okinawan subject stands up. In the following pages, I trace the genealogy of laughter from the prewar to the present by introducing four seminal figures/groups that represent the historical laughter of unspectacular miXtopia performances. The discussions of Būten and Terurin will be a part analysis and review of mostly a secondary material such as DVD documentaries, and scholarly work. For Būten, I was able to attend a musical based on his performance, and access his recorded performances on CD. In 2014, his unpublished work, notes of his ideas, was discovered in the archive, which I was not able to access for this study, but will follow up in the future. The remainder of chapter, I focus on two performance groups *Owarai pōpō*¹⁶ and *Owarai Beigun-kichi*¹⁷ by examining DVD documentaries and You Tube skit. My goal is to show laughter, as the champurū F/actor, resists the colonial, imperial, and racial constructions through their disidentificatory and decolonial performances, which preserve *nuchi du takara*, the “soul of Okinawan,” for the next generations.

Poetics of Laughter: *Laughter Continues, Go On! Go On!*

Būten, the “godfather” of humor, deservedly has been given the nickname the “Okinawan Chaplin” by the people and the world he influenced. His real name is Ohana Būten (born Ohana Kozen) (1897 - 1969) and he employed humor and laughter as a critical and creative force to transform life into a celebration of the everyday. Būten’s famous phrase ぬちぬぐすーじさびら “Let’s celebrate Life” is a contemporary iteration of *nuchi du takara* “Life is Treasure” that expresses the spirit of Okinawans to chose life over death, as mentioned in the introduction. In

¹⁶ A comedy show, “Owarai pōpō ” appeared on TV from 1991 to 1993, created by Mahamitsu Tamaki through his Okinawan comedy troupe in the 80s called the *Shochiku Kagekidan*, which was established in 1983 (<http://www.fec.asia/aboutus/index.html>). *Shochiku Kagekidan* 松築歌劇団 parodies *Shochiku Kagekidan* 松竹歌劇団, Japan’s Opera Company, which existed from 1928 to 1982(Ortolani 1990: 257–8), a year prior the Okinawa’s Opera Company was established.

¹⁷ The latest project of the performance group calld the FEC (Free Enjoy Company. Est. 1994), *Owarai Beigun-kichi* debut in 2005 is a performance comedy based on the existence and the irony of the U.S. militarism on Okinawa (<http://www.fec.asia/owaribeigunkichi/index.html>). Led by Msamitsu Kohatsu, OBK performances on live stage or DVD creates a public uproar in Okinawan style of humor. The title is translated as the “Funny tales about military bases in OKINAWA” and the format is similar to Mad TV, Saturday Night Live, and In Living Color.

Būten's laughter, the spirit of laughter reaches back and brings forth the history of resistance, persistence, and insistence that life matters for Okinawans.

Born at the height of Japan's ascendancy to modern nationhood in the late 19th century, Būten experienced the modernization of Japan in which Okinawans and other colonial subjects were constructed as the 'Other.' A sociologist and Japanese scholar specializing in migrant labor, Yoko Sellek, underscores how ethnic and cultural differences justified the exclusion of Okinawans: "The Naichi (Japanese) emigrants born during this nationalistic era shared the view that Okinawans were not of the Japanese race and refused to recognize them as equals" (Sellek 2008: 79). Incorporating Okinawans as "Others" into the nation-state constituted a social closure wherein their "'Otherness'—expressed through both phenotypical and cultural differences—has been constructed" (Sellek 74). *Yamato nu yu* expresses the early making of Japan's empire under the Meiji government, which established various assimilation policies and programs (*kōminka*). These policies emphasized "education in an emperor-centered morality as crucial to the production of a unified and loyal population capable of contributing to the industrialization and militarization of the nation" (Christy 614). The ideologies of *Kōminka* facilitated the production of Okinawans, Japanese, Zainichi (ethnic Koreans of Japan), Taiwanese, and *burakumin* (the historically stigmatized underclass of Japan) as imperial subjects. Language education became the most pernicious mechanism of assimilation, and its most harmful mission was to "fundamentally change thinking processes and identificatory impulses" (Christy 615). The language education and reforms adversely impacted Okinawans whose culture and characters were made inferior and backwards in the nation building process, and therefore, unequivocally affected the local self-governance in political, economic, cultural and social practices (Chibana, 2012; Christy, 1993; Nomura, 2005; Sellek, 2008; Shimabuku, 2014). To become an imperial subject for Okinawans meant to lose their identity, to change their ontological being, culture, mannerisms and lifestyle into the "Japanese." Some accepted, some refused, some passed, while others laughed and "humored" the power of authority.

Būten performed his world through a laughter that he cultivated and developed into a performance with a decolonial edge. As a student of dentistry in Japan, Būten confronted the social closures along with those others who unlike Būten had less or no privilege to study. While pursuing dentistry, he studied the traditional acting style of the Asakusa Theater, which influenced his idea of the laughing from below (*Laugh [at] the War, Celebrate Life! Būten: The legendary Artist*, Okinawa TV Documentary 2006). Although the documentary does not give details, his style is similar to the style of *shimpa* or *shingeki* theater, which was a new form that incorporated western style of theater, opera, and the musical. It was the twilight of the old feudal system crossing into the new dawn of modernity. The traditional theatrical styles of Kabuki intermixed with modern forms of theater that included western opera and performing art (*The Japanese Theater* 219 – 220). Asakusa in the early transitional phase, was in a state of flux, where beggars and autocrats were thrown into a "theatrical space" that Lefebvre describes as "[a]t once fictitious and real, this third space is classical theatrical space (Lefebvre 1991). According to the documentary, Būten played a slave in *Les Misérables*, and witnessed untraditional plays in which the authority was toppled down by the common people who made fun of power. I suggest this intersection of performance, transition, and nation brought Būten's recognition of Laughter as a tool of the common people, underlying message in his performance.

Būten's worldview is formulated precisely at the crossing, the overlapping of the Japanese imperial, and U.S. military systems, organized into one structure of domination. Būten's alternative miXtopia includes assimilation, discrimination, war, internment camps, and

military occupation, but also the celebration of life, which has persisted through the creative power of performance and laughter. I situate Būten's famous phrase ぬちぬぐすーじさびら "Let's celebrate Life" was first spoken right after the WWII at an internment camp. The thought of celebration in the aftermath of war was not welcome initially, and was unthinkable for Okinawans whose livelihood had been turned upside down, and lives had been turned into "les miserable." Yet his persistence and insistence on the celebration of life through performance (storytelling, dance, songs), eventually won the hearts of people. Through humor and laughter, he transformed "le miserable" life into a celebration of life through the traditional song and dance of Okinawa. These performances presented a precious gift and respect to the dead and the living. At the threshold of life and death, humor became a passage in the form of a message in time of distress, disempowerment and loss. Historical Laughter is the voice of the common people, and the spirit that sees beauty in simple living. His performances situated Okinawan culture at the center of life and represented imperialism and militarism in a farcical, absurd and surrealist style. The witty deployment of wordplay in his particular performance style is grounded in everyday living that inter-mixes linguistics, politics and social commentary as critical performance devices. In order to appreciate his decolonial performance, I will examine the power of wordplay that turns a hysterical event into *historical laughter* in Būten's famous sketch "Hittoraa" ('Hitler' in Japanese pronunciation).

"Hitler/Hittoraa"

The skit called the World Traveler is a one-man dialogue featuring two men (played by Būten) discussing the adventure of one of the men named Mankoo. Mankoo, who had traveled around the world, returned to his village when villager sees him and strikes up a conversation about the places he traveled to Shanghai, India, Paris, Africa, Germany and the U.S. As he goes through each country, Būten employs inter-lingual language to deliver a message using double word play. Hitler, among others, is the object of his wordplay, in which he reworks the form, content and context through tonality and rhythm that remixes and multiplies the stories in a comedic parody. His clever use of multiple-tongues creates a fabulous composition of Okinawan language, Japanese pronunciation, Hitler's history, U.S. Military occupation, and Japanese imperial legacy. "Hitler" is pronounced *Hittoraa* in Japanese but is pronounced *Hitturuu* in Okinawan. *Hitturuu* is already an Okinawan verb that means "to take or to rob." His deliberate and clever play of the sounding of the name as double entendre transfigures the noun *Hittoraa* to the verb *Hitturuu*. The trans-morphed name is English and Okinawan and produces a different meaning and the context by which to deliver an allegory of the complex situation in Okinawa from an Okinawan perspective. In the sketch, he asks rhetorically, "Do you know why they call him Hitler/Hittoraa?" "It's because he is a *Hittoraa*/thief," which evokes the history of imperialism and colonialism in Okinawa, where theft of life has also occurred. This process of mix-multiplication produces an epistemology of difference, and reworks the miXtopia. The dominated has turned the beat around and is no longer powerless, subverting the meaning of power through Okinawan laughter. MiXtopia is not only a critique of the disenchanting world, but is also an artful way to live life as treasure in pleasure as a philosophy and style that of Būten passed on to the next generation of performers. Continuing the form of traditional dramatic art, his performance, echoing through generations of performers, continues to "go on, go on!"



Būten Musical, “Laughter Go On! Go On!”
Flyer January 2014



Flyer: Live and Talk on Būten and Terurin.
“Koza Owarai koto Hajime” February 1,
2014 (Okinawa City)

Champurū Rhythm

A former military town, Koza City (now Okinawa City) birthed many talents, personalities and legendary artists and musicians who are amongst the cultural producers who created Koza’s unique blend of American-Okinawan into one champurū culture. Koza Rock, also known as Okinawan Rock, is a symbol of this blend, which was birthed and developed in Koza during the Vietnam War. Rock, which has become Okinawan, plays a key role in the production of place. The Peace and Rock Festival was inaugurated in (1984), and has garnered national attention and makes Koza city the champurū capital. A well-known Kozan performer, Terurin¹⁸ (Real name, Teruya Rinsuke. 1929 – 2005) coined a term champurū rhythm, a “jumble and mixed-up” elements that shape his Koza *yu*. I draw upon Christopher Nelson’s ethnographic work on Terurin to illustrate the champurū F/actor in the rhythm, which creates a third passage to carry the message, life is a treasure.

Terurin performed a variation of the traveling salesman act as a student of Būten inside the Ishikawa interment camp, and later crafted his own style of performance, reflecting his *miXtopia*: Koza’s mixed life during the occupation. His visual landscape looked similar to an urban city in America: “Among the trees of this southern Japanese city, with its blue sky and colorful color buildings, English signboards made by the U.S. for places like ‘New York Restaurant’ and ‘Texas’ along with the commercial copyright signs of companies like Coca-Cola and Lucky Strike look like the set of a Western movie” (Iguchi 2008: 4). The legacy of American *yu* still hangs in the streetscape today with tattered and faded signs and buildings that harken back to the past in a ghostly presence. This space in between past-present describes the sense and sensuality of Koza with a unique history and identity developed out of U.S. military culture intermixed with Okinawan culture. A sense of loss, pain, and pleasure makes palpable in the same place where Okinawans who witnessed and experienced the war and the occupation are

¹⁸ Teruya Rinsuke was born in Osaka and came to his father’s hometown Okinawa at age seven. His father was an Okinawan Researcher of Ryukyu Okinawan Music (DVD Terurin). He was a versatile entertainer with a long history of performance that lasted from the 1950s to his death in 2005.

still amongst the living today. Moreover, Koza residents also participated in the transformation of Okinawa vis-à-vis the military labor that constructed the base and the town of Koza. Thus, Koza presents a paradox in its origin in today's celebration of culture in which "American" or Okinawan are complex terms that Kozans must negotiate in between the past and present making of place, culture, history, and subject. Terurin's champurū rhythm "jumbles and mixes up" rhythm American-Okinawan in way that preserves Okinawan yu embedded in the Koza yu.

Christopher Nelson observes laughter is dismissive, subversive in Terurin's performance, calling it "Sly appropriation" (Nelson 2008: 79). He writes, "His emphasis on the cunning of the Okinawan people also reclaims a powerful sense of subjectivity, of the possibility of meaningful activity" (88). Underlining concern shared by both Būten and Terurin is the Okinawan subject, and the "native voices," which had not been "silence[d] by the integration into the Japanese state" (80). Here, the nuchi du takara is manifested through the preservation of Okinawan subject and "native voices" by his deployment of humor and laughter. Marking the significance of wordplay in Būten's performance, Nelson simultaneously alludes to the notion of historical laughter, an opening in third, allowing for the traveling of knowledge and life force I have defined as soul traveling where the Okinawan subject lives in and through miXtopias. To illustrate the continuity of the historical laughter produced in the rhythm, I discuss Terurin's famous musical act *Watabuu Show* (Fat Belly Show), first performed in 1957 and again in 1996 on a video documentary aptly titled, *Laugh Okinawa: 100 Years of Stories: Laugh [at the] U.S. Military Bases*, which was broadcast on mainstream TV, NHK Japan, June 18, 2011. *Watabuu Show* (Fat Belly Show): Performance by Terurin; Re-Performance by Taira

The documentary is a testament to the importance of laughter as a survival mechanism embraced by these Okinawan performers. The documentary, chronicles the history of Okinawa by tracing the genealogy of laughter of performances starting from Būten to a contemporary group called Owarai Beigun Kichi. In the documentary, Terurin's famous performance in 1955 called the "*Watabuu Show*" is re-performed in a contemporary version by an Okinawan traditional theater actor. I offer a small glimpse of miXtopia with a partial description with some analysis of the show that links the past with the present in the act of re-performance, weaving two versions of the performance over half a century apart. The contemporary version incorporates the original performance (1955), which has *champurū*ed the earlier Okinawan plays and stories in the performance. The impossibility of locating the original story demands lucidity of mind, to let it champurū. Yet this is precisely the foundation of mixed-multiplying principle that brings to light, the pleasure of mystery.

The documentary weaves the real events with performances that re-perform the absurdity of life by juxtaposing life and performance as refractions of a mirror. A segment starts with the commentary on a real incident, the 1955 incident of a six-year girl named Yumiko,¹⁹ who was raped and murdered by a U.S. military soldier (Yumiko-chan Incident). The incident reflect the dystopic reality of U.S. militarism in everyday life in postwar where shocked and angered are part of the everyday that keeps the matters unresolved. The quick transition to the next segment does not interrupt the memory-scape, remembered in the viscosity of the unresolved history that still haunts today. There are too many little girls and women who have been raped and murdered by the U.S. military, some with no names to bear, are conjured up and remembered in Yumiko-chan's story. It is precisely this lingering that must be given a relief to counteract the pain, with pleasure or laughter to "Go On! Go On!"

¹⁹ Additional source re: incident: Military Violence and Women in Okinawa Report 1995.

In 1956,²⁰ a year after the incident, Teruya Rinsuke (“Terurin”) produced and performed a live show in Koza titled, “Watabuu Show,” which depicted contemporary life of Koza. In a double narrative-format, Terurin revised the classical Okinawan play, “Okinawan Hando guaa ” (A little Okinawan Hando). The play, written in the Taisho period (1912 – 1926), is a classic Okinawan love story of a woman who falls in love with a married man from another island called Iejima. When she goes to his home island, she is teased by the villagers, separated from her lover, ultimately dying by wrapping her black long silky hair around her neck in the Japanese classical form of suicide, drowning. After her death, the lover develops a high fever as he is being haunted by the ghost of the dead woman, and dies with the hallucination of the dead woman’s long hair around his neck, after killing his whole family including his wife and his younger sister (Yano 1974: 308–9). In the “Watabuu Show,” the Terurin’s character, Rinsuke, reworks the classical story as an occupation era during which a modern couple contemplates suicide, separately. Unlike the original story, the couple is non-emotional and practical who decides to live because in reality, suicide is painful, and death is inconvenient at this time. The couple’s quick change of mind is a simple twist of fate that can be construed as a light comedy. However, the fact that they have reunited in a chance meeting, and chose to live is a profound act of refusal that changed dramatically the narrative structure (common knowledge) that always kills the subjects. This twist in the story is the will to live motif that I simultaneously locate/translocate in Būten’s performance of choosing life by celebration. ぬちぬぐすーじさびら “Let’s celebrate Life.” Even though it is not Yumiko-chan’s story of redemption, it is the “sly appropriation” that transforms life and gives hope to the living as we remember her story, which is also a miXtory. In Terurin’s rhythm, the F/actor is the Okinawa subject who is recuperated as “Okinawan” in/difference in the story with a message. Performers such as Terurin “hold” the space of difference that expand the historical space of Būten’s laughter from below to the other side of the ocean and back again, passing on the knowledge.

Inferior Subjects and Passing

The term “passing” conjures up the history and legacy of racism in the United States. Often passing is deployed as a survival mechanism to avoid being the victims of racism and discrimination, and doing so simultaneously reproduces racial hierarchy. But as Giulia Fabi demonstrates, and I have discussed in the Introduction, passing can be used as a counter-move or subversive tactic against the very power that created the conditions for passing. Okinawans too used passing as a survival mechanism in real life to avoid “racism” and discrimination, and to escape the world that constructed “Okinawan” as a lesser and inferior subject. The Japanese imperialist Meiji Restoration (1868 – 1912) forcefully annexed Okinawa to the prefecture of Japan in 1879. The legacy and memory of the assimilation policies and programs is deep and pernicious as it marked Okinawans, Korean-Japanese (*zainichi*) and the Taiwanese as inferior subjects who continue to experience social, economic, political and ethnic discrimination (Christy, Rabson, Sellek). For Okinawans, the Japanese “Great Depression” of the 30’s is a not so distant memory of an economically stricken time that forced many Okinawans to migrate abroad (mostly to Japan) as *dekasegi* (working abroad) and *ryuugaku*²¹ (studying abroad). What

²⁰ According to the documentary, it is 1956, but other sources say 1955.

²¹ Rabson wrote, “*yuugaku*, ‘studying away from home,’” in his article on page 71, but the right spelling, which I have corrected, is *ryugaku*.

awaited in the mainland, however, was not so much the opportunity for a better life, but the overt discrimination. Using the experiences of Okinawan writers, Steve Rabson describes the experience of Okinawan migrants who “were viewed by Japanese as ‘strange,’ ‘rustic,’ or ‘foreign’” (Rabson 73). Okinawans, Taiwanese and Korean-Japanese were denied work and often confronted with signs such as “no Koreans or Okinawans need apply” (Rabson), and “Ryukyuan and Taiwanese need not apply” (Christy), similar to the ways blacks were treated in the United States during the era of “separate but equal” Jim Crow. Historian and a co-director of the Center for the study of Pacific War Memories, Alan S. Christy showed construction of the “image of Okinawa as ‘pre-modernity’ on literature and from various assimilation reforms racism” in the late 1920s and 1940s. Christy explained the process of assimilation in the Osaka-Kobe area through the “Lifestyle Reform Movement” that visually condemned Okinawan clothing, walking, speaking and music as signs of laziness and backwardness (613). Although overt discrimination is less visibly seen, the marking of Okinawan-ness as inferior, as discussed by these performers, is more viscerally felt in the everyday, and by Okinawans who are haunted by the imperial ghosts. The familiar colonial or imperial tool, the construction of the “inferior” subject, subjugated certain groups in both the western and eastern nations. In the U.S. and Japan, passing functioned as a survival technique to escape domination, even while the practice also reproduced the colonial condition. And for both nations, the discourse of the pure blood of a master race was the myth that created both the inferior and superior subjects, simultaneously. While the Jim Crow era exemplifies the systematic social closures through racial and legal segregations of blacks and other non-white citizens in the United States, it was the Meiji Restoration period that implemented and managed the social codes for Okinawans and other ethnic minorities of Japan.

During of the Meiji Restoration, Okinawans and other Japanese minorities were conscripted into the modern nation building through the imperial system. They were forced to hide and negotiate their own ethnic characteristics to assimilate into Japanese society. Passing was a mechanism Okinawans and others employed in order to fit into the Japanese ideological norms of the national subject. While assimilation policy has been abandoned, the effect of the psychological trauma and memory has not left the psyche of some Okinawans. The performances I describe here point to and play against the legacy of assimilation policies against which bodies become salient the experience and meaning of passing in the performance. These performances often use passing as a signifier to discharge and disavow the negative signification of assimilation. By super-charging the very body that was/is racialized into a signifier, these performers use their own bodies as props, as they slip into a third transitional body that emerges out of and slides in/out of the crossing between two subjects.

1990s Situation Comedy: Radical Obstructionist Theater Troup

In the DVD documentary special on the history of laughter/performance, a performance group called the Radical Theater of Obstructionism deploys passing as strategy and possibility to expose and recuperate the Okinawan subject in the following skit.

あなた、沖縄の人でしょう。

Okinawan Man: You ARE Okinawan, right?

“Japanese” Man: No, I'm not. I'm from Tokyo.

Okinawan Man: Oh, I'm sorry. Wow, there is rain on the other side.

“Japanese” Man: Yes, it's *katabui*.

In the last line, the “Japanese” man who tried to pass or deny his Okinawan identity was exposed as Okinawan. He was caught in the act of saying what is a quintessential Okinawan expression, “katabui.” Katabui is the pattern of rainfall where it might be raining one side of the street, but not the across or down the street. This weather pattern happens in Okinawa, and not Japan, and the expression, which is in Okinawan, reveals incognito Okinawans. In the documentary, Tamaki Mitsuru, the leader of the troupe, speaks about his failed attempts to deny his Okinawan identity in order to “become” Japanese. He talks about an incident in grade school in the 60s, where he had been the victim of *hogen fuda*, a wooden dialect plate was hung on his neck to punish him for speaking Okinawan, a practice implemented in 1879 (Chibana 2012; Rabson 1999; Sellek 2003).

Like the skit, Tamaki also attempted but failed to pass as Japanese. Part of a new generation of Okinawans, Tamaki experienced the economic bubble (1980s), and felt some relief of the stigma of being Okinawan. But his hope shattered, and course derailed after seeing the performance by Terurin, who had also pursued the similar route. For Terurin, his “awakening” came when he saw the Okinawan play in Tokyo about a ghost story called the *hanging upside down ghost*. Common to both their awakening was hearing the Okinawan sound of music and language that reminded them of their roots, felt in the gut, chimu don don or wasa wasaa. Tamaki feels laughter has the opposite effect of pain and suffering, by reflecting on the power of healing that lessons pain as it reconciles the past. In 1991, he established a comedy troupe called Popo, which is the name of an Okinawan sweet cake made with black sugar, in 1991 that performed on a TV show from 1991 to 1993. A mundane-ness reflected in the content, form, and style of performance exudes the brilliance of miXtopia, the essence of Okinawan yu, transgressing time, “race,” and nation. Owarai pōpō mastered the art of performance in the people’s language; therefore, I devote a longer discussion of their unspectacularly marvelous technique of exposing the myth while performing the real.

Owarai pōpō (1991 – 1993)

The legacy of Būten’s *laugh* reverberates in Terurin’s rhythm. Like a soul traveler, this laughter persists and lives through many generations of Okinawan performance groups from the 1980s up to the present. *Owarai pōpō* often depicted everyday situations as a social commentary “in drag” against the backdrop of the long-term U.S. military presence, and the legacy of Japanese. The comedy sketch *Okinawa Actors Academy*, for example, channels historical *laughter* from the early 90s era and parodies the real school, Okinawa Actors School (est. 1983), by revealing the imperial trace and capitalistic greed in a mocking exposure. On the linguistic level, the performance delivers a strategy similar to what Henry Louis Gates Jr. calls *signifyin(g)*, a rhetorical device that works upon the formal language structure and produces new and different meaning (Gates 1988). The term *signifyin(g)* is a speech act that Gates describes as a black speech act of double-voiceness, in which trickery, indirections and other rhetorical performances are elucidated at the linguistic intersection of signification and *signifyin(g)*. Whereas signification is predetermined by the limitation of the traditional/dictionary meaning, the *signifyin(g)* functions as signifier that determines its own course, leading to different trajectories, and producing unanticipated and unexpected outcomes. To describe the semantic field of the crossroad as a parallel universe lacks precision; rather it is Gates’s application of the term “perpendicular” universe that defines the semantic differences between black and white (Gates 49). Here the performative space opens up in such a way that “Linguistic masking” is performed

where a black person moves freely between two discursive universes (75). Informed by Mitchell-Kernan's definition, Gates finds the difference signifyin'(g) "between the literal and the metaphorical, between surface and latent meaning" (82). The space where a black person moves freely through the linguistic divide between two discursive universes points to the location in which Okinawan characters are positioned in the skit, and deploy his/her linguistic signifyin'(g) style of performance. But beyond the literary textual space, these performers extend the space even further by adding the language of body; gesture, sound, expression and tone create multiple performativity for critical intra-play of subjects. Owarai performance style uses the visual as another key signifyin'(g) language/text of performance that exposes the imperial markings of "Okinawa," using the body as prop, going against the image and myth.

The legacy of imperial education still impacts Okinawans as the *other* Japanese. Owarai pōpō confronts this imperial ghost by performing their bodies as the mirror that reflects and deflects old and new subjects where the profane unravels its colonial double. Performing the Okinawan in an extreme form of representation, the absurdity exposes the history into re/view of a myth that constructed and disciplined Okinawan as inferior subject. Popo resituates Okinawa/n as a sign and signifier that resists power by "un-situating" the Okinawan subject in a border-performance of Okinawan (concept) "Okinawan" (colonial), and *Okinawan* (decolonial) in beautiful, meaningful, and multiple offerings of life as treasure and pleasure. I review some of the miXtopia moments of what I call The Performance of The Okinawan in the sketch recorded on You Tube²² titled, *Akutaazu Akademe* (Okinawan Actors Academy)

In the *Okinawa Actors Academy* comedy sketch, four students work through a series of acting exercises in order to develop their acting skills. The sketch starts with a scene that shows the first sign of unruly behavior: Okinawan time. A teacher comes in late with no sense of urgency, but casually slides in with a fan in his hand, mocking the punctuality of the proper "Japanese way." The lateness represents Okinawan time, a metaphor for island time, which is equivalent to people of color time in the American context. The performance underscores the failure of power to manage both the dominant conception of time and the subject's common sense of time. Thus time is both the disciplinary and unruly sign, and the location of the primal scene in which the subjects on the stage, whose bodies are in Muñoz's term, disidentificatory mode, moving between variations of Okinawan subjects. Here, the laughing subject plays between the 'constructed' Okinawan subject and the creative Okinawan subject who disrupts the construction of inferior. Like the sounds (i.e., intonation and rhythm) of Okinawan voice, the teacher's name, *fūchībā*, mugwort in Okinawan, is tactical because it reflects the prewar practice of using non-human names—such as animals, *Ushi* (cow); rooms in a house, *Kama* (kitchen area); and household items, *Nabe* (pan)—for Okinawan women. The significance in the deadpan and "in your face" usage of *fūchībā* as the name of the teacher punctures walls of silence, punctuates both the shame and pride of being Okinawan in the playful champurū motion that turns and churns out the Okinawan You, hailing the audience.

Cachāshī is a celebratory dance form used in informal and formal occasions to expresses joy, happiness, and appreciation of life. It is often accompanied by sanshin playing the customary songs that people spontaneously get up and dance to celebrate various life events such as reunion, marriage, birth of new baby, friendship, family gathering, birthday, New Year celebration and other formal and informal events and parties. It is also a sign of "Okinawa" that might conjure up the past, the ghost, and the cost of acting, being, and looking Okinawan. There

²² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JAAtuD7H2GPI>

is a spirit of Negritude, of churning out the colonial, imperial, and racial elements through the interstitial play between subjects, in Popo's work that transmogrifies the concept and colonial subjects into *Okinawan*.

Returning to the sketch, students are stretching on the stage near a piano, waiting for the teacher. When the teacher *fūchībā* bounces in, while laughing at being late, students crowd around like a kindergarteners. Delighted, *fūchībā* immediately begins the class with chanting/singing "one, two, three" as everyone performs a playful *cachāshī*. While instructing the students on how to dance the *cachāshī*, the teacher proudly announces, "For those who do not like *cachāshī*, please leave the room." Until this moment in the video (up to 0.53 min.), the language spoken was Okinawan, but this portion is deliberately spoken in Japanese that exceeds the confines of performance that offers a screen of protection for people who might take an offense to the overt insinuation and a broader implication of linguistic play. To be fair, one can argue that this was a simple case of comedy using a standard technique. But I propose that the line is delivered to the gut, awakening the visceral and historical feeling that exposes the traces of the imperial past in the present moment (at the time of the performance) of an Okinawan boom when the Okinawa was rediscovered as "Okinawa," for Japanese consumption. As such, Popo's "sly appropriation," and unruly breaks beyond the performance space is not a simple gag for entertainment, rather a radical act that positions *Okinawan* subjectivity.

After the teacher's announcement, there is a return to the Okinawan language. For the next exercise, the teacher poses a question, and the students answer, *unko* (shit), as their bodies writhe with laughter. Again, the laughter, created in the crossing between disciplinary and unruly, is manifold here because it transforms *unko* from the dirty word of real shit to the endearing object of knowledge, as if to throw shit against absurdity of life, since shit/*unko* is the answer to whatever question is posed in the sketch. The *unko* (shit) scene achieves the same effect as the Trickster in Mardi Gras as discussed by Roach. In the Zulu parade "reinventing an African cultural pattern in its New Orleanian social context," "the Trickster turns the tables on the powerful and emerges unscathed from the ensuing contretemps, confounding his adversary by dint of the dexterity with which he can reverse polarities: bad is good and white is black" (Roach 24). My point is emphasized at the exchange between Okinawan triplets that offer multiplying envisioning of turning shit into marvelous as a state of mind that a surrealist Suzanne Césaire, the wife of Aimé Césaire, reminds and asks us to welcome "...the domain of the strange, the marvelous and the fantastic, a domain scorned by people of certain inclinations" (Césaire (1972) 2000: 15).

Popo's work offers performance as a medium through which history is revealed in the present at the intersection of art/life crossroad. Performing through Muñoz's concept of *disidentification*, Popo skillfully manages the performance/performative subject in multiple disguises, effecting the mirror that reflects the socialized image of "Okinawan" and the performative body space in a "twilight moment" of performance that elicits the emergence of the Okinawan subject beyond the identifiable elements, turning the trick into magic. Thus, this mixing, multiplying movement, *champurū* F/actor or motion, refers to the non-identified element that is sensed and recognized through other non-identifiable bodies in co/motional state. Muñoz's concept of *disidentification* makes a clear case for the overlap of style and content of Popo's performance as a third mode of "dealing with dominant ideology, one that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather disidentification is a strategy that works on and against dominant ideology" (112). Yet I insist on presenting Popo's and other performances I present in my dissertation based on the philosophy and intellectual project

germinating from the idea of the sweat of living of the Okinawan folk. It is to show my commitment and reminder to always center the location of knowledge in the common, everyday, Okinawan and Okinawa to preserve the *Okinawan* difference in the theorization of third as movement.

Okinawan *yu* travels through the performance, and moves in/on the bodies and sounds of Okinawa as it mixes and multiplies subject in third. The strategy of joining Okinawan and queer as a merged third subject in a character-caricature overturns the double stigma in the overrepresentation of these “subjects.” In the sketch, the exteriority of clothing and acting suggests that the men are queer or in drag wearing the mix match of Okinawan traditional clothing with the early 90s style of make-up, earrings, tight spandex, short satin shorts, hair bands and hairpiece. The video of this 30 year-old comedy sketch elicits laughter as it marks the common location of history that looks back at those years with humor and awkwardness produced by re-viewing through the time capsule. The actual sketch was performed during the 90s when these cultural representations were commonly seen on TV and in real life. The images and actions represented in the sketch function as technologies of memories to reconstruct the reality from a surrealistic re/view. In the space between the real, memory, and the surreal, the turning and churning of pastness produces not only the “counter-memory” but also the “new memory.” Roach’s term “kinesthetic imagination” that “inhabits the realm of the virtual” (27) explains in part what is taking place in performance, where the signifyin’(g) practice is producing multiple signs, signals, tropes, and gaps simultaneously. Kinesthetic imagination is a faculty of memory that is interdependent with “other social memory: written records, spoken narratives, architectural monuments, built environments” (27). Informed by works of dance historians, Roach locates this kinesthetic imaginative faculty in a virtual mental space “where imagination and memory converge” as “a way of thinking through movements—at once remembered and reinvented—the otherwise unthinkable, just as dance is often said to be a way of expressing the unspeakable” (27). Roach designates this faculty in his analysis of both performances of theater and performances of everyday life, which are derived through the interrelationship between law and custom. By doing so, Roach unsettles the fixity in these forms by offering a more dynamic approach based on kinesthetic principles. I align my concept of performance life with his definition, but also take it from a different location and position, which is performance art based on the life/art principle. Thus as a co-producer of decolonial methodology, I seek to further and deepen the function of performance by broadening the interrelational redefinition of performance art, the everyday, and life as miXtopia.

Owarai pōpō works not only as a stand-up act of comedians performing as Okinawans but also as an energetic faculty like kinesthetic imagination that creates a “third language” as a platform to speak the unspeakable and unthinkable, such as *unko* and telling people to leave. The language is also the signifyin’(g) body that allows the performer to play multiple subjects within and against one’s own body in life and performance. The play on ‘play’ that overtly and covertly performs the Okinawan subject and the performer subject who takes charge of the body that can slip between the imperial subject/constructed Other. In Okinawan performance, re-performing the play in a contemporary style and context, the sketch stays true to the original script and creates the “third stage” in which a performance within a performance takes place in a surrealistic form and style used by an Okinawan filmmaker, Takamine Go. It is a meta-performance space that emerges as the “third text,” a passage through which the character-caricature makes an appearance in the *exchange* where they cross into one another. In performing the Okinawan traditional story of *Untamagirū*, the sketch reveals, in not so subtle

ways, the exchanges that take place in the performance of the image of the inferior Okinawan subject, which is superimposed over the subject that controls the inferior image in performance. *Owarai pōpō*'s re-enactment of the play *Untamagirū* mirrors a reality that speaks in multiple voices through the historical and hysterical laughter of the past, present and future. The inter-referential performative practice between Go and Popo defines the bridge building across other performances and productions of miXtopias.

Rensa-geki: Crossing Borders of Art-Life as One Continuous Space

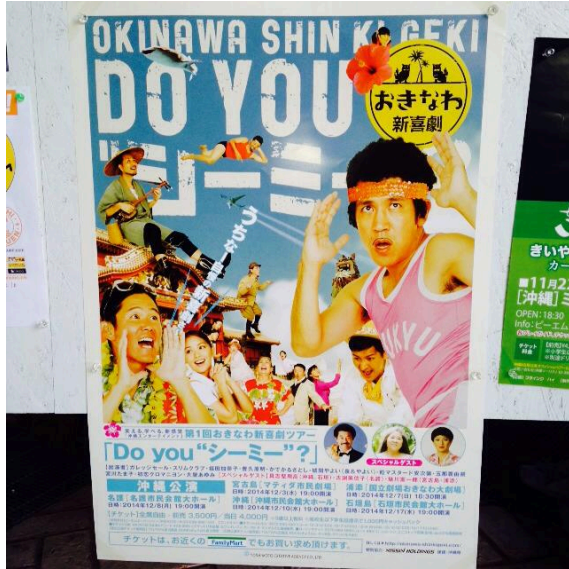
Untamagirū is a story made in a mixed genre called the *rensa-geki*, a mixed-media film-play that is shot separately as film and play as one form that threads one genre (film) to the other (play) in continuous form. Rensa-geki was a popular mixed-media genre used by experimental artists during the pre-war era between 1931 and 1932. As a side note, *rensa-geki* was popular during the mid-1910s in Asakusa's famous theater district 6, at the time Būten was performing, studying and crafting his technique. Back to the story, *Untamagirū* is an Okinawan tale about a mythical character named *untamagirū* who lives in the forest, and possesses a natural power that allows him to levitate. Like many superheros such as Peter Pan, Robin hood, and Zorro, he is the mediator who steals from the rich and gives to the poor. (*Okinawa Plays and Films Collection* 2008). Takamine Go's film, *Untamagirū* (1989) showcases his trademark style of mixing and multiplying the myth, reality, dream, illusion and fantasy combining all the *yu*. The film is entirely in Okinawan and requires Japanese subtitles for audiences who cannot understand Ryukyuan. Though not all Okinawans speak ryukyuan, the use of language through mixed form, visual, and sound makes available and possible the visceral dimensions of Okinawan soul traveling to continue in ubiquity. Pushing further the possibility of third passage at the intersection of art/life, Takamine Go's films blur borders in the tradition of the "rensa-geki" by casting the same characters (names, gestures, etc.) in different roles as recurring signs in his film oeuvre. This serialized technique expands the filmic space that inter-connects different films that incorporate play, performance and real life, in a continuing production of life. *Owarai pōpō*'s version of *Untamagirū* mixes both the original play and Go's film to make their own unique re-performance of the play on stage.

Performance of *Disidentificatory* Subjects and Ideologies

In the re-performance of the Okinawan play *Untamagirū* on You Tube (presented between 3:53 min. – 4:21 min.), two actors are appointed to play the leading roles of the protagonist and the antagonist in the play. When they begin to argue as part of the script, the characters, which until now spoke in an overtly "child-like and feminine" way, begin to speak in a mature tone and sug/gesture of a strong male character, while still speaking Okinawan. This sound effect takes place in the scene that doubles as both the sketch, and the rehearsal in the sketch, in which the characters gain both space and subject as a possible stage, enabling the characters to play both "feminine" and "masculine" to double the performance space. This sudden change of characters creates a tension between dominant sounds that mark gender, subject, and sexuality in the exchange that takes place in one body that has transformed doubled, unstable, and at times invisible. Popo's deadpan humor is more sophisticated than what meets the eye.

Like a champurū opera, Popo's performance is a multiple-simultaneous hailing of the age, gender, and sexuality in one mixed-multiplying body, which is difficult to capture in words. Yet this fluxity makes their performance superb and enticing for those who are a third maniac or mad scholar. The shifting and exchanging is like a pendulum that swings in unsuspected motion and direction until it suddenly stops and one is hit with a punch. Like the change in the voice tones, the scene follows the same pattern of shifting back and forth until the scene is over. For instance, with no foreseeable reasoning, the play experiments with opera that breaks all patterns and signs of the opera, as a female teacher/researcher plays on the piano a high-energy children's tune like the ones in Sesame Street. The simple rhythm serves as background music to assist the movement of the students' legs to stomp high in the form of a marching band while they sing a background chorus. The female teacher/researcher goes back to playing that kindergarten tune. While this version is in the style of slapstick humor played by two rascals, another version is presented as an underground play. The stage is darkened and the characters are no longer childlike but radicalized avant-garde. When he talks to the audience by looking at the camera, the teacher speaks in standard Japanese. Meanwhile, as the finale kicks off the voices of actors commingle into a crescendo and finally fade to black. At the end of the sketch, a student asks, "Is this actors school?" The teacher responds with a smirk and the "residual smile" and says, "This is not actors school; this is a school for profit." The teacher then skips off the stage, and the students follow his step and skip off the stage in a giddy excited way.

The Okinawan presented here is a mixed multiplying subject (or champurū F/actor), not because each actor plays both the character and the caricature, but the actors create the meta-performance space as a third stage in the crossing where the exchanges turn into a possibility. Superimposing the bodies of the *other* (imperial, inferior, queer subject), they *play* with gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and imperial in an Okinawan performance of self as "genealogies of performances." The initially presentation of a queer construction of character breaks the mold by an abrupt timing and transpositioning of voices from high to low, unsettling the ideological fixation of the identity of the characters that are presenting the an/other in superimposition. The manly voices disquiet the "feminized queer bodies" that the characters represent and create a turbulence of unthinkable subjects in two, which produces ideological failure of the subjects who have re/turned the gaze in twofold or four eye. It is a meta-performance space, functions as a "strategic bilingualism" or "signifyin(g)" practice that "speaks back" or disenchant power of authority that designates Okinawan accent as an inferior and backwards. Also the trans-morphing words and sounds produce *Okinawan* as a champurū F/actor in the process of mixed-multiplying. Moreover, *Uchināguchi* (Okinawan language) is a reconfigured version of Japanese in Okinawan way. When *Uchināguchi* was made inferior to Japanese in the Meiji era, Japanese could not recognize its own root that had been mixed-multiplied into Okinawan words. The language was constructed as inferior and backwards, yet the joke is at the root that unveils the emperor's robe and makes him stand naked.



A Flyer for Okinawan New Comedy, “Do You ‘Shī Mī?’” (2014)

This is an example of a mixed word play between Okinawan and English. “Shii mee” is a memorial event to honor ancestors during the lunar New Year, usually in March or April. Shii Mee is also “See Me” in Okinawan/Japanese pronunciation. It is a multi-complex play between culture, language, religion/tradition, American, Okinawan, and champuruus. Everyday life is the material and the stage for comedy, humor, and laughter.

Echoes of *Historical Laughter*

Resituating laughter as strategy, these performances counter-perform the “death of a (*champurū*) subject” by illuminating third as a center stage. As a textual signifier, using the word *Owarai* (laugh or comedy) has become the standard adjective for titles in many festivals, events, performances, and in documentaries such as *Laugh Okinawa: 100 Years of Stories: Laugh (at the) U.S. Military Bases*. In this last section, I discuss the work of *Owarai Beigun Kichi* (Laugh (at) U.S. Military Base) (OBK), is the contemporary performance group featured in the documentary. For this group, laugh is a pun that pinches through the wall between performance and reality. The group tackles the reality of military presence in their performances that expose the Japanese government’s complicit role in the maintenance of the bases. The materials come right from the reality to the stage in which the current issues of militarism, politics, and everyday are ready-made storyline that made into performances. Although they take on the real issues, they remain within the purview of artistic expression or simply, “entertainment.” Yet, for some critics, the contents of performances are offensive. From the tumbler thread “memo-memo,” one tumbler responding to the group using the Emperor as the pawn of their gag, commented: “This is not a comedy, it is racism! If they broadcast this in the U.S., they will be sued immediately. FEC is a Stupid Group.”

OBK series is the latest work by the main group, Free Enjoy Company (FEC), which was established in 1993. FEC member, Masamitsu Kohatsu, created the OBK Series in 2005 after a helicopter crashed at the Okinawa International University 2004. The incident was the impetus the series takes on topics ranging from politics, economics, social, cultural and everyday life impacted by the on-going presence of the military bases, and through the laughter, exposes the structural inequity in the tripartite relationship. In the documentary, a short clip of the live performance “JapaNet” is performed on stage in Ginowan-City, a place where the current conflict on the military base issue is taking place. The *Japanet* is also the name of Japan’s top selling TV shopping program (“JapaNet Holdings Co. Inc.”). The performance, “JapaNet Okinawa” Time, exposes the issue, which had been going on since 1996 to “relocate” the Marine Corps Air Station Futenma base, which is located in Ginowan-city where the helicopter crash

occurred. The sketch “JapaNet” alludes to Okinawa’s heavy burden of carrying 75% of the military bases that the government has forced on Okinawa, which represents .06% of the land. In the sketch, Futenma U.S. military base is packaged as a commodity, advertised as an Okinawan product, and offered to the Japanese government as local sales good. In this close mimicry of life as real performance, laughter erupts at the absurdity that keeps Okinawans outside of Okinawa: Okinawans are prohibited to go on base, while the military personnel are free to go outside of the heavy security bases. The performance reveals the ludicrousness of the sketch as real, and laughter punches the gut with pain and pleasure. Pleasure is derived from the empowered act of speaking the truth to power by unmasking the lies in the political and neoliberal “performance” being presented in the name of “peace.” What is being *played* in OBK’s performance, however, is the re-performance of a real power play between the U.S., Japan and Okinawa. What I call the “SACO Affair” provides the backdrop of OBK’s performances of parody that reveals the real life situation in which multiple events are bound in the political instrument called Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO).

SACO: Special Action Committee on Okinawa (1996)

SACO was created after the 1995 case of a 12 year-old Okinawan schoolgirl raped by three U.S. servicemen in Okinawa (*New York Times* 1995, *Chicago Tribune* 1996). The incident erupted on social media, became international news, spurred global movements of citizens, activists and scholars against U.S. military violence all over the world. The perpetrators were arrested, tried, and convicted, with each sentenced to 6 ½ years from what could have been a sentence of life in prison. Okinawa prefectural outcry through old fashion activism and new social media drew national and international attention, meant not only to highlight the specific incident but also to widen the scope of understanding the militarism as a global issue. Moreover, the incident exposed the problematic nature of the political system of Japan that denies citizens’ demand to lessen the burden of U.S. military bases on Okinawa.¹

SACO was proposed in 1996 to reduce military presence, among other things, to relocate (just) one of 32 U.S. military bases, “MCAS Futenma from Ginowan City to a ‘sea-based facility’ (SBF) to be built somewhere off the east coast of Okinawa in five to seven years” (Taira 2005: 1). The relocation would have occurred between 2001 and 2003 if it had been implemented, and since then, a host of other issues have erupted and compounded the problem even more. In regards to the 2004 incident of the helicopter crash at Okinawa International University in Futenma, a professor emeritus at the University of Illinois in the department of Economics, and an editor of the Ryukyu/Okinawan Studies Newsletter called *The Ryukyuanist*, Koji Taira retorts in an ironic twist that the helicopter crash was “an incident the university would have been spared had Futenma moved elsewhere in ‘5 to 7 years’” (Taira, 1). The crash represents a long list of crashes in the last seventy years, incidents, rapes and other crimes that still haunt and hover the blue sky above Futenma city and Okinawan. Still in 2015, the military continues to refuse Okinawans’ demand for peace, and the Futenma issue has now brought another issue to the forefront: Relocation of Futenma is possible if the new base on the seaport of Nago-city is accepted. The mayor of Nago has refused this proposal, and finally the governor of Okinawa made a statement to oppose the construction of the base on October 13, 2015. In return, Japanese government has sued the governor of Okinawa, calling his decision illegal, while the governor of Okinawa states that this is a case of discrimination, and plans to counter-sue the central government (*Japan Times* October 18, 2005).

The SACO Affair: The Crux of the Situation Comedy

OBK's performance plucks an e/motional (nervous) chord for both the Okinawans and Japanese audience members, because the laughter has different meanings and positions for both audience members whose lives have taken on a different course after the war. The 1995 rape and the 2004 crash are reminders of the past and the present. Mired in the unfulfilled promise of the relocation/reduction of the Futenma Base since 1997 Futenma city continues to experience the betrayal of the central government.²³ In this continuation of unfulfilled promise, OBK's stand-up comedy is a stand up to the injustices, and an alliance with the people who continue to fight through rallies, demonstrations, sit-ins, and teach-ins, which have been going on since 1996. OBK performance doubles the voice that has transpired into action by their insistence and persistence that "life *is to be* treasured," which is kept alive in this moment and movement for life that began in 1996.²⁴

In the documentary, a key member of the group Tamaki refers to Būten and Terurin's performances as motivational forces that propel his work. Reflecting on the unchanging reality, Tamaki concludes the documentary with hope: "even in disparity, we might still be able to see the light with laughter. It does not mean that the future is completely bleak" (My translation). It is this message in the historical laughter that punches the gut and awakens the mind, and like Du Bois's "Sorrow Songs," message as the soul traveler carries the gift of story, song and Spirit in the hope that it becomes free (see discussion of the Sorrow Songs in the Introduction). In this contemporary moment of miXtopia, a new force of champurū, like the FEC's *Owarai Beigun kichi* series, is creating its unique wave in the history of laughter of different flows, rhythms and directions. The space for play makes treasure and preciousness of life possible for meetings across time and space for *Būten* and others who laughed to be "Free to Enjoy the Company" of fellow travelers.

²³ Futenma to Henoko: To Move or Not to Move

According to the SACO Final Report released on December 2, 1999, Futenma Marine Corps Air Station is to be closed or replaced in Nago—Henoko bay. In August of 1997, "anti-base group was formed who submitted a petition of 19,734 signatures." (*Okinawa: Cold War Island*). The SACO proposal also was undermined by both governments who have yet to return the 20% of land used for the military to the local people. The proposal to move the base hinged on building a "floating heliport" off the coast of Henoko, Nago City. ("Okinawa: Effects of long-term U.S. Military presence: HISTORY OF U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE" Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence 8). The citizens of Nago city, mostly elders in their 60s along with their supporters launched the sit-in campaign in front of the Henoko bay in 2004, and continued to take action against the construction of the heliport. The environmental group to protect the marine mammal, Dugong, has also joined the movement, taking a legal step to the U.S. court and won in 2006. But the approval of the construction has made the rule only effective *de jure*, not *de facto*. In December 2014, the San Francisco District Court defined the nature of the case in the category of national security, which meant the case might not be heard in the district court (personally attended the preliminary hearing on December 12, 2014.)

²⁴ 2013 rally held in Futenma to oppose the military installation of 24 Osprey planes in Futenma Marine Corps base.



Daily Activism: Anti-Henoko Base Construction Site. October 28, 2015 (Photo: Yamauchi)

Chapter 3: Koza Champurū: History before MiXtory

The U.S. military landed in Zamami Village on March 26th 1945, and on April Fools Day, they landed in the seaport of Awase, Yomitan-son, a central southern border of the island, and commenced what is known as The Battle of Okinawa. The battle lasted from April 1 to June 22 and claimed one quarter of the population in less than 3 months (200,000, some have higher number). On August 15, Japan surrendered (formally signed on September 2) and came under U.S. occupation for six years. In 1951, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (AMPO in Japanese), which restored Japan back to its own nation-state. In the agreement, the emperor left Okinawa under U.S. military control, and it remained so for another 27 years.

Goeku/Gosa/Koja district, the former names for Koza, located in a central location near the seaport of Awase, was occupied on April 2. Rapidly, twelve refugee campsites were constructed throughout the island housing 250,000 Okinawans who were forced to move from one location to the next, corresponding to the military's strategic movements (Fisch 1988: 55 – 57). Kamara village was the main refugee camp set up, but due to the sharp increase of refugees from 1,000 to 5,000, a larger campsite was built nearby called the Koza camp (Yomitan Village Office). In these camps, people were thrown together from various villages throughout the Okinawa Islands, and later, when multiple villages merged into Goeku Village, the mayor, vice mayor, and the residents made up of different villages. Koza's *champurū* character, history and identity, was formed at this moment of history that brought new life under the American *yu*. The transformation of Okinawa meant that people had to adapt a new to way of life. Agriculture was replaced by construction and manufacturing work demanded by the military. Okinawans were forced to build bases that turned their soil into foreign land. In the process, military base culture and lifestyle influenced Koza's formation as a place and developed its unique *champurū bunka* in the process of transformation.

Although the Battle of Okinawa ended 70 years ago, and the formal occupation ended 43 years ago, the on-going U.S. military presence²⁵ unsettles the meaning of the “end,” and

²⁵ Today, there are 32 military bases (decreased from the original number of 47) that take up almost 20% of the island (total area of Okinawa: 2,276.01 km) with approximately 45,000 Americans (2009) in Okinawa: 24, 612 service members, dependents and civilians in Okinawa. (Military Base Affairs Division Okinawa Prefectural Government Report 2011, Online.) The article “American forces in Japan: Showdown: A long-running struggle over a new military base is coming to a head” in *The*

resituates the past as an open-ended question. For many, the war has not ended, as those who experienced the war still live to tell and build their stories into archives. As I will show, this history is a becoming process of “coming out” stories in various forms, including of performing, speaking and writing the voices of the past in a present-return. For this chapter, I trace the history of Koza’s champurū culture from the formation, transformation, and contemporary production of place. Although Koza develops out of the military occupation, the creative power of champurū turns and churns the world from an American yu to Okinawan yu/You, weaving different renditions of history from literature, film clips, newspaper, and real life event in a rensa-geki, a chain of performances, style.

Kana, The Story

Kana is a novella that takes place in the Koza camp at the beginning of the transformation. *Kana* received the New Okinawan Literature Award in 2012. The fiction is based on his reality of day-to-day witnessing the formation of mixed life. The author Kishimoto Katsuji, a native of a Koza district of Yoshihara, uses Yoshihara Komachi, based on the small town of Yoshihara, as his penname. Yoshihara was a former red light district during the occupation era, and bears the same name of Japan’s infamous red light district of the Edo period (1600s) (*Koza Bunka Box 3* 2007: 72). Although *Kana* is not a story about the red light district, this novel and his other unpublished and self-published short stories²⁶ reflect the everyday social landscape and the intimate spaces of life lived by those in real life situation in important ways. For example, the author’s depiction of women “workers” is comparatively different from the mainstream literature representation of these women that often marks them as tabooed, shamed, or stigmatized subjects. Yoshihara’s lived experience influenced his writing in such a way as to reveal the complexities of characters with souls that resonate with real people. I therefore read the story of *Kana* as producing the third space between fiction and non-fiction, and recalling Yoshihara as a third real life space beyond dehumanizing stereotypes and projections.

Kamara Camp

Narrated by a five-year old girl named Kana, the story takes place in the Kamara internment camp (eventually renamed Koza Camp), which was set up right after the war. The novel opens with her slowly recovering from amnesia, and seeing life in transition, from home life or new camp life in the aftermath of war, the situation is fuzzy and unsettled as people make sense of the place, people and space that have shifted overnight. They are awakening from a nightmare into an awareness of the surroundings in which they must live amongst strangers in a place called Koza camp, which in real life, became “home” for many. Through fiction, the story reenacts the true story of the aftermath of the war, which left a quarter of Okinawans dead, and captured the remainder into several internment camps throughout the island. Located near what

Economist reports a similar figure: more than half of 53,000 American troops and 32 military sites occupying a fifth of the main island. (*The Economist* 2015)

²⁶ Yoshihara Komachi’s oeuvre includes the unpublished work of six novellas in two sets: “City of Illusion: Koza Meandering 幻視シテイ・コザ 彷徨” and “Koza: Hallucinatory Line コザ幻視行” that I hope to translate and publish in English.

would become Koza, the Kamara internment camp, in both the novel and real life, brought together strangers in the spirit of *icharibe chōdē*, discussed in chapter one.

The author narrates mundane life as it unfolds in the minutia of dialogue. Unlike many stories of war, Yoshihara does not rely on shock value and extreme violence; rather, the writing depicts a local sensibility common to other Okinawan writers. An aesthetics of the everyday is expressed in descriptions of communal life and a sense of community based on the concept of *yuimāru*, mutual assistance and cooperation characteristics of village neighbors, and sense of *yuimāru* reflects the real life friendship, love and understanding based on this philosophy and practice of the everyday.

The novella depicts the slow but steady change in life at the camp. The protagonist, Kana, wakes up in an internment camp unaware of how she arrived at the camp, but soon becomes part of a world shared with others who have also been relocated by the military. In one early scene, the elderly grandma Makatu taps Kana's back and says something inaudible to Kana, at first. When she hears, "Are you okay (little girl)?" Kana bursts into tears and cries loudly with her mouth open (4). As Grandma Makatu then tells Kana, "go, eat a lot," a young teenager named Nao appears in the dialogue and tells grandma, "You should rest. You're still recovering." Grandma responds, "Thank you for always caring for me, Nao-chan. But I'm the only survivor. There is no use for an old lady like me to have survived." Nao responds, "Don't say that grandma. Your life was spared, and for that you must live for others." This dialogue depicts the first interaction of strangers who treated each other like family and look out for each other in this temporary home, until the place disappears as it once was and reappears as what will be.

In the middle of the novel, Kana meets and befriends a boy, Āsā, who is three years older and lives not in the camp, but nearby. He shows her how to catch the *tanagā* fish in a nearby river where many fish and other water insects live in a natural habitat of farm and wetlands. But the place is ghostly and disappears and reappears, in between the concrete and asphalt. Through their interactions, the author shows that *his* childhood becomes the return of history and memory: a place with open fields, rivers and wetlands, the insects, plants and fish that have Okinawan names spoken in the language of childhood, and a place of youthful innocence still untouched by impending disappearance into the construction of internment camps, military bases, and "American towns." The friendship takes up the last half of the story, as the boy becomes Kana's play brother who tries to adopt her into his household. But his mother tells him, with Kana present, that she already has three children to care for and that with a scarcity of food it is not possible to take her in. She turns to Kana and says gently, "I am sorry, little Kana." And Kana nods. Here, the emotion is not negative but is expansive, which allows an unspoken understanding of *both* characters that share the circumstances. History becomes *miXtory* when people, who at first strangers, become family through an unspoken bond created in a dire situation, like war and militarism.

The multiple stories in this novella could be those of real life individuals. One such real life caregiver is found in Ms. Shima Masu, whose story is told in an article in *Koza Bunka Box 7*. Ms. Shima Masu was born in 1900 and lost a child in a war. She was a heroine who built two agencies to help children in need of care and protection after the war. Her facilities, "Koza Girls Home" provided a safe place away from prostitution, and "Goza Juvenile Agency" gave juvenile delinquents a safe place to stay. She also helped develop social welfare programs to assist and empower people, especially the women who worked as hostesses or prostitutes. In the article, she was quoted, "It's easy to say, [to someone] quit prostitution. My role is to give them jobs first" (*Koza Bunka Box 7* 2011: 70). Based on Ms. Shima Masu's story, a musical *Koza*

Story was created to honor her story and Koza's history. The musical and novel coproduces the history of those who lived through the first phase of the American era, and who experienced the reality in temporality of camp life that is still a mystery for some.

Reel-to-Real Connection

Okinawa City's archival department found footage of Okinawa during the occupation on 600 film rolls in the United States archive. The rolls were transferred to DVDs, and donated to the Prefectural Government of Okinawa Archive.²⁷ In 2010, Okinawa TV station broadcasted the documentary, *The 600 Film Cases: The Battle of Okinawa: Reawakening the Memories of War*. In the film, the image of a young girl whose head was partially wrapped in gauze, along with the images of other children, looked back at the camera, dazed and almost catatonic. This and other images that had been lost and found in the U.S. military archives were screened in various islands of Okinawa for the survivors of war and their loved ones. At one particular screening, a woman in her 60s saw the little girl with the head wrapped in gauze and said, "I think that's me." The film was taken at the Koza orphanage, where according to the documentary, 800 children had been interned soon after the war. The name of the woman who spoke is Toshiko, but a name given by a caregiver. After confirming that the image is of her younger self, she said, "I just want to know my real name and where I belong/came from." In the documentary, after viewing the original footage, she reunites with two female staff members that gave her the name, but she is still haunted by not knowing where she came from. In this interaction, a *miXtory*, a third passage opened up between the raw footage and documentary film, showing reunifications between the images of past selves on film and the persons years later looking back in this real-to-reel re-connection.

The time and space created between the reel image and real life shows a significant change has taken place, yet something remains untouched that does not forget the past. Instead the past is present in traces that transpire into knowledge of those rediscovered images and memories that are mapping a new time and space of history. The third language, the *champurūing* of these different dimensions of the spaces in film, in the novel, and in person carries the traces and the senses of the unchanging *yu*, emerging as a critical living archive and mysterious knowledge. Yoshihara's writing points to this "third passage" of access to the unchangeable in traces and senses of the past that Kana and Āsā's mother share as the "unspoken understanding of the circumstance." It is the emotional quality of the circumstance that carries forward the love in the unspoken understanding between two parties into a pro/motion of a positive future.

Text as a Sign of Changing *Yu*/YOU

As sites of knowledge, language offers clues, and written text performs signifyin(g). The hybridized words, similar to creolization, represent the history of mixing speech patterns of Okinawan and English to create a new expression of communication that finds words like "gibumii" (Give me), "chokoleeto" (Chocolate), and "sankyu" (thank you) inserted into the

²⁷ The 600 film rolls of the footage on Okinawa during the occupation were found in a public archive in the United States, transferred to DVDs, and donated to the Prefectural Government of Okinawa Archive.

Okinawan Japanese language.²⁸ Many Okinawans who grew up during the “American era” remember those expressions such as “gibumii chokoleeto” when seeing an American soldier, and saying “sankyu” after receiving some chocolate, chewing gums, or candies. In the context of American wars and militarism in Asia, Marita Sturken writes that chocolate is an American sign that conjures up the memory of war and creates nostalgia for the occupation era in present overseas U.S. military bases. In *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering*, Sturken argues that the social production of national memories of the Vietnam War is constructed by what she calls “the technologies of memories” that produce emotional feelings of nostalgia in the cultural products such as public art, memorials, docudramas, television images, photographs, advertisements, yellow ribbons, red ribbons, alternative media, activist art, and art on bodies. The photographic presentations of postwar Okinawa by photographers such as Shōmei Tōmatsu and Mao Ishikawa conjure up these feelings of nostalgia, rolling the present back into history. For example, Tōmatsu’s photographs in *Okinawa Okinawa Okinawa* produce a sense of mystery in his photographic representation of Teruya. As I discuss later, the photos of a black-Okinawan female in Teruya’s Black District during the occupation era are a cite/sight/site of history, story and mystery as her body cannot be fixed, and rather it moves in a mixed-multiplying motion that conjures up tangled memories of others. In the same sense, *Engrish* (Japanese/Okinawan pronunciation of English) as a cultural object of occupation holds sensorial memories of sound, form, and use of this mixed form, made through the interaction between people. Engrish words like “miruku” (milk) and “pantsu” (underwear) offer performative space between the past and present continuum through an affective quality similar to the technologies of memories. The minutia of performance illuminates the sense of different experiences. For example, the pronunciation of water in Japanese is *wātā*, but in Okinawan, it is *wārā*, closer to the English pronunciation that reflects the proximity and the realities of the day-to-day living between Okinawans and Americans. As performative space between language, sound and living, the Okinawan pronunciation of American words evoke both affective quality and effective delivery to direct the readers to their primal scenes of the “first” American contact in an everyday Okinawan context.

The First

In *Kana*, the first contact with American military culture is often recorded as a painful event that eventually becomes normalized, but leaving a sensual mark on the body as the first primal scene. In *Kana*, the stomach is the first site of pain caused by a taste of milk, a military ration for Okinawans. Nao, a teenager, who has recovered from her first pain, assures Kana she too will get used to it. The process of normalization and naturalization of pain can be understood as a sign of the Americanization process that proliferates into other areas of life. Many firsts will become common, and rape, for many young girls and women, became a fact of life. A story that is far more common in real life is represented in Nao’s story, a 15-year old girl who is gang raped by American military soldiers. This incident invokes the 1995 incident of the rape of a 12-year old girl by three U.S. Marines. This real life event awakened the world via social media and the Okinawan women’s movement, which galvanized a transnational movement of many citizens and organizations to critically examine the impact of the military on women, children, citizen and the environment around the world. The novella, depicting the sense of that everyday space,

²⁸ The examples of mixed language are too many to mention but such forms exist in Creole, Pidgin, and Spanglish.

tells the story as it is happening. Again, fiction and real life, past and future meet through *Kana*, now to show that women's bodies become sites of violence under U.S. military culture.

Flash Forward to the Future: Construction of "Woman" as Indispensable

Here, the extended discussion of gender brings us forward and back to the construction of women in the context of militarism in Asia. Grace Cho's concept of *yanggongju*, a ghostly figure of collective trauma and fantasy, illustrates how gender and sex are intrinsically interlinked with the history and contemporary representation, production, and oppression of women. Extending Avery Gordon's concept of a social figure as a ghost, Grace Cho employs *yanggongju* as an analytic to examine how trauma is transmitted generationally in the Korean Diaspora.

Breaking the traumatic cycle, Cho creates the possibility for freedom, through the figure of *yanggongju*, an alternative way of speaking by which the trauma trapped in the hybrid, silenced, and invisible *is* re-remembered, re-emerges, and is accounted for. As elucidated by Gordon's reference to Benjamin's notion of the nomad, this ghostly figure creates a space for resistance, fighting for the oppressed past. Like Gordon's ghost, *yanggongju* is the (dis)organizing figure that crosses generational boundaries through transgenerational haunting. The history of women in the context of the military brings forth the figure of *yanggongju* as a dispensable subject that haunts the present, as exemplified in the following incident.

On May 13, 2013, the mayor of Osaka, Toru Hashimoto, made an outlandish comment regarding the necessity of a prostitution system in Okinawa and asked U.S. military officials to enact a policy to "take control of the libidinous energy of the U.S. Marines stationed in Okinawa" (*Synodos* May 13, 2013). The statement was an official response to the latest string of crimes committed by the U.S. military personnel in Okinawa. The former comfort women system and the current (military) sex industry are common facts of patriarchal military that other countries have also participated in. After outcry of criticism receiving from the U.S. and other nations, he qualified his statement by distinguishing between the free will vs. enforced comfort women. He would consider giving an apology for *only* those who were forced, that is, if they could prove the Japanese military were guilty of the sexual slavery of the Korean comfort women. Within this logic, the "voluntary" woman becomes the dispensable subject, a prostitute who is unworthy of an apology. When a woman is framed as a prostitute, she is judged as having an immoral character, while the real offenders are set free. This is precisely the point I want to argue. It is not what is said but what the common sense has already said in an unspoken code of militarism: patriarchy intermeshed with nationalism and exceptionalism.

On May 7, 2013, *The New York Times* reported that the number of sexual assaults in the U.S. armed forces had increased from last year: "Pentagon released a survey estimating that 26,000 people in the armed forces were sexually assaulted last year, up from 19,000 in 2010." (*New York Times* Online May 8 2013). The number, which is undoubtedly a low percentage, represents only the women who came forward, leaving the majority of incidents of sexual assaults unreported. In response to the report, President Obama stated, "If we find out somebody's engaging in this stuff, they've got to be held accountable, prosecuted, stripped of their positions, court-martialed, fired, dishonorably discharged. Period." Without the taking account of the role of militarism in Asia and its historical impact on women, the statements made by the mayor Hashimoto and President Obama reinforce the military logic of male dominance and power that create the role of "women" as precarious and dispensable subjects.

In “Military Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia,” political scientist, Katherine Moon comments, “In some ways, military prostitution (prostitution catering to, and sometimes organized by, the military) has been so commonplace that people rarely stop to think about how and why it is created, sustained, and incorporated into military life and warfare” (Moon 2009). The official discourse of the military as savior or protector of the nation undermines the complexity in Moon’s statement. The normalization of the military sex industry as common also makes sexual assaults a common “branch” of the military. This commonplace thinking makes women’s bodies dispensable and, therefore, invisible. The “women” we refer to are those historically made as dispensable subjects: the “prostitute,” the sex slave, and the immoral gender. Moon also suggests in her article that academia has only recently begun to pay attention to the issue of “prostitution” in the 1990s. Although the issues of women in relation to the military *have* been taken up by feminist scholars such as Cynthia Enloe, Kathleen H.S. Moon, Margo Okazawa-Rey, Takazato Suzuyo, Fujime Yuki, and others, we agree with Moon that the issues require a broader and extensive analysis of the military as a global system of power.

A Japanese scholar and author of *The Historiography of Sex* (1998), Fujime Yuki represents that effort for a broader and more extensive analysis of Japanese history on the topic of “U.S. military’s sexual management or policies toward prostitution and sexual assault” since the 1950s (Fujime 34). In “Japanese Feminism and Commercialized Sex: The Union of Militarism and Prohibitionism,” which examines the legacy of Japanese policy on militarism and women, Fujime reveals how the U.S. and Japanese policies toward commercialized sex under the American Plan functioned as a regulatory measure to control women during the military occupation period in mainland Japan. The dispensable subject was sanctioned and controlled under American Plan (U.S.), a policy that “had the same goals as the late 19th-century licensed prostitution system” (Fujime 35). Fujime describes the systematic nature of the Plan that Japan instituted to define and control women’s bodies as serviceable to the military. Under such system, a woman is both a dispensable and indispensable subject who sacrifices her body to “support” and thereby help protect a nation. Moreover the “woman” who survived and is constructed as a “prostitute” sacrifices her body to maintain peace and security for the nation. Invoking *yanggongju*, the “woman” becomes the ghostly figure across generations of women that travel time, space and place in *her* time and space of history. Throughout history, women who are victims of sexual assaults are declared and “confirmed” as prostitutes by the same law that also exonerates those perpetrators who are protected under the U.S. military system in Asia. Referring to the rape incidents that occurred in the early 1950s in Japan, Fujime argues that the U.S. military system used the logic of the military law as a justification in the sexual assaults trials: “U.S. military personnel had the sense that if they believed that the woman ‘was a prostitute,’ then it would not matter if they raped her” (44). While many feminist activists and scholars (Women for Genuine Security, Okinawa Women Against Militarism, etc.) reiterate and pressure adamantly for peace and justice, a woman’s rights to her own body or subjectivity continue to be discounted. What is inferred in the statements made by the mayor and the president refers to the *Yanggongju*, the comfort women and all the dispensable subjects that came before and thereafter.

Return to the Primal Scene 1944

Back in the story, after two U.S. military men raped Nao, the third nervously awaited for his turn, but was unable to carry out the act. Instead, seeing the hemorrhage, he covers her body with a cloth before leaving the scene of the crime. Later he returns to the site with chocolate as a way of apologizing to Nao, who at first refused his gesture of reconciliation but eventually, gave in and became his “american haaniii” (American Honey/girl). The story ends with Nao, now an “American Honey/girl,” venturing into the new American horizon, B.C. Street (Business Center Street), to work and grow up alongside the changing social, political and economic infrastructure. B.C. Street (now Park Avenue) was constructed in 1950, and was one of the main entertainment and bar districts designated for white military men. The purpose of building B.C. Street was to provide a place for friendly interaction between Okinawans and military personnel during the occupation era. The B.C. district was restricted to whites and was known as the white district that segregated blacks and Okinawans in to different areas such as Teruya’s Black District, and Yoshihara’s Okinawan district. The plan to build a friendly space also included a “hidden plan” that created another space as an underside business. For example, the Yaejima district of Koza was known as the “back street district” of B.C. Street, first serving whites, then later Okinawans and Japanese for the purpose of prostitution. U.S. military commander Major General Joseph Robert Sheetz denied the plan to build a brothel in Yaejima, but Shima Masu, the President of the Women’s organization at the time said otherwise. To move these “special women” from Goeku district to the Yaejima bar district was proposed by the military, to which the citizens eventually agreed (“Business Center Plan and “Yaejima” *Koza Bunka Box* 8 2012: 50). When these districts were established, the Okinawa Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Board established the system of controlling women’s health called the “A-Sign.”

A-Sign

The A-Sign is a military issued certificate of approval established in 1953, of the operation of the bars and entertainment businesses. The approval certifies the clean bill of health of women clear of venereal diseases. This is to protect the military personnel. The sign was issued several times: first by the Okinawan Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Board in 1953 and 1963, and by the Okinawan A-Sign Association in 1972, at the time of the reversion. The main text of the certificate reads in English:

THIS ESTABLISHMENT IS APPROVED AND CERTIFIED FOR
PATRONAGE OF U.S. FORCES PERSONNEL. IT IS INSPECTED BY
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. FORCES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE RYUKYU ISLANDS AND COMPLIES WITH STANDARDS
PRESCRIBED AND THE ORDINANCES OF THE U.S. CIVIL
ADMINISTRATION.

OKINAWA ARMED FORCES
DISCIPLINARY CONTROL
BOARD

The text is followed by the signature line, number, date established, and issuing official. The cover of *Koza Bunka Box*, a magazine published since 1998, uses the image of the A-Sign

certificate for all its issues. The A-sign system ended in 1973 with the sentiment that “We are done with the businesses serving the military” (*HiStreet* 2008).

The system was set up to control and manage Okinawa’s economy and women’s body. Along with the approval, the military issued a disapproval order called Off Limits Order, a legal apparatus to shut down or temporary close down businesses. The system became the dividing line between business owners’ dependency, and citizens against dependency on the U.S. military of “necessary evil” (Tatsuno: 61). From the TV special on Koza Riot/Uprising, a segment called the “U.S. military Base: In between “existence” interviewed a former A-Sign bar owner who described the paradox in these words:

After all, the town called Koza rapidly became rich because of the military presence and military personnel. So you can’t say get out of Okinawa. This is the most painful (fact) for Okinawa. *This (fact)*” (*Kinkuru Special* 2010).

「コザの街と言うのは結局ここに米軍の軍属とか軍人が居たからこの街が出来たから急に豊かになったから沖縄から出て行けとは言えない。それが沖縄の一番悲しいところ...ここが。」

It is in this paradox that discourse, representation, and narratives of women must be situated. And simultaneously, the analysis requires the real women and their stories, which defy the stigma of the red light district, and criticism of the system of militarism and violence against women: a miXtory to account for this miXtopia. A character named Natsuko is a hostess in *New Jazz Street*, another Koza novella by Yoshihara, who symbolizes women marked as “bad” and “prostitute.” Her body, stigmatized as a “prostitute” working in Yaejima’s bar district, marks the character, as it did real women’s bodies in this place of shame, receiving double strikes for “promiscuousness” and bad fate, both reflective of the place as a sign of “immorality.” This is the history, story, and sign on Nao’s character’s shoulders as she leaps into the unknown at the end of the story.

The American Era (1952 - 1972)

The restructuring of Okinawa began with the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which ended the occupation of Japan but not of Okinawa. Okinawa became part of U.S. territory and the build-up of strategic military forces in Asia. In 1951, after signing the Peace Treaty, the United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR) was established in place of the direct military governance of Okinawa. The USCAR also was set up to separate Okinawa from Japan, now under U.S. military control. The government under U.S. control offered partial autonomy to Okinawa and it reclaimed its status as a semi-independent island by using the historic name Ryukyu, of the kingdom prior to Japanese invasion in 1879. The local government, Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI), was established in 1952, consisting of judiciary, legislative, and executive branches. To further distinguish Okinawans from the Japanese, the Ryukyans were given a foreign identification card and a Japanese passport for travel outside of Japan (Hook and Siddle 2003). During this time of U.S. rule, Okinawa served as an occupied subject and nation similar to Guam, Korea, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawai’i. Okinawans demanded to revert back to Japan, which led to the 1972 Reversion, under the belief that Japan would treat Okinawans as Japanese citizens and that Japan will liberate Okinawa from the U.S. Occupation.

In 1952, a separate self-governing body called the Ryukyu Government was established under the U.S. military administration. This separation reinforced the ethnic and historical differences between Okinawa and Japan. There were other changes that reflected the liminal status of Okinawans as neither Japanese nor American, and reinforced the unique reality of the occupation for Okinawans. The military currency for Okinawa, B-yen, which had less value than the Japanese yen in order to increase the dollar value, was issued temporarily in Okinawa but later retracted. The roads and streets changed from wetlands and fields to paved concrete streets for the purpose of military transportation. As the landscape changed in the early phases from farmland and rice paddy fields to concrete and asphalt, this transformation of Okinawa meant not only the destruction of the physical space “but also the obliteration of the most basic features of the island’s economy and society” (Fisch 178).

The most salient and visible traces of change are found in the social-economic landscape of the cities located adjacent to the military bases known as the “host cities.” In the beginning, the number of military bases exceeded 40, (in 2015, they had decreased to 32). Although each “host” city’s relationship to the military base is different, cities such as Koza, Kin, and Henoko were significantly impacted, changing their cultural, architectural, and physical make up. Koza, as the first “military town,” flourished as a new urban town and produced Koza’s unique champurū culture. Inside the base, it was called the “American suburb.” An architect and professor of architecture and landscape architecture, Mark L. Gillem explains the “suburb” was built by planners who “wholeheartedly adopted the suburban ethos, with its focus on conformity and consumption” (Gillem 80). Champurū culture is the Okinawan counterpart to the base culture, and reflects a complex and long-term relationship that developed out of the economic and social exchange and the everyday interaction between U.S. military personnel and the local citizens. Stores and businesses established along the streets in the designated bar and entertainment district made up the architectural pattern reconstructed in other entertainment districts. Gate 2 Street leads directly to Kadena Air Base and is a major street that serves as the U.S. Military’s major “platform for the East Asia” (Gillem 234). In *Koza Bunka Box 7*, the 1970 map of Gate 2 Street, shows businesses lined both sides of the street in a standard spatial format of restaurants, eateries, tailor shops, fashion/clothing shops, bars and cabarets, barbershops, pawnshops, watch and camera shops, as well as other electronic stores. Over 15 tailor shops listed on the map suggest a different kind of intimate space of proximity between familiar strangers where particular affinities and culture developed between Americans and Okinawans during the occupation. Cities like Koza function as a borderlands where two nations overlap, negotiate, and merge as one social-economic crossroad. While people, mostly American soldiers, have come and gone, the champurū-base culture first created during occupation shaped and shape the everyday life of Kozans who have economic ties to the base today. But more importantly, Koza’s Okinawan *yu* is created at the crossing of America and Okinawa, where both the Koza champurū, and the Okinawanization of American culture are produced.

Postwar Aesthetics and the Objects of Everyday Affection: The Sense/Scent of the Place

Everyday objects are important sites to examine how the past is still part of the present, linking the missing pieces of *our* history to the everyday. Professor of art history and design, Toshino Iguchi writes, “The influence of the United States in the form of American culture is seen in Okinawa in its basic life culture, such as food, clothing, and shelter, in Okinawa after the war, and it still exists today in the citizen’s everyday lives as a part of postwar Okinawa’s

cultural formation” (Iguchi 2008: 2). Again Sturken’s concept of “technologies of memory” is useful to explore the traces of memory in objects such as signposts, buildings, food, music, fashion, language, and Okinawan-style storytelling found in/about Koza. Linking transnational history in the context of the military occupation, Koza life can be understood by reframing “military” postwar objects such as music, food, fashion, and social spaces such as cafés and restaurants as technologies of memories that not only conjure up the past, but also illuminate the present making of culture/mixed life.

Food and Restaurants

A man who is almost 70 to goes a Blue Seal Ice Cream Store to get his “taste” of the past.
(November 2013, Ginowan-city, Okinawa)

Located near the entrance of the Kadena Air Base on Gate 2 Street, Café Ocean is a bar/restaurant, established during the occupation era. The owner Yasshī or Yarayashī is a local Kozan and a musician who, on rare occasions, plays the guitar and sings his original songs for customers. The popular dish at this bar is the taco. The shell is fried in deep oil, slowly dipped and tossed by the meticulously gentle hand. Yasshii attends to the hot pot until it is perfectly cooked with the level of crunchiness and consistency of Okinawan dishes such as *tempurā* and *andāgi*. The flavor is perfectly mastered in the slow and steady rhythm of the owner’s unique Okinawan time. Thus the Mexican taco, another U.S. imperial project and military product, was and is transformed by making “Okinawan sense” of the Mexican American ingredient. Customers, both local and non-local, often make comments about the texture of the Café Ocean taco that sets it apart from other tacos, and its unique local flavor. This taco is one of the favorite dishes of “Okinawan cuisine.” A profile of an older Taco restaurant in Kin city (est. 1984) on a tourist website tells how the owner started the business: “it was started in a small parlor, but now Taco Rice is served in school cafeterias, restaurants, and can be consumed as common lunch menu for school cafeterias or at home” (“Taco Rice: Okinawa B Class Gourmet”). As part of the city development project, the site promotes Taco Rice as “Okinawan Soul Food.” Usually, tourist and travel sites such as this one make no mention of the presence, location and relation to the military base in its origin story. This popular store is located directly across the street from Camp Hansen, a U.S. Marine Corp military base “hosted” by Kin city since the 1950s. The three Marines who were charged with raping the 12-year schoolgirl in 1995 were at this military base, described on MilitaryBases.com reads as:

Camp Hansen is currently the most important and active training center in Okinawa. It is one of the few places in Japan where the troops can rely on live fire sessions. There are a few huge firing ranges that are open at any given time. Aside from the United States Marine Corps, the base is open for other armed forces too, including Japanese troops – the Ground Self Defense Force. All in all, the base supports the missions and operations conducted by the U.S. Marine Corps and the units hosted on site.

Most people refer to Kin city as the origin of the Taco Rice. Yet there is another famous taco place established in 1958 called Charlie’s Taco located on the former B.C. Street, Park

Avenue in Koza, which, according to people in the know, originated in Yaejima before 1958 (See Photo on P.103). Moreover, the relationship between B.C. Street and Yaejima in context of history a mystery, as one shadowed the other. Tacos remains one of the favorite dishes of tourists, travelers and locals in Okinawa’s *champurū*-base culture—in Yokosuka, Japan, the symbolic dish is curry rice—that some call the “deep” (forbidden and foreign) Koza. While Americanization took hold of Okinawa, Okinawa had its hand in *champurūing* the “Okinawan,” in, translationally speaking, a Chicana-style of “*rasquachismo*.” While the tourist promotion of Okinawan taste glosses over the military connection, it also discounts the “sly appropriation” of the hand that feeds the souls of Okinawan folk that “cook” the military culture.

The distinct local flavor is a popular topic of discussion in a nation that appreciates refined flavor. Although Okinawan food, especially pork, was unthinkable for most Japanese mainlanders, the exotic American-Okinawan flavor allowed some brave souls to consume a variety of “Okinawan dishes.” What is called *A-lunch* or *B-lunch*, is a mixed plate set menu first served during the occupation. A set might include a variation of Campbell’s soup, spaghetti, fried chicken and a wiener, fried eggs over rice, and macaroni, similar to American diner food. Some restaurants keep it really old school and offer a similar lunch plate with a nice slice of butter to put over the rice. In 2011, Okinawa city started a food fair and competition of A-Lunch menu, which is an American size portion of mixed items served on a plate that Okinawans learned to adopt from Americans during the occupation. As many have grown up with the “American flavor,” the local restaurants that still serve A-lunch menus to compete for the best lunch plate for a prize, which also boosts city’s economy (“The First Competition for Koza A-Lunch Menu” 2010). Many Japanese from the mainland are surprised to see the “American” (i.e., big) portion of the plates. In 2013, a municipality of Kitanakagusuku Village celebrated the 50th year anniversary of an A & W establishment. Most Okinawans grew up with the taste of the occupation that defines and maintains American flavor, technologies of memories in food items such as Blue Seal Ice Cream, A & W root beer, spam, coca cola, and ketchup, the legacy of military rations and occupation. Even while new economic development projects are taking place to replace the old with the new, these tastes of the occupation have become part of everyday life in Koza.



Charlie Tacos Restaurant on B.C. Street
 Japanese text reads:
 “Mexican Born Okinawan Bred”
 (Photo 2012 Ikehara)

Everyday Items: Art/Life

During the occupation, Okinawans used what was available in the environment to create functional items for everyday living. The *HiStreet*, a postwar museum in Koza exhibits the everyday items used during the occupation such as Coca Cola cups and soda bottles made into drinking glasses; aluminum cans into ashtrays; and parachutes into clothes created during the occupation. Creation by necessity became a practice for people who lost everything, but found scraps in their front and backyards, turning them into everyday items for living. In the early 1950s, the Koza district of Yoshihara experienced a period called the “Scrap Boom.” These scraps ranged from aluminum, engine parts, airplane parts, metals, bulldozers and other parts of machinery, dumped as waste. Okinawans dug up these parts, sold them and made money, with which they built homes and lives. Yoshihara district was a goldmine, a place that attracted people of all ages who came and dug for scraps, which were eventually turned into cash. A story was told of people who dug too deep into the soil, loosened the foundation of the house, and almost lost the house (*Koza Bunka Box 7: 59*).

The scrap boom reminds one of a “rasquachismo,” a “view of the downtrodden,” that Chicano/a artist-activists define and practice as “political positioning” through the use of discarded and unwanted everyday items to make meaningful cultural art pieces such as altars. Amalia Mesa-Bains defines the practice as “a combination of resistance and resilient attitudes devised to allow the Chicano to survive and persevere with a sense of dignity” (2). Transforming art from scratch is a “political positioning of Chicanos emerging from a working-class sensibility called for just such a defiant stance” (Mesa-Bains 2), and this practice relates to the way Okinawans also transformed the military scraps/trash into everyday art of living. The Okinawa practice differs from “rasquachismo,” however, in the intention of the art is not expressed as a political act, but the necessity of life that created these objects, which I am calling art in the context of life/art principle I am claiming for this dissertation. Though both achieve a similar form of resistance and resilience, the difference of intention and expression is critical to understand the process in which both Chicanos and Okinawans arrive at the place of choosing meaningful life over “death” of art (of life).

This everyday practice of turning one situation into another expresses the practice mentioned previously of *yuimāru*, in which community members look out for each other and live together in harmony. This sense of *yuimāru* or harmony with life is expressed in the way the tacos are made, the way the cups from the coca cola are made, and the quiet and unspectacular way the everydayness is made into a life/art piece.

Everyday Art: Bottle Cap Deco (Teruya Streetscape 2013)



A decorative piece hangs in front of a house, draping against the rail on the small street that connects to a crossroad that signifies peace and harmony with the everyday in its mundane presence. From a distance, the decoration looks like a Japanese thousand-crane piece, believed to have power to heal, and is also generally regarded as high traditional Japanese art. But a close view of the hanging piece reveals the material not as the fine pieces of origami paper, but the metal bottle caps from the soda bottles that people save and string together in another street art. The art of making something out of (what could have been) nothing during the occupation makes life in the mundane present harmonious.

Kozatopia²⁹: Okinawa “Booms” and Champurū Culture

Today, Koza’s unique champurū culture is due to a combination of factors that make the place a popular destination for many travelers. The constant flow of travelers creates a multi/national/cultural/racial/ethnic cultural crossroad. All year, and all day and night, Koza life offers eateries, bars and clubs, markets, shopping, local and international festivals, such as the Okinawan Eisā Festival, the Peace and Love Rock Festival, the Ashibinā Festival, and the Kijimunā Festival (Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City, *Koza Bunka Box 6* 2010: 14).³⁰ The tourists, travelers, and/or speculators from Asia and other parts of the world can experience the American military culture, and the urban and international “feel” at

²⁹ A clear distinction between Kozatopia and MiXtopia is warranted here. Kozatopia is my neologism to describe a form of neoliberal multiculturalism that reproduces and maintains power in the tripartite relationship. MiXtopia is (again my neologism) a theory and methodology of third that decolonizes the space such as Kozatopia. MiXtopia offers possibilities of difference (life, future, culture, etc.), while Kozatopia forecloses that difference and reproduces power of domination. Another way of describing the relationship is that of colonial/decolonial, one produces coloniality of power and, the other, offers decolonial possibilities/options.

³⁰ Okinawa City Festivals and Events
(Okinawa Publication, Okinawa City News 1. No. 475 January 2014)
1975 Okinawa City Festival/Matsuri
1991 Okinawa Carnival
1993 Merged the above two and became International Carnival
2001 Samba Carnival
1994; 2005 Kijimuna Festival (International Theater Festival Okinawa for Young Audience) (Bunka Box #6)
2008 Gate 2 Festivals; Kadena Festival vs. Orion Beer Festival

Koza Event Information (Koza Source Magazine vol. 045, 2012)
January: Okinawa city Industry festival
February: Okinawa Marathon, Hiroshima Toyo Karp Baseball Camp
March: Saint Patrick’s Day Parade, Okinawa Arts & Crafts Fair
June: Beginning of Eisā season with opening events
July: Peaceful Love & Rock Festival, Eisā Festival, Koza Eisā Festival, Kijimuna Festival, Kazeyama Festival
August: Eisā festival for the Children’s World Park, Kyuubon (Lunar New Year Festival)
September: Okinawa All island Eisā Festival
October: Koza A-Lunch Competition Fair
November Okinawa International Carnival, Gate 2 Festival
December: Sound Pageant, Countdown Live

various entertainment centers, ethnic enclaves, the former bar districts, and “deep Koza,” the less traveled places away from the center. Tourists flock to Koza for the postwar champurū culture that also builds the image of Okinawa as “foreign,” “exotic,” and “different” from mainland Japan due to the different military history. According to the statistics, the number of tourists from Japan to Okinawa increased 10.8% between March 2013 and 2014, from 568,900 to 630,200 with 50% from Tokyo (Okinawa Prefecture Website 2014). But there is a long history of what is called the “Okinawa boom” that created the flow of Japanese travelers from the early period of occupation. The recent flow of Japanese travelers from 2001 to 2009 increased as a result of “the multimedia Okinawa *buumu*,” a pattern of Japanese migration connected to the history of Okinawan *buumus* (“booms”), begun in the 50s (Kühne 2012: 218 - 9). According to Oliver E. Kühne’s report, the media and tourist agencies played a key role by producing and marketing Okinawa’s indigenous culture as merchandise. They appealed to the generation of Japanese who felt the loss of the “old Japanese life” in their hometowns by offering Okinawa as a place and space of healing and nostalgia that can be experienced (225). During the “healing boom” in the 50s, Okinawa was marketed as a place of “healing” (*Iyashi*), nostalgia (*natsukashii*), and gentleness (*yasashisa*). Japanese tourists and visitors could be healed by ‘gazing upon’ the relaxing beauty of Okinawa,” in which Kühne argues, “the media has already staged and implanted into their (subconscious) collective memory” (226). Moreover, he situates this gaze in the historical context: “It is a form of ‘neo-colonial’ oppression through the ‘soft power’ of a culturally stereotyping ‘neo-imperial gaze’ of Japanese tourists” (225). Kühne refers to Pratt’s notion of the “colonial gaze” to define tourist agencies, media, and Japanese tourists as the agents of “neo-imperial gaze” (214). In this context, what I am calling *Kozatopia* reveals the traces of imperialist desire in a Japanese tourist who gazes upon Okinawa as a colonial object and creates his/her utopia, performing the Japanese as a superior subject. Framing as neo-imperial project, the *desire* reveals the master’s *I/difference as the center/ego of attraction*. But once the gaze can no longer sustained in the promotional fantasy of “healing,” the emptiness of the ego/subject exposes the imperial and colonial past in the present relationship between Okinawa and Japan. *Kozatopia* thus expresses the competing desires that conjure up the historical and contemporary relationships of different subject positions at the nexus of the cultural celebration and economic development project that emerged in the late 1990s.

In 1998, the city made the decision to reclaim the past, which Kozans had resisted, as part of the new economic plan to help revive the faltering economy.³¹ In this celebration and promotion of Koza’s unique champurū culture, postwar history became the center of activities and the crossroad of desires. At the helm of this project is the city’s editorial department, which led and implemented multiple projects in the late 1990s, including the launching of a magazine

³¹ Okinawa City’s 1998 Decision

After the formal occupation ended in 1972, Koza’s bar districts experienced “Dollar Shock,” which impacted the economy that relied on the dollars spent by the soldiers. Okinawa Prefecture Website shows the sharp economic downturn of the economy based on the military, which decreased from 15.5% in 1972 to 8.6% in 1977. During the occupation, Okinawans used dollar currency, but after the reversion, Okinawans changed from dolloar currency to Japanese Yen, and lost money in the unequal exchange rates. The city implemented various economic development projects in attempts to recover the loss from the shock, but most resulted in failure. After decades of unsuccessful outcomes, the city made an unprecedented move that changed the course of history. In 1998, the city made the decision to reclaim the past that until then the Kozans tried to forget, as part of the new economic plan to help revive the faltering economy.

called *Koza Bunka Box* in 1998, and published the 10th Volume in 2014, to serve as the source on Koza's postwar history and culture. It consists of researched articles, oral interviews, stories, photos, objects, promotional materials, and information. The raw materials and primary sources are housed in the physical office as part of the archive division of the city office. In the first publication, the staff writer Onga Takashi, who later became the chief editorial staff at the City of Okinawa City Archive Department, reflected the unique characteristics of Koza's *champurū* culture. Contemplating the possibilities of other *champurū cities* in other parts of the world beyond the neighboring cities, he wanted to explore beyond the standard notion of a mixed culture/multicultural reality that makes Koza different from other similar places: "I suspect that it's because Koza breathes in different cultures to develop its unique culture called 'Koza.' I want to think about things such as what are the meanings and impact that influence us as a people who live in 'Koza?'" (30). His rumination on Koza's past is reflected in the productions of the history of Koza Uprising/Riot, a key moment of history. By examining the competing narratives, representations and discourses about the Koza Riot/Uprising, I resituate the past as an unresolved matter, and a F/actor at the crossroad of celebration and promotion.

Time of Change: Unresolved Past and the Spirit of Fire

December 20, 1970 is known as the Koza Riot or the Koza Uprising³². On this night, a part of Koza was on fire and for some, that fire never was extinguished. To contextualize the event, one has to consider the significance of that era, which brought fundamental change not only to Okinawans, but also for black Americans and the people around the world. During this era of the Civil Rights Movement, the Black Power Movement, and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, people around the world, especially blacks in the U.S, participated, witnessed, and experienced the paradigm shifts that challenged long-standing white supremacy. Africanist historian, Yuichiro Onishi describes the ethos born during this era:

While the protest movements splintered in myriad directions in the late 1960s in the United States, the activists of the Okinawan freedom struggle developed a network of alliances and identifications between and across the Pacific and that crossed over into black and Third-World liberation solidarity movements (Onishi 181)

The third-generation Okinawan scholar Wesley Ueunten has described the potency of the time and space of occupation and the black Third World liberation movement that developed the "Third World Consciousness among Okinawans" (Ueunten 2010: 92). Yet he also complicates the narrative, noting Okinawans discriminated against blacks as "an extension of Japan's internalization of white supremacy, [while] Okinawans' own prejudices against darker skin could be linked to other dynamics" (Ueunten 2010:113). But, Ueunten also recognized the reality of alliances:

Okinawans as well as African American soldiers recognized their shared oppression at the time of the Uprising. During the Uprising, Okinawans operated under the code "Don't hurt the weak, including black servicemen" and on the next

³² My purpose to keep both the "riot" and "uprising" to describe the event is show the contradictory perspectives, positions, and meanings that exist amongst Kozans, which maintains the incommensurability of these two terms, and signals the incompleteness of the event.

day, black soldiers issued statements in support of it. Different streams of consciousness emanating from separate historical trajectories of oppression intersected in the streets of Koza. It was this meeting of people, consciousness, ideas, and events in the context of Okinawa's colonial conditions that would literally explode on the night of December 20, 1970 (Ueunten 2008)³³

The Koza Uprising or Riot arose out of what Ueunten describes as the “sea of discontent” that met the crossroad of possibility of transnational alliance and coalition “to fight the power” to challenge the hegemonic regimes of the U.S. imperialist project in Asia, and to create an alternative future that reinterprets the history of the late 1960s in the Pacific. This event shapes the ways in which Koza was revitalized, re-awakened and memorialized as the place of rebellion and coalitional space to fight against the colonial and imperial empires. Both Onishi and Ueunten link the Koza incident to the riots that took place in the late 1960s in the United States when the black-Okinawa alliance was taking shape and place at the height of the Black Panther movement. Reviewing materials such as flyers, newsletters, and photos produced out of this alliance, one can clearly see the significance and direct influence of the Black Panther Party in Okinawa. However even this level of international movement and solidarity was not able to change the conditions of militarism and black-white racism in Okinawa. The U.S.-bred black-white racism in Okinawa became part of the “life experience” of Okinawans, especially in Koza.

Whether viewed as a riot or an uprising, the incident reminded Okinawans about the condition of U.S. military occupation that created uncertain futures highlighted their status as third-class citizens, and the precariousness of the tripartite relationship. The history of black presence and the black-Okinawan alliance is rarely represented in the contemporary production of Koza's postwar history, yet, as Onishi's and Ueunten's works illustrate, history contextualizes the incident prior and after the 1970. In this dissertation, I examine the champurū F/actor of the fire as a burning issue for Kozans and Okinawans who define themselves as neither “activists,” nor “political.” *This* fire is the spirit of the *nuchidu takara*, which has lived through the additional 70 years of American yu in 2015. Koza's champurū culture is an expression of the interlocking relationship between United States, Japan, and Okinawa, sustained by the continuing presence of U.S. military, and the invisible and often un-examined traces of the Japanese imperial legacy. The economic development projects and celebration of Koza's champurū culture are key producers of place and history. By situating the 1970 event in the contemporary production of Koza, I examine the competing discourses of culture, economy, and history.

The Koza Riot/Uprising: *Fire This Time!*

On December 20, 1970, a drunken American GI hit a civilian and ran away, triggering the riot/uprising in the central part of Okinawa in Koza, and involved over 500 local citizens and approximately 50 U.S. military police. Wesley Ueunten's use of “Uprising” represents the geopolitical power that forced the potentiality of the event, which “took place against the backdrop of the U.S. imperialism in Asia and its colonial rule over Okinawa” (Ueunten 2010: 91). The on-going debate on whether to call it a riot or an uprising represents the various positions and opinions that reflect the competing ideologies surrounding the incident. Some

³³ Chimu ni Sumiri: The Heart Journey of Okinawan Culture, a multi-media Exhibit at the National Japanese American Historical Society, Japan Town, SF. 2008.

believe it was an opportunist moment for Okinawans who just wanted to make some noise (Riot); while others define it as an awakening moment for Okinawa under occupation (Uprising). But what is difficult to deny is the affective quality of this event, which underscores the deep-rooted history of Japanese imperialism and American militarism on Okinawa. This incident served both to expose and justify the occupation of Okinawa, which continued for 27 additional years under the U.S.-Japan Peace Treaty of 1951. For many, the 1970 event represents the dystopia of the era, which expressed the on-going militarism and systematic violence against the people of Okinawa, underscored by the historical and continuing acts of betrayal and domination by the Japanese government.³⁴ The rationale for a peaceful future is intertwined in the current production of Koza's postwar history. The event represents all the fires that sparked in 1970 that have not been extinguished, and expresses the undying spirit that survived, and therefore thrives in the present. This history lives an afterlife in different forms that can reignite the Spirit of those who witnessed and experienced the era, and those who can sense the fire in the chimu. Calling the Koza Riot/Uprising as *Fire This Time* ignites the poetics of James Baldwin's phrase, "Fire Next Time," which illuminates fires prior to and after December 20, 1970 as both Okinawan and black American in Okinawan *yu* that continues to make history in the present.

Koza Promotion 3D Application

In 2013, Okinawa City released a 3D application of the 1970 Koza Riot titled "The Night that Burned the Anger and Sorrow of Okinawans: Koza Uprising 1970:12:20" as an educational tool for the purpose of promoting Koza's post-war history as part of the economic development plan.³⁵ The article announces the launching of the application, explaining the city's intention "to attract more school trips to Okinawa City by using this app, cooperating with the Okinawa Convention & Visitors Bureau and the Okinawa Prefectural Government." Ryoichi Yonamine, a deputy chief of the city's Culture and Tourism Division, said, "We are using this app to train volunteer guides and to provide a place where tourists and students on school trips can learn

³⁴ The well-known expression, "throw away stone," points to this history of betrayal, which has become leitmotiv in the on-going struggles in the tripartite relationship. The occupation was justified and rationalized through the discourse of peace and fear of the impending threats from China, North Korea and other communist countries.

³⁵ 3D Application of the Koza Riot/Uprising
The City of Okinawa City led the economic development project in order to promote the city by using *champurū* as the logo/commodity. The city's active role in producing various projects, events and programs in the last decade has been tremendous, which brought Koza into the current phase in the revitalization project. The city department of the archive section, a central hub and information about Koza history, is an important site of knowledge production and *champurū* promotion as materialized in various forms as in the 3D application. There are other products such as *Koza Bunko Box*, a yearly journal on Koza history and information, *HiStreet*, two small museums that exhibit Koza's post-war history, a 3D rendition of the journal, and a place that holds a monthly speaking forum and presentation about the history. The office serves as the public information and research center for researchers, students and ordinary citizens. I too have utilized their archival collection, attended events and programs and engaged with the senior staff members who assisted in finding data and materials for my research. Along with other sources, the City of Okinawa City has been one of the primary public resources in conjunction with other sources that I use as a point of reference to understand and to synchronize the historical and the contemporary production of Koza. In addition, I conducted ethnographic research that includes interviews, *YuntakuViews*, participatory observation and participation in various community events.

about our post-war culture” (*Ryukyu Shimpo* October 12, 2013). The 3D rendition of the history with the image and text provides a learning experience derived from an immediate gratification of the senses and cognition of the event. In six stages, the application provides details of the various events that occurred in different locations that might have fueled the furor of the night of December 20.³⁶ According to the information, after the incident, which lasted from 1am to 6am, the residents returned to life as “normal.” The application provides three sections that explain the uprising, the history of Koza, and the chronology of the postwar history, all of which are manifested in various forms in the journal *Koza Bunka Box* and the gallery space of *HiStreet*. The Uprising section begins with the arrival of the U.S. military and describes the occupation era.

The application summarizes chronologically, the aftermath of war leading up to the event, which includes the beginning of the occupation era, recovery of life with military, the etymology of Koza, origin of champurū, the reversion, the U.S.-Japan agreement, the issue of the militarism, the 1995 rape incident (and other military related accidents), A-sign approval, the birth of Okinawan Rock, and the Poison Gas incident and demonstration. It also highlights key pieces of information before December incident, another hit-and-run incident on the night of September 18, 1970 in Itoman city, which left a mother dead by a military drunken driver who was later found not guilty by the U.S. military court. Although the application does not go into detail on the verdict, the outcome is not the first or the last case. The 1995 rape of the 12-year old school girl was the case that exposed the underbelly of the U.S.-Japan Peace Treaty.

The guiding principle of peace and friendship was the ethos expressed in the application and the concept of *champurū culture*. Supported by this guiding principle, the city leads various cultural events and economic development projects through which the Koza Riot/Uprising becomes a cultural and economic object (of desire) and commodity. As a free online application, people can learn about the past and participate in the future of the city that hangs on the hope of economic development through this new effort. Therefore, the content of the application that offers multiple viewpoints and stories incorporated in the application produce knowledge for the future generations of Kozans, Okinawans, Japanese and Americans. The last section, for example, discusses the “meaning of the incident,” which serves as a guiding principle to help build democracy and peace based on non-violent principles. The discursive effect of the event is

³⁶ My summary taken from the Application: The first incident begins with the driving accident where the military driver ran over an Okinawan man. People who participated in the prefectural meeting during the day, in anger, yelled, “This is the second incident,” referring to the September 18th accident and death of the mother. The fire started to be fueled. There was also a confrontation between the couple, military man and an Okinawan woman, and the group of Okinawans who started yelling at the couple and saying, “We oppose the U.S. military courts! Take back the Poison Gas!” Over 500 people blocked the street and someone yelled, “Let the Okinawan cars go through, only stop the “Yellow number” (U.S. military related cars.) The second incident turns anger into action by over-tuning and burning cars along with the shooting guns up in the air by the local military policemen who helped escape some of the Americans who were trapped in the cars. The exchange between the local Okinawans and the local Okinawan policemen escalated into throwing rocks against the authorities, as the Okinawans knew that the Okinawan policemen would not shoot nor kill them. The uprising progressed into the streets by two separate groups: one group entered the number 2 gate of Kadena Air base and burned a building and fire truck inside the base as they were met by the threat to shoot and to hose down by water by the U.S. military. The other group was overcome by the tear gas. Total number of people who walked to Gate 2 was 1000, out of which 500 participated in the uprising. At the other location, 2000 came, but only 200 people threw rocks and the Molotov cocktail.

reflected in this statement: “During the U.S. occupation, Okinawans resolved issues patiently without violence and won the rights. We built the democracy one step at a time. This experience still remains as confidence and pride in our hearts. We did not hurt anyone identified as Kozans.” The discourse of democracy and peace based on the principle of non-violence establishes a code of ethics and morality similar to the idea of the “fundamental codes of culture (Foucault xx) that is embroiled in these lessons. How does power operate within these diverse and contradictory desires in the “champurū bunka” that Kozatopia espouses in the celebration of Koza Riot/Uprising? While Kozatopia produces the discourse of peace and democracy in celebration of history, it also delimits the full potential of meaning making of the Koza Uprising/Riot as a productive space of difference. The space as F/actor positions the past in a present tense and stretches time and space in both directions to open up possibilities of a different future. I argue that Kozatopia facilitates the production of the master narrative that leads back to the same hi/story of power: domination, oppression and silence. But power is not conclusive and, in many ways and in unlikely places, fails more than it succeeds. Here, power fails precisely in the difference that arises out of the conflict between the past as fixed event, and past as a position (Trouillot). Koza Spirit emerges as the third element, as not past or present, but as a position. It is a term described by one Kozan named Furugen S., who plays a key F/actor in the production of the Koza Uprising/Riot.

Koza Spirit, the *Champurū F/actor*

A key informant, Mr. F describes Koza’s culture, history, and spirit as not champurū, but continuous “sparks” created by the clash between different races (black, white, and yellow). In an essay called “Spark Town Koza,” he begins recalling the era of the Vietnam War, the Black District, the Black Panther Activism landing in Okinawa, Koza Uprising, the 1972 Reversion, and 730 Traffic Change, all describing Koza during transition from American yu to Japanese yu. In the midst of geopolitical high dramas, Koza was on “fire,” and became as Mr. F describes, “the city that have witnessed the blood...” (Furugen 2013: 3). Blood here signifies the physical as well as ideological matter that spills over into the everyday life, in which racism, and discrimination, fights and friendship, tears and blood, black and white, American and Okinawan, Japanese and Okinawan, and other dichotomies that fused into sparks of paradox. The foundation of Koza Spirit and Koza Culture is based on the unique characteristic of Koza that is capable of accepting “differences” of culture, people, ideas, and nations. While many readily accept Koza as a champurū city or through the notion of a “village community,” he sees it differently by situating Koza in the spirit of the Koza Uprising, and prefers the expression, a “deep” “international city” (4). “Deep” connotes a history that goes beyond recitation of what happened, but one that brings up what has been left out in the discourse of the Koza Riot/Uprising, which is the Koza Spirit. He further clarifies the meaning of the event in his interview, YuntakuView, and FB, which he uses frequently to educate and promote Koza culture, economy, and history. The following excerpt from an FB post from May 11, 2014 sums up his thinking behind the Koza Spirit:

Our generation remembers very clearly the fights between whites and blacks, which occurred essentially everyday. The blood spilled in the streets of Koza was not only of Okinawans, but also the blood of many U.S. soldiers who were part of the desegregation campaign. Koza’s unique viewpoint was developed out of this experience/era. We did not see the equality in all people. We did not see the

equality of ethnicity, race, nationality, and religion. We treat each other as individuals [who lived day-to-day as neighbors and strangers]. I feel this is common to my generations who experienced this painful era. We will call it, for now, the “Koza Spirit.

I understand Koza Spirit is a champurū F/actor that demands to be heard and visible in the overlapped spaces of different desires, intentions and interpretations of the event. Koza Spirit arises from the fire of the riot/uprising that coexists with the fervor of Kozatopia. But it is also a spirit that is manifold of being there in the sense of “within here and elsewhere”—witnessing the blood, tears, desperation, anger, and hope for change—and remembering the history of elders who embody another fold of historical time that they pass on to the next generation in the mundaneness of living.

While the 1970 event provided the city with active agency to claim its place of history through many projects, the history cannot be neatly compartmentalized into a linear timeline or, as provoked by Onga’s contemplation in 1998, in a past tense. Tension exists in the event that needs a deeper examination or multiple attempts to attend to the unresolved matter that requires a different articulation and definition of the past as the present. There exists an ideological tension between two *desires* produced in the current celebration between the culture of healing/nostalgia that fuels Kozatopia, and the resistant to colonial orders that champurūs in the spirit F/actor (champurū F/actor). By illuminating the paradox between Kozatopia and champurū F/actor in the discourses surrounding the Koza Riot/Uprising, I explore the persistence of the spirit, which opposes U.S. militarism and Japanese neo-liberal conditions instituted via the neo-liberal multicultural ideologies where many does not mean equally valued.

Beyond the 3D application, the city serves as a one-stop information center for Koza’s historical production and discrimination of knowledge. In the Special Collection section of *Koza Bunka Box #7* (2011), four featured articles offer multiple narratives and perspectives about the event from Kozans and Okinawans. In the article, “*Select!*³⁷ Aren’t we Okinawans human beings? God Damn It!,” the author interviews Tsuha Shinichi, an Okinawan playwright who discusses the process of producing his theatrical representation of the event. Listening to the stories of his elders who experienced the incident, Tsuha chose the word “Uprising” instead of “Riot.” He is an entertainer who appears on various TV shows and entertainment events, and manages his own theater group. He was born in 1971, straddling the years between the uprising and reversion, and lacks knowledge about the meaning and significance of the Koza 1970. He comments, “To be honest I did not want to know about it.” But something changed him internally and dramatically that moved him to direct the play: a man’s “cry” in the film footage of 12.20.70. It is a raw voice that many have heard in the film and returns through media at its anniversary, the voice of a man off camera calling out to whomever would listen, “Aren’t we Okinawan human beings too?”

The title of the play, “Select!”, is written in katakana text, a writing form that signifies the word is foreign/American. In the article, Tsuha defines the word “select” as “to choose,” or “to make choice,” which, I sense, activated something internal, personal and even political. Thus *this time*, he “chose” “Okinawa” (for his play). The “select,” which is “to choose,” is a champurū F/actor that questions the pastness of history: the unresolved matter of the unchanging realities of

³⁷ The word Select can be read as *choice* or *right*.

Okinawa under U.S. military occupation and presence. (At the time of the article, the incident was approaching its 40th anniversary.) “When I think about Okinawa’s past and present, I can’t help but sense there is something that is in motion. To choose [to feel this way] and choose [to be with those who are] the “chosen” people is my choice. We are confronted by choice every day. I wonder what we’ll choose (now/next)” (10). Here, the “sense” and “action” are intrinsic and instinctive for Tsuha who *is* Okinawan, and I argue his “choice” was made at the recognition of the cry as manifold cries that connected his mind/body/spirit. Furthermore, I suggest that he was chosen to act in this way *because* he *is* Okinawan. In the context he has given, the “chosen people” are those who have been assigned and accepted the responsibility to act *for* Okinawans, which is the spiritual element in his words, “this is your destiny.” What he did not clarify in the profile is why he *did not want to know* and what the impetus for change was, yet the active voice of “not wanting to know” can be understood in the context of shame for being Okinawan with which many people come to terms. Many performers, including Tsuha, use the “coming home/out” story in performance as a reconciliation of the past that turns resistance in the present. As the title suggests, the subterranean *cry* he heard from the audio (of the man’s voice) eventually moved him to choose Okinawa as *his unresolved matter*. Each time the audio is played, someone hears the cry in the *chimu*/heartbeat that moves the Koza Spirit, which acknowledges other *soul* travelers in the vicinity.

The *Cry*

On Christmas Day in 2010, the 40th anniversary of the Koza Riot/Uprising was aired on Okinawan Television program *Okinawa Kinkuruu Special* (Okinawa Friday Cruise End of the Year Special). The Special highlighted segments that represented the various sectors, stakeholders, and members of the Koza community. The documentary begins with familiar images: military trucks burned and turned upside down, the smoke and fire in the street; the siren and sound of people clamoring in disarray, and the distressed handling of the camera. Off camera, a man with an Okinawan intonation speaks with the shock, anger and fear of someone who just witnessed something horrific that makes his voice speak in a rapid e/motional state in trying to communicate the facts happening to the public:

There is an accident! Anyone hurt? Did an American (hurt) Okinawan? ... What do we/Okinawa have to do? Are not Okinawans human too? You cannot understand our/Okinawan tears! We have to make this into an International Incident and make them recognize Okinawans as human beings. ...what?what? ... [the voice trails off]

This is the image of the sound/cry that the playwright Tsuha heard, which prompted him to create the play, *Select!* While viewing the footage, the hearing of an Okinawan enunciation and the sensing of this man whose body is not seen displaces the past as a continuing sound heard in the present. One feels the response either in emotion or e/motion. The difference is in the resonance that is felt through the sense/ontological difference of *subjects* between “Okinawan” and “Japanese.” Comparable to the difference between signification and signifyin(g) (Gates Jr.), emotion is a signification as fixed, and e/motion is a signifier as a F/actor that causes movement into action. For example, the playwright’s action, which was motivated by

hearing the sound/cry in the man's voice in his *chimu* that, it can be argued, shifted his consciousness. It is the same soul that recognizes the historical laughter.

The image, sound, e/motion broadcast on NHK Japanese mainstream public television evokes in our hearts the time that has not passed, but contained in the sound of the unknown man who resurfaces as F/actor on the anniversary of the incident. The emotional charge that is felt in the man's voice located off camera echoes and tugs at the hearts of those who share the unresolved matter of the body-memory that his absence provokes. What do the sound and body of the man off camera signify or perform? A subtle but distinct difference is embedded in the motions that are performed in the following interviews, representing two male voices of authority: the Japanese cameraman at the scene, and the Okinawan writer who witnessed the incident as a boy. The interviewer asked these two men what they had learned from the riot/uprising:

Cameraman: The fundamental structure has not changed. I guess they [Okinawans] could not help but to act. Tolerating everyday interaction with the military where no one can see. Itoman incident pushed over the edge that erupted (into the incident).

Writer: I feel my eyes welled up with tears when I see the scene where the man cries out "Aren't we Okinawans human too?"

Different subject positions are illuminated in the interviews as the cameraman presents the burning fire of the event as in the past (signification), but the writer re/acts to the question of Okinawa as *still on fire* (signifyin(g)). There are two distinct identity politics being played out in the theoretical discourse of a political analysis of the event of the cameraman and the embodied politics of everyday life as Okinawan of the writer. Here, I return to the everyday space and Mr. F's notion of the Koza Spirit as a champurū F/actor that persists through and thrives in the Koza Paradox of the past and the present: the necessity and necessary evil of the U.S. military occupation and the Japanese economic performance of Kozatopia. Koza Spirit cohabits both spaces simultaneously as an everyday factor and an actor. The critique of power is clearly made by both the cameraman and the writer, but Mr. F presents the subject in-between the two as an F/actor that makes co-motion toward champurū difference.

Champurū F/actor

The 1970 event brings the past into the contemporary celebration of the future economy. Multicultural promotion and champurū pro/motion are intertwined in the production of Kozatopia. Whereas Kozatopia facilitates the constant flow of cultural activities through the high promotional performance of culture, Koza Spirit presents a pro/motional F/actor that attends to the middle: the unresolved matter of the past that brings out tensions in the multicultural celebration. This tension that the F/actor elucidates is the subject in between: one who is neither one nor the other, yet there is a question of champurū. Mr. F's definition of Koza Spirit comes from everyday people, those who saw/witnessed the riot and/or the blood, which continues to flow from one *yu* to the other. As a historical F/actor, both Mr. F and the Okinawan writer hold the e/motional space in between the politics, economic and culture. Tsuha, the cameramen, and Mr. F give the event of 12.20.70 an e/motive quality of the flesh and bone to history. Thus the Koza Riot/Uprising can be seen to represent a celebration of life that has survived in order to celebrate and remember what it means to live life as a precious gift.

I find the mundane-ness of the everyday persistence and insistence of Okinawan life in the face of cultural and physical oppression, violence, and death to be a space of resistance rooted in the celebration of life as survival and as intrinsically precious. As long as the creative force of champurū is motioning toward Okinawan yu, Okinawans will not feel a sense of dystopia for more than one season, shade, or situation. Whether Mr. F's action corresponds with Būten or Terurin is up for debate, but the suspense that surrounds this untenable subject creates Koza's miXtopia³⁸ that negotiates multiple contradictions simultaneously as part of everyday life. Champurū F/actor is an energetic force that struggles *against* (death) and survives *toward* (life), and thrives by creating the possibility and potential in the chance meetings of fellow spirits.

³⁸ Kozatopia is not a complete project because it is challenged by a champurū F/actor (the critical, creative, and mundane interlocutor/interrogation), in the production of multicultural celebration and economic development project, to say that there is a flaw in the structure. This chapter challenged me to no end, and finally organized itself, still with too many pieces, through complex but coherent argument, which is that there is a champurū F/actor that interrupts the production of a neoliberal multiculturalism (Kozatopia) as a complete domination of power. Champurū F/actor is the Okinawan subject that holds the tension between colonial/decolonial relationality.

Chapter 4: Story, History, MiXtory: Analyzing Representations of Teruya's Black District

The history of colonialism, imperialism, racism, and militarism has not silenced nor destroyed the Okinawan spirit. Time has changed since the first landing of the U.S. military on Okinawa on April Fool's Day in 1944, and the on-going presence of the U.S. military bases of 70 years (as of 2015) has produced a different life for Okinawa with a diversity of ideas, perspectives and positions at this moment of historical turn. Still, Okinawa withstood dual domination by insisting on life over death especially felt in Nago city and Futenma between Okinawan citizens, Japanese government and the U.S. military bases. At these sites, the everyday people who are elders, fishermen, workers, and concerned citizens demand peace by putting their bodies at the site of struggle by holding sit-ins in front of U.S. military bases. On June 23rd, each anniversary of the end of war, Okinawans speak out to tell their stories and experiences of war as time keeps running into the past that has never passed for many.

The formal occupation of Okinawa occurred at the same time Japan was liberated. Japan's shame of losing the war and the subsequent military occupation of Japan ended in 1951 for the mainland and other islands but continued for Okinawa for an additional 27 years. During this period, Okinawa was transformed into a military occupied island and developed a unique relationship between two national subjects. For the most part, the relationship was colonial, sexually and economically this was visible as the military established brothels or red light districts throughout the island, which created the sexual economy. Koza is the first military town that established the bar and entertainment district ("Red Light District") to serve U.S. military personnel. The sexual encounter of American and Asian bodies was of economic benefit for the business owners but also influenced the writers of Koza. Writers took full advantage of a district of Koza, Teruya's Black District, which represented the racialized and sexualized bodies of black people and Okinawans vis-à-vis the militarized sexual economy during the occupation era. A literary scholar Michael S. Molasky observes, "It is the potential for discursive play between these geographical and corporeal topographies that makes Koza's bar districts such an inviting domain to writers of fiction" ("A Base Town in the Literary Imagination" 55).

When history and stories are unavailable and inaccessible to the mainstream public, the representation takes the role of the primary source as "fact," which becomes a site of knowledge and power. The late historian Michel Rolph-Trouillot locates power at the source of historical production where silences enter as certain narratives exit. But he also points to where "Silences appear in the interstices of the conflicts between previous interpreters." of history where power is located. I couch this review and analysis at the sites where silences appear in the literary representation of Teruya's Black District. While the number of Black District literature and text is small, its social and ideological impact is significant. Due to the lack of historical representation of Teruya, sensational stories and narratives play a key role in producing a particular tone or mood as silencing strategies in the writing. Extending Molasky's observation, I argue that some writers employ stereotype as shorthand to conceptualize Teruya's Black Districts as a sensational place, "race" and space. The shorthand gives power to the language as a hegemonic device to produces knowledge while silencing other knowledge. The production of silences occurs through the fixed images and tropes that undercut the development and imagination of other possible scenarios and senses to emerge. This literature review and analysis illuminates silences that appear in the interstices of competing representations and interpretations

of history and stories of Teruya's Black District from the 1960s to the present. I draw from a broad spectrum of genres from fiction and nonfiction, photography, newspaper articles and surveys. In English, a few scholars have published articles on Teruya's Black District that provide a platform to broaden the scope of research and future interests. The work by Toshiro Iguchi, Michael S. Molasky, Yuichiro Onishi, and Wesley Ueunten establish Teruya's Black District as a previously under-explored yet important site of study that links the U.S., Japan and Okinawa. In their work, I find traces of *OkinawaXblack* resonating with my own, and therefore I bring their insights into the conversation.

In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, a cultural theorist Stuart Hall defines representation as a process "by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It *does* involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things" (15). In reviewing the postwar literature of the Black District, I found a set of images and language that function as what Hall defines as "cultural codes," which stand in for, interpret, and produce meanings in the world shared by members of the community. I examine the relationship between language, power and representation in literature, photographs, newspaper articles, and reports about the Black District to show how power works through texts. I look at how language is used to produce knowledge, and what knowledge is produced through different forms of writing. In this review and analysis, I show examples of the sites of knowledge production through the method of inter-, intra, and meta-textual analysis, which takes into consideration the history, intention, and motivation in the writing and of the writer.

Silences: Production of "Bad Subjects" and Literary Imagination: Super-Hyped

While Koza's champurū culture bolsters the American past in the present making of culture and future, Teruya's Black District has little to no place in this future that relies on its past. To the writers, this lack of history and representation offers an opportunity to create characters, events, and scenarios using sensational language to fill in the spaces where, in normal circumstance, history might be applicable. Due to this lack, the writers use available "facts" to conceptualize a story based on real events, wherein the story has the risk of conflating fiction and non-fiction as one exchangeable story for the reader. Because the language is what gives the flesh and blood to the story, I examine the recurring pattern of images and tropes found in these texts as sites of knowledge production that impact the ways in which the history and story of Teruya's Black District is produced. The post-war literature works as shorthand for writers whose fiction or novel is conceptualized through the contemporary literary and social imagination of place and history of Koza's bar districts. The Japanese literary scholar Michael Molasky's keen observation tells why writers are attracted to Koza:

The economic fuses with the erotic most dramatically in Koza's thriving sex business, and for the writer intent on representing foreign occupation in terms of sexual subjugation, Koza provides a convenient metonym of occupied Okinawa. ... To the foreign occupiers, Koza's bars and brothels provide the bodies of native women; to the writer of fiction, they offer the metaphorical body of "woman." ... It is the potential for discursive play between these geographical and corporeal topographies that makes Koza's bar districts such as inviting domain to writers of fiction. (55)

In this sexualized economy, the image of the “erotic” marks the place and “woman,” while Koza serves as a “convenient metonym” to hail all bar districts at once. However, the history of the bar districts designated for blacks and Okinawans are obscured and/or silenced in the celebration of Koza’s postwar history today. I argue it is because Teruya’s Black District was constructed as what Molasky describes as the most “despicable place” in the literary imagination of the place where it is also the birthplace of “most outcast progeny,” referring to the black-Okinawan mixed-blood children whose bodies “expose the postmodern celebration of hybridity to be irrelevant to whose lives are constrained by the stigma of ‘racial impurity’” (65). Extending Molasky’s notion of the “erotic,” I employ the “tragic” as an analytic that arises at the intersection of black, Okinawan, mixed-race, and woman to illustrate the production of “bad” as a form of silence in the literary representation of Teruya’s Black District. As I will show, the early literature uses terms such as “blackie,” “negro,” or “nigger” to refer to characters that are mixed black-Okinawan or black characters, conflating black and mixed as one exchangeable body. What happens in the literature often takes place in the street. Moreover, I examine the texts to elucidate the heterotopias between fiction and reality. Against such narratives, however, I offer a parallel reading of a champurūed text, which incorporates the eyewitness accounts of everyday life that disrupts the ero-tragic narrative, thereby presenting a storyline that offers a complex representation of history and thought.

Image and Imaging: Past Writes the Present

In the literature, there is a style of writing that relies on the stereotypes of characters, events and storyline in the literature of the Black District. In early literature, Nagao Eikichi’s short story *Kokujin gai* (Black District) published in 1966 and Tanaka Koki’s novel *Konketsuji* (Mixed-Blood) published in 1972, characterized black, mixed-race, and woman as bad subjects who are black, shameful/immoral, sexual and criminal. As described in Molasky’s literary analysis of *Konketsuji*, “black” as a negative sign tropes the father, the mother and the child:

Narrated from the perspective of the town’s most outcast progeny—children born of African-American fathers and Okinawan mothers— this story is a melodramatic tragedy of a young man (Kohei) and a woman (Chiyo) who are abandoned by their black fathers, rejected by their Okinawan mothers, and ignored by the town whose uncontrolled sexuality they embody. (Molasky, 65)

The story reads like a “Black District tragedy” in three acts: the ideologies of “blackness,” “mixed-ness,” and “Okinawan woman-ness” are caught in a loop set off by a repetition of the tropes of the tragic, erotic and dramatic. Furthermore, as Molasky notes, and recalling Bernard Lucious’s concept of the Black-Pacific, containing a transnational problem to a specific location fails to capture the broader implication and analysis of an issue. Thus, conflating mixed-ness with “hybridity” cannot be achieved in this OkinawaXblack space as a separate issue as it exposes the overlapping issues of “race,” ethnicity, and nation in a dual-national framework. In the following text, Molasky’s analysis of the story offers a starting point to grapple with the issue of racism as a universal concern in the context of this history and place.

[The story] raises the difficult issue of Koza’s rejection of those “mixed-blood” children of African-American fathers who most dramatically represent the town’s

hybrid heritage. . . the widespread Japanese preference for those of white/Japanese mixed parentage to black/Japanese, but it exposes the postmodern celebration of hybridity to be irrelevant to whose lives are constrained by the stigma of “racial impurity.” (65)

The text offers an opening to the dialogue of “race” that brings in Japan, the U.S., and Okinawa into the history of race and racism as part of the “dramatic and hybrid heritage” of Teruya. Based on what Molasky identifies as the “most outcast progeny,” I employ the black-Okinawan mixed race figure as an interlocutor to examine the “bad” sign as a silence of knowledge and power. As such, I track the colonial traces in the writing in the novels and short stories, which are written mostly by Japanese male authors who bring certain values and ideologies that are fundamentally different from Okinawans, women, mixed-race, and blacks. Molasky gives a historical background, which shows how blackness was socialized in Japan (not Okinawa) during two periods in Japanese history in the 50s and 80s. In both cases, women created a media and public sensation narrating their sexual experiences with African American males. But the discourse of blackness, Molasky notes, “is a monologue, not a dialogue, and is concerned above all with the interrogating Japanese identity, achieving a personal transformation through the phallic power of the racial other, and using this power to establish control over one’s fellow Japanese” (Molasky 72).

Seishu Hase’s *Miruku Yu* (first published in 2009), a two-part volume of approximately 1,500 pages, is a melodramatic suspense novel that relies on the event, place, and history of Okinawa under U.S. occupation in 1970 - 1971. The story centers on the 1970 Koza Riot or Uprising and ends on the day of reversion of Okinawa in 1972. The author was born in the northern part of Japan, Hokkaido, and lived in a port city in Yokohama district, which also houses a U.S. military base. The beginning of the story takes place in Teruya’s Black District, but the story also moves around in other areas such as the Yaejima and Goya districts of Koza. The capital, Naha City, plays a small but significant role in the story, weaving mini stories in suspenseful twists based on real events. The two protagonists are Iha Shōyū from the Amami Island, and his lover, Teruya Hitomi, a mixed Okinawan-black female who grew up in an orphanage, and now lives in Teruya’s Black District. A motley crew of characters represented by Eddy, a black soldier who is a member of Bush Master but is on drugs, a few yakuza (Okinawan gangs), white military men who are CIA/spies, a white-mixed female character and others that support the main characters build the story. The story disperses into multiple episodes, with longer attention given to the Koza Riot that seems to envelope the main “love” story between Iha and Hitomi. Iha represents the minority ethnic of Okinawans who are discriminated by Okinawans, thus the character is set up to express his hatred for Okinawans with this background that can serve as a justification of his actions. Even in fiction, there is sensitivity and caution about the way of communicating an idea or thoughts that may alert the reader that feels an imperial, colonial, or racial over and undertone in the text. Using the protagonist’s background as an armor that brings to relief this potential conflict between Japanese and Okinawans, the author situates the inter-ethnic tension between Okinawans from Amami island and mainland Okinawa as a hook and a safety net to drawn in both the Japanese, Okinawan and Okinawans from Amami Island into the neutral zone, therefore, avoiding potential backlash from readers who might detect an absence of Japan as an imperial subject. As the protagonist, his hatred for Okinawa/ns is neutralized in the justification of what his background signifies: Okinawa too is “racist.” Amami Island became a colony of the Ryukyu Kingdom, occupied after the WWII, and liberated

in 1953 along with mainland Japan, while mainland Okinawa continued to be occupied. Because of this difference of occupation history, Amami is believed to be culturally closer to Japan than Okinawa. And due to this perceived difference, when Amami was returned to Okinawa after the reversion, people from Amami Island had difficulty finding jobs and housing in Okinawa, experiencing discrimination and “racism” for having a culture closer to Japan’s.

The hook is deeply sunk in the love story between Iha and Hitomi that brings them together as the “underdogs.” Iha’s attraction to Hitomi is logical because they share the experience of discrimination by Okinawans that links his inter-ethnic difference with her mixed-racial difference. This kinship develops into a skin-ship between them in a slow but steady back and forth undulations and feelings that boil up into sexual fantasies that become delusionary in wanting to rape Hitomi before he buried her dead body so that, “she can be completely mine. My body and Hitomi’s flesh and blood will circulate [as one]” (Hase 2:351). The story involves several sensationalized storylines to keep the interests of the reader of a hefty two-volume novel. The first page is packed with corresponding information with history and cultural codes that locates the place with words like, Center Street (B.C. Street), heroine, white soldier from the south, black panther, nigger, Bush, Teruya, A-Sign bar, in a small size half page that already sets up the story with the black-white racial conflict. The rest of the novel includes the Koza Riot, the seedy history of Yoshihara’s Red Light District, the portrayal of Black District as dangerous, the black-white racial conflicts, the set-up of a rape of a young girl to catch a white American spy, the story of yakuza (Japanese/Okinawan mafia), the police, murder, heist, set-up, prostitution, and friendship. Iha’s thoughts and actions organize the story so that Hitomi is always present, even in her absence, in his thoughts until the end where she literally disappears as part of his skin. Hitomi committed suicide in order to repent the revenge killing of Aiko, a young and spunky mixed-race orphan with whom Hitomi developed a special attachment as a surrogate sister. While this revenge killing was a master plan by Iha and others who had set up to kill a white soldier who had raped an Okinawan girl. After Hitomi’s suicide, Iha takes her dead body to Yaejima to bury it and then returns and in delusion, wishes he had consumed the flesh. He believes that by eating her flesh, he will be cleansed of sin by taking her soul, and will be able to redeem his *Mabui*, the soul/spirit that he had lost (Vol. 2: 512, 680). The eerie transformation described in Iha’s fantasy is reminiscent of the surrogation effect that Joseph Roach describes in the analysis of the 19th century play, *The Octoroon*. In the play, a white woman actress playing Zoe, a “black” slave girl, “becomes” the surrogate in the death of Zoe who committed suicide because the interracial union between a slave girl and a white southerner could not be realized. In the play, the white actress plays the role of the octoroon, and then transforms the character through surrogation. Similarly but perhaps more grotesquely, in the novel, Hitomi’s body and soul live as part of the protagonist’s body, which lives through the act of surrogation. Later, I will illustrate the function of surrogation as silencing the body, which occurs at the slight of hand that works through the novel and the play.

The novel invites many entries for extensive and diverse analysis, but for the purpose of this review/analysis, I am only examining the relationship between the two main characters by following Iha’s thoughts and actions directed toward Hitomi in order to illustrate how silence works through her body as a sign/metonym, making her disappear in the transpositioning of body and sign. Comparing the representation of two black-Okinawan female characters from two novels, forty years apart, the author employs the “tragic tropes” from the early writing (1972) to characterize Hitomi in his contemporary novel (2012), bringing two mixed black-Okinawan characters into one sign that silences both. In the 1972 novel, *Konketsuji*, an Okinawan-black

female character Chiyo is over-determined by the black tragic tropes that bring her into visibility. Throughout the book, she is described as having “black big eye,” “black big hand,” “Negro blood that cursed/coursed through one’s body,” “black urge to kill,” “black kinky hair” and “coarse hair.” Her exit from blackness is her tragic death that fades to black at the end of the novel. Barely represented in literature or real life, a black-Okinawan character, especially female, functions as a space to cater to the writers’ unbounded fantasy that expresses and, at times, unleashes the unspeakable truth that reflects the writer, reader, and the society at large. Like Chiyo in *Konketsuji*, Teruya Hitomi in the contemporary novel *Miruku Yu*, is another rare black-Okinawan female character in a novel that mostly takes place in Teruya’s Black District. Similar to Chiyo’s character from 40 years before, Teruya Hitomi is looped in the tragic tales of abandoned child of a Negro father, a child of a rape, an orphan, and a sacrificial lamb for the “sin” of the red light district, for which she was not responsible. Like Chiyo, Teruya Hitomi dies tragically at the end, except with the extra flavor of cannibalistic fantasy. Unlike Chiyo, Teruya Hitomi has a full name and is portrayed as a Madonna, the Virgin, whose qualities are attributed the purity of Japanese females as naïveté and virtuous, and juxtaposed to the raw sexually accessible body in the thought-fantasy of the protagonist. Hitomi’s body as a sign has an exchangeable and extinguishable feature that conveniently transforms into sexual pleasure at the whim of protagonist’s thoughts. Perhaps it is also the author’s own creative pleasure of writing, which seems to spin wildly at time. Molasky’s observation of the erotic production of Koza deserves another mention here: “the potential for discursive play between these geographical and corporeal topographies that makes Koza’s bar districts such as inviting domain to writers of fiction” (Molasky 55). I question whose body and whose voice speaks through the characters in the novel? Where is the voice of the individual character? As one of the key figures in the novel, Hitomi does not speak out/for her body, which has been hyper-sexualized in the mind of the protagonist, whose function, whether conscious or unconscious, is to silence her.

A moment of relief is interjected by bringing religious and political features to the character, Hitomi. She is the key person who has the inside connection, and can transfer information from the anti-Vietnam activists to the former Black Panther members in Teruya. Yet, she is still sensationalized and silenced into a crying, apologizing, forgiving, sacrificing, and repenting subject with charitable and altruistic nature (*Miruku Yu* Vol. 1: 139). Here the image of the Madonna’s virginity and innocence reproduces the image of black-mixed race as a sign/metonym for orphan, abandonment, and Christian/martyr who can be sacrificed as dispensable subject. But the “reprieve” is over quickly as her political passion takes flight in one of his thought-fantasies, describing her as “a leftist student who calls for nonviolence, her exotic face and the shapely body バランスの取れた肢体は若い牡の肉欲を刺激する stimulate the carnal desire of a young male” (*Miruku Yu* Vol. 1 178). The language of miscegenation for example limits the potential of characters of actually having the characteristics that bring life into the story and its history. With the protagonist’s silent thought-fantasy in *Miruku Yu* undermines the potential by undercutting Hitomi’s character into a “sex toy.”

Inter-textual Surrogation Between Writer and Character

The inter-textual play between the written (author) and the imagined (protagonist) opens to another sub-field that reproduces power of silences in this performative space of a double literary enunciation. Here Hitomi disappears as a character by becoming a stage on which the author and the protagonist exchange places, cross-performing each *other as surrogate*.

Joseph Roach's analysis of the 1850 play *The Octoroon* exemplifies the use of surrogation as a comparative tool to examine the performative function of these characters. Dion Boucicault directed the play about a love story between a white plantation owner and mixed-race slave girl. Although there were two endings of the play in which Zoe dies at the end tragically, or lives happily ever after, the director preferred the original ending of the tragic death of Zoe that he hoped would teach the moral lesson about the institution of slavery (Degen 172). Yet, the white actress plays the role of Zoe in the tragic version. In using a white actress, Roach argues, the character's black blood is "cleansed" in the whiteness of the actress who dies not tragically but triumphantly. The "purification" of Zoe was performed by the director who made the character "...die by her own hand and then—miraculously—turn white" and the "octoroon's body floats a miraculous American angel" (Roach 224). More precisely, "In the defining event of commercial exchange, from flesh to property, the object of desire mutates and transforms itself from African to woman: its nearly invisible but fatal blackness makes it available; its whiteness somehow makes it clean" (220). The white woman *playing* the tragic figure *performs* double acts: narrating the tragedy of the event/person about the colonial history. The surrogation masks the real violence by inserting "whiteness" represented by the actress who then erases the color of the octoroon in white skin mimicry. The play facilitates the purification ritual of forgiveness, somehow releasing the audience's guilt of the real event and subject's at/in *play*. The surrogate figure takes over as a new figure emerges to tell a different story borrowing the violent and genocidal histories of the circum-Atlantic world as the "front" stage. The quick flip of the script elucidates the power nestled in between the performance of the play and what the play performs, which is to maintain power.

Like the director of *The Octoroon*, the author of *Miruku Yu* achieves his goal by using the body as a performative space where *his* desire comes through the surrogation of both Iha playing on and through Hitomi's body parts. Teruya Hitomi appears throughout almost the 1,500 pages of this two-volume novel as a love interest of the protagonist. Painting him as a rebel without a cause, the author uses the characterization of Iha as a license to be wild in the story that critiques Okinawa. Using the character's background as the victim not of Japan or the U.S. but of Okinawa somehow "justifies" and facilitates the critiques that he makes throughout the novel in a raw unbounded energy that can trample through gender, sexual, racial, and national lines. Since the author as a Japanese would most likely receive harsh criticism from Okinawans, the character with his background as the victim becomes a potential site of surrogation through which the author is able to criticize the oppression *by* Okinawans while Japan is only criticized as a common enemy that can be neutralized by incorporating Okinawa's history of discrimination of people of Amami Island. In the beginning of the novel, Hitomi and the underground activists ask Iha to help write an article for their anti-Vietnam underground newsletter. Iha responds in his thought:

To ask someone like me to help is the backlash to your inferior complex. You can't write an article. You can't write in English. You guys are inferior to Japanese. You live by hurting yourselves, get angry, become sad, and then hurt others through your pain. The people you hurt are the people from other islands and those who come from Amami Island (Vol. 1: 42)

Resurrected as a hero at the end, the cool protagonist Iha, uses his lover Hitomi, to unleash his animalistic sexual appetite. The treatment of Hitomi's character is uncannily similar to the social and historical erasure and construction of the black-mixed female body to fit the

image of the (missing) subject. Yet, it is also the erotic textual space that the author carves out for the protagonist Iha to in/scribe “his” (not sure if it is the protagonist or the writer at this point) wild and vivid fantasy onto Teruya Hitomi’s body, which turns into a black sexual object. The author/protagonist explicitly expresses this desire:

おれは照屋仁美の耳に唇を寄せた。照屋仁美の体臭が香った。安物の化粧品
の甘ったるい香りの奥に野性的な体臭が嗅げた。おれは発情した。自分が
握んだ特ダネの熱さに焙られた神経が過敏になっている。(Miruku Yu (Front):
208)

I put my lips on Teruya Hitomi’s earlobe. A body odor of Hitomi Teruya was
fragrant. The deeper into the sweet fragrance of cheap cosmetics I smelled her
wild body odor. I was in heat. My nerve is aroused from the heat of my special
treasure that I hold. (My translation)

The mention of the body parts here and other places throughout the novel performs his sexual desire on her “black body,” a site/cite/sight of production where the image might jump off the text and graft onto a real body. Here I return to the scene from *The Octoroon* where the performativity of whiteness revealed in the exchange between black-white is arresting. But first, Molasky’s statement on the post-racial hybridity captures quite aptly the exchange that erases one by converting to another and thus deserves another citation. The black-mixed racial impurity “exposes the postmodern celebration of hybridity to be irrelevant to whose lives are constrained by the stigma of ‘racial impurity’” (Molasky 65). This is a very brief but potent passage that reveals the erasure and silences that “multiculturalism” and celebration of “mixed-race” perform. The following text reads the impossibility of Hitomi of ever being seen as “normal,” i.e., pureblood:

黒人の血が入ったすらりと長い手足を持つ仁美には、その姿がまったく似
合っていない。島の民謡よりジャズやブルースが似合う外観なのだ。
本人自身が気づいていないそのギャップが滑稽さと哀れさを醸し出して
いる。(Miruku Yu Vol. 1: 506)

Hitomi’s mixed black-blood figure with long hands and feet does not fit with the look. Her external appearance matches better with Jazz or Blues than the island folk songs. It brings out the irony and pity, as she is unconscious of the incongruity. (My translation)

Poignantly, the prose speaks to the incommensurable factor of her “blackness” and “Asian-ness” that raises the question of the one-drop rule in Asia.

In the comparative analysis by employing *surrogation* as an analytic, the uncanny resemblance of two performative styles is difficult to miss between the novel *Miruku Yu* and Roach’s analysis of the play *The Octoroon*, The surrogate figure of the octoroon, and the tragic slave girl, played by a white woman doubles the performance space. The tragedy of the event/person about the colonial history is mystified. The real event/person disappears in the body that displaces the real body by turning into an angel who can then purify the guilt of the white audience. In this performance of flesh, “the invisible presence of blackness marks her flesh as a commodity even as her whiteness changes its value. ‘Blackness’ and ‘whiteness’ have

extraordinary meaning to a performer in this system of ornate fetishizations. ... By its terms, race constitutes a form of property—something a performer can own, sell, or exchange” (Roach 232). In *Miruku Yu*, a production of power (Japanese-ness as a form of whiteness/ruling class) takes place intertextually between the character and author, who becomes the surrogate of the protagonist Iha at the site/sight/cite of the consumable flesh of “black” “mixed” “body,” Hitomi. Photographic Representation: Speaking Body: Tōmatsu Shōmei

In this section, I look at the subject, a black-Okinawan figure, from a different lens that provides an alternative representation of a subject who is not silenced but speaks. By bringing the object, subject, photographer, scholar and myself into the analysis, I perform a multi-perspectival reading of the text as an open dialogue. It is a similar approach to what John Berger calls the radial system of seeing the photograph “which [is] simultaneously personal, political, economic, dramatic, everyday and historic” (Berger 1980: 67). The object of radio examination is a book, “*Okinawa Okinawa Okinawa*” by Shōmei Tōmatsu³⁹ (1969), which is a collection of photographs accompanying the photographer’s signature style of adding his social and political commentary. The Japanese title reads: “It is not that Okinawa has military bases, but Okinawa is inside the military.” The photographer Shōmei Tōmatsu was born in Nagoya, Japan in 1930 and moved to Okinawa in 1972, the year of reversion. He was a famous prizewinning photographer whose oeuvre represents social and political history and story of Japan with special emphasis on postwar Okinawa life. For *Okinawa Okinawa Okinawa*, Tōmatsu obtained a visa to travel to Okinawa, which at the time was under military control, and issued its own passport under the Ryukyus government administration. His photography of Okinawa and Japan during the occupation era is a gem, and considered a rare and important archive that has gained international attention in the world of photography beyond Japan. Photographer Sean O’Hagan’s online article in the Arts and Design section on *the guardian*, reads: Shōmei Tōmatsu: the man who changed Japanese photography forever. Sometimes brilliantly surreal, always with an unsparing documentary eye, Tōmatsu’s images capture a country in the flux of postwar change.” Toshino Iguchi, a professor of history, art design, and film theory, discusses *Okinawa Okinawa Okinawa*, and offers an opening for my multi-perspectival reading of a black-Amerasian female subject as cite/sight/site of knowledge.

In “Cultural Friction in Koza: Okinawa under American Occupation in the Cold War,” Iguchi describes Koza’s culture as creating a “peculiar atmosphere,” and people as belonging to a “third race,” “neither belong[ing] to Japan nor American.” Iguchi writes of Tōmatsu: “His ‘Occupation Series’ was connected with the question of ‘What is Japanese?’ as it followed his ‘Japanese Series,’ and thus it became meaningful from the perspective of Okinawa” (Iguchi 7). But more poignantly, Iguchi points to an image that looks back at the photographer who has arrested the image as a photograph, yet this subject speaks back to the viewer. The woman in the photograph is described as: “Ms. Katsuko Nakamoto is a half-breed daughter who graduated from Koza High School last year and is currently working at a bar in the Negro area...” (Iguchi 7). Although the word for “half-breed” is written in English, there are multiple possible ways of naming someone who is mixed in Japanese. The book, which is in Japanese, uses the Japanese word “Konketsuji,” “mixed-blood children,” which is the term along with “G.I. baby,” and

³⁹ Tōmatsu passed away in December 2013 in Okinawa, two weeks before I obtained this book and reviewing the photographs with his wife and another photographer. I did not know that he had died at the time of seeing the photographs and found my little body in between the main subjects.

“Amerasian” applied to the mixed children born from the military personnel and Asian women in Asia during the post-war era (1950s - 1970s). These terms evoke Koza’s night life/red light district, prostitution, and the abandoned, stigmatized and unwanted “Amerasians,”⁴⁰ a legacy shouldered by the characters, Hitomi, Chiyo and here in the photography, Katsuko. Did Iguchi use the word “half-breed” to describe Konketsuji to reveal a different racial and geopolitical distance (hierarchy?) between Japanese and Okinawans? If so what does this “distancing” or creating a border between Okinawa and Japan imply in the context of mixed race, place and space upon which Koza-ness becomes, in Molasky’s term, “erotic”? Iguchi’s eye, like many, zooms onto Katsuko’s body as a mixed black-Okinawan subject that speaks back to the photographer, “pressing for a reply from the Japanese who look at the photographs in response to the photographer’s theme of ‘who are the Japanese people?’” (7). With this inter-spatial reading between the image and the photographer, Iguchi as a scholar brings both subjects (Katsuko and Tōmatsu) into an inter-textual dialogue. I press further by bringing out the multi-dimensionality of form (photo, image, text), content (question) and time (returning to the form and content) to put the extra pressure on the question, “Who are the Japanese people?” The question is posed to the Japanese who are viewing the photos as a visual text that performs. Yet there is an interstitial dimension of the image of Kazuko that speaks and responds to the question meant for “Japanese.” Katsuko indirectly answers by speaking about belonging without using Okinawa in her response, but speaking with self-awareness as a black-mixed Okinawan female born at this time and place of Okinawa: “The place I want to go is America. The place I definitely do not want is Japan. The people I like are blacks. The people I dislike are Japanese.” But in this absence, Okinawa is very present. The photographer adds that she does not mean Okinawan people when she says she does not like Japanese. Iguchi does not probe further into the subject/Kazuko’s question in the inter-textual dialogue that elicits and invites more, but brings back the focus the photographer’s text that critiques Japan, which forecloses the possibility of pushing by limiting his photography to simply a documentary with “a consciousness of sharp criticism” (Iguchi 8). The question that emerges from the inter-textual dialogue between Tōmatsu Shōmei, the photographer, Katsuko, the subject, and Iguchi, the scholar, and now me as a researcher has yet to be answered, and perhaps it needs not be answered. What is important is that the question is still being raised and contemplated within my work and by other fellow travelers, who crossed into OkinawaXblack where “black,” “Okinawa,” and “mixed” are not tragic, but a strategic cite/site/sight of knowledge that exposes power in mixed-multiplying splendor.

There is true story of a real black-Okinawan female in a non-fiction book based on interviews of mixed race Okinawans without citizenships. Azayama Reiko⁴¹, who was born in 1951 as one of the first generation mixed Okinawans, talks about her triumph from the experience uncannily described as the “most despicable progeny” to a successful role model who married and lived a happy life in Okinawa. It is an intriguing story with a riveting case of miXtopia that would make the analysis of blackness, “race,” model minority, and gender rich and complex, but it deserves a much more attention to details and time, therefore, I have decided to take up her story in a future book project.

⁴⁰ A term coined Pearl S. Buck to describe the children who were born between the American military personnel and Asian women in Taiwan, Korea, Philippines, Vietnam, Japan and Okinawa. John A. Shade *America’s Forgotten Children: The Amerasians*. 1980

⁴¹ Often I have been mistaken for Reiko while conducting fieldwork. I was also hailed by Okinawans during their visit to Berkeley, California (November 16, 2015).

Seeing and Believing: *Reporting from Teruya: Koza (1974)*

While novels and photography reproduce cultural codes that Stuart Hall describes as the interpreter and producer of meanings in the world shared by members of the community, the first person accounts of witnessing history might break such narratives by introducing different codes that emerge from embodied knowledge. *Koza* is a compilation of newspaper articles/essays, in a journal published by a Japanese newspaper company, *Asahi Shimbun*, written between November 26 and December 10 1973.

Author Kazuo Tatsuno gives the standard description of *Koza* as a sexualized and eroticized place representing prostitution, the red light district, and military dependence. Yet in his account, the black-Okinawan female does not appear as the tragic figure, and moreover, her absence is not to silence her because she is not a sign or signified into something like an effigy of a tragic double. In general, the essays are journals that report what the writer saw in the street. Although not necessarily erotic as a common cultural code, the inclusion of an image of Mama-san (Madame) with a fat body and thighs, wearing a mini skirt too high calls attention to *Koza*'s sexualized economy in the Black District. During my fieldwork, people often made an assumption of "fat women" in relation to Teruya's Black District, which made me pay attention to how much it shows up in the literature. A common descriptions such as the working girls in the Black District are big and "middle age" like Ume, and after working in white town as young girls, they come to Black District as older women ("Mixed Blood," Part 4), and "Mama-san" as having a "fat body and super mini skirt, fat thighs/legs ("Koza") become public knowledge and memory of place, "race," gender, and space of the Black District. However, these references did not reflect most of the images of the photos by Tōmatsu, other photographers, on films, or my YuntakuViewees. This disjuncture of myth and real provides the space of contemplation and reexamination of "facts" of history. The real body *being and seeing* the real life happening, as Tatsuno's witness accounts of reality shows, the writing offers details beyond the sensational, or in this case, assumptions, by attending to the mundane sense of the everyday, and giving the body—as witness, subject, object, and even "wretched"—a life beyond the sign. Tatsuno's description of a scene, for example, "putting up fists in the air, a unique greeting style with stylishly clad black soldiers is seen" locates bodies in both the political and everyday context of Teruya beyond the bar scene. But he also follows with a secondary account, "It is known as Okinawa's most despicable area for prostitution," reproducing the trope in, not truth, but hearsay, since he wrote, "it is known as," rather than what he saw.

Traveling inside the base, Tatsuno lets us see beyond the fence, where Okinawans are prohibited to enter, the American "suburb" of bowling alley, theater, horseracing track, roller-skating rink, pools, schools and restaurants such as Apple Bees and Fridays. He gives us the glimpse of Okinawa's America, which for most part, a mystery for most of the Okinawans. Intimating the contradictory nature of the fence as a dividing line between inside/outside, Tatsuno meditates on the inherent contradiction of *Koza* with its relationship to the military that creates the condition, or "peculiar atmosphere" of dependency, necessity, and a necessary evil. Describing another paradox, "women of Teruya welcome the soldiers as customers even while badmouthing them. There is no other way but to welcome them. There is an extreme form of relationship between "Refusal" and "Dependence." As he ends his report in this series of essays, Tatsuno continues with the following thoughts about what he witnessed on the ground:

Compare to the other parts of Japan, I think Koza does not make big deal about the skin color. ...women of Teruya welcome the soldiers as customers even while badmouthing them. There is no other way but to welcome them. There is an extreme form of relationship between “Refusal” and “Dependence.” In fact, one can say Okinawan history itself is the entanglement of “Refusal” and “Dependence.” (78)

Koza is not a “city” but an unusually unique form of a “village.” If the smell of the soil, which is the ground, disappears, the place will die quickly, becoming “little Tokyo-nized” (79)

Though only from one writer’s point of view, he captures the anatomy of place with his body as an eye witness that captures the smell, the color and dichotomy of Teruya, Koza and in deed, Okinawa as these three are constitutive of the history entangled in a “refusal-dependence” dichotomy. He also shows the emergence of a third space, “race,” and space in the dichotomy that necessarily differentiates Koza from other places as one makes no big deal about skin color, the fact that mixed race children live as local Okinawans, and the sense and scent of the place makes a difference whether it lives or dies, as “Okinawan” or “Japanese.” This tangled tale is too complicated for the novel, promotional material or the representation of history, for it might expose the individual, social political, economic, cultural, national and international silences and their roles in the on-going occupation and neo-liberalization of Okinawa.

Tatsuno’s essays offer a more reality-based presentation that situates Koza in the broader context of the everyday, presenting life with its unexpected happenings and events. In the last entry, he writes, “In the street, I saw a girl playing ‘Toryanse,’ a Japanese children’s game of letting someone through/not. A black soldier with a red jumper walked up and picked up the little Okinawan girl and put her up high in the transparent air” (Tatsuno 79). This scene signals something significantly different from what has been narrated. The image disrupts and mutes the sensational tropes, and brings into the fold, the mundane in a marvelous re/vision of history. One might be so bold as to imagine this scene as a playful game between a father and a daughter. The image expresses something else—a possibility that a sensational trope is unable capture of the unspectacular everyday affection and interaction between blacks and Okinawans. What does this unsensational image say? My conjecture regarding the possibility of a familiar scene or a scene of warmth and friendship is meant not to romanticize, but to insert a missing piece, a peace offering to the mysterious in history. It is the mystery in the miXtory.

Radical Space: Bush Master, Four Corners, Bar 777: Unknown Soldiers (1984)

I will end this review and analysis of representations of Teruya’s Black District by introducing a radical history through the writing of Tomokazu Takamine, an important interlocutor for researchers who are interested in the history of Teruya, Koza, and/or Okinawa. As a newspaper reporter at the time, Takamine captured the everydayness of Teruya in his memoir *Shirarezaru Okinawa no Bei-hei (The Unknown American GIs of Okinawa)*, published in 1984. The book is a 15-year compilation of memos he took about the military base issue while on duty as a reporter for the Okinawan newspaper agency, the *Ryukyu Shimpo*. He began as a reporter when Okinawa was still under U.S. military occupation in 1970, and continued to report covering the 1972 Reversion through the mid-80s. In the postscript, he writes, “...this book

should be read as a sister version to the book, ‘Okinawa is not Tourism,’⁴² there is no great pleasure knowing that this can be one way to contribute to the dialogue of ‘military and citizen’ and ‘war and peace’ (Takamine 1984: 262). Comprehensive first person account of Teruya’s Black District during the occupation era, this book is an invaluable resource to understand Teruya from the perspective of a local Okinawan. Wesley Ueunten, referring to Takamine’s book, describes the everyday sense of the place: “Okinawans also referred to Teruya as ‘Mokutangai,’ or ‘Charcoal town,’ and to the black soldiers as Teruya *seinen dan* or the ‘Teruya Youth Group’” (Ueunten 2010: 112). Charcoal is not black but something close to black, like the skin color of the black people Okinawans saw in their daily lives. Seeing something new such as afro hair styles, people called it like it is, “su no ha”, which literally means, “needle’s nest” because the afro looked like a nest and the afro comb the pick, reminded them of a sharp needle that “rested in the nest” (Takamine 1984). What is culled from the everyday is the visual precision that translates into language that reflects this direct experiential relationship of body to language. Here Mr. F’s *Koza Spirit* becomes illuminating: “The blood drained in the streets of Koza is not only the Okinawans but also the blood of many U.S. soldiers who were part of the desegregation campaign” that locates the Koza Uprising at the crossroads of the black power movement, the anti-reversion movement and the anti-Vietnam movement, where the everyday and the radical meet in the streets. Mr. F witnessed the individuals, and not the racialized bodies.

In “The Radical Possibility of Nonwhite Coalition-building in Koza,” Japanese historian and Africanist Yuichiro Onishi writes, “Okinawan writer Takamine Tomokazu, then a young reporter for *Ryukyu Shimpo*, recognized something emancipatory in the soul town Teruya and made a conscious decision to cross over into nonwhite radicalism” (Onishi 193). Onishi, who is originally from Japan, focuses on black radicalism and the freedom struggle in Japan and Okinawa in his study *Transpacific Antiracism*, which was published in 2013. Takamine’s account of the scene and activity during this period remains one of the most important sources to understand the relationship between black GIs and local citizens. Yoshino Iguchi, Yuichiro Onishi, and Wesley Ueunten refer to Takamine’s notes as key texts in their own analyses on the cross-racial alliance and coalition between Okinawan civilians and black soldiers. As noted in the *Koza* essays, Onishi transcodes the visual and visceral scene of the 1960s in Takamine’s words and advances his own analysis of the space that transformed into a “nonwhite radicalism”:

In Teruya, creative expressions of Black Power were visible in their everyday lives. However, behind the visible images, styles, and cultural practices of Black Power aesthetics—be they Afro haircuts, embroideries, hand slappings, fingersnappings, clothing, dancing, or music, there existed conditions for cross-racial, anti-imperialist, antiracist, and antiwar coalition building that informed the formation of nonwhite radicalism. (193)

Teruya’s radical history is resurrected via the named scholarly work and their critical commitment and engagement with a rare collection of photos and films produced during the Black District era. Their work is international and transnational in linking the U.S. political activism of the 1960s and 1970s and Teruya’s Black District where people crossed racial, national and ethnic lines into “nonwhite radicalism.” The evidence of the radical black presence was found in the declassified military documents of thirteen groups made up of black soldiers,

⁴² Tourism refers to the history and legacy of the commodification and exploitation of Okinawa by Japanese capitalism and economic development projects.

ranging from social groups to radical organizations. Although this radical history was captured in photographs, films, newspapers and literature, this history is missing from the public discourse and official memory. Yet, my ethnographic research shows there is a rich history residing in people's stories and gestures in the visual and acoustic retelling of the experience. The real stories are recycled in the local novellas, short stories, and essays to represent everyday postwar life, circulated in the yuntaku (chat), YuntakuViews (chat-interview), and interviews.

The most popular and politically conscious black G.I., the group Bush Masters claimed Teruya as their "home," and called Koza Jujiro/Crossroad, the "four corners" (Takamine 1984: 202). Onishi writes that Okinawans and black GIs found common ground in the midst of American occupation and "at particular moments in time and space, crossed over into nonwhiteness" (Onishi 2013: 193–4). That crossing invokes Iguchi's observation of "a peculiar atmosphere" that "shows spectacles peculiar to a colony in which local and foreign cultures became mixed as they developed," and such that "there was a perception in Japan to see the people of Koza as belonging to a third race, i.e., neither Okinawan nor American" (Iguchi 2008: 4). This crossing over into "nonwhiteness" and a "third race" from which I begin my exploration of what I am calling miXtopia is the everyday Okinawan space of champurū life. The champurū writing that I find in Tomokazu Takamine and Tatsuno does not foreclose history as a past event; rather, it reveals that history as an opening and a "position."

The Mystery Between Two Stories

On January 3, 1970, the *Okinawa Times Newspaper* published an article with the headline, "Not going to Vietnam: military soldier AWOL in an anti-war sentiment for peace." A caption included: "I want freedom"; "Because I'm in love with an Okinawan Woman"; "Slept in an open field, tolerating the cold and hunger." A text accompanying a photo showing a man in the field reads, "Allow me to live in Okinawa. I hate Vietnam war!" The man's name is John Earnest, a soldier on the run; a black man with an Okinawan wife and a mixed black-Okinawan baby. The article centers on his plea for life (the right to live and the refusal to kill), to live with his family in Okinawa, and to live without killing the lives of Vietnamese. That same year on November 24, the *New York Times* published an article titled, "Okinawa Town Has a Black Enclave That a White G.I. Enters at His Peril," an indication that racism existed in the military overseas. As an effort to resolve the problem, the military dispatched a black-white interracial military police to patrol the area. But the effort, the article suggests, failed to address the root of the problem, racism and oppression, which was articulated by the black male interviewee. A black man, described as "hostile," was quoted, "The only way to end the oppression is to get rid of the oppressor," reflecting that era of the black power movement and internationalism. While the statement emphasizes the U.S. racial oppression of blacks, it simultaneously deemphasizes the U.S. occupation of Okinawa. Maintaining the focus on the black-white racial tension, the article ends with a sense that the Black District was dangerous for whites: "they [black and white] had no idea that it was best not to drink together in Old Koza (Teruya's Black District)".⁴³

⁴³ As reflected in the *New York Times* article, the Black District is often linked to the discourses of violence, black-white racial tension and sexual violence. Most often, the black and white racial conflict refers to the homegrown racism in the U.S. that "burdens Okinawa," (KBB3, 64). According to the newspaper, Teruya was both white and black blacks stayed on the East side and the Whites on the West side, which created a strange reality for Okinawans who were new to U.S. racism. From 1953, the

These two newspaper stories exemplify the different historical views, issues, and experiences surrounding militarism in Asia. The occupation brought racism, black-white racial tensions, sexual crimes, and other crimes, that impacted the lives of Okinawans, African Americans, whites, Japanese and Americans differently. Discourses of occupation and postwar history of Okinawa, Koza and Teruya's Black District must attend to the differential structures of oppression in one way or another. My research is situated between these two articles and within what they mystify: the mundane, where the miXtory of differential oppression is experienced, felt, seen, and sensed. And though the black soldiers are not the focus of this study, they nonetheless constitute an element of the miXtory, that will, in time, champurū into the unfolding narratives of Teruyans as other "Teruyans" who crossed the same time, space, and place, and who participated in the production of OkinawaXblack yu, which is a space I discuss on page 161 that expresses *Okinawan* at the site where black and Okinawa crossed into each other's miXtopia as mixed Okinawan.

In *Silencing the Past: Power and Production of History*, Trouillot reveals how power is embedded in the production of history. He describes the ways in which silences are produced to maintain power that re-inscribes dominant structures at four crucial moments: fact creation, fact assembly, fact retrieval and retrospective significance (26). At each moment, the historical process works through power to reproduce those "facts," which have already been reproduced in the previous interpretations through, what he defines as, the storage model of memory-history that simultaneously produces silences. Trouillot repositions the past in the present as *pastness*, which is a position (15). This change of quality from being static (fixed) to becoming active (position) stretches the meanings, locations and borders in two directions of history and memory, past and present, presence and absence, real and fiction, bringing in the element of mystery. Indeed, Trouillot calls for a way to break through the fixed patterns by proposing a different model that incorporates atypical sources such as diaries, images and bodies, and employs "unused facts" such as "gender, race, class, fact of life cycle, and resistance" (49). Re-situating history as a position of third, such as mystery, simultaneously intervenes at the sites of production where power operates and inserts possible openings for an alternative interpretation and creation of life. This is part of my objective.

newspaper began to investigate and publish to expose the strange reality of the Black District that refuses entry of whites or beat them up if they cross into the place. For the first time, the reporters and Okinawans witnessed and experienced the clear racial line between whites and blacks.

Okinawans witnessed the conflict between the MPs and the blacks, as well as the effort, especially by black men, to alleviate and end the racial conflict. As the article shows, the MP established a policy to resolve the conflict by posting interracial MPs to patrol the area, to train their own to stop discrimination against whites, and at the same time, to ban those Okinawan bars that practice discrimination (KBB3, 64). For Teruya, the 1969 Riot was a major riot amongst many small incidents that erupted between black men and the Military Police. The incident was determined as a drug related incident that required an MP investigation to search blacks. The riot included gunshots, burning cars and intense activities between black men and MPs that lasted about 2 hours. Teruya's residents (Honmachi dōri/Gintengai) were not hurt but some were left with the lasting impression and image of the black soldiers as violent or dangerous, which they attributed to the drug and the Vietnam War (*yuntaku*Views, 1987 survey taken by Koza High School students.)

History of Place: Teruya's Black District

The history of Teruya's Black District begins at the Koza Crossroad built in 1945. As part of the transformation project, the military created a road that transported military goods and personnel between Kadena Air Force Base and Awase Seaport, the first landing place in April 1st (Okinawa City Hall Okinawa City Planning Department Peace Culture Promotion Division Eds. 28). The ruins of Goeku Castle from the Ryukyu Kingdom laid the foundation for the road where the four municipalities—Northwestern/Yoshihara/Misato; Northeastern/Goeku/Shiromae; Southeastern/Honmachi dōri/Teruya; and Southwestern/Miyazato (329/24 route intersects with 330/24)—met (Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City, *Koza Bunka Box 3* 59). The newly developed crossroad facilitated pathways for people to transport goods, which transformed lives in turning into a vibrant economic center. Because military labor was the major source of employment for the city, labor demand pulled people from other parts of the Ryukyu Islands, mostly from Amami Island (Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City, *Koza Bunka Box 6* 30–31). Thus Okinawans as military workers helped build the Crossroad, which quickly developed into a market place, bringing people from different parts of the island, and other islands to sell and barter food, household items, and other everyday objects such as pots and pans, bowls, water jugs, tea pots, plates and other items. Everyday items were made from the military remains of planes and machines after the war that Japanese had left strewn about in the open field. Okinawans took those parts and used hammers and axes to shape objects and sold them as everyday items. *Nābēyā* refers to a small manufacturing facility that made and sold these items, which popped up everywhere as popular businesses from 1945 to 1950s, the period known as the “Okinawa's Jurassic Era.” Okinawans were able to transform “tools of death” into art for life, a “bricolage of pot, kiln, and kettle” (“The ‘Silver Wing of Skillet’ Narrates the World History of Peace and War” Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City, *Koza Bunka Box 3* 28). The newly paved road presented challenges and also creativity for Okinawans and the military personnel, out of an unfortunate and unexpected meeting of power and people. Teruya's market district Honmachi Street prospered as one of the first market places at the Crossroad where the Black District traffics.

Teruya: the Original Koza

The first “American city” in Okinawa, Koza, served the largest U.S. base in the world, the Kadena Air Force base. As a “host city,” its economy relied on the businesses that catered to the cultures and desires of the U.S. military personnel, which included sexual labor. Rapidly, farmland was transformed into an American street with “The horizontal signage of the bars, cabarets, restaurants and western theater set lined along the route 13” (Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City, *Koza Bunka Box 3* 64). Today, these streets and buildings are in a half-ruined condition, standing in between past and present. There is a haunting sense of a place for example at a building once a whorehouse still standing in the back yard, hidden from the street. The dilapidated building is a reminder of the sexual violence, which plagued local communities in the early phase of the occupation. To curtail sexual assaults and rapes of local women and children by military personnel, B.C. (Business Center) Street was constructed in 1951, which corresponds to the beginning of the formal U.S.-Ryukyu era between 1952 and 1972. While B.C. Street represented a gesture of goodwill, in the “back street,”

Yaejima was built and operated as the red light district where prostitution was approved as business. Although U.S. Military officials deny approving such a plan, Okinawans know Yaejima was built for prostitution (Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City, *Koza Bunka Box 8*, 51–51). Yaejima would eventually take on the name the New Koza, and informally renamed Teruya and the crossroad, the “Old Koza,” which is also known as the “Four Corner.” (*Koza Bunka Box 3*, 70).

Official and non-official sources—the local government of Okinawa City, photographers, and the community at large (Caravan Series, Yuntaku Views, interviews)—speculate that the formation of the Black District was a natural process of the occupation. Most sources cite sometime between 1952 and 1953 as the initial year of formation. Before the Black District was an “all-black territory,” however, Teruya along with the municipalities at the crossroad were not just for blacks, but served all soldiers. As all “races” among military personnel were present between 1944 and 1952, the villages along the intersection were not racially segregated. However, according to the city’s archive, part of this “interracial” space, in fact, had been already segregated prior to 1952, when part of Teruya officially became the bar and entertainment district, which eventually developed into the Black District.

By 1952, the bar and entertainment district spread into the adjacent Misato Village where the military made a simple style barracks as bars in the Misato’s ‘Back Street’ that became exclusive for the black soldiers. As part of city development, Teruya’s ground was flattened by the bulldozer for constructions that focused on Honmachi dōri where bars, restaurants and cafes developed to expand the bar and entertainment district in 1954/55. (Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City, *Koza Bunka Box 3* 62)

Under the newly formed Ryukyu government, and newly built districts of B.C. Street and Yaejima’s “New Koza” district, the soldiers migrated from the first Koza Crossroad to these different locations, which marks the year 1952 as the beginning of segregation of race and place as either black or white. White soldiers migrated to the newly established districts in Yaejima, B.C. Street, and Kūkō Dōri (Airport Street, now Gate 2 Street, which is a major street and a direct route to and from Gate # 2 of the Kadena Air Force base to the airport). During this exodus, black soldiers stayed in Teruya and made it “home,” and gave the crossroad a nickname, the “Four Corners.” (Takamine). It was a place of refuge for blacks, against the backdrop of the brewing civil rights movement, choosing to live as a *black different life*, as if prefiguring the future Black Lives Matters, invoking the Black Civil Rights Movement, the Black Panther Party, Malcolm X, and the anti-Vietnam Movement in past-present-future life.

OkinawaXblack Era (1952 - 1976)

Because the Black District was *part* of Teruya District’s market street called the Honmachi, Teruya’s Black District *is* an Okinawan champurū space (Okinawan champurū yu). As such, I define Teruyans who are from this time and space as “Okinawan-black,”⁴⁴ a kindred

⁴⁴ Again, this is a difficult idea to grasp or perhaps accept, but I am putting forth the idea that “Teruyans” in how I conceptualized through a performative strategy, are all who lived and crossed into each other’s life as “customers, neighbors, strangers, friends, enemies, lovers, and activists” for 23 years. As discussed on p.149, Okinawans called the black soldiers, Teruya Youth Group that is specific to this particular space and time of Okinawa that offered a different way of being “black” and “Okinawan” as

soul to Koza spirit, the soul of the culture of those who lived and worked amongst the black soldiers as customers, neighbors, strangers, friends, enemies, lovers, and activists. In this historical context, a Teruyan can belong to any “racial” or ethnic group as non-mixed Okinawan, mixed-Okinawan, black, as well as other “racial” or ethnic groups as the producers of OkinawaXblack place, “race” and space. Here, blackness, Okinawan-ness, and mixed-ness position are third terms similar to Bernard Lucious’s concept of Black-Pacific, which he explains as a three-diasporic site that expresses simultaneously African Diasporic and Asian Diasporic so that Afro-Amerasian intersects and intermediates as both African American and Asian (Lucious 2005: 122). But OkinawaXblack is a *yu* that expresses *Okinawan* at the site where black and Okinawa crossed into each other’s *miXtopia* as mixed Okinawan, hence OkinawaXblack. The subtle yet critical difference I am making might become clear reframing through Du Bois’s notion of heart to heart meeting: “after the capture of Hilton Head, and perhaps for the first time the North met the Southern slave face to face and heart to heart with no third witness” (Du Bois 1990: 181). Here, the notion of soul becomes lucid in the crossroad that represents black and Okinawan as third. In this third type of music as Du Bois describes as “a blending of Negro music with the music heard in the foster land. The result is still distinctively Negro and the method of blending original, but the elements are both Negro and Caucasian” (184) yet, it is nevertheless a Negro song. It is the process in which Mr. Master “hears” the black music in the Beatles music, not by the signifier, but by the roots, in its mixed multiplying manifestation. OkinawaXblack is a *miXtopia*, a crossroad of chance meetings and possible encounters in mixed multiplying possibilities.

Legacy of the Black District

Today, Teruya’s former Black District is partially a ghost town with faded bar signs and old concrete buildings reminiscent of the past as *pastness* lingering in between the memory and the fantasy felt in the space of silences. The place averts its own “body,” disintegrated and disappeared from the public image, “double-crossing” itself as a ghost crossing into different textual, memorial, and imaginary spaces. Haunted by the secrets, unknowns, and mysteries of place, “race,” and space, *miXtory* unsilences the ghostly matters that emerge in the crossings of people, places and spaces of mundane. *MiXtopia* illuminates the mundane as a living archive, a performance of life that offers a crossroad of chance meetings.



Coca Cola Ad (Teruya Streetscape 2013)

not racialized or colonized, but mixed-multiplying being that created a different way of life that arises from this history that combines both Okinawan and black as OkinawaXblack *yu*. Teruya’s Black District, as I argue, is a crossroad that describes this crossing of everyday place, “race,” and space of Teruya as both “Okinawa and black,” hence the term, OkinawaXblack.

Chapter 5: OkinawaXblack: Teruya Soul MiXtory

When the non-representable finds its place in the relation of word, sound, silence and image, or of timbre, tone, dynamics and duration, meaning can only circulate at the limit of sense and non-sense
(*Elsewhere, Within Here*, Trinh 78)

Who is the Body-Memory of a Ghost in Our Home?

Performance art offers a decolonial methodology through creative process. Performance artist Guillermo Gomez-Peña speaks border language, and calls his performance text “cinematic.” It speaks in third, middle, in-between and crossroads where life *is* performance art. I engage the body in a performance language, with which I first experimented in the backstreets of Teruya’s Black District where I grew up creating my *miXtopia*. The place was alive, a crossroad of hustling and bustling activities as part of everyday life, which included the traditional plays at local theater houses, the neon and acoustic night scene of the Black District, and people moving about during at the Okinawan marketplace. My sensibility of performance art develops out of this energetic space where everyday life felt like a theater. I grew up in an Okinawan house made of wood, with *tatami* floor, doors made with *shoji* screens (screens made of rice paper with wood panels), and a *butsudan* (family Buddhist altar), side wooden patios, various rooms, front and back yard garden space, concrete walls and an entrance gate. The back of the house, an open vista once used for the military garrison, was the set I stepped into in my imaginary world and cultivated a sense of self through performing in my world. Here and there, in the spaces between imagination and the real, the idea that life is performance art germinated in Okinawa, which I continued to develop into an everyday principle of theory, practice and performance as an art student and practitioner as performance art. As a mixed-media performance artist, my work explored and expressed a third/mixed form of language as body-in-motion whereby performance art became the vehicle through which an inter-media interlocutor was formed as both theory and methodology. Performance art works by Lynn Hershman *Roberta Breitmore* (1975), Adrian Piper’s *Mythic Beings* (1973 – 1974), Coco Fusco, Gomez-Peña, and others who merged art and life through performing influenced the creation and birth of my alter ego, Flemm Fatale in 1994. As an art piece, Flemm Fatale was a classroom experiment, tress-passing into my life becoming as art-being that lives within and beyond me. Adrian Piper describes her methodology as a process to make sense of the outcome or manifestation through the process, which was revealed and formed *in the* process of performing her alter ego, “Mythic Being” (Piper 119). Similarly, my walking and sensing was an experimental performance act that developed into methodology in the process, and brought Flemm as a “street worker.” In a way, Flemm “came out” in the fieldwork by finding roots in Teruya, and be/came known as a methodology that I call *Flemmwork*.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ For more details, please refer to pages ix (terminology), 34 (introducing as methodology), 41 - 44 (scholarly engagement with de Certeau, Roach, and Lugones’s “walking as performative act”), 49 (conceptualization), 160 – 163, 170 (formation), and 207 - 210 (postscript).



”A Diary of Flemm Fatale”

Mixed-Media Performance Art/Life (Circa SF, CA 1994)

Returning to the discussion I raised in chapter 1, starting with the heading, Methodology: Fieldwork and *Flemmwork* on pages 34 to 50, my dissertation methodology involved, as I said there, the performative as part of the research, specifically the character straddling life/art that I had developed in 1994, Flemm Fatale. This is not the place to further develop that aspect of my work. Here, I limit myself to recognizing the multiple subject positionings from which a person such as I, born in Teruya in this time and space of history as a ghostly figure, must by necessity activate. For now, suffice it to say that *Flemmwork* is a performative process by which fragmentary pieces of invisible and unrecognized history can be gathered to make sense of the world through a perspective of the in-between and what Edward W. Said’s describes as “unhoused, decentered, and exilic energies, energies whose incarnation today is the migrant, and whose consciousness is that of the intellectual and artist in exile, the political figure between domains, between forms, between homes, and between languages. From this perspective then all things are indeed counter, original, spare,⁴⁶ strange. From this perspective also, one can see ‘the complete consort dancing together’ contrapuntally” (Said 1993: 332).

As both a child of this place and a researcher, I represent and present a multiple-subjectivity. How can an *Asian-black* who seeks to understand something beyond her own experience look to the *black-Asian* history in America while her own body of *mixedness*—the simultaneous difference of being black, Okinawan—is linked directly to Teruya’s Black District where she was born and *seen*? How does my body-knowledge give meaning to the mystery woven within other mysteries as miXtory (history, story, mystery)? I slip in, travel across and beyond and return to my roots, where I am banished or cloaked in another, split and curdled, made and remade in this space in motion that turns into miXtopia. I participate in the history, in *pastness*, as a ghostly matter that is flesh and blood: the Now. I am “we” as both a phantom child in the past and a contemporary traveler as *Flemmwork*, the art of being in between that walks on chance, dream, fantasy, reality, and indeed, surreality. If it is an act of homecoming, then performance art is the home to which I return to my roots, body, and love. Who “I” am as *Flemmwork* involves a very much trans-border speaking, thinking and being in between place, “race” and space. *Flemm Fatale* (FF) is the alter ego, doppelganger, creative ego, and skin in

⁴⁶ In the original text, there is no “and” written in between “spare, strange.”

action that can cross-dress as the method, theory and philosophy at *her* whim. I place FF body as the cite/sight/site of knowledge and interlocutor in Teruya.

Before Teruya, I stayed a week (August 26 – September 2, 2012) in Koza at a local hotel called the Deigo Hotel located in the Goya district. I rented a bike and explored the neighborhood to feel the place in an active silence of sensing its rhythm, taste, and sound. The last day before leaving to Teruya, I ate a hearty Okinawan breakfast served in small ceramic plates that consisted of various kinds of sea vegetables, eggs, salad, rice, and some miso soup. While sipping some tea, I heard voices two tables to my left. Two women, mother and daughter, were chatting enthusiastically in a recognizable Okinawan intonation, a familiar soundscape to my ear. I tuned in more closely not to the content of the conversation, but to the sound, the rhythm and the tonality that made my *chimu* respond strangely happy in that *wasa wasaa* and *don don* way. Something caught me and then I caught myself speaking to the woman who was about to pass in front of me. Suddenly I am talking in an Okinawan-Japanese accent, “nanka..., koe ga sugoi natsukashikatta desu” (there is something very familiar in your voice). Not registering the sound (Okinawan) coming from the visual image (foreign), the woman was a little perplexed and asked what was it that I said, but when I repeated, she recognized the sound (perhaps my face, which was a familiar sight in Teruya), and we *yuntaku* a little. Once I shared my research and relation to Teruya, we found our common crossroad as Teruyans. Moreover, she grew up in the Black District era, and still lives there now. We exchanged numbers, and when I got settled, she asked me to look her up for more *yuntaku* about her experience. But we never had the meeting, but she returned as Mrs. A in a miXtory.

Yet the significance of this chance meeting is not in the expectation of meeting her, but the initial recognition of the sound that placed us both in the same place. The actual meeting did not transpire, yet the experimental element of my methodology worked. Later, her story would return in the form of an interview in a book that I already had on my bookshelf. In a chapter that talks about Teruya’s Black District, I was informed that Mrs. A was one of the people who received a blood transfusion from the Bush Masters, the most well-known group of black service men in Teruya back in the Black District era (Takamine 207). As if the World was actually *Turning* (like the soap opera, “As the World Turns”), through my fieldwork I walked into a world that presented uncanny surprises, unexpected happenings, and chance meetings that took hold of my body and place in making miXtory.

My everyday (body) contact with others in conversations, photographs, streets, objects, and materials of sources and resources “came to be” methodology after the fact as it returned as pieces of miXtory. The place heightened my senses in silence. Sound, especially a speaking sound, moved the body into a subterranean space of sensorial memory, which was activated by the voice of Ms. A and carried mysterious traces of memory revealed later in a text. At the time of hearing, the voice carried a diasporic haunted quality of what Grace M. Cho describes as “The sensation belonging to one sense organ reverberates through the others, such as when the sound of the speaking voice fills in what the eye cannot see or when one generation’s experiences are lived through another’s” (Cho 2008: 181). In Mrs. A’s voice, I sensed the familiar place of prior full life events, and by chance, we reentered into each other’s hometown. Repeatedly, I find myself in someone else’s photo, short story, and memory of a “black-Okinawan” double that seems to multiply as I plunge into the mystery of miXtory. MiXtory, in part, responds to Trouillot’s call to break the silences of certain events, people and facts from history, story and memory. As well, it is the answer to what Edward W. Said posed in *Culture and Imperialism* to challenge orthodoxy and authority. He asks, “what happens when you are given the opportunity

to express a more complex, less sequential history: in fact you are compelled to retell the "facts" in such a way as to be inventing a language from scratch" (Said 1993: 324). I present a miXtory that inserts mystery as a possibility in a narrative that performs like non-fiction writing to illuminate the in-between pieces of everyday life. From this position, neither history nor memory requires distance or borders to separate from each other as a discernable fact. Rather, both history and memory are parts of a whole that emerge from the unsuspected and mundane spaces, objects, and senses, accessed through chance encounters and found materials. One random photo that holds history and memory became a major clue that traveled and transcended in time and space, and in retrospect, led to unexpected findings and connections. The emergence of an object, such as the photo "in motion" (dual-directional toward past and future) became a pattern that resurfaced in variations of time, space, and place that led to many discoveries and fortuitous meetings. I was able to capture the pattern by taking a chance on an experimental method that employs sensing and timing as tools of inquiry. In this way, sound, touch, smell, taste, and sight, along with the movement of rhythm, time, and tempo⁴⁷ of the place became sites of knowledge. MiXtory captures the senses that reside in the movement in between spaces of mystery, history, and story in unexpected revelations. As such what was made unthinkable became real thoughts-in-motion that opened up a new path of discovery and chance meetings at the crossroads.

Performance of Place: Crossroad/*Jujiro*.⁴⁸

MiXtory begins at the crossroad where the past is performing the present in champurū yu. The physical place is a third space that offers retreat and relief from the rest of the world by creating its own style, flavor, and sense of place. With each meeting at the crossroad, strangers and friends eventually become members of a fluid network in the flux of movements. The space inhabits the old and new Koza in the contemporary production of flow in which people cross into each other in local settings such as independently owned modest cafes, bars, and izakaya (bar/pub) street vendors that provide food, drinks, music, and yuntaku space for everyday hardworking people. My research took place at three such crossroads that occupy both the historical and contemporary sense and location of Koza Crossroad: the music bar Abby Road located in the Shiromae-chō district; Rokuyosha, a cafe/restaurant in the Teruya district; and Hibiki, a cafe that plays classical music and is located in the Yaejima district. Each location mapped Koza's "American town" during the early part of the occupation where the bar and entertainment districts around the intersection served the military personnel. Joseph Roach provides a sense of this crossroad in his description of Mr. Spector's report on the "Everlasting Club," where freedom, pleasure, life/art encounters and chance meetings open the boundaries of time, space, race and place. Roach writes, "Clubs, with their continuously renegotiated boundaries of exclusion, exemplify the smaller atoms of affiliation through which larger

⁴⁷ Movement of crossroads: time of pastness in the present, rhythm of the day and night, tempo of life.

⁴⁸ *Jujiro* is crossroad in Japanese. It represents the physical place and social space as a crossroad. Koza Crossroad was built in 1945 using the materials taken from the ruined Goeku castle of the Ryukyu Kingdom era, which paved the road for the transportation system that linked one of the major U.S. military bases, Kadena Air Force Base to the Awase seaport, the U.S. military's first landing port on Okinawa Island. Koza was originally established in Teruya district, the formally established the Black District. The crossroad symbolizes the life force that brought economic, social, cultural, racial, ethnic, gender, and sexuality into a mix multiplying motion.

societies may be constructed” (Roach 1996: 18). Similarly situated, the three selected Koza sites function as crossroads, as mini-social conduits that allow the movement and production of social space for relation and revelation, allowing self to be/come self/other multiple. In this state of possibility, some return, some settle, some remain, some run away or fade away, champurūing for the next encounter event. In the next section, I present the miXtory of two Koza Crossroads to illustrate how some of the narratives unfolded and enfolded into each other through unexpected revelations in the field, and where a new language was also made in the process.

MiXtory in Two

X opens up passages between narrative and body through which I enter and exit at the crossroad of extra-text and inter-text between real and fiction.

MiXtory One: Music Bar Abby Road⁴⁹

I walked into Abby Road with the feeling that I had been here before, La facultad, “an instant ‘sensing,’ a quick perception arrived at without conscious reasoning (Anzaldúa 2012: 61). What waits at this moment of entry and the subsequent entries in the coming months could not have been imagined nor foreseen. Abby is a part of a house turned into a music bar nestled in the banality of houses that have withstood many years of change in the aftermath of the war. Established in 2008, the bar is located off the main street, Road 330, just a few minutes walk from the northeast side of the Koza Intersection. From the main street, a lean side street snakes up a gentle curve toward a slight hill arriving at the former Goeku Castle. The road continues to circle around the former castle, and enters into a wide street on the other side of town where it meets another main street leading to the Kadena military base on the left, and the Yaejima district on the right. This was the path that linked the military base to the seaport. The bar is in a residential neighborhood in front of a closed convenient store across the street, old hotels are down the street, along with an unidentifiable home/building of modest size, displaying postwar Showa⁵⁰ Aesthetics (read post-war retro aesthetics).

At the front entrance, a multicolored neon sign flashes “open,” lighting each letter with a rainbow color that flashes from 4 p.m. to 4 a.m. The sign can be seen from the main street before coming up the hill so that the customers are spared having to work an unnecessary few minutes up the road. If necessary, the bar stays open later than 4 a.m., as I and other customers have walked out the door at 7 in the morning. The “open” sign is propped outside the entrance, in front of a cigarette vending machine that requires an official ID card. Among others and more

⁴⁹ Abby Road is the place where I met Mr. Taka (Okinawa Historical Laughter Chapter), and Mr. F. (Koza Champurū Chapter).

⁵⁰ Showa is a period in which the Emperor Hirohito reigned from 1928 to 1989. It covers the pre-WWII period of imperial control (1928 – 1945) and the postwar period of the nation-state building (1945 – 1989) that begins Japan’s modernization period. My conceptualization of the “showa aesthetics” is the postwar Okinawa in which the unfulfilled promoside of attaining Okinawa’s modernity, and unrelenting hold of Okinawa’s way of life, which are fused in a multi-layered, mundane, champurū sense of the place of incommensurable space of Okinawan difference, defiance, and presence (life) in the mix, making moves through and beyond the structures of power.

modern and popular brands of cigarettes, this machine also carries the classic Okinawan brands Violet and Uruma, which have a stronger flavor, and also represent what I define as the taste of the Showa aesthetic. Mostly the older Okinawans (over 60 years) who lived the occupation era smoke these brands, but some younger Okinawans also favor these hometown classics. Some choose not only for the stronger taste and affordable price, but also for the feeling of nostalgia and the expression of pride of their Okinawan identity, and others smoke for no reason other than these were available as an everyday item. In certain spaces and places, such as a fish market in a seaport town, one might see an older woman in her 80s smoking as she walks through a narrow space between variety of fish and sea products that were caught for the day. At the bar, the younger generations smoke the modern Japanese or American cigarettes. Most of the customers are smokers, making the bar a very inviting place to light a cig.

As for the clientele, “Abby,” as everyone refers to it, represents the crossroad of the past and the present where people cross and re-cross in each other’s travels and tales, creating the atmosphere of the “everlasting club” of a dynamic flow and exchange of familiar strangers who produce transitory networks that extend into the world by word of mouth. Abby patrons are mostly locals who drive or pass the bar on the way home or to work, but there are many devotees who travel from other parts of Okinawa or mainland Japan. The bar welcomes everyone but maintains a working class atmosphere to reflect the owner’s background. Customers come from various sectors of society: newspapers, flower shops, hotel and leisure, fishermen, handymen, blue collar, the unknown and the suspicious, the construction worker, cooks, and other bar owners who work for a living. I did not encounter any Americans during my research.

The interior of the bar is a small single room that connects to a huge two-story concrete house. Resembling a small oval shape, the room divides into two general areas: the bar counter on the left with a couple of tables and chairs on the right. Abby accommodates up to 20 people max, but most nights, the average number is about two to four patrons an hour, as they interchange seats throughout the day/night. Reflecting the owner’s love for the Beatles, the flag of England decorates the left top ceiling corner right above the area where the master/owner mixes drinks and prepares snacks (cocktails, coffee, instant noodles, etc.). Behind the counter, the owner deejays to suit the customers’ tastes, and plays music on the laptop and on the record player as the full classic sound flows out from the juke box machine, which is perched grandly in the center. Various bottles of Awamori (Okinawan sake/liquor) are displayed on top of the middle wooden structure that divides the room. Bottles of the American standard selection of alcohol—whiskeys, bourbons, gins, vodkas, along with Johnny Walker and other brands—are lined up against the wall behind the bar and the walls on the left side of the room. A meticulously and carefully handwritten menu on a handmade signboard announces the prices of drinks in order to avoid an unfortunate misunderstanding and a costly mistake. The straight view from the entrance directs the eye to the two arresting signs inside the bar: a carefully hand written statement, on the wall right above the open door that leads to the bathroom, explains the rules of the house; to the left, on a wooden frame, a replica copy of the A-Sign certificate is perfectly hung near the jukebox. The house rules are intended to maintain equanimity in the space between customers, but if violated, either a Yellow card or a Red card will be used to warn or eject the customer in violation. Depending on the seriousness of the “crime,” one may be granted a light sentence of a few days of prohibition or, worse, banned for an indeterminate amount of time. Make no mistake: this business is handled with a tough personal touch of love.

My first introduction to Abby was on September 29, 2012. Walking into Abby for the first time was surreal, a dream that took me back to somewhere/things familiar. Even though I

had never been there before, a familiar sense became more and more pronounced as we exchanged stories of our lives that took us back to *that time and space* of Teruya, Koza and Okinawa. The moment I first saw Mr. Master (the owner), and in the subsequent meetings with other Teruyans and Kozans, I sensed a feeling as if I/we/they were waiting for my/our/their return to this place/scene, into which I slipped and which then flowed and flowered into a community with a sense of reciprocity and responsibility to each other. It was the *yuimāru*. Abby became one of the primary research sites where I encountered random persons in unexpected and chance meetings that culminated in hundreds of YuntakuViews from September 2012 to January 2013 and from August 2013 to January 2014. YuntakuView (YV) is a hybrid term I coined that combines the local chat and the formal interview. Flemmwork is a general methodological framework that traces and maps (“work”) the field through the engagement of my body as cite/sight/site of knowledge that emerges in the process as discoveries, mysteries, and serendipities. My resistance to be part of research could not be maintained as I was often hailed as another elsewhere (book, memory, film, family, experience, photo, and etc.) that of ten became a window through which deeper and extensive dialogue took place without my probing. YV is a specific method of observation with unexpected revelations in the field: a chance F/actor that became a key component of Flemmwork. I engaged an average 20 people every week for about 10 months and kept a journal for almost each encounter of the YV. These YVs are mostly informal chance meetings of those who came to the locations of my research. During my research, the place functioned as a mixed home/work space or temporary office during the day, which allowed me to use the space to do my writing and to make appointments with my YuntakuViewees. My Flemmwork began around 10pm to 2 am, but often I extended my stay later, as I sometimes found myself walking out in the daylight. (From 6pm to 10/11pm, I was usually stationed at another Crossroad, Rokuyosha in Teruya.)

That first entry in September is still etched on my mind and body. I met several people who would eventually become my informants and collaborators to some degree. About a dozen residents gathered to meet and yuntaku with me, which lasted until the early morning. To my surprise, these patrons poured out personal stories and local history about Teruya, Koza and their own personal connections to the Black District. Some had tailor shop stories of sitting next to the black men getting their measurements, and being bewildered by the tall stature and impressed by the style of clothes, gestures, handclapping, and dancing. The yuntaku covered a range of topics from remembering the Malcolm X meetings that took place in Teruya’s community center to watching Soul Train on the military channel six, which broadcast on Okinawan TV. A heightened sense and tension grew from the retelling of the Koza uprising/riot and recalling some stories and images from the war. The night crossed into morning hues, which balanced the hot topic of the Koza riot that essentially continued until dawn. But among the tension and intentions of this meeting, a voice spoke in a different tone of the same story.

Mr. Golden City: Seeing the Future Walking in the Present

Mr. Golden City is a well-known community member of Teruya’s Ginten-gai, a market district of the former Honmachi Street that also the Black District overlapped. An original resident of Teruya, Mr. GC’s family, like other families, was a transplant from other areas of Okinawa. As a head representative of Ginten-gai Merchants Union, he is an active member of the community that organizes and participates in local events and festivals. His family owns many buildings in Ginten-gai, the fruit of his parents’ labor in the Honmachi Market. One

YuntakuViewee commented that the main customers were the hostesses and black soldiers from the Black District. Growing up during the occupation and living in proximity to the Black District, he witnessed first-hand the riots, fights and violence that occurred “daily” in his neighborhood among blacks, whites, military police (MP), and Okinawans. These incidents of riots, especially leading up to the Koza Riot/Uprising, are discussed and analyzed by many scholars and people of Koza who give multiple interpretations of the relationship between blacks and Okinawans from radical to wretched. Tomokazu Takamine resolves at the end, the two activist groups were “unable to cross the racial stereotypes” (1984: 221). It is not a dead issue, but one that brings into life, the fact of OkinawaXblack in everyday manners and matters of living. In this sense, Mr. Golden City is a living archive of the place whose sentiments about the Black District is a miXtory told in a bundle of nostalgia, drama, and melancholia mixed in with his jovial, but unresolved personality. In one instance he showed an unfiltered openness to me, but in another moment, he expressed a raw disdain for blacks. But this jolting disclosure came after he had been talking for over an hour about the war, the time before the district and the crossroad or Koza had become realities. His pain was viscerally felt for those who died and survived, who lost both the lives and time, he emphasized, for learning. His graphic description of an elderly woman he painstakingly narrated in that hour of listening was especially poignant. The image of the elderly woman running with decapitated heads rolling alongside her was unexpected. I surmised that she ran not only out of fear, but to escape death. Scenes such as finding heads rolling in the street and body parts strewn about became a familiar during the war and eventually fossilized as an unforgettable memory for many Okinawans who experienced the war. To protest Japanese State Censorship of war crime, an 83 year-old female survivor’s depiction of the scene speaks in volume: “Shizuko remembers women screaming ‘Kill me, Kill me,’ bodies hanging like sacks from tree branches, and her eldest son of ten months crawling among the corpses.”⁵¹ Uchihara Shizuko, 83 (Zamami island)” (Robson 2008). In the war context, death became common and its effect numbed in the repetition of images that became normalized in the landscape of war. In the surreal sense of place of war, the elderly woman may not have felt/feared death anymore because it has become “normal.”

While the history unfolds like an avalanche as survivors pour their stories into the public sphere, the image of the Black District, in the context of this war and the military is negative expressed through the normalized violence, riots, and fights in his neighborhood. For Mr. G.C., black people represent negative F/actor in his history and story. Thus his attempts to “overcome” the negative emotion/feeling toward black people have been unsuccessful reconciling the past that has not been resolved. How do the retelling of war stories and trauma, which are caught in an emotional impasse, impacts the ways in which the paradox of Americans/military, Japanese/Okinawan, and mixed-race/Okinawan? This is a highly sensitive issue that almost feels taboo, too deep to explore in fear that it might explode. Yet, with his clarity about the emotional conflict he feels about the past, and therefore, the present, Mr. GC continues to search for something different. On this score, his efforts have been tremendous toward personal and artistic endeavors that attempt to work out the social, cultural and personal concerns that he and others share about the unresolved feeling of the past. The work/effort is reflected in his plays, performance, short stories, and life story that continue to stand at the crossroads of the past in the present miXtopia.

⁵¹ This is a quotation mark within the quote that begins with the sentence, ‘Kill me, ...’.

Past Appearing in the Future

In my analysis of the postwar literature on Koza and the Black District, I presented the set of tropes and images that fix a story in a particular orientation, point of view and/or a dominant ideology that limit the possibility, multiplicity and diversities in the narrative. The work of Nakada Tsuyoshi, however, breaks the conventional narrativity of the Black District by employing the style of writing I call the “Teruyan native voice,” an Okinawan difference.

Although it is fiction, the story is based on his experience as a Teruyan child of Honmachi Street who grew up during the Black District era. The story is divided in three acts: “Koza Revolution,” “Koza, the Honmachi dōri, the Black District,” and “The Black District’s Red Telephone Booth” (see Appendix for a translated excerpt from the last act). Nakada’s work explores his own personal struggles of coming to terms with the past of war, military occupation, and the Black District. The tragic or the erotic trope does not take over the story, rather the trope works in and through the dialogue to show the everyday situations and reality in which people are neither rejecting nor accepting, but coping with the reality to live as best as they can in their everyday life. This coping is not necessarily a struggle caught in a tragedy, but is a sign of life in full-awareness of the present. In the story, a black-Okinawan female character name Eri is introduced from the second act as a child who was raised by her grandmother, takes a phenomenal turn in the third act, as a mayoral candidate at the end. There is a specter of tragedy in Eri’s story as we learn that she grows up without her parents, and being called “blackie” by the neighborhood kids. But the story exceeds the trope by giving her a “normal” life because of her grandmother’s attitude and action that defuses the stigma of her “blackness” and/or “mixedness” in the Okinawan context. Eri is raised like a normal Okinawan child without silencing the fact of life/blackness that, in fact, makes her Okinawan-ness a reality. While the literature and other forms of representation have opted for the ero-tragic portrayal of black-Okinawan female characters (e.g., Chiyo and Hitomi), Eri defies both the narrative and character by not only surviving in the story, but also thriving as one who holds the key to the future of Teruya and Koza. Although the story moves quickly from Eri’s uncertain future to the shining moment of becoming a mayoral candidate, the narrative, nonetheless, escapes the tropes of the ero-tragic by turning the unthinkable into reality. A lack of representation of black-Okinawan female characters sheros or positive role models begets a bleak. Nakada’s writing of Eri, though not fully developed, is a radical turn that deserves attention. He sets the narrative against the grain of teleological structure of the master narrative, but also breaks the epistemological block of the colonial logic and mind. In the previous chapter, I critique the literary portrayal of black-mixed female characters as excessive and dominated. They are portrayed as sickly, tragic, and/or unusually “purified,” innocent and conservative, as if to domesticate the subject/character according to the hyper sexual and animalistic impulses that the character seems to ooze out of her silence. Against such nonsense, Nakada’s work provides a *champurū* model that represents a native perspective of Teruya, in which the characters are not depicted as overtly dramatized or traumatized but presented in the mundane voice with a normal amount of life drama that reflects part of the author’s own reality and life as a resident of Teruya. Like Tomokazu Takamine’s portrayal of the Black District, Nakada, too, creates a *champurū* effect in his writing that does not foreclose history or story, but rather mix multiplies the story toward possible, thinkable, and believable directions that incorporate the history, reality, and imagination of the everyday people as miXtory.

Coming back to that first entry, when I walked into the room and introduced myself as Eriko (This is the true spelling of my name, and my nickname is Eri), Mr. Golden City said I should run for the mayor of Koza. In seeing me as Eri's doppelganger, Mr. Golden City had already written me into his short story. As I had not read the story at the first encounter, his words had not crossed and merged with my story, but were on their way. Like other stories written by local Kozans, his short stories and plays make up part of the archives that are critical to the insider's perspective that grows the story from the ground up. Mr. Golden City has impacted my research in a resounding way, making an impression of the local intonation deep in my thoughts and actions. In his spectacularly long story at the bar, he affected my emotional contours, especially the moment he yelled "Stupid!" at me in his drunken state. Though I was shocked, we were able to move through the momentary conflict into the next moment as I/he knew it was the "cry" or "laughter" in that yelling that spoke about the stupidity of violence, war, military, and death that we both felt/feared in the gut.

Mr. Master: the Crossroad of Chance Meetings

Another native of one of the four corners of the Koza Crossroad, Mr. Master was born in Shiromae district, where he grew up, and spent a significant time of his childhood in Teruya's Black District. A friend's mother operated a bar name "Bar Twist" in the first floor of the two-floor concrete building, which is a common design of the buildings with mixed use of bar-home that lined the street of the Black District.⁵² For Mr. Master, Abby bar was realized through his long and lasting love affair with music that began in the Black District where he first heard the sound of black music playing in the streets. The sound inspired him to go beyond the traditional boundaries of Okinawan music and eventually led to the music of the Beatles, which influenced his own sound of music. From the age of 15, he wrote hundreds of original songs that reflect his own Okinawa stories as an independent musician. Though he prefers the sound and style of British Rock, the content remains Okinawan. Moreover, his deep understanding of the history and sound of the Beatles takes them back to the roots: the history, story, and sound of black music. Here I perform the *champurū yu* of the souls that facilitates the trans-coding of form and sound from the black roots to Beatles sound. The souls of those who have *walked* the streets of Teruya's Black District as a child, mother, black G.I., hostess, father, teenager, and other persons understand the sound of "black" in another form such as British while maintaining the black roots in both. Mr. Master played and listened to music, and later practiced with his childhood friend, who lived in the Black District, and together formed a band similar to the Beatles. Even though Mr. Master's love is British Rock, he acknowledged that soul music was/is the foundation of music that took his interest and knowledge beyond the traditional border of Okinawan sound. His theory of music embodies these multiple soundscapes created in the *champurū* motion that allows the multiplicity and the transfiguration of the "soul connection" of black roots in these various forms of music. According to Mr. Master, while Americans rejected black music in the 50s, the Beatles from Liverpool took a great interest and went great lengths to study the sound and made black music popular through their reinterpretation of the sound. While I am not attuned to the precise historical notes in the songs, he as a musician is able to hear the

⁵² This mixed use of bar/house was a common practice for bar owners at the time, and can be seen in the architecture of the buildings where the shape of the front part of the house is replaced with a concrete structure to signal the business, but also to camouflage the traditional brick-style roof that signals Okinawan.

black influence in the Beatles songs. His fluidity of crossing national, ethnic, genre, race, language, and color borders reflect the place and its historical significance in the present.

Mr. Master has worked in the neighborhood, as a newspaper delivery boy to pay his way through school and as a village president, until all his children had become adults. His version of the Black District is conceived from a poor, hard working class perspective that reflects his experiences of working in and for the Shiromae village. The experiences of two racialized locations of Okinawa slums and the Black District informed his perspective on class hierarchy. He lived and still lives on the side of what used to be (and what he and others call) the “Okinawa slum,” which includes the districts of Shiromae-chō and Yoshihara that meet at the Koza crossroad. Back then, children from these districts used to cross and entered the Black District with excitement for what might await them on the other side. As children, they received chocolate, chewing gum and other sweets, and found pennies on the ground. Unlike the children of Honmachi dōri, the parents of Shiromae-chō and Yoshihara did not prohibit their children from entering the Black District. On the contrary, the mothers encouraged the children to go, as they hoped their children would return smiling with sweets, money or other items that they had scored. Mr. Cool from Yoshihara said his mother was happy when he came back with goodies that fed the children, which was good for the family. His story reflects the class difference that existed within the border of crossroads where the children’s experiences of receiving gifts and general kindness from the black soldiers was significantly different from the image of the place as dangerous and violent. In fact, his description of both Yoshihara and Teruya’s bar districts as utopia created an ideological clash between two people whose experiences of Okinawa significantly differ. The incident will be discussed later.

Some of the children from the Okinawan slums like Shiromae-chō or Yoshihara shared *atarimae* (ordinary) living alongside the black in the neighborhood: hearing soul music, seeing black men dancing in the street with a big boom box on their shoulders, seeing them greet each other with fists in the air, being held up high in the air, and copying their manner of dancing and talking in “fake english,” which made blacks burst into laughter, give them chewing gum or candies. These children also saw the frequent conflicts between blacks and whites that took place right in front of them in their neighborhood. Based on the information gathered from newspaper articles, witness accounts, and yuntaku stories, the place was transformed into something akin to a film set with fight scenes, scuffles, fires, broken glass, chase, and police sirens and presence. Except these were real events along with other things, that changed the tempo, tone and sound of the place. An informant recalls seeing a white man wander into the neighborhood and, as if this was a common scene, turning to his friends to say, “Look, here we go (again). Poor thing. He (the white guy) doesn’t know (about the rules of the place).” He then went back to playing with his friends without skipping a beat as the drama took place in the background (Arakaki). The “common knowledge” about the place/space as erotic and tragic becomes flat through the “common seen” when these stories are told in mundane-ness of the everyday happenings. These children were born into and grew up in and around the Black District as children of the bar owners, of the hostesses, and as the children of the Okinawan women and the black soldiers. For them, the district was a familiar reality that was not strange or paradoxical. This informant is a film director who developed a TV series called the “Juke Box Stories,” based on the real people mostly from my research who crossed paths. The first installment was completed in October 2015.

Commonly Seen

Teruya's Black District can be described as a "middle region," which Foucault describes as the fundamental order of being "between the already 'encoded' eye, and the reflexive knowledge" of that order which is "anterior to words, perceptions, and gestures." The latter is situated between two regions of order that manifest from what Foucault defines as "fundamental codes of a culture" whereby an "already 'encoded' eye" and "reflexive knowledge" operate and reinforce each other by maintaining the same order of things within the parameter of operation (Foucault 1994: xxi). The fact that the Black District *is Okinawan* is a F/actor of the commonly seen and being of the place. The impossibility of Teruya beyond the stigma arises out of the clash between common knowledge and the commonly seen, wherein "The Order" delimits the possibilities, thinkability and believability of the ordinary local knowledge. The commonly seen unveils the fact buried in the impossibility of the idea contained in the order by putting forth the fact of seeing and knowing in the mundane living. Seeing black people in the street and on Soul Train on TV⁵³ was a common visual reality for those who grew up in and around the Black District. Places like the tailor shops and barbershops were popular hangouts for black patrons who kept the money flowing in the district and contributed to the economy. They ordered tailor-made suits made by Okinawan women seamstresses and spent the daytime inside the shop yuntakuing with other workers and customers who frequented the shops. In Japan, school uniforms are mandatory from junior high school to high school for fall and the spring seasons; therefore, the tailor shops were the "joint" where blacks and Okinawans crossed into each others' common space as the Okinawan seamstress measured and tailor-made clothes for both the students and the black soldiers. Mr. Master remembers sitting next to a tall black man who was getting his suit tailored at the same time he was getting his school uniform measured. Some tailor shops from the era are still in business and continue to serve the local residents.



Abby Road 2013



Im/possibility of Utopia

The history of the city is riddled with miXtory, yet some has receded into silence. To break out into the field, I conducted ethnography that modeled the Okinawan practice of communal support and reciprocity called *yuimāru*. The Caravan Series (November – December

⁵³ Okinawans had access to the military channels during the occupation and watched the American news and programs simultaneously with the Americans in the U.S. and Okinawan bases.

2012) is a traveling film and conversation piece in a workshop style that took place in three Crossroads. The idea of this project came out of a yuntaku in one afternoon at Abby with Mr. Master and Mr. Jazz, the last had made a journey back to Okinawa after 50 years of “exile” and was trying to reconnect with his hometown, Yaejima’s bar district. The three of us met, became the core members of the Teruya Soul MiXtory team that helped me plan, prepare, and execute five major events in less than three months (Phase I of my fieldwork, Oct – Dec. 2013). In the series, we watched a short clip from “Eyes on the Prize: American Civil Rights Years 1954 – 1965” in Japanese, and discussed the content in the context of the Black District, connecting that history with local stories and knowledge. This was also an occasion to introduce myself as a researcher and the research to the community members and the stakeholders. Holding the event in multiple locations pulled in various interests and energies from various stakeholders, which then drove the project beyond the original intent that surprisingly brought the mayor, the other city office members, and media to the conversation. The workshop went well beyond the scheduled two hours in an organic flow of conversation that formed its own yuntaku time and space. Each session created a unique atmosphere with the audience, made up of a mixed company of familiar people and strangers, which also created the feelings of excitement and nervousness of the unknown.

The series was significant in several ways. First, each site was historically specific and interlinked with each other and like a centripetal force; each brought its own style of critical engagement and dialogue that expanded into other locations beyond the three sites. For example, at the end of the final series, an organic and spontaneous development of a women’s group session took place that addressed gender in their lives in the present. Next, each session created a safe and engaging space for those who had connection to the place. This allowed “free speech” that allowed for an exchange of ideas that showed how deep and expansive the ocean of knowledge that has yet to be unearthed is. The disparate and, at times, contradictory and perplexing stories collided with difficult new knowledge and emotions that surfaced in the sessions, but they were also “work-shopped” in the yuntaku of sharing different perspectives and new information that each brought to the dialogue. Each attendee held equal terms with each other that brought a sense of ownership and value to the conversation, which fostered a sophisticated and critical exchange, and a labor that bore fruits at the end. It was also a different thought and learning process for everyone involved, including myself that at times demanded an extra labor to reach a common space of reciprocity. The most dramatic moment came in series #2, after a heated debate about the concept of utopia as a possible expression of a bar district in Teruya.

The topic of the Black District raised questions and openings, as I found many inter- and intra-borders within districts that intercross into each other’s crossroads as a unique historical space. The caravan series brought awareness to the small details, which gave us an opportunity to explore history through these minute differences in an unexpected, but real experimental way. The series allowed for an equal space of participation for the audience where we, including myself, contributed our own stories through listening, speaking, and taking chances together and discovering the process of producing knowledge through dialogue and exchange of information. Occasionally, the element of the unknown created a tension in the room, which required an extra commitment from the audience. Mostly, the small differences resolved themselves through yuntaku as an opening/passage for me/us to work out those temporary conflicts, which in time emerged as a new crossroad, a bridge. But, an incident in session #2 demanded a significant

amount of patience and commitment from everyone, including myself, in order to make a bridge, which we could cross, even as we held our individual differences.

During the second series, I introduced a concept of utopia as Mr. Cool described it in an earlier encounter. A man who is a writer, defined utopia as a harmonious place, and gave an example of his home island as utopia where the local citizens and the military personnel lived in harmony by respecting each other's place. Factors of race and space were missing in his comparative look at two places that posed different issues. While Teruya's Black District is black, Okinawan, and mixed, his hometown village is white, Okinawan and divided along the fence line. Though one can point to the white-black racial difference as a common problem, I wanted to elucidate the often-missed fact of mixedness as the key issue that maintains the idea of impossibility. In comparing two different situations, most fail to consider the fact that the Black District was *part* of Okinawa's Teruya district, which raises the question of paradox in this mixed space. The impossibility of Teruya's utopia arises from the ideological clash between the "proper and improper," or "order and disorder" that Teruya's utopia expresses in the paradox. The "debate" of utopia (or dystopia) continued after the event and took us into a laborious path of almost no return, but finally reached a meeting place in a surprise rescue at the end. The "bridge maker" was the owner of Hibiki with whom I have been engaged throughout my fieldwork working through our own fundamental difference of ideas in yuntaku. The owner is a hometown fellow of Mr. Letter, and was able to speak to him in the language/ideology that Mr. Letter understood. While I could not break through to Mr. Letter, the hometown fellow was able to cross into Mr. Letter's ideological process by creating an opening that allowed for a different interpretation within his own fixed ideas that, through his fellow traveler's intervention, enabled him to see different possibilities. There was no need for a "winner," and we did not find a definitive answer to the meaning of the idea of utopia, but there was a bridge built where we saw each other in passing in multiple meetings. For me, it was reciprocity of yuimāru in double pleasure that I witnessed in the crossing of the owner and Mr. Letter, the owner also bridged us, which until now had not occurred. The concept of miXtopia was birthed at this moment of crossing.



Hibiki Coffee House
Yaejima District, Okinawa 2012

MiXtory Two: Coffee House Rokuyosha (Jazz Recoco)

Unlike Abby Road, Coffee House Rokuyosha is a crossroad that offers a slow and steady atmosphere in a smoky suspension that recedes into disappearance only to return in another reappearance. On regular days, customers come in pairs or alone, often bringing *sashiire*, an Okinawan/Japanese customary practice of bringing a small offering such as fruits, vegetables, sweets, and homemade/grown product, to sit and yuntaku with the owner, Mrs. Magic. One reads

a book, smokes a cig or two, sips a coffee/tea, spends an easy dreamy time and leaves. The low murmur of voices mixes in with the blues of Miles, Coltrane or Mingus, setting the tone and mood with occasional laughter as an interlude that subsides into the *yuntaku* swing. But the place, like Jazz, is not always innocent or complaisant.

Rokuyosha is a local café in Teruya located near the Koza Crossroad, and is part of the Ginten-gai shopping district. It was established in 1979 as a live coffee house called Jazz Recoco, and with the husband's connection, brought famous musicians from Japan and Okinawa to play live sessions at the café. After a big business taking-over in the 90s that nearly wiped out the mom-and-pop shops, the local business suffered as the whole neighborhood experienced an economic downturn. While other parts of Koza reaped benefits from the economic development projects, the city has neglected Teruya as a potential site for economic opportunity. When I held the community event in Teruya in 2012, the mayor of Okinawa City invited me to discuss new ideas, but the aid has yet to come. Receiving media attention, however, the café is making a comeback through the promotion of the Black District as a historical site. Like Abby, the first floor of the family-owned three-story building is the cafe/restaurant, which is located on the 329 (former route 13) near the crossroad. The café is not easily seen from the unsuspecting eyes of pedestrians, as most often people pass by without noticing that there is a café with this history. The café became the site of research in two phases from 2012 to 2014. In 2013, I curated a three-month photo exhibition of the Black District in 1970 and 1971, which also increased foot traffic into a café that is indistinguishable from other buildings along the road. To find the place, customers use two street markers that indicate the proximity of the café before finding the actual location. First, there is a purple light from the neon sign of the old fashioned bar next door that lights the left side of the café entrance. Down the street, there is another marker with a huge pyramid structure in front of an abandoned supermarket store, a sign of the downfall. From the sidewalk, the customer/visitor steps up and finds a small "exhibit space" of posters, photos and paintings of musicians, mostly famous black musicians such as Miles Davis and Coltrane. Even their business cards use images of black female R & B singers such as Angela Bofill. A glass case in the middle holds plants on top, and the wooden store sign is propped against the structure from the floor. These black cultural markers did not get produced as a result of my photo exhibit, but they are part of the archives/object left from the live café Recoco era in the 1980s. Finally, the entrance to the café presents a different sense of the place with a wooden door that evokes the mysterious enchantment and/or entrapment of Red Riding Hood, and the past that will never be/come. To the right, a glass window with sixteen small panels reveals the inside in sixteen fragments.

Upon entering, the space opens with a warm and inviting nostalgic atmosphere of the postwar aesthetics. The sound of cool jazz and the smell of home cooking fills this place made of wood and plaster. To the left, a long diner's counter contours the long shape shining wood, holding a flowerpot, ceramic figurines, glass candy jar, business cards, water bottle, a globe, calendar, *sashiire*, and other small trinkets that spread ubiquitously across the long wooden counter. The back room behind the counter is the kitchen where the owner spends most of the time cooking. A traditional cloth curtain called *Noren* hangs just above the opening where the food passes from the kitchen to the dining room via the counter to the table. On the right side, three square tables with chairs line the wall, which shape the interior of an elongated line that curves at the end of the room and turns to the left where a cozy eating area awaits, nestled amongst all the trinkets intermixed with posters and magazines. Windows with a wooden shade hang in front of the multiple panels for decoration of small paintings and photos. All windows

are full of objects, an accumulation of gifts from customers, and the tables each have a set of tissue box, an ashtray, a calendar and silverware containers. At the end of the room, two mammoth size speakers are pressed into the caved-in wall coordinating the wall-to-speaker relation, and right above it, a metal contraption harnesses a TV monitor, which was used for the caravan series. A big wooden beam across the ceiling adds to the earthy and easy mood of the place. Accordingly, the lighting is low density with a small delicate bulb hanging over each table for a gentle/relaxing flow of light and shadow. The decor creates a cozy space for yuntaku time, an intimate space that serves for two but accommodates more. The customers trickle in 1 to 3 at a time, which is not profitable, but desirable for the owner who is also the lone server.

The area to the left has tables of two different sizes: a regular square table for two or four, and a bigger elongated table, which is pushed against the cream color textured plaster wall in the back room, and seats about six. This area is a composite of black, Jazz and mystery. There are various size posters and photos of jazz musicians along and black Jazz magazines stacked against one side of the wall, and photos and photo albums of some famous Japanese musicians taken with the owner's husband, Mr. Rico, during the heyday of his Jazz era. Due to his health, Mr. Rico's activity has slowed down significantly to a homebound lifestyle, yet his life of Jazz is deep and extensive. Sometimes he comes to the cafe and listens to his personal favorite Jazz albums with his eyes closed and sits quietly at a table as his body and soul suddenly transport to another space. His knowledge about Jazz, especially black Jazz music is so extraordinary that most of us are unable to comprehend the microscopic details of tonality, the history of Jazz, and the social scene (Japanese Jazz cafe scene) that he has traversed and, in which he is well versed. He is what we say in Japanese, *honmono*, "the real deal." While the husband's story and the history of black Jazz music present a special character and connect nicely to Black District history, his story takes a backseat to the history of the place before it was a café that takes us back to the Black District era. The information was revealed in the unspectacular space of yuntaku when Mrs. Magic just happened to mention that her mother had recently passed away, and but in the early 1950s, her mother operated a black bar in the place where we were standing.

Mrs. Magic: Taste of OkinawaXblack

I discovered the mystery of the place in October 2012 when I met Mrs. Magic who is in her mid-sixties and is bit of an eccentric and enigmatic figure. Her philosophy and spirituality are not so easily grasped from a conservative mindset, yet she still holds a traditional and formal Japanese (more Japanese than Okinawan) way. I was drawn to her being in this space with a particular sound and smell that brought back my own *rememory* (Morrison) of walking into someone else's memory of Teruya. My eye was directed to a huge empty ceramic vase on the floor and I asked a simple question out of curiosity, which opened the door to the history and the story of this place. This vase, like so many other vases, served as a money bin to stuff dollar bills from the sales made from the customers. Her mother owned the bar, and the grandmother was the "accountant" who counted the money, neatly stacked the bills, and stored them in the house. Mrs. Magic, 65 in 2012, was in a grade school at the time and remembers only fragments of her childhood. She doesn't remember the name of the bar (I will call it, Bar Ginza, which is bar listed on a map, and also a photo taken in 1970), but it only operated for a short period from 1953 to 1956 (approximately). Most of the occupation history is not recorded because the official documents begin from 1970 so I use various sources from photos, maps, films, books, novels, short stories, and yuntaku as clues to locate the facts that emerge at the crossing of these sources.

According to Mrs. Magic, if people owned businesses back then, the significant amount of money from the bar patrons and workers afforded the owners of bars and markets to build homes and make a good living. The year 1953 corresponds to the beginning formation of Teruya's Black District, which makes her mother's bar one of the first bars to serve blacks. Although Mrs. Magic was too young to be in the bar at night, she recalls the fun and happy times spent with the hostesses who mostly came from other islands that make up the archipelago of Okinawa Prefecture. Mrs. Magic remembers them quite fondly, and often describes them as gentle, beautiful and sophisticated, as including a woman who was a beautiful dancer trained in traditional Okinawan dance. She tells a story of Kazuko-san who bought fresh flowers every week from a flower shop at the market next door, and put them in vase, an ikebana-style, to decorate her room. The flowers she remembers were Globe Amaranth, Zinnia, Marigold and other Okinawan herbs. In the same yuntaku session, she talked about receiving a bag full of red apples from a black man, and recalls how they tasted so delicious (YV 9/13/13). She also remembers other tastes from the past.

Taste of OkinawaXblack champurū dish⁵⁴

During the occupation, Okinawans learned to cook and consume American food by necessity, in most cases without any proper training or time for preparation, in order to serve the foreigners whose taste differed from Okinawans'. Many restaurants had the American diner aesthetics that catered to Americans in the champurū way, making both American and Okinawan dishes. Many Okinawans grew up with the mixed taste of Ryukyu-American style of cooking. As I have mentioned in the Koza chapter, Taco Rice comes from this history of Okinawan cuisine. Although the champurū style of cooking existed prior to the military, the history of this specific cuisine began with the military occupation from 1945 into the present. Spicy Rice is such a dish on Café Rokuyosha's menu that the owner cultivated from the memory of her childhood. The dish is commonly known as omelet rice made with chicken, eggs and various vegetables, consumed by Asians and Americans, especially the military personnel. Mrs. Magic's omelet rice dish is categorized as soul food and brings back the history of the Black District where many restaurants catered to the black soldiers. The restaurant, which was located a few doors down from the bar, served the military and the local Okinawans, by accommodating the taste and the request of the black servicemen who preferred beef instead of chicken, and added coarsely grounded pepper for more spice. This champurū flavor defines the style of cooking that traveled across borders where many Okinawan women were hired as maids to cook and clean on base, and immigrated abroad as wives and children who then reproduced the flavor in their new home in America. As a child, the spicy omelet rice was Mrs. Magic's favorite dish, which she reproduces today by remembering the taste those black soldiers tasted and might still remember, and through this memory, might come back to visit. Each dish is prepared unique to her taste, and is one of the popular soul foods on her menu today, making her restaurant one of the top recommended places to eat in the local tourist magazine, *Koza Sauce* in 2013.

⁵⁴ Field Note 11/24/12: Omelet Rice.



Spicy Rice (Rokuyosha 2015)

Yuntaku Sessions⁵⁵

Mrs. Magic is no stranger to American culture. Her brother's profession as a taxi driver allowed for the interpersonal, cultural, and social interactions between Okinawans and Americans, which also extended to family members. To transport the military personnel and their families back and forth to and from base, taxi drivers entered the forbidden space that many Okinawans could not enter. Taxis provided an exchange between drivers and passengers during the ride where the interactions sometimes developed into other business relationships, or casual and/or deeper friendships. Like many, Mrs. Magic grew up in a society alongside the military base where the women working at the bar, the Americans living on and off base, and a family member as a taxi driver represented everyday Okinawan life. Although most of her close interactions with Americans had been with white families, she states firmly that she has no negative feelings toward blacks since she grew up around them in the Black District, and moreover, she was shocked by the idea that people are racist toward blacks. For her, the idea was unthinkable, but she noted the change of behavior from gentleness to coarseness of the black soldiers before and after the Vietnam War, a common discourse found in public documents. One afternoon, Mrs. Magic's older sister, who was sitting near the table and had just finished her lunch, made a fleeting comment across the café tables, and said in an affirmative tone, "I felt that they (blacks) protected Teruya," then put on her coat and scarf, swiftly leaving the café. Her comment left me with questions that remained unanswered then, but would be revealed later in other forms of written text, photograph, yuntaku, or sound such as the Mrs. A encounter. The event of a woman who knows and wants to say something, but quickly makes an exit (literally and figuratively) became a pattern that I would encounter during the research.

YuntakuView opens up the unknown possibilities that may lead to the serendipity of meeting someone, discovering some place or learning something. It is a combination of the treasure hunt and a mystery investigation in which the story unfolds and enfolds in its own rhythm, time, and space. But there is also a draw back for a researcher who is trying to decipher what happened to the story that just took flight into another unknown story. This was the case with the story of a racially ambiguous mystery woman,⁵⁶ whom Mrs. Magic described as being the spitting image of a black person but was a "pure" Okinawan, and lived behind Mrs. Magic's building during the Black District era. This mystery woman practiced Buddhism, was married

⁵⁵ Field note: 11/24/12.

⁵⁶ YV Note Ms. Magic 11/13/12: The family behind the house.

with three children, lost her husband in the war, and subsequently sold the house to the owner of a local pharmacy and disappeared. What can be deduced from this gap-filled fantastic mystery riddled with questions and holes in practically every component of the story? Could she have been black? What does Mrs. Magic mean by an Okinawan who had a “black face?” The woman could have been Filipina, mixed Okinawan, black, Mexican, another ethnicity, simply Okinawan or a mirage. Each ethnicity is traceable and imaginable in this place that has a history of a continuous flow of ethnic migration that is compounded by the military demand for labor from the beginning years of occupation (Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City, *Koza Bunka Box 6* 30–1). The 1970 survey shows “there were 720 foreigners living in Koza that made up of Chinese citizens, Americans, Filipinos, English, Indians, Korean, Malaysian, Brazilians, Portuguese, Peruvians, Canadians and others” (31). Even though the black woman’s presence (i.e., African-American female) is completely absent from the history and the stories of the Black District, one Okinawan woman who worked as a hostess at a Teruya black bar recalls a brief moment in which a black woman, whom she called “Uma,”⁵⁷ helped her wash the sidewalk in front of a bar. But when I asked for more details about Uma, she responded, “I don’t know. She was just there.” As expected, the story continues to champurū and takes flight into the unknown.

Ms. Snow: *What She “Doesn’t Know”*

Ms. Snow is a woman in her mid-50s who grew up in the neighborhood during the Black District era. She is a regular customer that comes in the afternoon and orders her signature drink, ice coffee, smokes half a pack, talks a mile and leaves. She often brings *sashiire* (food contribution as described on page 181) of her latest craze of popular trends such as homemade bread and muffins. As a former designer, she is also a businesswoman who made profits via online trading. Our unplanned and frequent meetings in Rokuyosha allowed for a natural flow that created a friendly atmosphere for our spontaneous yuntaku space and time. Like other instances when I meet women in their mid 50s to early 60s, I am constantly told, “I don’t remember, that was long time ago,” or just simply, “I don’t know, you should ask so and so,” usually a man. But oftentimes the conversation continues in parcels of days and month, and opens up to reveal interesting stories and anecdotes about the history that they “don’t remember” then, but reappears as a personal history, later.

Ms. Snow⁵⁸ is a child from the business district of Honmachi dōri who, like Mr. Golden City, comes from money and a certain amount of privilege. But the privilege took away her childhood, as her parents prohibited her from interacting with children of the Black District. Instead, she was “forced” to engage in a profitable activity such as piano and other after school training. Meanwhile she felt the children from the Black District were free, as she watched them climb trees, play with dirt, make noises in the streets, and create “havoc” inside the stores that mostly catered to the black soldiers. Growing up in Honmachi dōri, Ms. Snow felt envious of the children of the Black District, who seemed to be enjoying a carefree and happy life that she felt was denied and felt robbed of in childhood. This sense of envy toward the children of the Black

⁵⁷ “Uma” is horse in Japanese and the Okinawan woman said the black woman’s face looked like a horse. But also there is an Okinawan tradition that gives animal names to women. Though it may not be connected, it may be connected and should not be disregarded altogether, a suspense that may be resolved later.

⁵⁸ YV Note Ms. Snow 11/13/12: Originally from Miyako.

District, who were both mixed and mostly Okinawans, was expressed not only by the market district children but also by the farmers' children, who were poor and lived on the other side of the Black District, dividing the district into three internal stratifications of rich, black and poor. Envy, like utopia, is an anti-narrative of the Black District. The possibility of difference reflected in these stories disappears into silences, the unthinkable and impossible ideas that turn into facts and circulate through discourse. Ms. Snow's initial reluctance and uneasiness about imparting her own connection to the Black District—such as the story about not knowing any black-Okinawan mixed person yet later disclosing that her best childhood friend was a black-Okinawan girl, and another story about her aunt who married a black man—is symptomatic of the shame associated with the history of silences operating in the present. But as the yuntaku that once contained in the realm of “not knowing.”



A Bird Perched From Above
Rokuyosha 2014

The Open Endings and Chance Meetings

Mrs. Spanish⁵⁹ is an Okinawan who is from another city, but became one of the merchants in the Ginten-gai's faltering but surviving market district. Her store sells everyday goods mostly for the residents and merchants of Teruya. Her husband is a Spanish American, a former soldier living in Okinawa who is not fluent in Okinawan or Japanese. In my first encounter with the husband, I was unaware of this fact and a bit unnerved by his stare and insistence in speaking to me in Spanish. My first visual impression misrecognized him as a mixed Okinawan, but I also misread his insistence on speaking to me in Spanish as a command for my visual “Spanish race” to come out. I was irritated by what I considered his misrecognition of my racial, ethnic, and national heritage and spoke back in my usual Teruyan accent (I had been told by the members of the community that I speak “Teruyan,” a tonal and rhythm sound recognition of my voice that placed me to a specific location (Teruya) of birth place, time, and space).⁶⁰ Not until days later did Mrs. Spanish disclose to me her husband spoke little to no Okinawan or Japanese. She explained that he was excited to see someone like me (Spanish-looking) who is like him (Spanish), and wanted to make a connection with a familiar face/race/place. In a champurū zone like Teruya and Koza, the visual “race” of my face has a life of its own. I was made into a doppelganger of myself as many faces that are hailed in this identifying/misrecognizing act by those who are seeing through their own lens of miXtory in their miXtopia, including myself.

⁵⁹ YV note 10/31/13: Yuko-san's story.

⁶⁰ I was not aware of this regional difference of sound, but in hindsight, my strange attraction to the voices of two women at the Deigo hotel confirms that there is a “Teruyan” voice, which is Okinawan-Japanese, but regionally and acoustically specific to Teruya. Regional difference is not unusual; as it exists everywhere in the world; such as the fact that an American English spoken in different pockets of the United States produces different sounds specifically to their locations. As someone who has lived in Teruya in the past, but now living elsewhere would not have known this regional difference until someone recognized a location of my “past” in my voice.

MiXtory presents unexpected encounters and crossings that unfold in revealing patterns, contours, and senses like a champurū opera, which has no ending but the wheel that keeps turning and churning life into performance art. It is space that is held as an opening for a chance meeting for those who walked and talked the streets of Teruya.

An older black man with a white suit came into a restaurant in Teruya and spoke in half-complete Japanese and said to Ms. Snow, he used to know this place (Field note, Yuko-san's story: 10/31/13)

Conclusion: “Bad” to “Badass” Women

In this dissertation, I have presented translational and transnational theory and methodology based on the concept of third as a decolonial space to study Okinawa’s postwar culture and life. My commitment to the mundane as a primary source of knowledge is based on a belief that everyday life is precious, and that everyday people are powerful. By illustrating the creative and critical power of the mundane through laughter, F/actor and miXtory as a third performative strategy called the champurū F/actor (factor and actor of mixed multiplying power), I have demonstrated that the everyday is a critical site of knowledge, strategy, and inquiry. The study sought to examine the axes of race, class, and gender at the intersection of power and its demise, and to offer the third lens as a critical and creative tool of intervention. However, the scope of my research did not allow me to fully engage the question of gender in relation to the representation of women, as most of my informants and experts (authors, photographers, performers, and stakeholders) were men. This absence of women’s voice is a stark reminder of the historical process of silencing that over-determines the experiences and lived knowledge of people, events and place through discourse, representation, and narrative in order to maintain power. This process was palpable in the presentation made by a well-known musician named Mr. Purple X from the former white district who gave an artist talk in Teruya (Aug. 2013), and shared his autobiographical story about growing up in a red light district. In his recollection of Teruya, speaking as an outsider, he used the narrative of prostitution and black-mixed race as tropes that trope all bar districts in his representation of the place, which were predetermined as sexual and despicable. Talking about his traumatic experience of growing up in the former white bar district as inter-ethnic mixed-race, he assumed a position of authority to talk about racism, discrimination, and prostitution in the former bar districts. As an originator of Okinawa Rock, he participated in the cultural production of postwar history; therefore, his words have power, and can be transformed into knowledge, circulated as facts, and reproduced as archive. He portrayed Teruya’s Black District as inscribed as the “despicable place” by generalizing his experience of racism and discrimination in the white district, which made him an “outsider.” The audience, mostly made up of newly migrated Japanese young residents (artists, rappers, entrepreneurs, architects, and planners), listened and learned about the place, people and events of the past through his skewed representation of history. Here, the issue of power arises in the space between the speaker and listeners wherein knowledge is produced and circulated by a second or third party who is not the primary source. The speaker, therefore, must be taken into account as a critical F/actor in the analysis of gender, race, class, sexuality, and nation.

The lack of women’s voices reflects the construction of shame associated with the bar and entertainment districts that catered to the military and other men in postwar Okinawa. The silences and unspoken gestures during the yuntaku (chat), or the explicit in literature and newspapers, and individual conversations made it clear that my conceptualization of a “bad” sign marks the hostesses, “American honeys,” and bar women who were girl friends and friends of the military men. The mainstream literature and media representation of the Black District and other bar districts limits the possibility of producing different narratives about women who worked in bars and nightclubs. The lack of representations of women as speakers in mainstream society reproduces the myth of prostitutes in these districts. As a “bad” subject, the woman’s body becomes an object of oppression, or simply a prop for male “experts” to tell the history and

stories of women. To untether the myth (bad) from reality (subjectivity), I insert the real voices of women of the bar districts in between fiction and nonfiction.

A Woman and her Daughter Speaking from Teruya's Black District

A woman who worked in the bar district in Teruya who has a black-Okinawan daughter keeps her past a secret. My attempt to speak to the mother was unsuccessful, but in a surprise move, she asked that we take a drive to Teruya to find the location of the bar where she used to work. While we drove around the blocks many times to look for a place that no longer existed, the mother said she had a nice time and it was good to reminisce after a long time. Her mother had worked in Teruya district, had run up debts, but was recruited to work in Kumejima in their bar district by the mama-san who paid her debt in order to bring her to work with her. The mama-san in Teruya tried to convince her to stay for three days but in the end, she decided to move. Her mother had a great time in Teruya with those women who worked with her. When she read my *karajishi* column⁶¹, culture and society section on *Okinawa Times Newspaper*, she verified my memory and representation of Koza at the time. However, the "bad subject" is a myth based on gender hierarchy and male domination. There exists a reality within this history, an embodied knowledge that speaks from experience of living without shame or guilt. But, the voices and stories of real women disrupt and reconfigure "bad" to express "badass" in claiming their subjectivity. I present such knowledge from some of my women YuntakuViewees who portrayed the bar women as not "bad" but "badass," by showing the strength and power of their life philosophy based on their reality. There is an endearing sense of respect and care among women who worked in the bar districts as loving and gentle souls who are no longer present. Listening to their stories, I realized they had transformed "bad" women into badass women who gave life as a sign of love, which became a powerful image that persists through the lives of those who were touched by the women. To tell their stories, I refer to the novella that takes place in a former red light district that provides interrelated stories to give context for both reality and fiction. Centering the woman of the bar district as an interlocutor, I present their stories in overlapping spaces of real-fiction as miXtory that often times take a flight into other mixtories.

A Woman Speaking from Yoshihara's Bar District

Mr. M from Yoshihara spoke about his mother who was proud, loving, and happy because she was able to feed the family, by selling her body, as that was what was available at the time for her and others. Thus upon hearing the stereotype of the women working at a bar district, he was perplexed by the idea of shame that did not reflect the experience of his mother. (Male, born in 1963, Yoshihara YV 11/6/12)

Un/Production of Knowledge: Yaejima's Red Light District as Multiple Signifiers

New Jazz Street is a part of the collection of unpublished work by Yoshihara Komachi, the author of *Kana*. His oeuvre represents a collection of published and unpublished short stories based on real events such as the Koza Riot/Uprising, situating everyday life in Koza in a broader

⁶¹ A bi-weekly essay I wrote for *Okinawa Times Newspaper* from September to December 2009.

context of geopolitics. His narratives draw in a certain readership to the characters, place and story as part of their miXtory. In *New Jazz Street*, Yaejima's bar and entertainment (café, bar, cabaret, club) district scene of 1960 Koza sets the stage for the narrative. The title alludes to a real jazz club called The Waltz, which operated in the early 50s and 60s. It is now closed, an empty building, with faded paint and a sign with the name just visible. It stands amongst the modest homes and emptied lots that contour the street of the former red light district. This novella captures the post-war Okinawa history of the bars and entertainment districts in which an exclusive American-Okinawa space represented by the A Sign was produced and functioned as a crossroad of race, ethnicity, nationality and gender against the backdrop of U.S. military occupation. The story alludes to the real history of Yaejima's bar district in the early occupation era when it was called the "New Koza" and known for its Jazz music history. It is no accident that a café called Hibiki (translated as sound or vibration) is used as a meeting place for older Okinawan Jazz musicians to rehearse and yuntaku. In the novel, the story centers around the Okinawan Jazz band at a bar that brings together women, white and black American military male customers, and an *Obaa*/grandmother selling American, Okinawan, and Japanese goods on a *baaki*, a basket made with bamboo that is often placed on top of the head at a market.

While the story is fiction, the scenario is drawn from a reality riddled with mystery that emerges as real bodies in random chance meetings of miXtory. The character of *Obaa*, for example, is part fiction and real, at the fringe of history and story, is not official history, but a living archive. The image of the grandmother is a signifier that brings in interrelated images in other locations. The photo of an *obaa-san* in a bar selling knickknacks can be seen in a photo in Koza Bunka Box 2 taken by Matsumura Kumi. The caption reads, "*Obaa's* life (1975 Teruya)" (*Obaa* is "granny" or grandma in Japanese) with a scene of a grandmother with her hair in a *kampū*, a bun, leaning over a counter in the center of four black men in various positions. In the back, two men are giving the hand greeting as a sign of brotherhood, to her right sits a black man with a beret with his arm crossed and one hand near his mouth looking at the center of the room, and to her left, a man whose face is out of the picture sitting on a stool wearing a two piece suit, with a striped design. On the counter, there is a pack of cigarettes, a glass, and two ashtrays. The photo, which is a part of the *HiStreet* museum collection, was used for the Black District Photo Exhibit that I curated in Teruya in 2013. According to the staff that attended the exhibit, the woman in the photo was from Itoman city, and she traveled to Teruya to sell chewing gum, cigarettes, and other everyday items in the bar. The image travels in multiple dimensions of time, space, and place, reappearing as a photo, character, and real person. This multiplying effect also liberates Yaejima or Black District from the notion of "bad" sign, by opening the field of history, story, and imagination as part of miXtory. The author, for example, unfixes black as a bad sign by including the reality of racial tension, racial hostility, sexual harassment, and/or alcohol over-consumption of white military customers. The story does not condemn white, rather it liberates the black trope while exposing the culprit: militarism and racism. He achieves this effect by exploring in his story the world in the overlapping spaces of real-fiction drama (dramaturgy) of history.

The protagonist is Ken, a 19-year old youth who is persuaded by an older male musician and eventually agrees to play the trumpet for a Jazz group in Yaejima's bar and entertainment district. Ken is transported into a world of intrigue and mystery surrounding the Jazz club in the backstreet of Yaejima, where in real life the bar and entertainment district served the military personnel. His love interest, Natsuko, is a bar woman who could easily be marked as a

dispensable subject, However, she is the indispensable F/actor in the story that exposes the underbelly of militarism, imperialism, and racism, overturning explicit and implicit belief systems of male hierarchy, which is mired in statements made in the streets and public (Purple X, and the mayor of Osaka), and the common sense of everyday silence. Natsuko represents many who have been silenced by the “bad” representation of women as fixed subjects, but she is a complex figure who lives in the paradox of miXtopia where she sees America as her future. Like Nao in *Kana*, Natsuko leaps into the unknown world of America, but instead of the American Town in Okinawa, Natsuko’s unknown is the U.S. The loving feeling between Natsuko and Ken ends with a last dance in the bar, and leaves the reader to imagine what happened to those women who left for America and never returned as well as those who stayed.

Woman Speaking of her Experience as a Hostess in Teruya’s Black District

Mao Ishikawa: *Hot Days in Okinawa* 1982

Hot Days in Okinawa published in 2013 is a retrospective photography book of bar district life from 1975 to 1976 taken by an Okinawan woman photographer, Mao Ishikawa who worked in Teruya’s Black District and Kin’s black bars. This is her debut work that captures the images of women, black men, and their children in everyday life situations in the bar districts of Teruya and Kin that catered to the black service men. Intimate portraits of the everyday are captured in normal life situations. The images include women, who are naked or half-naked, with black men, laughing or lying bed with a cigarette, lounging with blacks, or a black man sitting in a chair reading while a young girl sits on his lap, a man washing his hair, a woman in her rollers talking with a black man outside the window laughing, and hostesses laughing inside a bar, and a photo of an interracial family holding a marriage certificate with one baby and a child. Mao, who was 22 at the time, is also part of the series as she was one of the hostesses who worked exclusively in black bar districts. Since 1975, she has photographed Okinawans from all walks of life as well as images of military culture outside of the base. *Hot Days in Okinawa* received the most attention of her outstanding oeuvre because of her daring images of unspeakable subjects that in real life would make people avert their gaze. The images somehow, hook them in as spectators. But this book is a second version of a book published in 1982 that, due to its content, was censored. Although the context is the same, the 1982 version had more explicit photos of a sexual nature and larger prints that made the people look too real. Along with the interview, I refer to the original book as the source from which I draw on Mao’s philosophy of life as a woman who lived the life of a hostess and loves Okinawa through her body and soul, and speaks for her own body that loves life with freedom and courage (Mao Interview 1/13/11). In the sleeve of the book, the following text describes the book with the title, “Body Heat!”

This life of passion, photography of passion, the days of passionate love that never passes. This is not the documentary of Kin, or the documentary of Okinawa. Ishikawa Mao photographed love, which is living.
This is life, the theory of life. Araki Nobuyoshi

Pushing the limits of bad, Ishikawa Mao is the badass who doesn’t give a damn, and gives it a new meaning through her flesh and blood.

Gender Un/presentation: Woman Speaks from the Red Light District

In Yoshihara Komachi's *New Jazz Street* and other stories, female characters represent both the real and fictional hostesses and workers who may provide sexual service to soldiers and/or men in general. Their work, assumed to be prostitution by dominant society, marks their bodies as "bad women" who "work" in "these districts" and who therefore "must" be prostitutes, whether they are engaged in sexual service or not, either in the novel or in real life. Sometimes the fiction preempts reality. In the case of the "comfort women" system for the Japanese Imperial Army and the U.S. military sex industry, the mayor of Osaka, Hashimoto's rationale and denial of history and responsibility marked these women as dispensable, bad, promiscuous, and immoral subjects, and if they are innocent, then they can be saved. The notion of rescue is similar to J. L. Austin's notion of misfire, "an act purported but void" (1975: 18) that is empty and banal, as a woman becomes the body upon which the male hero stands erected as a judge. The presence of the customers, owners, system, and violence fade in the white noise because the false rescue narrative is built on the common and dominant sphere of knowledge. Mao and others interrupt this knowledge by speaking out against the silences that kept the narrative in place. The article that referred to Mao as a former prostitute is an example of how easily the word gets printed in social media. By pointing out the error that a Japanese reporter made, Mao exposes the often ignored truth in the discourse of bar women: "what is wrong is that [the rationale of or discrimination by] those people who judge the woman as bad...and the [bar] managers who created the "debt bond" and imprisoned them [ignore the fact that] the women might have various reasons to do that [sell their bodies] to take care of their family" (Interview 1/13/11).

Like Mao and others, the author, disrupts the fixed and linear narrative of women in the bar district as "bad" subjects by presenting Natsuko as a life-like character who can be simultaneously located in and off the text and into the street. As if to literally "flip the script," the story seamlessly crosses into real stories, emerging at the crossroad that offers different ways of knowing and being a woman. As such, the sensationalized tropes like "pan pan" ("prostitute"), "kurombō" ("blackie" or "nigger"), and hypersexualization of the female, black and mixed body become mundane and lose their power to reproduce the myth of bad. The sensationalization of bad is exchanged with the mundane and therefore becomes unsensationalized life happening in the everyday, which is reflected in the following comments:

"When I stepped outside, there were blacks. And so?" (An Okinawan woman, 66, born in Teruya)

"[On being called kurombō] It's not a problem or a bad thing, but I confronted as is with the truth. It's okay to be a blackie, since I am black. There are other uchināchus (Okinawans) who are black, who are jet black!" (A black-Okinawan woman, 47, born in Teruya).

The above sentiments are examples of the deadpan responses that reflect the everydayness of people, events and things in everyday life that Mao's "shocking" photographs express through the sensationalized images of her subjects. Yet, the sexual nature of bar districts makes one presuppose that there is something bad or immoral about the place of pleasure. Thus the sexualized presentation of Teruya and other bar districts cannot be avoided because of the nature of the business. But, unlike Purple X's story or *Miruku Yu*'s representation of the psychosexualized relationship between Hitomi and Iha, the sexual tension between the two protagonists,

Ken and Natsuko in *New Jazz Street*, represents a woman who reveals the subtle yet strong presence of male hierarchy.

Ken works for a club owned by the family of his former classmate. Natsuko, now works as a hostess who prefers to serve black men who are both her clients and friends. Racism in the military crossed into the streets of Okinawa where fights between blacks and whites, and blacks and the military police were common occurrences. In the novella, a fight broke out between the blacks and the military policemen (MP). Seeing her friends getting beaten up by the police, Natsuko gets in the fight to help her friend, Sammy, who was arrested along with others and taken away. Upon seeing Natsuko's disheveled look after the brawl, one of the musicians asks, "What happened?" Natsuko answers, "Whites think they are always better. I don't like it, and also Sammy and others are my friends so I wanted to help the blacks. ..." (36). Ken's attraction to Natsuko is impeded by his patriarchal and moral conflict in accepting the paradox of Natsuko's miXtopia. Here, it is not race, but gender that becomes the lynchpin for Ken, who is caught in the moral dilemma of his ideological conflict with having feelings for a woman working in an A-Sign bar. Yet, he also took part in the same fight with the MP, and got hit in the face in his attempt to help Natsuko. Moved by his act, she asks Ken to go to the one-night hotel to show her appreciation, but this confuses Ken because he knew about her plan to move to America.

Ken: "Aren't you going to marry an American and leave for America?"
Natsuko: "Yes, eventually. But I want to be with you tonight. Why, you don't like me?"
Ken: "That's not what I'm saying..."
Natsuko: "Then, there is no problem. You don't have to think too much. Aren't you doing it with the Yoshihara women?"
Ken: "That's a different story. You are not a Yoshihara woman"
Natsuko: "Oh, what a nice thing to say. I guess you think about me a little. But, I work in a bar just like the women in Yoshihara."

The last line is impregnated with the question of patriarchy in both fiction and reality that draws upon the possibilities of affinity between women. By saying "I work in a bar just like the women in Yoshihara," Natsuko connects herself to others, "I am they," which makes legible the unspoken network of sisterhood available through the sense of affinity/kinship that Natsuko expresses between the women of Yoshihara and Yaejima. I was able to access this underground passage/world through my own affiliation as a child of a bar district. One encounter with a hostess shows the invisible line between outsider and insider status. A hostess whose mother worked in a former white district, did not engage with me as a researcher, but when I introduced myself in relation to my mother and to the place, she treated me as an insider, and, like the hostesses that Mrs. Magic and Yume described, spoke in a warm and loving way as we said goodbye, as a mother or a hostess would say to a child, "Come back soon."

A Woman Speaks about the Hostesses in Teruya's Black District

I was loved by Nēnē (an endearing word for "big sister," but in this case she is referring to the hostesses who worked at her mother's bar). I played with them

before my mother came home. . . . For snack time, they would go [to the market] and buy and bring back the swirl bread and tempurā. Before the soldiers came, we play jazz and other songs on the jukebox. Women came from Goeku, and one period there were women from Amami and Kumejima Islands. What I remember is going back home to their hometowns with them. I don't remember watching them get dressed. There was a nēnē that danced a Hatoma-bushi (Okinawan traditional dance). Her skin was white and she was very beautiful (Mrs. Magic Interview January 18, 2014).

For some, the racialized borders of these districts became secondary to the common experience of gender that women in all bar districts experienced in an unspoken network of sisterhood. But race was a critical meeting place in which these women understood racism, not by theorizing its structure, but being in close proximity to black men as clients, friends, lovers and neighbors. Mao, unconscious of the world in which she stepped in as a hostess, describes how she understands blacks: "The relationship between black and white is similar to Japanese and Okinawan. Like I mentioned earlier, I didn't study history or anything like that, but it's the atmosphere [feeling in the air]. They [blacks] have something similar to uchinānchu" (Interview 1/13/11). She also talked about the time that she along with hostesses and black men from Teruya busted into a club in the white district and danced in the middle of the floor to show off how good they can dance, and left." But in time, she became "a bar hostess' like the others, and understood how race and gender played into the discourse of the red light district.

Natsuko's alliance with the *Yoshihara* women unsettles the good/bad and moral/immoral binaries of woman by her admission that disrupted Ken's notion of bad or moral, and brought in both Yoshihara and Yaejima on equal terms. Ken's attempts to rescue her by differentiating Natsuko from the Yoshihara women, fails because he fell in love with a woman who cannot be divided. Natsuko provides a real context from which her subjectivity arises as a force to be reckoned with, disrupting the reproduction of male mythology, while commiserating with the stories of real women who took control of their bodies as life giving forces. Natsuko's fictional connection to Yoshihara women reaches out of the text to meet face-to-face with the real Yoshihara woman. It is a crossroad; a meeting place of sisterhood between fiction and nonfiction.

Mr. M is a native of Yoshihara's Red Light District (a.k.a "Okinawan slum") and grew up during the Vietnam War. He recalls that his mother who worked as a hostess and also sold her body was happy because she was able to *put food on the table for her children*. He also discounted the image of bar women as shameful, bad, or immoral, when people were starving and dying at that time. His mother was able "to work" in order "to give" life to her children. (yuntaku 11/6/12). She is not her double/doppelganger, but is a *badass* woman who untethers the "bad" from the subject. Ken, however, represents the patriarchal power of judgment, control and purity that attempts to get rid the "bad" out of Natsuko by distinguishing Natsuko's "marked body" as somehow different from the Yoshihara women. Despite his efforts, however, Ken fails in multiple ideological presuppositions that expose his own patriarchal orientation. At the end we, the audience, find out that Natsuko was a virgin and he was her first love. By presenting this struggle between the "bad" and the "not so bad," a difference created by Ken's imaginary dislocation of Natsuko's body as "not Yoshihara," a critical reader might discern the hidden script in his "innocent" effort to unmark her. It is an unspoken "rescue" message that runs through the logic of military policy as I show in the Koza chapter. We see "woman" as a sign in

the novel and the streets as commonplace, and the preoccupation of the sign clouds the eye from seeing the real body behind it. But a decolonial third lens discerns the role of the male protagonist through the mystification of his complexity and complicity of patriarchy. Exploring the third crossroad between fiction and reality elucidates the subtle operation of gender hierarchy that accepts the oppression of women as natural.

The male character Ken is recuperated from being marked as a “perverted man” who seeks pleasure from a prostitute by attempting to rehabilitate (read “purify” or “rescue”) Natsuko and he becomes an innocent hero. It was Ken’s first kiss that makes him seem innocent and, in some sense, more “pure” than Natsuko. But both characters in the end are not bad, as they have been released from the stereotype of a “prostitute” or a “customer,” since this was the first sexual experience for both characters. But pressing further, we should question whether this was an equal exchange of exoneration. After all, Natsuko was a virgin all along, and although Ken’s innocence has been acknowledged, what was *he* doing *there* in Yoshihara? Looking for sex? If sex in that place marks a body as bad, then wouldn’t Ken, who had the option to choose to go or not to go into Yoshihara’s red light district, have more at stake than Natsuko, who was born into the situation and learned to live with her “fate” as a woman in Yaejima’s red light district? This is not to overemphasize in the story as a potential miXtory, but to delineate a champurū F/actor at play that requires more space of contemplation for a deeper analysis of gender.

To begin thinking in this direction, I conclude the dissertation by presenting Yume’s story whose mother was a hostess, but who died when she was five.

A relative worked for such a place in Naha. About 4 to 5 girls lived there. When I go there, the world is entirely different, and [the girls were] very young, about in their teens. Grandmother took care of me. [Dad] made me stay with various people. I remember the girls who were there. For some reason, they escaped from their home islands. Because I have such a memory. . . They gave me a red lipstick, [and told me], “mīkā, I wanted you to go to school, don’t wear the red lipstick until you are an adult. . .” On the contrary, there is love [for the women] . . . [in an incomplete thought she said] passed around . . . I want to work here, too. . . [Then she talks to me] [They] were tender; they gave me love. . . When no one, or the relative did not care for me, the tenderness I received from them is, after all, unforgettable. (Yume Interview January 10, 2014).

In the interview, she stated that she has no attachment to Koza or Okinawa city, and that the history and memory of that time is her father’s and by default her mother’s. Taking care of the father who owned many bars in both black and white districts, she recalls it was a very tough job for a young female. Even though there is a generational difference, Yume as a young person experienced the bar district in the 70s similar to the way Mrs. Magic-san in the 50s experienced it as a child. While the time and space are far apart, both witnessed the intimacy of the in-between spaces of work and off-work, the activities that took place as people were getting ready for work or getting off work, and being on their own time. In other words, as she witnessed people who were part of the business in a mundane way she was also part of miXtory. Although she had a traumatic experience growing up in a hectic atmosphere, she remembers fondly the hostesses who gave her love and care in the in-between spaces of work-life. Like Mao and Mrs. Magic-san, these women represented loving and caring figures for her for whom she developed an affinity and deep compassion.

The discrimination against women from Yoshihara or Teruya is the same for every nation. But for me personally, I have none. There was the occupation and also reason so I have no prejudice, and furthermore, they *chose* [to work] in order to *live*. There is no reason whatsoever to deny [their choice or life]. (Yume Interview January 10, 2014).

To choose life is the right to refute the stereotypes of that type of work, place, gender, and space as “bad.” It is the freedom of life through the bodies of the hostesses that Mao has expressed in her photography that positions the naked bodies in their true form of liberation that gives rise to the power of love.

Postscript: Flemm Notes

X opens up passages between narrative and body through which I enter and exit at the crossroad of extra-text and inter-text between real and fiction.

Taking cue from Lugones's use of the double arrows, I use the symbol X to express the multi-functionality of the term as real, metaphysical, and metaphorical crossroads. X materialized as an organizing principle and language of performance life/art at the intersections of critical, creative and mundane. MiXtopia as an overall framework that expresses the potential and possibilities of performance art, critical theory, and mundane life to cross materialize into third knowledge, philosophy, theory, and methodology, such as Flemmwork.

In the Koza chapter, I showed Owarai pōpō's technique of overturning the common meaning of shit into a performative object of nonsensical play and pleasure that pushed the limits of common knowledge. Flemm is also a flimflam term, commonly known as "laziness" in French, and phonologically, "phlegm" in English that I recycled as a "marvelous piece of art" in avant-garde term.

Perhaps it is too "out there" to see, recognize, and/or imagine what is Flemm, for it is elusive, precarious, and unruly, and there is danger of misrecognition of Flemm's performance and performativity as nothing more than showing off the ephemeral, transitory, and experimental nature/quality of ...art? Yet performance art is primal, combinatory texts expressed through the body as language, by which the sense and sensuality becomes intelligible as it materializes into a language of performance. As a performance art/ist, Flemm is envisioned through the miXtopic eye that sees, feels, experiences, experiments, and lives in a comparative, differential, equal, collaborative, and multiple words/worlds modality. The subject/object/project sees through the third eye of hydra that hails the colonial gazes, turning tables, and exposing power and its nakedness through the multiple mirrors. The i/I/eye/Eye/ai is a fusionary vision, a decolonial fugue of tuning the residue, resonance, and in-betweens that hears the historical heart beats, feels the deep-knowing, and calls upon the fellow travelers for their knowledge and wisdom to bridge and build work toward freedom and liberation for all. That is what I envisioned in creating Flemm, and Flemmwork.

Flemmwork comes out of the fields of performance art, critical theory, and mundane life, which culminated as miXtopia, a crossroad that houses those exilic energies and avant-garde spirit of the experimental, experiential, and critical F/actors of life/art. Flemmwork merges social and aesthetic performances as a third modality of life/art that articulates the multiple-simultaneity of life as critical and creative agent, force and power. It follows the tradition of the avant-garde from Dada, Surrealism, Fluxus, Performance Art, and all genres of experimental and experiential art based on the principle, life as art. Art crosses into life as an artist performs life, blurring the lines, "[a]nd the very process of paying attention to this continuum is posed on the threshold of art performance" (Kaprow and Kelley 2003: 196). As a product of life/art crossing, Flemmwork performs intellectual, performative, and philosophical "beings" and produces thought, art, project, language, imagination, nonsense, scene, lens, theory, and practice that I call Flemmwork.

The experimenting and experiential F/actors afford the freedom and creativity of discovering new epistemologies through the hybridization of language/terms/expressions through the acts of thirding, curdling, champurūng, and many other ways of mixed-multiplying. All neologisms were formulated in the fieldwork that combines the theories of third and practices of

everyday life. YuntakuView combines Okinawan informal chat with the academic formal interview methodology. The mystery is an opening, emerging, and becoming as F/actor and possibility, an integral to the process of mapping history and collecting stories with holes, gaps, and the unknowns. By such an opening, what was left out *this time* may return *next time* as another manifestation to fill in the mystery. MiXtopia was birth at the ideological clash between utopia and dystopia that created a crossroad, bringing two differing ideas assembled into one unit. A labor, of what I call the critical and creative performance, opens a “third eye” that recognized a common thread in a master narrative. This eye is critical and creative, and can envision the mundane as marvelous in order for individuals to experience the multiple pleasures and treasures of life, miXtopia, which is in the living, the flesh and blood/bone. OkinawaXblack is an example of miXtopia, but has its own trajectory of how it was formed through trials before it became to be the crossroad between Okinawa and Black.

I take note of the incomplete, half-revealed, residue, fringe, shadow, subterranean, emerging, and what is made invisible, impossible, unbelievable, and untouchable as much as the already known, seen, spoken, and written as parts and materials for life/art/work, and to make sense of words/worlds. It is akin to “contrapuntal” perspective that liberates the mind, body, and spirit from the colonial, imperial, and racial impossibilities that, once again referring to Said’s quote, describes as “unhoused, decentered, and exilic energies, [...] whose consciousness is that of the intellectual and artist in exile, the political figure between domains, between forms, between homes, and between languages. From this perspective then all things are indeed counter, original, spare, strange (Said 1993: 332). Flemm materializes contrapuntally as language, methodology, pedagogy, philosophy, politics, aesthetics, art, and life energies that give births to new words/worlds of miXtopia, miXtory, yuntakuView, OkinawaXblack, and in deed, Flemmwork.

Diary of Flemm
Rev. 3/28/94
ariko ikehara

C:FDIARY

Who is Flemm? What is Life/Art? For me, to analyze Flemm is to analyze Life/Art, which I have difficulty deciphering what is art and where does the life begin or end or does it ever end or begin? I think life is always in the process as I do with art, at least with my artwork. I am more interested in the making/process of art rather than the end results or what they seemed to be that. So, from that perspective, from the reflective aspect of what I can write about Flemm and Life/Art, I will begin.

Life/Art is paying attention to things that you do everyday. How you see something becomes how do you want to see or which way you decide to see, or what part of it that you are seeing. There are lots of choices, both conscious and unconscious and conscious/unconscious, real and unreal, here and there or over there. By paying attention to those In-Betweenness, I reveal/realize/tap into the "other" reality that have always been operating with those realities (awaking stage and dream stage) that I am so familiar (I am so familiar that I forget to see or how to see).

november sixth:

" 'In-Betweenness' is not so difficult for me personally, for I've constantly come up against it, face-to-face reality. I know what it is, I breath, live, and am what it is.
So why do I have a such difficult/stressful time trying to become someone/thing like Flemm? I've always done things a little out of the "norm", or at least people always responded/looked at me in that way ALWAYS. Becoming Flemm should be so easy, but its depressing at this point. It'd be easier for me to construct her image as a grotesque persona or an extreme entity, but I wanted to play on the In-Betweenness to create her persona. ... "

In order to see, I must become blind, re-gain conscious, re-gain unconscious, half asleep but not half awake, then again become blind so I allow myself to see from a different place/state always. If I am blind more often than not, I can see more clearly than not.

APPENDIX 1A

Excerpt from a One-Person Play Red, “The Black District’s Red Telephone Booth,” by Tsuyoshi Nakada (English Translation by me)

1970.

There is a small shopping area on this street. General stores. *Machigyuaa* (shopping area). Ōshiro Shop. There is a red telephone booth in front of the store. The store opens at 7 am and closes at 11pm.

37

Grandma Yoshiro Kiyō is an owner of the store, 64 years old, the main character for this play. The play develops through the narrative of Kiyō. There is a living area in the back of the store. Losing her husband in the war, she operates the store and rears three girls by herself. Ōshiro Shop is a hangout place for women who work for bars serving black men. Kiyō is their go-to person for counseling.

38

First Act:

“Haven’t you let go, yet?”

[He] won’t come back.

Are you crazy? Grandma keeps telling you,
why won’t you all listen?

The baby, what was the name?

43

Oh yeah, Eri. I feel so bad [for her], [to be] so black.

She is sure to be teased when she gets older.

Like, “Blackie, Blackie.”

Because you are stupid...and even to have a kid.

Men cannot be trusted. They don’t even have ribs.

44

Also, he is black.

Hey Sae, think about it. And you will understand.

Let’s say you are a black soldier in the military, and sent to Okinawa. And losing war.

Tomorrow, you are sent to Vietnam and might die. You would want to drink and have girls with to. Just that

45

That’s just fun.

They just want to have sex. Everyday, they do it as much as possible.

In reality, (they) supposed to pay and do it in an appropriate place. But you do it for free.

They probably gave money too?

It’s a perfect deal for them. That’s why they say whatever [you want to hear.]

46

You probably were told the same thing, right Sae?

Like let’s get married. Or, I will be back to get you.

This grandma is always here, but

I never heard a man coming back.

Not one person came back. You should forget it.

47

You are crazy if you believe it.

If (he) really like you, he will take you with him. If he can't do that, he'd come back right away, or contact you.

If he really likes you, he won't let you wait this long.

About you girls

48

probably those guys don't remember.

Damn, Blackies (Niggers.)

Women are seen as fools [as their "girl friends" in Okinawa]

You must be cold. Come inside.

But,

49

Eri has not committed any sin.

She's black but, a cute kid.

Yes, yes, come to grandma.

Yes, yes, let's play with grandma. Come on, come on.

APPENDIX 1B

Excerpt from a One-Person Play Red, “The Black District’s Red Telephone Booth,” by Tsuyoshi Nakada (Original Japanese Text)

一人芝居：黒人街の赤電話 仲田つよし著

1970年。

この通りにある小さな商店。雑貨屋。マチヤグァー。大城商店。店の前に赤電話がある。店は朝7時に開き、夜11時に

37

閉まる。

子の店のオバー大城キヨ。64歳。この芝居の主人公。キヨの語りを通じて、芝居は展開する。店の奥が住居。戦争で夫を亡くし、女でひとつで3人の子どもを育て上げ、店も一人できりもり。

大城商店は、黒人相手のバーで働く女性たちのたまり場になっている。キヨは、いつも彼女たちの相談相手。

38

「第一幕」

42

さえ、あんたは、まだあきらめないか。

もう帰ってこないよ。

あんたはフリムンか。オバーが、いつも言っているのに

なんで、あんたたちは、聞かんかねえ。

赤ちゃん、名前なんだったか。

43

あっ、エリーだったねえ。かわいそうに、色まっ黒なって。

大きくなったら必ずいじめられるさあ。

『クロンボー、ブロンボー』って。

あんたが、フリムンだから、だまされて子どもまでつくって。

ただでさえ、男は、ソーキブニがたりないから、信用できないのに。

44

よりによって、相手は黒人なあ。

ええ、さえ。よく考えてごらんよ。そうしたら、わかるさあ。

あんたが黒人で兵隊で、アメリカから沖縄に飛ばされて来たとする。戦争は、負けそう。明日はベトナム行かされて死ぬかもしれない。

戦争行く前に、酒飲んで、女と遊んで楽しみたいさあ。ただ

45

それだけ、遊びさあ。

やりたいたけさあ。毎日やりたいたけさあ。

ほんとは、お金はらって、そういう場所でやらないといけないのに。あんたは、タダでさせるでしょ。逆にお金もあげたんじゃないか。

相手にとっては、最高さあ。だから何とでも言うさあ。

46

さえも言われたんでしょう。

結婚しようとか。必ず迎えに来るから待っていてとか。

オーバーは、ずっとここにいるけど、
男が迎えに来た話、聞いたこともない。
誰ひとり、迎えにこない。あきらめなさい。

47

信じるほうがフルムンさあ。
ほんとに好きなら、一緒に連れて行く。それができなければ、
すぐ迎えに来るなり、連絡するなり、するはずさあ。
ほんとに好きなら、こんなに人は待たさない。
あんたたちのこと、

48

たぶん、男はアメリカで思い出もしないはずよ。
ヤナ、クルンボーター。
女はみんな、ばかみたいに待ってるだけさあ。
寒いでしょう。なかに入って。
だけど

49

エリーには、何の罪もないからね。
クルンボーでも、子どもはかわいいさあ。
はいはい、オーバーのところにおいで。
はいはい、オーバーとあそぼう。おいで、おいで。

APPENDIX 2A Okinawa Facts

The geographical and demographic information is based on the book, *Geography of Okinawa Prefecture* by Nakada Kunihiko (Toyo Kikau Publishing, Japan 2009).

Okinawa is located⁶² in the southern most part of Japan between Kyushu and Taiwan. It has a land area of 2,276 km² 2/878.73mil², the ocean area is 1,000 km east and west, 400 km north and south, population of 1,393,000, there are 160 remote islands with 49 inhabitable islands, the Base-related revenue is approximately 5.3 % of gross prefectural revenue, and the average income per person is 2,039,000 in Japanese Yen (U.S. \$22, 500.00 in 2009); 16, 825.00 in 2016)⁶³/person, ranks the 47th out of the 47th prefectures in Japan.

Population:

1880 less than 400,000; 1944 600,000; 1950 approx., 700,000; 1970 950,000; 1975 1,050,000; 1980 approx. 2,000,000; 1990 1,220,000; 2000 1, 350,000; 2005 1,375,000; *2013: 1,414,500.⁶⁴

Militarism in Okinawa: the following information is based on the 2011 report, U.S. Military Base in Okinawa, provided by Okinawa Prefecture Government.

The Battle of Okinawa (April 1 1945 - June 22, 1945)

The ground battle was fought on Okinawa soil, (not Japan). From April 1st to June 30th, Okinawan civilians (1/3rd of the population at the time, numbers range from 150,000 to more than 200,000) were killed. After Japan lost the war, Okinawa came under U.S. military administration from 1945 - 1972 during which time, approximately 20% of the land was used to accommodate U.S. military facilities of over 40 bases that housed all four branches of the military: Air Force, Army, Navy, and Marine.

In the military context, Okinawa is known as the “Keystone of the Pacific,” a strategic location for the U.S. military operation in the Pacific. Although the formal occupation ended in 1972, which prompted the return of Okinawa to Japan, the U.S. military presence continued with 75% of the military bases remaining in Okinawa. In 2010, the bases were reduced to 34.

1951 Ended the U.S. occupation of Japan

1952 SF Treaty (Peace Treaty) signed by U.S. and Japan – continued occupation of Okinawa

1960 Mutual Cooperation – revision of the Treaty

1972 Reversion of Okinawa to Japan; Military bases remain – 75%

1995 Rape of a 12-year old girl by three U.S. military men

1996 SACO report

⁶² Geographic Location of Okinawa from another source: 630 km (391 miles) from Taipei, 820 km (510 miles) from Shanghai, 1,260 km (783 miles) of Seoul, 1,440 km (895 miles) of Hong Kong, 1,550 km (963 miles) of Tokyo, 10,350 km (6,431 miles) of Los Angeles, and 14,790 km (9,191 miles) of Washington D.C. (U.S. Military Base Issues in Okinawa (Military Base Affairs Division Okinawa Prefectural Government) (Online resource accessed on 6/27/14)

<http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/chijiko/kichitai/24600.html>

⁶³ The annual income in 2016 is about the same but due to change in the exchange rate, it is \$16, 825.00.

⁶⁴ *Okinawa Times* May 15, 2014, online accessed on 5/18/14

APPENDIX 2B
Okinawa City (Koza) Statistics: 2009 - 2010

37: Okinawa City Statistics Year 2010 Edition (第37回 沖縄市統計書 平成22年度版 沖縄市)

Area: 平成21年 Year: 2009 (p1)

Total Area: 49 km²; City area: 31.42 km²/64%; U.S. Military base: 16.89/3.47%; Japanese Self-Defense Force: .69/1.41% of the total area.

総計図表

人口と世帯の推移 (Change in Population/Household)

平成16年 Year 2004: 47,687/129,975 平成21年 Year: 2009: 52,324/134,652

Age: 30 - 34 years old Over 10,000; 35 - 39 yrs. old approx. 9,000; 0 - 29 & 40 - 49 over 8,000; 55 - 59 & 20 - 24 yrs. old over 7,000

Foreigner Registry: Sample of 10

USA 434/35.7%; Philippine 294/24.2%; China 125/10.3%; India 93/7.7%; Peru 77/6.3%; Korea 59/4.9%; Brazil 26/2.1%; England 18/1.5%; the rest 26/2.1%.

産業別事業所件数再び割り Industry number of businesses & percentage

Total: 6,611 business establishments; 46,629 employees – out of which 36.64% are

Company/small business & restaurant; 16.62 % is service business.

Company, small business, Restaurant: 3351/50.69%

Service business 1330/20.12%

Construction 343/5.19%

Real Estate Business 355/5.37%

Manufacture 179/2.71%

Transportation & communication 118/14.14%

Number of stores: 1,671 big company/13.23%; small business/86.77% which includes: food and drinks/27.47%; clothes & personal items 13.41%. *Bars and restaurants are not included without explanation.

Yearly Income: Total 141,068,250,000 yen

農作物収穫状況 Farming crops and harvest condition

平成17年 : 5,200 tons (t)/crop; 121.77 hector (ha)/area

平成19年 : 4,386.09 t/crop; 108.34 ha/area

平成21年 : 4,358.37 t/crop; 114.65 ha/are

Number of Farmers: 386

Self-employed farmers: 44.46%; Sold at stores: 55.4%

Population (p7): 1945: 23,861; 2007: 126,400 (steadily growing)

of household: 2007 (p9)

Teruya: 2,083; Male 2,363/F 2,472 (total: 4,835)

Goya: 3,073; M: 3,580/F 4,016 (Total: 7,596)

Yaejima: 323; M 413/F 464 (Total: 877)

of household: 2009

Teruya: 2,109; Male 2,287/F 2,431 (total: 4,718);Goya: 3,089; M: 3,537/F 3,942 (Total: 7,479)

Yaejima: 316; M 392/F 456 (Total: 848)

外国人登録人口 Foreigner Registry 2010 (Total 1,243) (p10)

USA 434; Philippine 294; China 125; India 93; Peru 77; Korea 59; Brazil 26; England 18; the rest are less than 10.

APPENDIX 3
Documentation: Photos, Flyers, and Texts

Traces of Teruya 2012



These are photos of buildings that remain from the Black District Era. The overlapping signage shows the different businesses that kept up with the changing time of history. The left building shows the sign over other signs, “Right On Custom Tailor,” which served both the black men and Okinawan school children.



These buildings represent the shadows of the past that make up the present architecture and sense of the place. While the official documents and story show that Black District was contained in one street, as evidenced by these buildings, people’s stories and experiences, the district was part of Teruya’s residential area.



Above Left: The checkered tile, which seems to have been the material used to build bars and hotels, became the clue that identifies the place as a former bar or hotel.

Above Right: The four-story building was owned by a former mama-san (madam), who managed the girls who rented room in the building. When I returned in 2014, the building had been demolished, and now has become an empty space, like other empty spaces that slowly takes over the past.



Bottom Left: Hotel Prince operated during the Black District era. The name shows up on a map that locates the hotel in the time and space of the Black District. The building has become an informal museum for visitors and curious travelers to the “deep Koza.”

Bottom Right: Part of the former Black District where people crossed in and out of the Black District and the market district. Today, it holds the space of memory and silence.

Teruya Night December 20, 2013 (Photo: Ikehara)



Teruya Street along the Highway 329/13, the same street where Rokuyosha is located.



Teruya Street along the Highway 329/13.

『黒人街：照屋 SOUL 物語』

歴史と現在をつなぐ

上映会

キャラバン・シリーズ「上映会とゆんたくタイム」

上映 VTR：黒人差別解放運動

1 1月25日（日）午後4時～ アビーロード（城前町3-20 ☎090-6859-1610）

1 2月2日（日）午後2時～ 響（八重島27-48 ☎939-7359）

1 2月8日（土）午後2時～ 六曜舎（照屋1-13-7 ☎938-2844）

お問い合わせ： blackokinawa@gmail.com（池原）



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Hibiki (2012)



Caravan Series 2 (Hibiki, Yaejima 2012)



Caravan Series 2

『黒人街：照屋 SOUL 物語』

歴史と現在をつなぐ

座談会 「写真と地図で照屋黒人街を思い出そう」

日時：12月21日（金） 19時～21時

場所：照屋公民館 2F ホール（☎937-4470） *参加無料／親子参加も大歓迎！
プログラム

1. 池原えりこさんが語る照屋黒人街
2. みなで語ろうコザ十字路照屋の記憶～スライドショー～
3. ワークショップ
照屋の1970年代地図に昔写真やエピソードを貼ってみよう！
※照屋黒人街時代の写真やアイテムをお持ちの方は、ご持参ください。

まちあるき

「記憶の照屋黒人街まちあるき」

日時：12月22日（土） 16時～17時30分

集合場所：コザ銀天大学（銀天街商店街内）

座談会で集まった情報をもとに照屋を散策してみよう！

上映会 キャラバン・シリーズ 「上映会とゆんたくタイム」

上映 VTR：黒人差別解放運動

1 1月25日（日） 午後4時～ アビーロード（城前町3-20 ☎090-6859-1610）

1 2月2日（日） 午後2時～ 響（八重島27-48 ☎939-7359）

1 2月8日（土） 午後2時～ 六曜舎（照屋1-13-7 ☎938-2844）



池原えりこ

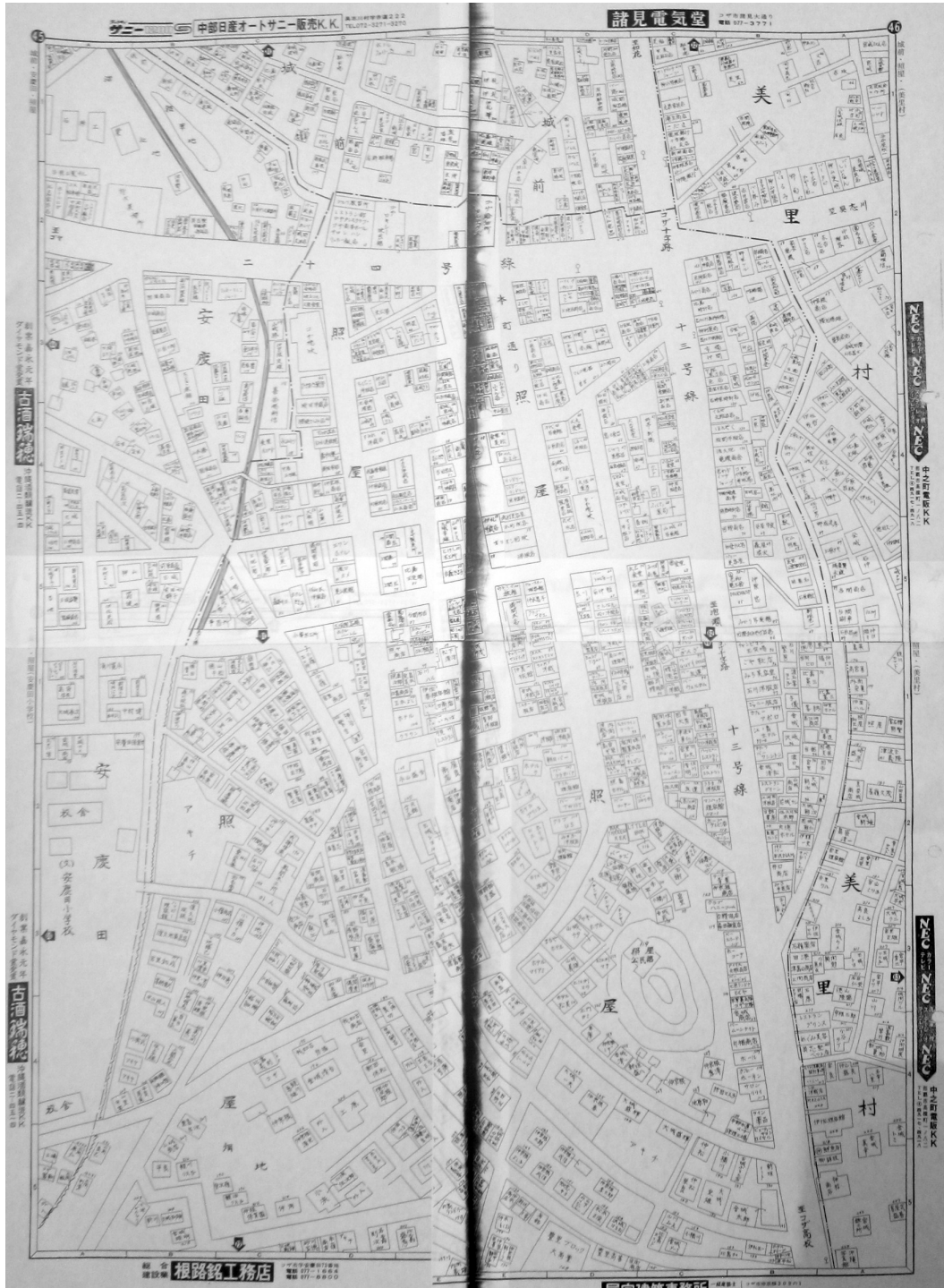
コザ十字路、照屋出身。安慶田小学校に3年生まで在学。現在、パークレー大学で照屋黒人街を研究している。照屋で黒人ハーフとして生まれた自身のルーツを辿り、照屋黒人街のまちの人の記憶と物語を収集している。

歴史は色々な視点で書き上げる事によりその場所、人、物が様々な人間物語をより広くそして深く表すことが大事だと思います。それで自分も一つのコザのある歴史を照屋物語として残していきたいと思い、今現在自分の故郷、照屋という場所に戻りました。今まで照屋を歩いて実際に感じたり、見たり、考えたことを毎日のように歩きながら記録して考えています。そして今、このイベントは私が愛された黒人街の歴史を語る出発点です。照屋の皆さんには是非届きたい研究メッセージです。この機会に皆さんと交流の場を作りたいと思います。

お問い合わせ：コザ銀天大学 9 3 7 - 9 9 0 9 blackokinawa@gmail.com（池原）

あなたと語る
照屋黒人街
参加者募集

Flyer for the main event: Black District Soul MiXtory (Dec. 22, 2012). In one afternoon of yuntaku, a team of five planned, prepared, and executed five major events in less than three months (Phase I of my fieldwork, Oct – Dec. 2013), which brought media attention, including the mayor of Koza (Okinawa City) who lunched and ate the famous *Rokuyosha's* soul food, the Omelet Rice. The Chapter 5, Teruya Soul MiXtory, is written based on the fieldwork including ethnography, formal/informal interviews, archive, and literature review and analysis.



1970 Map of Koza Crossroad (Okinawa City Hall Editorial Division of the History of Okinawa City)

The Main event at Teruya Community Center (December 21, 2012)



Mapping the History (Above)

Sharing Stories and Yuntaku Session (Two photos below)



Kids who grew up in the Black District and neighboring districts representing the crossroad: Black District, Shiromae District, Honmachi/Ginten-gai/Market District, and Agricultural District.

Tour of Teruya's former Black District (December 22, 2012)



As we walked, people volunteered to share their stories on their way to work or passing by. An older man who just showed up, took us on a “underground” tour. When he asked that the women excuse themselves from the tour, we refused and demanded to be part of the “underground” tour. He took us to the hidden history tour of the sexual pleasure zone that only certain people knew, mostly men.

松村久美 黒人街写真展

オープニング

日： 10月29日 (火曜日)

時： 午後6時～8時

場： 喫茶六曜舎
照屋 1-13-17
コザ校通り
TEL: 938-2944

お問い合わせ：080 2691 9608

照屋ソウル物語つづへシリーズ

その二

プロフィール：松村久美

写真家として沖縄で20年以上の写真を撮った写真家。1968年から1976年に渡って照屋黒人街の記録を残してくれた貴重な写真家。一時家庭作りで日本に帰ったが、2006年に沖縄に戻って写真を撮り続けています。今回は照屋ソウル物語第二会のシリーズで照屋の唯一の喫茶店（当時黒人バーだった場所）で写真展を開示します。照屋の元黒人街の写真27枚を展示します。

追加：

『片想いのシャッター』私の沖縄10年の記録松村久美著A5判198ページ(株現代書館刊 徳島に生まれ東京写真大学を卒業したばかりの社会人一年生ではじめて沖縄に上陸した(1968年11月18日)復帰前後の沖縄社会、島々、祭り、南米移民などをテーマに写真とエッセーでまとめた。1971年「11, 10 ゼネスト」デモ隊の規制にあたっていた警官が死亡した事件があった。その現場写真のフィルムが警察に押収された。
*この本は照屋ソウルアーカイブ用として何冊を六曜舎で保管されて、そこで読むかレンタルが出来きる事も出来ます。

バックグラウンドにある写真は彼女が写し黒人街のわらばーたー。
自分もそのいたはずだ。

池原えりこ/プロジェクト コーディネーター： 元照屋んちゅ、実家石川、現在
アメリカ・カリフォルニア州バークレー大学博士候補者

The Black District Photo Exhibit: Featuring Photographer Matsumura Kumi

Rokuyosha Coffee House (October 29, 2013)



Right: Me (Left) Sueko-san (Center), Kumi Matsumoto (Right)
Left: Conversation with the photographer, Kumi Matsumoto.



During the exhibit, he commented that he doesn't have the outside photo of the bar his mother owned in the Black District. The photographer had not realized that she had taken the photo, which I had chosen as part of the exhibit. When I overheard the conversation, I pointed out to both of them that the photo of his mother's bar is on the wall.

This is Mr. Arakaki, standing next to the photo that photographer Matsumura Kumi had taken without any details or memories of the place. This is an example of a retrospective revelation, a process in which a various pieces come together to make a connection. For this revelation, it was the object/photo, the subjects/photographer, informant, and researcher, the event/photo exhibit, and the miXtory: yuntaku, history, memory, and story.

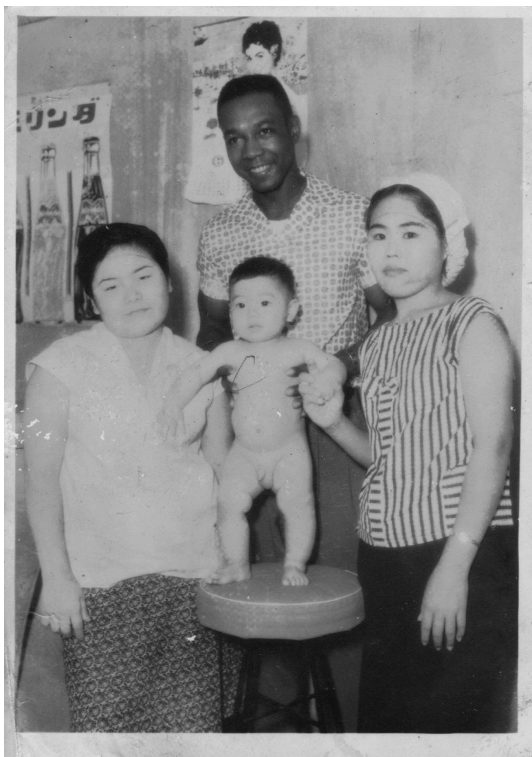


After the photo exhibit opening, we came back to Abby Road for yuntaku time.

The people in the photo are all part of the Black District miXtory that continues to reveal different pieces in their own time of entries. Mr. Arakaki, a former Black District resident, is a film director who has decided to make a TV series called the "Juke Box Stories," using many of the informants of miXtory on my research. He completed the first installment in October 2015.



Bar Twist Circa Black District Era: A woman behind the bar is the owner. The women sitting at the bar are the hostesses, and a black man is a customer.



The photos were taken in the late 60s when the Black District was at the height of the black power movement and activities. In between the images of political activism, and the sexual overtones of the bar district, there in these photos, an everyday living of Teruyans as life went on. The baby is not mixed nor out of wedlock, but is a brother of Mr. Arakaki who lived the life of a child like any other child.

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