PERFORMING HETEROGLOSSIA: CONTESTING "WAR BRIDE" DISCOURSES, EXPLORING "HISTORIES OF KOKORO" WITH FOUR SENRYU WRITERS

by

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ABSTRACT

My thesis explores the diasporic memories and poetic practices of four "Japanese war brides" in the state of Washington, U.S.A. My analysis is based on a two-month ethnographic study where I focused on their poetic practices called *senryu*.

Based on a Bakhtinian analysis of "heteroglossic utterances" I theorize the writers as heteroglossic subjects who performatively move between "culturally different" discursive spaces, each of which has a set of power-relations and a set of discourses that organize it. When the writers tell their experiences in the discursive space of senryu, I argue, these stories disturb their identity determined by the dominant "war bride" discourses.

In my thesis, I re-tell the stories the writers shared with me during my interviews with them. By bringing together their individual voices, I attempt to show how they together generate new accounts about their transnational experiences and their diasporic, multi-voiced sense of home and identities.

北米川柳の先生方へ

For my teachers

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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GLOSSARY[1]

American senryu	See "senryu."
Gaichi	Japanese former colonies.
Haiku	A Japanese poetry genre known for its short form constituted by the combination of three syllable-based components, five-seven-five.
Issei	The first generation of Japanese immigrants in North America. The term usually refers to immigrants from the pre-WWII period.
Jikkan-ku	Jikkan-ku in senryu refers to a senryu piece that is based on the real experiences of the writer's kokoro (Miwa Yoshimura, interview, October 18, 2007). Jikkan-ku sings what the writer's kokoro experienced in a particular moment in the most truthful way.
Jyo	The affective, aesthetic, and philosophical movement of kokoro. "Jyocho" is particularly invoked by an atmosphere created by natural scenes. "Ninjyo" is jyo oriented toward people. Ninjyo emerges between people who have close relationships.
Jyocho	See "jyo."
Kadai-ku	Kadai-ku is a senryu piece written based on a specific assigned topic. Kadai-ku usually needs to include the topic word. Every month, members of Hokubei Senryu submit five kadai-ku to the editor of ryushi or their monthly senryu journal.
Kokoro	It is usually translated into English such as "heart," "mind," "spirit," or "soul." In my thesis, I translate "kokoro" as a concept that involves the affect, emotion, compassion, aesthetic sensibilities, state of mind, colours or tones of one's heart. Kokoro is a complex entity that organizes one's internal world. It is not an innate capacity given to a chosen few. Rather, kokoro is organic in the sense that its sensibility—toward human relationships, politics, nature, and so on—can *grow* in different ways as one grows up in different environments.

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[1] This glossary only includes Japanese terms that appear in my thesis more than once. These are my translations and definitions of the concepts, unless indicated otherwise.

Ku	A poem.
Kukai	A poetry meeting.
Kyoku	Like today's senryu, kyoku is an offshoot of "Edo senryu," which is the first type of senryu introduced by Senryu Karai in the Edo period (Fukumoto, 1999). Like senryu, it takes five-seven-five form. Kyoku is often motivated by ridicule and an attempt to cause laughter.
Kuma-san and Has-san	Two fictional characters set in Edo, Japan. They often appear in folktales that describe the everyday lives of townspeople in the Edo period.
Mochiyori-ku	Mochiyori-ku is a senryu piece written based on a specific assigned topic. Mochiyori-ku usually needs to include the topic word. Every month, members of Hokubei Senryu submit three mochiyori-ku to the month's senjya at the monthly meeting.
Ninjyo	See "jyo."
Nisei	The second generation Japanese Americans. Nisei are the children of Issei.
Omoide	According to a Japanese dictionary, *Kojien*, the concept of "omoide" has the following meanings: 1) to be reminded of past matters that remain deep in one's kokoro, or those matters, or things that trigger that state of mind; 2) the pleasant feeling created by recollection. (Shinmura, 1998). Omoide is usually translated simply as "memory" in English, but it often signifies "good" or "pleasant" memories. The concept implies a person who actively names some of her or his particular past experiences as omoide over other memories. For example, a Japanese speaker often says, "Let's make omoide," referring to a future activity planned ahead. The speaker's intent is not to passively hope that the activity will become a "good memory" in the future, but rather to motivate herself or himself or a group of people to spend a memorable time together.
Pan pan	Prostitutes. The term was used around the WWII period with pejorative connotations.
Ryushi	Ryushi is a term that generally refers to "senryu journal." It is not a particular journal title.
Salaryman senryu	See "senryu."
Sengo-ha	It literally means the "post-war group." The term has been preferred by so-called "Japanese war brides" to identify themselves as a group of Japanese that is distinct from the group of pre-war Japanese immigrants.

Senjya	It literally means a "selection person." A senjya selects "good" senryu among all the mochiyori-ku or sekidai-ku submitted by the members at the monthly kukai meeting.
Sekidai-ku	Sekidai-ku is a senryu piece written based on a specific topic assigned on site at the monthly meeting. Sekidai-ku usually needs to include the topic word. At the meeting, members of Hokubei Senryu work on two sekidai sessions (about half an hour each) and compose three pieces in each session. After the two sessions are over, they submit their sekidai-ku (six pieces in total) to the month's senjya.
Senryu	Senryu is a Japanese poetry genre known for its short form constituted by the combination of three syllable-based components, five-seven-five. It shares its form with haiku, but according to my teachers, the content of senryu and haiku are different. While haiku sings nature and seasons, senryu sings people's kokoro and human relationships. There are also different kinds of senryu. "Edo senryu" is the first type of senryu introduced by Senryu Karai in the Edo period (Fukumoto, 1999). "Kyoku" is a senryu genre, which developed from Edo senryu (see "Kyoku"). "New senryu" emerged in the Meiji period in the wave of criticism against kyoku for its depraved content (Fukumoto, 1999). "Salaryman senryu" is currently popular in Japan among middle class, white-collar Japanese corporate workers ("salaryman"). "American senryu" is senryu that developed in the Meiji period in the Japanese immigrant community of the West Coast of North America (Ueno, 1964; Tamura, 1996). It was first established in 1912 by the Japanese immigrant, Kaho Honda, in Yakima, Washington (Ueno, 1964).
Senso hanayome	This is a literary translation of the term, "war bride."
Sozo-ku	Sozo-ku is a senryu piece written exclusively based on the writer's imagination, which do not sing the physical and affective experiences of the writer.
Tanka	A Japanese poetry genre known for its form constituted by the combination of five syllable-based components, five-seven-five-seven-seven.
Uta (also Waka)	While the literary translation of "uta" is a "song," in the particular context of this thesis, the better translation would be "poetry." When the term is used in the context of the Japanese poetry, it refers to the poetry in general that includes a wide variety of different forms including tanka. Haiku and senryu are relatively new genres and usually not included in the category of uta. The term "waka" (Japanese poetry) is used instead of "uta" to specifically distinguish itself from traditional Chinese poetry.

Wa (和)	According to a Japanese dictionary, *Kojien*, the concept of "wa (和)" has the following meanings: 1) peacefulness, repose; 2) to be friendly, to get along with somebody; 3) to accommodate oneself, to be blended well together; 4) sum (mathematics); 5) Japan, Japanese (Shinmura, 1998). Tomoko-san used the term specifically refer to the peaceful human relationships.
Wa (輪)	According to a Japanese dictionary, *Kojien*, "wa (輪)" means a loop or a circular object (Shinmura, 1998).
Yamato-nadeshiko	A type of gillyflower and usually signifies the "true Japanese woman." When the term is applied to a Japanese woman, it often symbolizes an elegant, dignified, and modest woman who walks behind her man and is dedicated to him.
Zatsuei-ku	Zatsuei-ku is a senryu piece in which no topic is assigned. It is written based on the writer's own interests and her or his personal experiences that she or he thinks important. Zatsuei-ku is a type of senryu where the individual characteristics of the writers are the most explored and expressed.
Zuihitsu	Keene (1967) defines it as a Japanese literature genre characterized by the "random" or "formless" mode of composition. *Hojyoki* by Chomei Kamo (1212) and *Tsurezuregusa* by Kenko Yoshida (1330-1332), which I introduce in Chapter Five, are two among the oldest and the most well-known zuihitsu.

INTRODUCTION

<div style="text-align: right">

ウォーブライドという代名詞背負わされ
War-bride toiudaimeishi seowasare

</div>

Being burdened
   with the pronoun called
"war brides"

<div style="text-align: right">

(Yoshimura, 1984, p.1)[1]

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Going down to the "field"

I begin with my story. I was en route to Seattle. My partner and I left our home in

Vancouver on October 2nd, 2007. My partner was driving his Volkswagen Golf, which was

filled with piles of boxes that contained my clothes, cookware, books, and other things that I

needed for my two-month stay in Seattle. I was sitting in the passenger's seat, preparing for

the border crossing. My mind was already filled with the usual anxieties of travelling. These

anxieties were something I could never get used to, even though I had become accustomed

to travelling a good deal. In fact, for me, Seattle was the second most familiar place in

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[1] This is a poetry piece written by one of my participants in this study, Miwa Yoshimura. The piece was published in a Japanese language newspaper, *Hokubeihochi*, on January 1st, 1984 (p.1). With respect to the general formality of references in this thesis, I would like to make two points. First, I translated into English all of my participants' poetry pieces presented in this thesis, except for those written by Tomoko Matsuda, which were translated by her husband. I also translated the references and quotes from all other Japanese sources ("Japanese sources" are listed separately from "English sources" in References). Second, all of the poetry pieces written by my participants are untitled. Third, some poetry pieces are also undated. My participants often shared these pieces with me by reciting them from memory during the interviews, and they did not recall their exact date of composition. I have indicated dates of publication for pieces that can be located in specific anthologies. While the dates of composition are not retrievable for any of these pieces, I have attempted to contextualize circumstances under which these pieces were produced based on the stories I heard from the participants. I also emphasize that in this particular poetry genre, *senryu*, it is important for a piece to continue to be recited and passed down. Some pieces become like proverbs, which can be used by different people in different contexts. Instead of understanding the lack of information about the dates as the evidence that reveals the lack of formality in their senryu practices, here I highlight the generic convention of senryu that focuses on the social contexts of producing, reading or reciting senryu.

North America after Vancouver. I had lived there for one year as an exchange student from 2002 to 2003 and later visited for one month to conduct fieldwork research during my undergraduate studies. I was familiar with the place. I knew where to eat, where to go grocery shopping, what transportation to take, where to study, and where to have coffee. And yet, the anxieties plagued me. I felt like I was visiting a new place and was already missing Vancouver.

How many "homes" do I have? Maybe many, maybe none. Soon after I was born in 1981, my mother and I left my grandparents' home near Mt. Fuji and moved to Moscow to join my father, who had been working there for some months. Four years later, we moved together to Tokyo. When I was eight, we moved back again to Moscow, this time with my little brother who was four. We finally returned to Japan when I was eleven. I went to three kindergartens and three elementary schools. I always missed my old places but I had no choice. But through these experiences, travelling gradually became one of my habits. During my university years, I voluntarily made a choice to leave Japan.

As usual, the U.S. border made me realize that Canada was my temporary home. My partner and I showed our red-coloured Japanese passports and told the officer that we were both doing our graduate studies at a Canadian university. My partner told the officer that he was just helping me move and would come back to Canada after dropping me off in Seattle. "So why is she going to Seattle?" asked the officer. This time, I was not simply a traveller, but I was travelling as a researcher. I told him that I was visiting Seattle for two months to conduct research for my master's thesis. "What's the research about?" he asked, I replied, "Japanese war brides."

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The original purpose of my research was to collect oral histories of "Japanese war

brides." A "Japanese war bride," according to the scholarly definition, is a Japanese woman

"who married an American member of the armed forces or an American civilian who was in

a foreign country as a result of U.S. mobilization for World War II or as a result of the

subsequent military occupation" (Shukert and Scibetta, 1989, p.2). At first, I thought of the

"Japanese war bride" as a homogeneous entity. From my previous experiences working in

the Nikkei (people of the Japanese descent) community in Seattle, I was familiar with the

term, "war bride." It referred to a group of women who constituted one of the primary

segments of the Nikkei community today. I repeatedly heard about their "story" here and

there, from people in the community, a local Japanese language newspaper, and

auto/biographies of Japanese war brides.

According to the "story," they married American G.I.s who were stationed in Japan

after WWII. The dominant national, racial, and patriarchal discourses in the period right

after the war created popular notions about Japanese war brides. Japanese war brides soon

became the target of the Japanese mass media that portrayed them as "prostitutes" (see

Chapter One). Many were disowned by their own families, being viewed as bringing

"shame" to the families, and were not able to visit their home after their marriage. When

they arrived in the United States, some war brides were excluded also by some local Japanese

Americans—including *Issei*, pre-war immigrants, and *Nisei*, their children—because they

were stigmatized as "prostitutes." Some Japanese Americans also expressed hostility toward

Japanese war brides' interracial marriage.[2] Due to the stigma, which the term, "Japanese war

bride," carries, Japanese war brides kept silent and did not openly identify themselves as

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[2] There are in fact a number of Japanese women who married Nikkei G.I.s. See Yasutomi and Stout
(2005, Ch.7, p.186-214).

"war brides." However, they have actively participated in Japanese cultural groups and formed women's clubs in the United States. As part of their activities, they have made enormous contributions to local communities by introducing Japanese culture. Seeing them in the articles of *Hokubeihochi*, which is a Japanese language newspaper in Seattle, I was often quite amazed by how energetic and active they were despite the fact that most were nearly eighty years old.

Today, Japanese mass media do not cover stories on "war brides." Before I encountered the term in Seattle, I had never heard of it. Throughout my school years in Japan, I had no opportunity to learn about Japanese war brides' experiences. I did not even know that such people existed. Furthermore, as I began to work on my research, I noticed a crucial lack of studies about them both in Japan and in the United States.[3] I found that their experiences in the Nikkei communities were almost never represented in studies of "Japanese Americans," which primarily focused on the experiences of pre-WWII immigrants and their successive generations.[4] This further convinced me that it was significant to make their "silenced" and "ignored" voices more visible, and to critically examine the dominant discourses that negatively influenced their lives, including skewed media representations and social exclusions based on racism, sexism, and nationalism in both nations. In addition, hearing stories about their contributions to the local Nikkei community through a variety of

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[3] During my fieldwork, however, I actually began to see emerging interests in this group and scholars who have been working with "Japanese war brides" (See Chapter One).

[4] Japanese war brides do not appear in studies of post-war Nikkei communities. Studies of Japanese Americans' experiences during the WWII and thereafter tend to focus on themes of the internment of people of Japanese descent during the war and the redress movement that was launched in the 1970s (e.g. Fujita and Femandez, 2004; Kashima, 2003; Takezawa, 1989). One exception is Evelyn Nakano Glenn's comparative studies (1986) between three generations of Japanese American women. In this study, she compares the working experiences of Issei (first generation) women, Nisei (second generation) women, and war brides, in domestic services.

cultural and social work, I felt that their experiences must be publicly recognized by the Nikkei history.

I decided to conduct my research in the state of Washington, particularly in Seattle, Tacoma and Bremerton. "Japanese war brides" living in this region are more organized and publicly visible than those in other regions of the United States, partly due to the concentration of the military bases including the air force, army, and navy.[5] I wanted to recruit research participants from one of the local Japanese cultural circles, because I was particularly interested in hearing their active involvement in Japanese war brides' community work. I decided to approach a poetry group, Hokubei Senryu (North American Senryu) which had chapters in Seattle and Tacoma, having heard that there were many members who were Japanese war brides in the group. As the name of the group indicates, they work on a particular poetry genre called *senryu*, which is a sibling genre of the more well-known *haiku*. I wished to hear about how their traditional cultural activities had contributed to the cultural diversity of the local communities.

After successfully passing the U.S. border, it seemed that my anxieties about the border crossing were resolved. I then tried to imagine my future research participants I was going to meet in my "field." I first imagined a typical elderly Japanese woman and then tried to make her little more vigorous in my imagination, but my attempts to imagine her kept failing. This impossibility-to-imagine brought me another set of anxieties. I did not even know whom I was going to interview. I did not know their names; instead, I just knew that they were going to be "Japanese war brides." They were still "foreign" to me, which probably made Seattle appear as "foreign" to me as well, although I had visited Seattle many

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[5] There is an air force base in Tacoma (McChord Air Force Base), an army near Tacoma (Fort Lewis) and a navy base in Bremerton (Naval Base Kitsap).

times. Would they accept me? This was the same question I asked whenever I moved to a new place.

Another story

During my fieldwork, I ended up working closely with four women who participated in my research: Suika-san, Tomoko-san, Fuyuko-san, and Miwa-san. Long before I met them, they were also travelling on winding routes that would eventually bring them to their current homes. They are all travellers who have different backgrounds, different routes, and different views about their lives.

Suika-san was once in the battlefield near Beijing. There she worked as a military nurse. She saw how "devastated" a place could be by war. She explains that the Japanese invasion of China produced nothing but resentment from the residents (interview, October 30, 2007).[6] The Japanese invasion brought her to the battlefield, and this brought her nothing but "total despair." Coming back to Japan, she met her current husband, a military doctor from the United States, in Tokyo. A few years later, they married. They first moved to North Dakota where her husband's family was living. Suika-san laughs and says, "I wouldn't have come to the United States, if I'd known what the place would've looked like!" There was nothing in North Dakota that interested her compared to Tokyo. Later, her husband found a new job at Boeing, and they settled down in Seattle. She has written stories about all her travels. She loves writing. She has kept a diary every day since her marriage. She has also written different kinds of poetry in Japanese since she was young. "But," she

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[6] The rest of the quotes in this paragraph are based on my interview with Suika-san on October 30, 2007.

says, "I have told my kids to burn everything I wrote with me when I die…They are my history. Nobody needs it."

Tomoko-san lives in Bremerton, an hour ferry ride from Seattle. She has a long travel story. She was born in part of Korea, the former Japanese colony, due to her father's military duty. She says, "It was very different from the lives of people who were staying in Japan" (interview, October 29, 2007).[7] She came to her "homeland" after WWII ended when she was sixteen. The experience of "returning" was also a special incident in her life. She cherishes her memories from those days, and plans to write about her childhood experiences in Korea. She first lived with her family in her parents' hometown in Tottori prefecture, Japan, and later moved to Tokyo to work. She met her present husband, an American medical researcher, when he was stationed in a U.S. military base in Tokyo. After marriage, they first moved to Seattle. Due to her husband's military duties, however, they later moved to Hawaii, Japan, and then Thailand. Her sisters-in-law suggested that she and her children stay in Seattle, but Tomoko-san decided to travel with her husband, bringing their children along, because she thought it was important for the family to stay together. She recalls that these were all good experiences. "I have good memories, I was privileged."

Fuyuko-san was born in Nagano, Japan. After the war, she moved to Yokohama and studied at a dressmaking school. She recalls, "I didn't like living in the countryside, I was a colourful type…I wanted to wear fancy dresses, which was impossible in my hometown" (interview, October 18, 2007). This is why she decided to design and make dresses. During her school years, she met her husband and married. Like Tomoko-san, Fuyuko-san moved across oceans and nations for her husband's duties. She lived in Texas,

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[7] The rest of the quotes in this paragraph are based on my interview with Tomoko-san on October 29, 2007.

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Idaho, Hawaii, France, and Japan. It was after her husband was retired from the military that they finally moved to Tacoma and settled down in her current home. Yet, she says, "My life was mediocre. These places were merely my husband's workplaces. I didn't go to those places for my own goals" (interview, November 9, 2007). "To show off one's life" contradicts her own philosophy, and she has "no wish to leave a good name" (ibid.).

After WWII, Miwa-san came to the United States as a student. At first, she was confident about her English proficiency. She recalls, "I was saying, 'English is a piece of cake!' I had studied very hard before I left Japan" (interview, November 16, 2007). When she arrived in the United States, however, she did not understand "even a single word" (ibid.). She realized that an American accent was different from a British accent, which she had learned in Japan. At that time, she did not know her future husband. Meanwhile, her future husband was stationed in Japan. He happened to meet her brother in Tokyo, and began to visit her parents' home frequently. When he left Japan, Miwa-san's mother asked him to deliver a Buddhist talisman, tea, and other everyday necessities to Miwa-san. This is how they first met in the United States. They married in Washington. She did not consider herself as someone who could be counted as a "war bride." Nor did she know that such a word existed until she joined the Nikkei International Marriage Society, a non-profit organization for "Japanese war brides," and heard the term from other members (see Chapter One). She says, "People see me as a war bride anyway, because I married an American G.I." (interview, November 16, 2007).

Rendezvous

I began this thesis with my travel story not simply because it is a convention in ethnographic writing for the fieldworker to narrate her or his own experience of travelling to

the "field" of research.[8] By juxtaposing my own travel story with those of my participants, I

wanted the reader to encounter two different angles, from which to consider my

participants' experiences. One angle is based on my initial perception about "Japanese war

brides" who "dwell" in Washington and tell their "local" experiences in the Nikkei

community. This angle views the Japnaese war brides as "exotic, native informants" like

traditional ethnographic research.[9] This view assumes that they were dislocated from Japan

and relocated to the United States as "war brides," and stayed put until they were

"discovered" by me (a "young mobile traveller"), in their local community in the physical

and symbolic senses.

The other angle is based on an alternative perception of my participants as

"travellers," which I developed after going through the process of my fieldwork. This angle

does not reduce my participants to passive "informants," "objectified others," or

"specimens" merely responding to my questions (Kondo, 1986, p.84). I learned that they

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[8] Dorinne K. Kondo (1990) notes that it is a common practice among anthropologists to begin their "ethnographies by describing the 'setting,' where they lay out the map of 'their' country, 'their' community, and retrace the journey that brought them to those communities" (p.7). She explains that these descriptions serve to "recapitulate the anthropologists' experiences of primary disorientation and of trying to find their feet in a place where their own common sense assumptions about the world take them exactly nowhere" (ibid.). I believe that the description about my travel to the "field" also plays a similar role. At the same time, I also wish to highlight the gap between my initial perception about Japanese war brides and my new perception about my participants, which I developed during my fieldwork. As Kondo emphasizes, "participation in the field was...necessary step in the process of understanding" and in shifting the focus of my research as well (ibid., p.23; also see Kondo, 1986).

[9] In the field of anthropology, there is a traditional notion that anthropologists' "central rite of passage is fieldwork" and their research is conducted in a "remote" place where people have a dramatically different set of cultural practices from that of the anthropologists' "home" (usually West) (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). Since the 1970s, and especially the 1980s, however, it has been increasingly common among contemporary anthropological studies where research participants play the dual role of being "informants" and "travellers" (Clifford, 1992). As a result, there are an increasing number of contemporary anthropological studies that are based on fieldwork that is conducted at "home" (the place where researcher resides), or multiple locations. For the example of a critique of the old assumption about the researcher as a traveller, see Caputo (2000). For the discussion on multi-sited ethnography, see Marcus (1995).

were not "silenced victims" who were simply waiting out there for someone to come to listen to them and represent their voices. To the contrary, they are "agents" (Haraway, 1988, p.592) and "subjects with complex lives and a range of opinion" (Narayan, 1993, p.681; also see Clifford, 1986, p.14 and Rosaldo, 1993, p.21, p.207). They have their own philosophies: they have their own frameworks to analyze their travel experiences, their own views about what to tell or *not* to tell their life stories, and their own ways of telling their stories. As I describe below, the breakdown of my initial notion of "Japanese war brides" and my realization that there were an irreducible multiplicity of ways to produce knowledge about their experiences, ultimately became the kernel of my thesis.

This thesis is primarily based on in-depth interviews I conducted with the four participants I have introduced above: Mrs. Miwa Yoshimura, Mrs. Fuyuko Taira, Mrs. Tomoko Matsuda, and Mrs. Chieko Suika. They are all senryu writers who participate in a poetry group, Hokubei Senryu, which has chapters in Seattle and in Tacoma. Hokubei Senryu was the "rendezvous" where I met my participants in their different routes of travelling. Except for one participant who preferred being anonymous, the names that appear in this thesis are their pen names, which they use in senryu writing. During my fieldwork, I called them by their pen names, like the other group members. I have continued to call them in the same way to show my respect and intimacy: Miwa-san, Fuyuko-san, Tomoko-san, and Suika-san.[10] In addition to the interviews, I also participated in the group's monthly meetings both in Seattle and in Tacoma (October and November, 2007).

At the Hokubei Senryu's monthly meeting in October 2007, I was introduced to the four senryu writers through the head of the group, Mr. Yoshio Ono (I will call him Ono-san

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[10] In Japanese, "san" is a postfix that follows last name or first name, which is often used to show respect.

hereafter), who is the only male in the group. Among approximately twenty members, he

first suggested that I interview Miwa-san, Fuyuko-san, and Suika-san, because they were the

oldest members in the group and experts of the genre; they had practiced senryu for over

thirty years. After talking to senryu group members and hearing their suggestions for

another interviewee, I finally decided to interview Tomoko-san as well, who had practiced

senryu for over ten years. I conducted each interview at the participant's home upon their

kindly invitations. Each interview lasted at least four hours, and some of the interviews were

followed by additional interviews. All the interviews were conducted in Japanese, which is

both my participants' and my own mother tongue.

I consider that the "field" of my fieldwork research was not a geographical place like

Seattle-Tacoma area, nor was it an "ethnic" community like the Nikkei community, or

community of "Japanese war brides." Rather, my field was a discursive space where my

participants practice senryu (see Chapter Three for more detailed discussions about their

senryu practices).[11] Initially, I planned to use their senryu pieces as entry points to their life

stories. I planned to begin the interviews by asking questions about their recent cultural

activities in the community, including their senryu practices, and then moving to questions

about their immigration experiences and their earlier life experiences in Japan. Regardless of

these initial plans, all the interviews primarily centred around my participants' senryu work

and the stories they told in rlation to them. Each dialogue was also like a senryu lesson

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[11] Gupta and Ferguson (1992) point out the limitation of the traditional assumption in
anthropological studies that culture, as a unit of anthropological analysis, is rooted in a particular
geographical place, because such a view cannot account for more hybrid and complex forms of
culture that have been increasingly visible in the context of postcoloniality. Instead of a geographical
place, Clifford (1992) suggests that a "discursive practice" could be a "field" in the fieldwork research
(p.99). Appadurai (1996) also argues that in the transnational, deterritorialized world in which we live
today, ethnographic writing also needs to move from the localized notion of culture to the notion of
culture as a discursive "imagination" that is formed based on the transnational flows of people and
media images.

where I learned about the discipline of senryu. I viewed the participants as my "teachers" of senryu, and they viewed me as a student.[12] This relationship was easily established since I was participating in their senryu meetings as a novice senryu writer. In the end, Ono-san and my senryu teachers encouraged me to become a member of Hokubei Senryu. I accepted the suggestion and formally became their "student."

During my fieldwork, my project shifted from a study of "Japanese war brides" to a study of the four writers' senryu practices. The shift occurred when I realized the violence of representing my teachers as "Japanese war brides," a term with which they did not themselves identify. Once I arrived in Washington and began preliminary research, I soon became nervous about the very term, "war bride." Whenever I talked to people in the Nikkei community, I was told to avoid using the term, "war bride," because "they don't like to be called so."[13] Throughout the fieldwork period, I had to be very careful not to directly call my teachers "war brides." Instead, I used the term, "*sengo-ha*" (post-war comers), which they preferred to use as a way to categorize themselves within the Nikkei community, which distinguished them from pre-war Japanese immigrants.

While I was conducting research in Washington, I also began to find more studies about Japanese war brides by American scholars (Creef, 2000; Lark, 1999; Shukert and Scibetta, 1989; Storrs, 2000; Williams, 1991).[14] I was excited about finding more scholars who were studying Japanese war brides in very similar ways to my original research plans.

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[12] From now on, I use the term "teachers" and "(senryu) writers" interchangeably to refer to the four women, Miwa-san, Fuyuko-san, Suika-san, and Tomoko-san, instead of the term "research participants."

[13] In the early stage of my fieldwork, I also consulted a sociologist Shizuko Suenaga who has done a study on Japanese war brides (see Suenaga, 1996). She also had a sense that many women still did not like the term and suggested that I avoid using it.

[14] See Chapter One for further discussions about these studies.

But my feeling was ambivalent. To me, these studies seemed to reproduce the same stories about "Japanese war brides" as either those who had been "victims" of nationalistic media representations, "victims" of racism and Orientalism, and "victims" of public ignorance about their experiences, or those who are "glorious" figures in the history of the United States. I began to feel that these stories did not adequately capture the transnational experiences of my teachers that constituted their complex identities. I also rarely encountered scholarly studies that problematized the continuing use of the term, "Japanese war brides," while people in the Nikkei community are still very careful whenever they use the term. These studies about Japanese war brides made me reconsider the direction of my project.

The more I talked to my teachers, the more I became aware of the violence of calling them "war brides." When my teachers and I came to talk about the term, they always gave me negative comments: "To be honest, I still don't like the term" (Fuyuko-san, interview, October 18, 2007); "It's hard to accept (the term)" (Miwa-san, interview, November 16, 2007); "The term is, first and foremost, disdain" (Suika-san, interview, October 30, 2007). To them, it seemed that the term was still strongly associated with the image of prostitutes. As I will argue in Chapter Two, it has its limitations and problems as a category. It cannot capture the complexity of these senryu writers' experiences and can be harmful, because the story of "war brides" is already too scripted, too powerful and often too violent. The category, "war bride," speaks too much about their experiences even prior to actual hearing from these women. I also began to feel that my initial political goal to represent their stories as a "history of Japanese war brides" was not necessarily the goal of my teachers. Fuyuko-san said that "to show off one's life" by publicly telling her life stories contradicts her own philosophy (interview, November 9, 2007). She added, "Being modest is a Japanese virtue.

Care about others, don't push yourself off."[15] Asked what should be written about her in my

thesis, she first replied, "Don't write about me!" Seeing my perplexed face, she then

sympathized with me and continued, "Well, you should write what you truly feel about me."

I felt that writing about them as the representatives of "Japanese war brides," at least, was

not what they wished.

The transition in my research occurred also when I discovered that Fuyuko-san

called senryu the "history of *kokoro* (heart)" (see Chapter Three for further discussions on

senryu as the "history of kokoro"). While both modern positivist History and the "history

of kokoro" reveal the relationship of the past and the present, the latter tells the stories of

my teachers' particular experiences in a very distinctive way. I would not have been able to

hear these particular experiences from them if I had conducted traditional oral history

interviews, asking about their experiences in chronological order based on what I thought

were the "major" events that took place in the lives of "Japanese war brides," such as WWII,

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[15] At first I was confused by these comments by Fuyuko-san, because she was an active member of
Nikkei International Marriage Society, which publicly claims to be an organization for "Japanese war
brides." This organization also aimed to record the history of Japanese war brides (see Chapter One
for the details). She also contributed to a chapter of an auto/biographical book about Japanese war
brides (Ueki, 2002; Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, Ch. 6). Instead of understanding her comments as
contradictory or incoherent, however, I began to pay attention to the contexts in which she made
such comments to me. Her involvement in the Society and the production of the book need to be
understood within the particular contexts in which these took place. In addition, to participate in
these activities does not necessarily mean that she feels comfortable representing herself as a
"Japanese war bride" even outside these contexts. There is also a difference between representing
themselves as Japanese war brides and being represented as such by others, including scholars. I
discuss how meanings of "utterance" are conditioned by particular discursive contexts in a more
theoretical level in Chapter Two by using Bakhtin's concept of "heteroglossia."

marriage, immigration, and the present community involvement.[16] I began to believe that

senryu was a legitimate way to "practice history" by itself (Hokari, 2004).[17] The "history of

kokoro" also records different moments in the lives of the writers that they think are

important. As I learned the discipline of senryu from the four senryu writers, I attempted to

understand both *what* they tell and *how* they tell—the "methodology" of producing historical

knowledge—through senryu. By the time I began to analyze stories they shared with me,

their stories no longer narrated a coherent History *of* Japanese war brides, but rather

constituted multiple histories produced *by* senryu writers.

The objective of my thesis is, first and foremost, to share historical knowledge that I

learned from my teachers during my fieldwork. However, I do this in a particular way and

with particular purposes. I attempt to illuminate the *gap* between the stories they told me

and the stories of "Japanese war brides" I had heard and read prior to my fieldwork. I

attempt to relate the multiplicity of their subjectivities. They first appeared to me as

Japanese war brides. After, they appeared as senryu writers, women, Japanese, American,

wives, grandmothers, travellers, and so on. I argue that they are, in Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981)

terms, "heteroglossic" subjects, whose voices are historically constituted by multiple "speech

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[16] Fuyuko-san and Tomoko-san are also very active in other community activities besides senryu. Fuyuko-san is currently the president of a women's club in Tacoma, the primary members of which are "Japanese war brides." Her club is the largest among other Japanese women's clubs in Washington, having approximately four hundred members. Tomoko-san used to be the president of another group in Bremerton, which currently has approximately one hundred members. While not as active, both Miwa-san and Suika-san are registered as members of Fuyuko-san's group. In addition, all of them have participated in the meetings of the Nikkei International Marriage Society, which was established explicitly as an association for Japanese war brides (see Chapter one).

[17] Senryu can also be explained as an example of "memory texts," such as autobiographies, diaries, folk songs, which tell memory stories in narrative and non-narrative forms (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003, p.13), or as an example of "figuration of memory," that is, "images, analogies or representations of memory" (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2006, p.2). In fact, in Chapter Three I use critical studies of memory to explain what senryu practices entail. However, I intentionally use the term "history" to define my teachers' senryu practices to highlight the collective knowledge production that takes place in a collectively shared disciplinary field. I use the term "history" also because Fuyuko-san calls senryu "history of kokoro."

types" and languages that are interrelated to one another (p.263). As "heteroglossic" subjects, my teachers disturb "monoglossic" voices, authoritative and unified dominant discourses, of powerful institutions that represent them as "Japanese war brides" with fixed significations (see Chapter One). They speak through different voices and speak about their experiences and identities differently depending on the situation. They performatively move between discursive spaces, each of which is historically constituted by "chains of utterances" that condition meanings produced in the space (Bakhtin, 1986, p.69). When they speak as senryu writers, their stories look different from the story of Japanese war brides, because they speak through a particular set of voices based on a particular discursive tradition (see the last section of Chapter Two for more detailed discussions about "heteroglossic subjects").

It is both right and wrong to argue that my thesis does not contribute to the development of studies of Japanese war brides per se. While my initial assumption about the given and objectified category of the "Japanese war bride" had to be critically re-examined and challenged, the discourses around the term were indeed the point of departure of this study as well as the point of divergence. Borrowing Homi Bhabha's (1994) words, I wish that what I have learned from my teachers will not simply add *up* to the existing body of knowledge about the "Japanese war brides," but rather disturb it by adding something different *to* it (p.232).

In what follows, I attempt to re-tell the experiences my teachers told me through senryu by simultaneously eliciting the heteroglossic nature of their subjectivities and the multiplicity of historical practices. I attempt to *re-experience* the multiple angles and the gaps I encountered during my fieldwork by employing a dialogical mode of writing, rather than presenting my findings in a monologic, totalizing voice of the researcher (Bakhtin, 1981;

Clifford, 1988; Pollock, 1988). Dialogism, a concept developed by Bakhtin (1981), is an

epistemological understanding of the world dominated by "a multiplicity of social voices and

a wide variety of their links and interrelationships" (p. 263).[18] Dialogical writing allows such

a multi-voiced world to enter into the text, and aims to illuminate "one language by means of

another" until it generates "*one more* of the images of languages" (Bakhtin, 1981, p.361, my

emphasis).[19] Thus, by dialogical writing, I do not simply mean that I compose the major part

of the text by quoting the conversations between my senryu teachers and myself. I told two

different travel stories in the beginning, by intentionally setting two points of view against

each other dialogically (Bakhtin, 1981, p.360). Likewise, I continue to juxtapose different

points of view. These could be different epistemologies or different methodologies that

produce various types of historical knowledge, different positions of speaking, different

voices, and different languages. Such hybridization of multiple points of view creates

dialogues between differences and elicits the irreducible multiplicity of being, which is

characterized by what 1 later theorize as *cultural difference* (see Chapter Two). By bringing

different points of view in contact with one another, I aim to illuminate the *particularity* of the

taken-for-granted way to talk about Japanese war brides' life experiences. By employing a

dialogical mode of writing, I also aim to generate "one more of the images" or new

understandings of my teachers' accounts. Here I perform as a student of two different

disciplines—academic fieldwork and senryu—and as a *translator* between the two. Here, the

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[18] Bakhtin's original argument focused on dialogism as the revolutionary characteristic of the novel in comparison to earlier literary genres such as poetry. See the chapter "Discourse in the Novel" in Bakhtin (1981, p.259-422).

[19] Bakhtin (1981) distinguishes the "organic hybrid" and the "novelistic hybrid." He explains that the former is the "opaque mixing of languages" that takes place in a historically evolving language (ibid., p.361), or "heteroglossia" that is found in any utterance (see Chapter Two). The latter is intentionally and "*artistically organized system for bringing different languages in contact with one another*" that aims to illuminate "one language by means of another" (ibid., emphasis in the original). I specifically employ the strategy of "novelstic hybrid" here to illuminate the multiplicity of being, while paying attention not to control and skew my participants' voices.

translation of the knowledge I learned from my teachers does not involve *historicizing* or *anthropologizing* (i.e. objectifying in a universal way) my teachers (Chakrabarty, 1994, 2000).

I have organized this thesis by employing a dialogical mode of writing. In Chapter One, I conduct a critical discourse analysis and describe a discursive space that constructs different perceptions about "Japanese war brides." I specifically focus on media discourses, auto/biographical discourses and scholarly discourses, and set them against each other to illuminate how different voices have constructed together the meanings of the term "Japanese war bride."

In Chapter Two, I point out the limitations of recent studies about Japanese war brides and suggest crucial methodological shifts that are required in order to move beyond contemporary representations of "Japanese war brides." In order to do this, I reconsider the notion of "cultural difference" as something that emerges from the multiplicity of discursive practices to produce historical knowledge. I also introduce the Bakhtinian notion of "heteroglossia" to theorize a speaking subject who actively moves between different discursive spaces and produces culturally hybrid knowledge.

In Chapter Three, I introduce senryu as one of my teachers' everyday historical practices, by describing its generic characteristics using my teachers' language. This is where I begin to speak from within the "field" of my fieldwork research, or the discursive space where my teachers practice senryu. In the second half of this chapter, I also theorize the "history of kokoro" and discuss how senryu is a historical practice, by borrowing some concepts from Memory Studies and critical studies of history.

Chapter Four explores histories that the four senryu writers shared with me in our dialogues, which provide very different pictures of their experiences from those represented

by the existing discourses of "Japanese war brides." By bringing the four writers' voices together, this chapter illuminates an alternative way to talk about my teachers' transnational experiences.

In Chapter Five, I conduct a meta-analysis of the discursive time and space my teachers produce through their senryu practices. By so doing, I postulate, they create a time and space irreducible to modern national historical time and space.

From Chapter One through Chapter Five, I strategically move between discursive spaces and bring different languages and voices together in my writing to create dialogues that ultimately generate another set of accounts about my teachers' experiences. I conclude this thesis by critically reflecting upon the way in which my teachers in this scholarly study are represented. I also discuss my social positionality and how it affected the shape of knowledge that is presented in this thesis. Lastly, I reconsider the meaning of historical "archive" in the context of the "history of kokoro." Before I proceed to the next chapter, I briefly discuss the issue of translation since it has important implications in this study.

Translate to mediate

The knowledge presented in this thesis has been mediated through multilayered processes of translations at different levels. In these processes, I played a role as a translator, who had her own subjective frameworks to interpret and present the four senryu writers' histories of kokoro. The obvious example is linguistic translation from Japanese to English. They often mentioned the difficulties of translating nuances their senryu pieces convey into English. They said that translation was "impossible" without losing significant meanings the original pieces carry. I translated not only their senryu pieces, but also our dialogues into

English. I am highly aware of the limitation of my linguistic translations in describing what was communicated in the dialogues.[20]

What is more, it was not just about the linguistic translation. Rey Chow (1995) discusses a range of "translating activities" that are involved in the production of Chinese cinema targeted at international audiences. Likewise, my research also involved a range of layers of "translating activities" including the translation from one culture to another; from one discipline to another; from spoken to written; from text to visual, and vice versa. In translating their senryu practices, I needed to transgress a number of disciplinary and categorical boundaries, which have developed within the modern Western body of knowledge. There are a variety of ways to translate the discursive practice of senryu. Senryu can be engaged with as a historical text, poetry, music, visual images, or combination of bits and pieces of all of them. It would be possible to theorize it in such disciplines as History, Literature, Art, or Anthropology, but this is beyond the scope of this study. In my particular attempt to theorize senryu as a historical practice, I focus on academic critiques of modern History posed primarily by scholars of Memory Studies. Their discussions are very useful to rethink what could be the source of historical knowledge especially in the context of senryu practices. This apparently clumsy patchwork is the best picture I can provide to translate what senryu as the "history of kokoro" entails.

The meanings of their senryu, therefore, do not maintain the "pure" form in this thesis. However, I do not consider that my translation of their senryu practice is a "betrayal" or simple reduction of the "original." After repeatedly hearing my teachers' comments that "no one else in my family understands my senryu" because they are usually the only Japanese

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[20] For Tomoko-san's pieces that are presented in this thesis, I used translations by her husband who is bilingual in Japanese and English.

speakers in their family, I began to see the productive aspect of translation. Rather, I

decided to view translation as a way to give their senryu another "social life" (Cruikshank,

1998, p.xiii), or "afterlife" (Chow, 1995, p.199), so that its stories, which might otherwise

disappear, continue to be told. Following Chow's (1995) analysis of Walter Benjamin's

essay, 'The Task of Translator,' I view translation as an act of building an "arcade," a

"passageway," or a "tactic of passing something on" (p.200); it was not a destructive process

but a creative, building process.

Benjamin (1968) says:

> Fragments of a vessel which are to be glued together must match one another
> in the smallest details, although they need not be like one another. In the same
> way a translation, instead of resembling the meaning of the original, must
> lovingly and in detail incorporate the original's mode of signification, thus
> making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a
> greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel. (p.78)

The entire process of translating their experiences was like assembling a vessel, where both

the writers and I worked with the original senryu and interpreted them to make something

larger, which was not completely identical to the original.

From the start, the translation was not solely my own cognitive activity. My teachers

also played a crucial role in translating their own experiences. Aware of the gap of

knowledge due to generational differences and my ignorance of senryu, they also translated

their knowledge into words that were more accessible to me. I also began to see the

significance of the moments during our dialogues where new meanings and stories emerged

from their senryu pieces (see Chapter Two for the discussion how "utterance" produces

meanings through dialogue). These processes were *collaborative* translation processes to

create, borrowing Benjamin's words above, a "greater language" to re-tell my teachers'

stories: from their senryu in the text form to their memories and internal images; from their

memories to their words; from their words to my memories, my internal images, and my words. In my thesis writing process, I decided not to use senryu merely as a historical document or literary text to be analyzed, but used it as a channel through which they remember and recount their memories. The precision of the literary translation of their original senryu texts became less important. In Chapter Four, where I present their "histories of kokoro" embodied in senryu, I attempt to translate meanings of these senryu pieces by describing the collaborative translation process that took place during the dialogues. I also often describe the imaginary pictures that the senryu pieces evoked as I was hearing my teachers' stories, in order to convey how their words in senryu and our dialogues were translated into the images of my memories.

Therefore, I do not intend to reproduce my teachers' experiences captured in senryu simply by linguistically translating the senryu texts into English. Nor do I intend to speak *in* their voices with their tongues to tell their stories, because I do not believe that my political standpoint and theirs are the same simply because we share some background features, such as gender, race, nationality, and class. What we share is rather the fact that we both are very critical of the simplistic way of representing them as "war brides," and that we both know that there are other ways to talk about their experiences. I hope that I have been able to provide a new, yet half-complete, and heteroglossic tongue to re-tell their stories. This is a "tongue that is neither English nor [Japanese], but the language of translated women" (Behar, 1993, p.19). I hope this disturbs the dominant discourses that attempt to determine and fix their identities forever as "Japanese war brides."

CHAPTER 1
A SPACE WHERE THE "JAPANESE WAR BRIDE" IS CONSTRUCTED

The beginning and the end of the narrative

After its surrender with the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, Japan became under the occupation of the Allied Powers, and turned toward democratization to abolish militarism and to establish pacifism...The post-war Japanese society often witnessed a decadent climate *and* uncritical taking over of American morals. *Nonetheless, the spirits of people's sovereignty and war renunciation clearly indicated in the Constitution of Japan took hold among people. The Constitution raised people's awareness of citizens' responsibility and right, as well as awareness of human rights.* (Shiro Konishi, 1968, p.217, my emphasis)

New Japanese women wanted: as part of urgent post-war-national-project, we request your initiatives to support recreation for Occupation Army. Aged eighteen to twenty five years old. Housing, clothes, food, all provided. (RAA recruitment advertisement, as cited in Yoshimi, 1979, p.114)

Today, nearly sixty years after the war, we are speaking up with pride and telling, 'we are happy.' We are shouting at our families and Japanese society 'please look at us'...I would like more people to know the imprint of us, senso hanayome, who have lived our life vigorously, while being burdened with distorted, negative stereotypes, and experiencing discrimination and prejudice. (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, p.1-3)

AWARD OF MERIT
Ms. Kazuko Umezu Stout:
Your commitment to facilitate a mutual understanding between Japan and the United States of America, and your contribution to promoting goodwill between our country and foreign countries, should be acknowledged as prominent achievements. Here I express deep respect and honor.
July 10th*, 2006*
Aso Taro
Minister of Foreign Affairs
                    (as cited in International Marriage Friend Society, 2006a, n.p.)

The "Japanese war bride"

Like all other terms, both "Japanese war bride," and "senso hanayome," are socially

constructed. Both terms are constituted by chains of meanings that are historically formed

in multiple power-relations. Their meanings keep transforming, yet the terms retain elements of their original meanings. Both in Japan and in the United States, these terms were used by various types of popular media in ways that contributed to nation-building. In different ways, they served to cultivate the notions of "ideal national citizens" in both countries. The Japanese term, *senso hanayome*, is a direct translation of the English term "Japanese war bride." However, these linguistically interchangeable terms, "senso hanayome" and "Japanese war bride," have developed different significations in the two nationalistic discourses. In Japan, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s, "senso hanayome" became a symbol of national "shame." In the United States, especially around 1950s, the "Japanese war bride" became a symbol of American liberal democracy created by white male Americans. In this chapter, I use Japanese term, "senso hanayome" separately from the English term, "Japanese war brides," to refer to the specific signification of the term constructed by Japanese institutions and individuals.[21]

These terms were used in different ways and in different contexts to classify and study a certain population within the Japanese and American nations. The term "Japanese war bride" was used by U.S. immigration policymakers in order to allow a group of "Oriental" women, who had been excluded from immigration due to the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, to enter the United States. Both terms were used by scholars in the Social Sciences as categories to study this unique group of Japanese migrant women (e.g. Saenz et al., 1994). Some women who have been labelled as "senso hanayome" also used the term to

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[21] From now on, I use the Japanese term, "senso hanayome" to imply the specific significations the term carries, which the English term "Japanese war bride" does not necessarily invoke. I use the English term to refer to Japanese women who married American G.I.s before 1960 and also to refer to the term itself, which carries distinctive images constructed in the U.S. When I use the English term for the latter purpose, I use the phrase, "the term 'Japanese war bride,'" in order to make it evident that I am implying its specific significations.

establish a collective political position to empower themselves and challenge distorted media images imposed upon them. In this chapter, I conduct a critical discourse analysis and examine how the meanings of these terms have developed in the two nations. I will look at three fields of discourse, all of which constitute this space: media discourse, auto/biographical discourse, and scholarly discourse. I discuss how the meanings of the two terms, "Japanese war bride" and "senso hanayome," have been created, contested and negotiated within and between these fields. This chapter also serves as a prelude for the next chapter where I further examine the limitations and problems of recent attempts by auto/biographers and scholars to include the history of "Japanese war brides" in National Histories of Japan and the United States.

In the discussion that follows, I will discuss that while these terms are used with different, sometimes contradictory intentions, there are particular voices that have dominated this space. It even seems that regardless of *who* speaks in *what circumstance* and with *what intention*, the representations of "senso hanayome" and "Japanese war bride" invoke certain significations that identify the "original" meanings that point to the "beginning" of all the discourses about Japanese war brides.

First, I would like to discuss who is counted as a Japanese war bride in scholarly and auto/biographical literature. Elfrieda B. Shukert and Barbara S. Scibetta (1989), who studied the collective history of World War II war brides in the United States, provide the following definition:

> A war bride or groom is any foreign national who married an American
> member of the armed forces or an American civilian who was in a foreign
> country as a result of U.S. mobilization for World War II or as a result of the
> subsequent military occupation. (p.2)

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This definition is given flexibility by the wording, "as a result of," especially in the

Japanese historical context where American military troops still continue to occupy parts of

Japanese territory today as a consequence of the Allied Occupation following WWII. One

can ask, would a Japanese woman who marries an American serviceman stationed in Japan

today still be considered as a "war bride"? In fact, Shukert and Scibetta's definition would

not include her, because their definition has an additional legal criterion that only considers

women who entered the United States between 1947 and 1952: "whether or not they entered

under the provisions of the War Brides Act or the Fiancées Act" (ibid.).[22] However, this

definition does not encompass what the term "Japanese war bride" and its Japanese

translation "senso hanayome" signify at cultural and social levels. As I will discuss shortly,

especially in the 1940s and the 1950s, to be a "Japanese war bride" meant not only to be able

to legally enter the United States under the "War Brides Act" but also to be represented by a

set of images from dominant discourses.

In Kaori Hayashi's (2005) biographical book, *Watashi ha Senso Hanayome desu* (the

book's English title is *War Brides*), she notes that one of her interviewees whose husband was

stationed in Japan during the Vietnam War, claimed that she was not a "senso hanayome"

(p.91). Hayashi suggests that one of the criteria to be a "senso hanayome" includes the fact

either that her husband was a serviceman during the Allied Occupation or that he belonged

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[22] When the War Brides Act and the Fiancées Act were first introduced to the United States in 1945, Japanese women were still excluded from the Act due to the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 that prohibited naturalization of people of Asian descent (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, p.80-81). It was the War Brides Act of 1947 (Public Law 213) that allowed the entry of war brides irrespective of race. The provision was originally effective for thirty days from the enactment of the Act, and it was eventually extended until December,1948 (Shukert and Scibetta, 1989, p.209; Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, p.95). Prior to 1952, "[f]ewer than 900 Japanese war brides had been recorded as having been admitted to the U.S." (Shukert and Scibetta, 1989, p.216). On June 27, 1952, the Oriental Exclusion Act was finally repealed by the McCarran-Walter Act, and the year of 1952 alone marked entry of 4,220 "Japanese war brides" (Shukert and Scibetta, 1989, p.216). Japanese women continued to immigrate after that. It is estimated that 45,853 women immigrated between 1947 and 1964 (Simpson, 2001, p.165).

to American occupation forces in Japan during the Korean War (ibid., p.92). At one of the senryu meetings I attended in Seattle, one of the group members also told me, with irritation, that she was not a war bride because she did not leave Japan in the short period after the end of WWII when most Japanese women left Japan to join their American husbands. While she also married an American serviceman, she does not consider herself to be a "senso hanayome" because she is a generation younger.

It seems that the historical period matters in the categorization of "Japanese war brides." However, I noticed during my fieldwork that when people use the terms, especially the Japanese term "senso hanayome," there is something crucially different from the legal definition. There is a frustration, tension, resignation, and sense of guilt. As I noted in the Introduction, my teachers also did not like the term, "senso hanayome." During my fieldwork, every time I uttered the term "senso hanayome," I was very nervous and worried whether I would offend someone. I argue that these troubling feelings associated with the term are strongly related to the media discourses that produced the negative associations about "senso hanayome" in the past. People often publicly claim that they are not "senso hanayome," not simply because they did not immigrate under the War Bride Act, but because they do not want to be viewed in certain ways. Now I turn my attention to the media discourses in Japan and the United States in the 1940s and the 1950s in order to examine the negative significations attached to the terms.

Media discourse

Japan

The narratives around "senso hanayome" are inseparable from the stereotypical images attached to the term. As some studies (Lark, 1999; Storrs, 2000; Yasutomi, 2005b;

Williams, 1991) and some self-identified "senso hanayome" (Stout, 2005) have argued, mainstream Japanese media have played a significant role in creating these representations. Shigeyoshi Yasutomi (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005) provides the most detailed discussion of stereotypes of "senso hanayome" that circulated in Japan immediately after WWII. He argues that there were two stereotypes that were associated with the term "senso hanayome" in post-WWII Japan: *pan pan* and tragedy.

The word "pan pan" was used by people in the post-war period to refer to prostitutes. On August 15th, 1945, which was three days after Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers, the Ministry of Health and Welfare issued an order to organize "recreation facilities" for the Occupation forces (Yoshimi, 1979, p.114). Sex trade businesses throughout the nation were assembled under the Recreation and Amusement Association (RAA), which was funded by the Ministry. Approximately 1,800 Japanese women were allocated to each branch by the eve of August 28th, the day when the Allied Occupation landed Japan (ibid., p.115).[23]

The sex trade flourished with a wide variety of services, and many women and G.I.s were involved in these activities. In fact, there was a visible rise in venereal disease among G.I., and GHQ requested the Japanese government to regulate street prostitutes and prevent the disease. As a result, publicly run sex trade activities were abolished in February 20th, 1946. However, sex trade businesses targeted at foreign G.I.s continued to exist as private businesses, which drew popular attention as a major social issue during the Occupation period. The women who were involved in these businesses were called "pan pan," "women

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[23] See Chapter one of Yasutomi and Stout (2005) for the details about the activities involved in RAA.

of darkness," or "women of the night" in the major newspapers (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, p.22-23).

At the same time, the Japanese public cast a cold eye on American influences on both the fashion and the behaviour of young Japanese women. For example, women who were walking on the streets with foreign G.I.s drew media attention and were portrayed as "shameful," because they were "overly made-up," "chewed gum," and "had men's arms around their waists" (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, p.24). A well-known poet, Sumako Fukao, wrote a message for the newspaper, the *Asahi-shimbun*, issued on September 10, 1945, titled 'To Young Women,' warning them to be "*yamato-nadeshiko*" (ibid.). Yamato-nadeshiko is a type of gillyflower and usually signifies the "true Japanese woman" (read: elegant, dignified, and modest women who walk behind their man and are dedicated to him).

In such circumstances, not only did women who had relationships with particular G.I.s, but also those who were simply working at the military bases were viewed as "pan pan." Miwa-san shared her experience when she was working at a store on an American military base in Tokyo:

> I had to quit my job after three months for a reason. My father found it out. There was a man (G.I.) who was going after me. He was giving me rides with the military's jeep. Then it became neighbourhood gossip. You know, they started to say right away, "That girl is pan pan." My father happened to hear that. (interview, October 18, 2007)

She further told me, "He scold at me, 'No way! A girl working at an American camp? Quit it right now!' Then he cut my hair randomly, so that I couldn't go outside home." The association between "war bride" and "pan pan" created by the mainstream media made parents oppose to their daughters' marriage to G.Is. Schnepp and Yui (1955) suggest that

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"fear that their daughters would be labelled 'prostitutes'" was one of the major reasons for the parents' refusal to accept their daughters' international marriage (p.48).

Japanese mass media also created a stereotype of the marriage of "senso hanayome" as a tragedy. According to Yasutomi (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005), the magazine articles about a failure of the marriage between movie actress Mitsuko Miura and a Japanese American G.I. were influential in creating this association. Her marriage ended in divorce after she immigrated to the United States, due to the conflict she had with her mother-in-law. Having no money, she found a restaurant and a bar owned by Japanese immigrants and worked until she accumulated an adequate amount of money to return to Japan. Japanese audience began to view the marriages of Japanese women and American G.I.s as "failure" or "downfall" (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, p112).

Therefore, being "senso hanayome" carried a stigma due to these negative stereotypes, especially the image of "pan pan." It is also reported that women who married foreign G.I.s were treated as "traitors" for marrying men from enemy countries (Hayashi, 2005). The term became a symbol of national "shame." Many women were disowned by their families and were not able to visit Japan after they married. A Japanese language newspaper, *Rafu Shimpo*, in Los Angeles portrayed them with the same negative associations ("pan pan," "women of darkness"), causing negative attitudes in the local Japanese American communities toward Japanese women who immigrated to the United States from the late 1940s to 1960 (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005). The reason why many Japanese women today strongly refuse to be identified as "senso hanayome" might be because they want to avoid being viewed as "pan pan" by those who may still hold negative stereotypes of "senso hanayome." From the beginning, the term has been strongly tied with the particular significations created by the Japanese media. In fact, it seems that as the distorted Japanese

media representation of "senso hanayome" diminished, the term itself became obsolete. For

example, Suika-san said that the term is no longer used in Japan: "It is a dead word"

(interview, October 30, 2007).

The United States

> *"But what will our children be?" "What will they be? Well, they'll be half of you and half of me, They'll be half-yellow and half-white! That's what they'll be!"* (*Sayonara*, Goetz and Logan, 1957)

In the United States there was a different set of stereotypes produced by the

mainstream media, which developed independently from the stereotypes created in Japan.

One of the stereotypes was based on the extension of Oriental discourses from pre-WWII

American society. This stereotype involved a highly sexualized and exoticized image of

Japanese women, which also applied to the representation of Asian women in general. But

there was a specific political nuance in the images of Japanese war brides. In these images,

Japanese women symbolized the Japanese nation-state in a submissive relation to American

men and the United States. The second stereotype was created in the process of

constructing American liberal, pluralistic society in the context of the Cold War. This

stereotype involved the perception of Japanese women who married American citizens as

"model minorities." In what follows, I will look at some articles from one of the major

newspapers in the state of Washington, the *Seattle Times*, focusing on the time frame between

the late 1940s and 1960 (Litz, n.d.),[24] and a Hollywood film, *Sayonara* (1957) to further

illustrate how Japanese war brides were represented by the popular discourses when they

arrived in the United States.

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[24] The articles of the *Seattle Times* that I analyze in this section draw on the list of *Seattle Times'* articles on Nikkei people that was compiled by Litz (n.d.).

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On August 21st, 1947, the *Seattle Times* published an article with the heading "Japan

Girls Rush to Wed to Get to U.S." (p.10). This article begins with the following line: "Eager

little Japanese girls made an 11th-hour rush to marry American husbands today to beat the

deadline for entry into the 'fabulous' United States." The article also uses the term "Oriental

sweethearts" to portray these "little Japanese girls." A critical reading of this article reveals a

number of Orientalist stereotypes about Japanese war brides manifested in its language. The

terms like "*eager* little Japanese girls" and "'fabulous' United States" invoke the image of

opportunistic women from an economically disadvantaged country who are attempting to

immigrate to the United States in search of better lives. The term "*little* Japanese girls,"

which highlights their physical difference from white American women, carries the image of

"immature" women. These "Oriental sweethearts" are portrayed as "irrational...childlike,

'different,'" which is the typical representation of the "Oriental" (Said, 1972, p.40).[25] The

story further reports that not only Japanese American G.I.s, but also white civilians wished

to marry these "Oriental" women. Behind the text, there is a fear of miscegenation, where

the country (of the white male) will be racially invaded by these female "yellow peril."[26] A

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[25] In *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1972) points out that the Oriental has been viewed and articulated in terms of the binary oppositions to the West: "The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, 'different'; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, 'normal'" (p40); The Oriental is "everything [that] oppose the clarity, directness, and nobility of the Anglo-Saxon race" (p39). What is more, the essential relationship between the West and the Oriental (East) has always been defined "to be one between a strong and a weak partner" (ibid., p40). Whenever the Oriental is represented, there is always power-relation involved between the two groups: the Oriental must be dominated in order to maintain Western hegemony (ibid., p36).

[26] According to Thompson (1978), the notion of Asian populations as "yellow peril" emerged as a result of a "growing spirit of nationalism" within American society (p.5). Japan's military growth since the forcible opening of Japan in the eighteenth century and, especially, its victory in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War at the turn of the twentieth century fuelled the white American public's fear of Japan (Thompson, 1978, p15; Shimakawa, 2002, p24). But the yellow peril was not limited to the military threat. It was generated from the multiple but interconnected components: anxiety based on Asia's economic growth ("economic peril"); the fear for the contamination of "white superior race" ("racial peril"); and the fears of cultural conflicts ("cultural peril") (Thompson, 1978).

similar anxiety is expressed in another article that was published on March 19th, 1952, with

the heading "*Hundreds of* G.I.'s Wed Japanese On Last Day of Immigration Right" (Carter,

1952, p.1, my emphasis). The article also uses the terms such as "petite brides" and

"Oriental brides" and invokes a similar Orientalist notion of Japanese women. What is

remarkable in this article, however, is the strong emphasis on the number of the women who

married American servicemen: "8000." The number of incoming women seems to be a

major concern in the report: How many are coming? How extensively is our country going

to be invaded by these "Oriental" women?

In popular media discourses, Japanese war brides were also represented positively as

"model minorities," who should be warmly welcomed by American citizens (Lee, 1999;

Simpson, 2001). According to Robert G. Lee (1999), the representation of Asian Americans

as "model minorities," which is "popularly identified with the late 1960s and 1970s,

originated in the racial logic of Cold War liberalism of the 1950s" (p.10). Although Asian

Americans were still viewed as racial minorities, their symbolic status was elevated to "model

minority," being viewed as successfully assimilated into American liberal society. This,

however, Lee argues, "had less to do with the actual success of Asian Americans than to the

perceived failure—or worse, refusal—of African Americans to assimilate" (ibid., p.145). The

representation of Asian Americans as model minorities was employed for the sake of

justifying the virtue of American liberal pluralistic society. In this social context in the mid-

1950s, Japanese war brides were accepted as "the postwar prototype of the Asian American

model minority." Popular media presented their marriages to white partners "as a symbol of

the realization of the American dream" of pluralism (Simpson, 2001, p174). Caroline C.

Simpson (2001) notes, "almost overnight, the coverage of Japanese war brides transformed

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what were viewed as opportunistic aliens into gracious and hard-working traditional housewives fully accepted by white America" (p.11).

Some scholars have also suggested the film *Sayonara* is an example of the representation of Japanese war brides that perpetuates the liberal discourse. *Sayonara* was released in 1957, and was based on James Michener's novel of the same title published in 1953. The story centres on the romance between Hana Ogi (Miiko Tara), a Japanese woman who is the lead dancer in the Matsubayashi theatre, and Major Lloyd Gruver (Marlon Brondo), an American pilot who is transferred from Korea to occupied Japan. Interestingly, as Simpson (2001) points out, in the novel version, the romance between Hana Ogi and Gruver does not come to a "happy end." Here, Hana Ogi remains in Japan and Gruver leaves her for his original fiancée, a white middle-class woman, and returns to his country. In the film version, however, the story ends suggesting that Hana Ogi and Gruver are going to marry. It is implied that they will be warmly accepted by America and will have a happy life.

Some articles in the *Seattle Times* also report the welcoming acceptance of Japanese war brides by their new families and communities in America. For example, there is an article issued on March 17th, 1952, "Soldier's Japanese Wife Finds Harmony in Living in Seattle" (Johnsrud, 1952, p.17). The story includes a quote from a Japanese war bride's sister-in-law: "We have had no neighborhood troubles." The article also provides a comment made by the Japanese war bride about her newborn baby: "She's an American child...and she's going to have an American name." Another story came out on November 7th, 1957, which reports the first meeting of a "Japanese bride" and her husband's parents: "The gay welcoming reception lasted until the early hours of this morning" (Japanese Bride, p.41). The article does not forget to mention that the woman "said her first job now is to

become acquainted with Seattle and improve her English" (ibid.). These articles emphasize

that Japanese war brides are successfully settling down in the new country and trying to

become "good American citizens."

Newspaper reports on the activities of "Bride Schools" in Japan and in the United

States portray Japanese war brides in a similar fashion (e.g. Japanese War Brides Learn, 1949,

p.4). "Bride Schools" were where Japanese war brides learned about American customs,

culture and life styles in order to easily get used to "American way." These schools were run

by the American Red Cross (Creef, 2000, p.450), and by local community organizations such

as the church. Contrary to the negative media representation of "war brides" back in Japan,

these reports informed their audience that they were not prostitutes or criminals because

they went through a strict, and a long screening procedure (Schnepp and Yui, 1955; Shukert

and Scibetta, 1989; Yasutomi and Stout, 2005).

However, the apparently positive view of "model minority" is in fact quite

ambivalent. Both the reports on "Bride Schools" and the film *Sayonara* still include the

notion of exotic, deviant "Oriental women." Creef (2000) critiques an article of the *Saturday*

Evening Post magazine on a Red Cross cooking class that was organized for Japanese war

brides, and analyzes the Orientalist depiction of participants in the class:

> What is perhaps most striking in the *Post* is its ambivalent depiction of "dark-skinned, dark-eyed" Asian difference where "chrysanthemum-bud brides" are held up to "long-legged" Western standards of beauty and found lacking...The women are also depicted as the products of a defeated and somewhat backward postwar nation who are then hopelessly measured against the presumed superiority of the West. (p.451)

Simpson (2001) also points out that *Sayonara* represents Japan as "a nation of women

and children," which symbolizes the post-war partnership between Japan and the United

States where "Japan was viewed as the passive recipient of American guidance and good

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will" (p.165-166). In fact, in the film, Hana Ogi is portrayed as controllable, submissive and weak in relation to her American lover, implying an unequal power-relation between the two nations (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005). These representations still contain the Orientalist notion that the "Oriental" is the object of control and domination of the West (Said, 1972). Japanese war brides were exemplary because they are easy to "domesticate." Here, to be "model minorities" really means to be "domesticated exotics," who are deviant national subjects (Lee, 1999, p.171).

Auto/biographical discourse

Nearly half a century has passed since the end of WWII. Today in Japan, the war has become part of memories of older generations, and the word "senso hanayome" has become obsolete. In the last decade, however, some auto/biographical literature of Japanese war brides targeted at Japanese audience began to emerge. These books have usually been published in collaboration with Japanese scholars and writers. For example, *"Senso Hanayome" Gojyu-nen wo Kataru* ("War Brides" Tell Fifty Years; 2002), edited by anthropologist Takeshi Ueki, presents ten life stories written by different authors: they include eight "senso hanayome" who immigrated to the United States or Australia; one daughter of a Japanese woman and an American serviceman; one American man whose wife is a Japanese war bride. *Amerika ni Watatta Senso Hanayome* (War Brides Who Migrated to America; 2005) is co-authored by scholar, Shigeyoshi Yasutomi, and self-identified Japanese war bride, Kazuko Umezu Stout. The chapters of the book are alternately written by each author, tracing the history of Japanese war brides from a scholarly perspective and a personal, autobiographical perspective. Lastly, *Watashi ha Senso Hanayome desu* (War Brides; 2005), is written by non-fiction writer, Kaori Hayashi. It includes stories of three Japanese

war brides based on her interviews with them. Three observations can be made about these books: first, they were published around the same time; second, surprisingly, all these titles, seemingly without hesitation and even assertively, use the term "senso hanayome," a supposedly highly problematic term; third, while edited and authored by different people, these books narrate stories of Japanese war brides with similar political goals. These three facts are not unrelated.

In order to discuss the relation between the three characteristics of these publications, it is necessary to provide a sketch of the specific political context of the 1980s that faced "Japanese war brides" in the northwest of the United States. In 1984, Stout and another woman participated in the 25th Convention of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad as the first women who represented Japanese war brides (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, p.218). In her autobiographical essay, Stout mentions that Empress Michiko attended the Convention, and she gave words of appreciation and encouragement to Japanese war brides. Stout recalls, "Then I thought, I should be confident and be proud to say 'Yes, I am a senso hanayome" (ibid.). Four years later, in 1988, Stout called for Japanese women's groups in Washington and Oregon to meet and organize the first cross-regional gathering for so-called Japanese war brides (ibid., p.215). The year 1988 marked the fortieth anniversary of the year in which the first Japanese woman to marry an American G.I. obtained permission to immigrate to the state of Washington (ibid.). She became the first "Japanese war bride" who arrived in the United States. According to Stout, one of the purposes of gathering was to celebrate the anniversary (ibid.).

In her essay, she describes how the members made the decision to name the gathering "Senso hanayome Tobei 40 Syu-nen Kinen Taikai (War Brides 40th Anniversary Convention)," instead of replacing the term "senso hanayome" with more neutral terms

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such as *sengo-ha* (postwar immigrants) or *shin-issei* (the new first generation), both of which

had been previously used by these women to avoid evoking negative associations (ibid.,

p.217-218). While most women were unwilling to use the term, Stout recalls, a comment

made by a woman at the meeting changed everyone's mind: "If we don't use the word 'senso

hanayome,' the gathering would be meaningless. Our purpose is to mark forty years of our

hard-work. We should proudly call it 'Senso hanayome Forty-Year-Footstep" (ibid., p.217).

This became the first time they reappropriated the term "senso hanayome" to publicly face

their past in a positive light and to openly speak about their experiences.

One of the most important objectives of this meeting was to "record Japanese war

brides' history" and "correct misunderstandings about Japanese war brides" (ibid, p.219-

220). In her essay, Stout expresses the members' wish to be acknowledged as "authentic

Japanese women" by Japanese society, which in the past excluded them by labelling them as

a national "shame." Furthermore, she highlights Japanese war brides' contributions to local

American communities in introducing Japanese culture and argues that Japanese war brides

have promoted cross-cultural understandings between American and Japanese societies

(ibid.).

In the United States, the "movement" seems to have developed further after the

success of the Convention in 1988. In 1994, the Nikkei International Marriage Society was

launched by Stout and others with an aim to create a social space where Japanese war brides

from different regions in the United States and other countries could come and meet to

share similar experiences.[27] The Society held five international meetings (the "Japanese International Marriage Convention") between 1994 and 2004. The first international meeting, which was held in Honolulu, brought 240 participants from the United States, 78 from Australia, two from Canada and one from United Kingdom, and 12 from Japan. In addition to Japanese war brides, scholars, writers, artists and journalists have also attended the Conventions.

The authors of the three auto/biographical books, who are not Japanese war brides themselves, participated in at least one of the international meetings. Many scholars, both from Japan and from the United States, who studied Japanese war brides, also attended these meetings at least once. These conventions received attention from mass media and scholars, and were viewed as one of the major events organized by Japanese war brides. Although the Society itself was virtually closed down due to the illness of the president, Stout, it was passed down to a newly organized group, the International Marriage Friend Society, and continues to publish newsletters edited by its president, Tsuchino Forrester.[28] Scholars, too, continue to contribute articles to the newsletters to update information about their studies and to recruit people who are interested in participating in their studies.

So-called Japanese war brides and scholars have been working together to publish their auto/biographical literature for the last decade. It is not a mere coincidence that these auto/biographical books were published around the same period. These books seem to

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[27] The original Japanese name of the organization is Nikkei Kokusai Kekkon Shinbokukai. Other organizing members included Kinko Kirkwood, Vice-President, and Yuki Martley (Fuyuko-san), Secretary (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, p.233). The Society was legally recognized as a non-profit-organization by the state of Washington as of 2005 (ibid., p.234). According to Fuyuko-san, only its members funded its biennial international meeting and there was no external funding source (personal communication, July 16, 2008). Today, Fuyuko-san is the president of a Japanese women's club, Tampopo no Kai, which is a different organization from Nikkei International Marriage Society.

[28] The original Japanese name of the organization is Kokusai Kekkon Tomonokai.

share goals similar to the original objectives of the Conventions, that is, to record Japanese war brides' history and to correct misunderstandings about the experience of Japanese war brides. As a whole, these auto/biographical narratives constitute a collective counter-narrative against media discourses in post-war Japan.

These narratives portray the "Japanese war bride" as a symbol of "goodwill" between the two nations, which resonates with American national liberal discourses mentioned above. However, it seems that this positive association was formed rather in reaction to the negative stereotypes created by the Japanese mass media in the past, than in alliance with to the American "model minority" discourses. Voices from these books, as well as from the Conventions, repeatedly claim that "senso hanayome" were never a "shame" to the nation, but quite to the contrary, have always been yamato-nadeshiko (the "true Japanese women"), who have played roles of goodwill ambassadors, working to build a friendly relationship between the two nations. It should be noted that the book, *"Senso Hanayome" Gojyu-nen wo kataru*, has a subtitle, *Kusa-no Ne-no Shinzen-Taishi* (Grassroots Goodwill Ambassadors). Contrary to the stereotype of war bride marriages as tragedies, they also emphasize that they are happy in America today and actively working in the local communities as good citizens.[29] Stout claims, "It's us who taught how to use chopsticks to local Americans and Australians. It's us who introduced them *sukiyaki* and *onigiri* (rice ball)" (ibid., p.266). Finally, the first newsletter edited by the president of the International Marriage Friend Society (2006b) announces that Stout received an award from the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs in recognition that she (implicitly as the representative of Japanese war brides) contributed to promoting goodwill between Japan and the United

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[29] See, for example, Chapter Six of Yasutomi and Stout (2005).

States. Now Japanese war brides are officially recognized as "ambassadors"; they finally became "model national subjects" of Japan.

While I believe that the Japanese war brides' movement to reconstruct their past and revise their images works very powerfully in opening a way for silenced voices to be heard, these auto/biographical discourses have limitations. I will return to the discussion about those limitations in Chapter Two.

Scholarly discourse

There are several types of studies about Japanese war brides and each of them constructs a different set of discourses. Firstly, there are social scientific studies about Japanese war brides that reproduce the popular discourses of "model minorities" and "ideal national subjects" (see Druss, 1965; Saenz et al., 1994; Schnepp and Yui, 1955; Strauss, 1954; Suenaga, 1996).[30] They all examine the degree of assimilation and acculturation of these women. While I do not discuss the findings of these studies in detail, I can summarize the story they narrate in the following statement: while some Japanese war brides "faced the problem of adjusting to a new way of life, to new customs" (Druss, 1965), and their assimilation is not complete, overall, they successfully adopted the American way of living (Saenz, 1994; Schnepp and Yui, 1955). Other conclusions include the following: contrary to the assumption that "Oriental-Caucasian marriages are subject to greater strains," such strains are "much like those in more endogamous marriages"; Japanese-American couples are living in harmony (Strauss, 1954). These statements resonate with the American media

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[30] Not all these studies exclusively study war brides from Japan. For example, in Druss' (1965) study group, participants include women from Germany, Japan, Korea, UK, Canada, France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia. Saenz et al. (1994) also broadly study Asian war brides, including Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Indians, Koreans and Vietnamese women.

discourses that portray Japanese war brides as "model minorities." That is, they suggest that while they came as national "others," they are gradually assimilated in the new society in a "harmonious" manner. They are "model minorities," because they are easily "domesticated" by white American society.

These studies also share an assumption that their "subject population," in particular the population of "Japanese war brides," exists "out there" as a given entity. This notion is the most evident in the study of Saenz et al. (1994): "*In Search of* Asian War Brides" (my emphasis). The authors propose three goals: 1) to develop a methodology for identifying Asian war brides 2) to estimate the number of Asian war brides living in the United States in 1980, and 3) to compare Asian war brides with other groups of Asian wives according to a variety of demographic, social, and economic attributes (p.550). Here, "Asian war brides" are differentiated, hierarchized, and compared within the racial population, being a passive object of knowledge to be controlled, just as the "Oriental" has become the object of knowledge in Orientalism.[31] These studies were conducted by scholars with non-Caucasian backgrounds, and it is less likely that these authors hold the notion of the homogeneous "Oriental." However, their discussions still identify "Asian war brides" as racial "others," by assuming that their white American counterparts are models for war brides in the process of assimilation. Asian war brides are evaluated in terms of the degree of acculturation, i.e. how much they have become "Americans" at a cultural level, with variables such as "years of

[31] According to Said (1975), production of knowledge about racial populations has been the goal of modern Western "Orientalism." Orientalism is "knowledge about and knowledge of Orientals, their race, character, culture, history, traditions, society, and possibilities" (Said, 1975, p.38). For example, in the nineteenth century, science was employed to prove that the Western race was essentially superior to the other races and that sociocultural hierarchy could be established according to the racial hierarchy (Green, 1984, p32). In *Discipline and Punish* (1977/1995), Michel Foucault argued that knowledge has been used to differentiate, classify, and hierarchize people to control the subject population in modern nation-states. Knowledge about the Oriental was also employed to differentiate, classify, and hierarchize the West and the Oriental to maintain the power relation between the West, who dominates, and the Oriental, who is dominated.

education," "language use," "professional occupations." Foucault (1977/1995) would say, these women are being subject to the disciplinary power of American institutions that produce knowledge about them and constantly make "truth claims" with modern scientific language to measure the criteria for American national citizens.

Yet, there is another group of studies on Japanese war brides by American scholars that have emerged as a critical response to negative stereotypes of these women. Interestingly, many studies have been conducted by daughters of "war brides" (Creef, 2000; Shukert and Scibetta, 1989; Storrs, 2000; Williams, 1991). Most studies are based on their own experiences as daughters of Japanese war brides and involve an autobiographical component. Like auto/biographical literature, almost all these projects problematize distorted media representations of Japanese war brides both in Japan and in the United States, and they attempt to fill the gap of knowledge within U.S. history by presenting the voices of these women. While the "Japanese war bride" appears to be a faceless, homogeneous population in the social scientific studies, these studies provide the reader with living voices of women, often from feminist perspectives.

For example, Shukert and Scibetta (1989) problematize the lack of documentation of war brides and write "the collective history of World War II war brides" to fill the gap of historical knowledge in the United States (p.3). As a daughter of a Japanese war bride and an American father, Teresa K. Williams (1991) also criticizes the lack of historical literature by Amerasians (people whose parents are Asian and American). She notes:

> Ethnic studies has offered me a field in which to study my history, yet my 'multiethnic' history was neither European American nor Japanese, *yet necessarily both*. Moreover, my history was not written yet. Ethnic studies' vision, nonetheless, has allowed me…a way to write my story, to document my history and, to mark my existence in this world nearly forty-six years after the event ultimately responsible for my being. (p.137, emphasis in the original)

In order to record her history as an Amerasian, she goes back to 1945, when Japan lost the war. In the end, the article concludes with this statement: "Let us not forget this unique chapter in history of the hundreds of thousands of marriages across the Pacific" (p.148). This conclusion suggests the importance of recording Japanese war bride marriages, as well as experiences of Amerasians, as a unique chapter in U.S. national history.

Debbie Storrs (2000), who studied representations of Japanese war brides, also notes, "My decision to collect my mother's life stories grew from my dissatisfaction with the research on war brides and interracial marriages" (p.195). Elena T. Creef's (2000) initial motivation to study Japanese war brides was based on her "discovery of a 1952 *Saturday Evening Post* magazine photograph of [her] mother innocently posed by a less than innocent American photographer in a Red Cross cooking class" (p.443), and her wish to give "voice to their unique histories" to challenge such a distorted American Oriental discourse about "Japanese war brides" (p.445).

There are also other historical studies of Japanese war brides by American and Japanese scholars, including one by Regina F. Lark (1999) and one by Shigeyoshi Yasutomi (Yasutomi and Stout, 2005). They both have participated in the international meetings of Japanese war brides hosted by the Nikkei International Marriage Society. Their studies share objectives similar to those of studies by the daughters of Japanese war brides: to critique the stereotypes created by the Japanese mass media and to record the history of Japanese war brides. Feminist historian Regina F. Lark (1999) points out that Japanese war brides are omitted from American immigration history. She conducted oral history in an attempt to fill "the gap in the literature of Japanese war brides and contributes to the historical positioning of non-Euro American immigrant women in the United States" (p.38). In her study, she

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chronologically explores different war brides' life experiences before and after immigration, discussing how they negotiated stereotypes in Japan, and how they went through the acculturation processes in the United States. The final chapter addresses war brides' achievement in the activities of the Nikkei International Marriage Society based on the findings from the author's participation in its second international meeting held in Aizu-Wkamatsu, Japan, in 1999.

In his book co-authored by Stout, Shigeyoshi Yasutomi provides a historical analysis of post-war Allied Occupation; establishment of the Recreation and Amusement Association (RAA); stereotypes of senso hanayome in Japan, in Japanese American communities, and more broadly in the United States; and the social relationship between local Japanese American communities and Japanese war brides. In the first chapter of his book, Yasutomi begins his discussion by analyzing the negative stereotypes of "senso hanayome," such as "pan pan," providing the historical context in which the Recreation and Amusement Association was introduced for the Occupation forces.

In addition to the negative stereotypes, Yasutomi also expresses his concern regarding the lack of studies on Japanese female migrants (International Marriage Friend Society, 2006b). The newsletter of International Marriage Friend Society, issued in December 2006, posts an announcement about his current, three-year-project, "Brides Who Crossed the Ocean: Studies of Japanese Female Immigrants" that he and other scholars are currently working on (ibid.).[32] The project aims to research Japanese war brides who emigrated to the American mainland and Hawaii, and Japanese "picture brides" who

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[32] Participating scholars include Tomoko Tsuchiya, Noriko Shimada, and Ikumi Yanagisawa (International Marriage Friend Society, 2006b).

emigrated to North America before WWII and to South America after WWII.[33] The

outcome of the project, including relevant historical materials and a documentary film about

Japanese war brides will eventually be exhibited at the Japanese Overseas Migrant Museum

in Yokohama.

It should be noted here that, just like Stout, who began to realize the importance of

recording the history of Japanese war brides after receiving Empress Michiko's word of

appreciation, Yasutomi also indicates that the initiative to launch the current historical

project emerged when Empress Michiko visited the Japanese Overseas Migrant Museum and

asked the representative of the museum, "Do you have any plan to exhibit materials about

Japanese female emigrants, such as those who married foreign citizens after WWII [i.e.

Japanese war brides]?" (International Marriage Friend Society, 2006b).

In addition to the endorsement of Empress Michiko, it seems that recent scholarly

discourses about "senso hanayome" and "Japanese war brides" emerged in reaction to past

popular discourses that were dominant in both countries. Like auto/biographical discourses,

many studies critically examine dominant narratives from the past, arguing that the

representations of Japanese war brides were highly stereotypical and biased. Like

auto/biographical discourse, they also emphasize that these women have contributed to

building the cross-cultural relationship between the two nations, and problematize the lack

of historical literature on Japanese war brides. They all attempt to include them in either

emigrant history of Japan or immigrant history of the United States.

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[33] Although Japanese "war brides" are often confused with Japanese "picture brides," they constitute
two completely different groups. "Picture brides" are "issei women who came to the United States
to marry husbands they knew only from photographs" (Niiya, 2001, p.334). According to Niiya
(2001), "in the years between the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-8 and 1920, women made up a
significant part of Japanese immigration to the United States" and the "majority came as picture
brides" (ibid.). Picture brides immigrated to the U.S. before WWII to marry their Japanese
immigrant husbands.

The importance of these historical projects needs to be acknowledged. Like the auto/biographical literature, they successfully open up a space within the realm of historical discourses to include previously silenced voices. The original goal of my project was also in line with their goals: to give voice to "Japanese war brides." However, these studies still have limitations and problems. In the next chapter, I will analyze the limitations of the recent auto/biographical work and historical studies of "Japanese war brides." I do this, first, by discussing the problems involved in writing "minority histories" in general, and second, by pointing out these studies' limitations in capturing the complex subjectivities of these women with terms like "Japanese war brides" and "senso hanayome," the significations of which are always already conditioned by the original negative meanings. I will then suggest an alternative way to speak about my teachers' experiences.

CHAPTER 2
BETWEEN HISTORIANS

You try and keep on trying to unsay it, for if you don't, they will not fail to fill in the blanks on your behalf, and you will be said. (Minh-ha, 1989, p.80)

"War brides" as the subject of (minority) history

In the previous chapter I explained how the discourses about Japanese war brides have historically developed and have also been mediated by different institutions and individuals including states, mass media, auto/biographers, and scholars. The recent narrative about "Japanese war brides" by auto/biographers and scholars can be summarized in the following story. The "birth" of the story of Japanese war brides can be traced back to August 15th of 1945 when Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers, and the Recreation and Amusement Association was established. When young Japanese women met American G.I.s they became "victims" of the Japanese media, which constructed them as "prostitutes" and a "shame" to the nation. However, after these "war brides" immigrated to the United States to live with their American husbands, they established a more positive image by promoting goodwill between the two nations by introducing Japanese culture into their local communities. Today, they still maintain their cultural roots in Japan and actively play the role of "grassroots goodwill ambassadors." This story concludes that while Japanese war brides have been neglected in the dominant historical narratives of the both nations, their experiences should be recorded and continue to be told as part of national histories of Japan and the United States.

I argue that this narrative has both limitations and problems. In this chapter, in particular, I will discuss the limitations and problems of the recent auto/biographical publications and historical studies of Japanese war brides. I would like to address two issues. First, it seems that much of the recent work by auto/biographers and scholars, especially in the fields of Immigrant Studies, Ethnic Studies, and the discipline of History, attempts to *include* Japanese war brides but only as one of the "minority" groups belonging to the national development of the United States and Japan. In other words, when their history is included in the dominant histories of Japan and the United States by scholars, it is given only a marginal position to tell its stories (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.101). I argue that this ultimately renders the history of Japanese war brides *less important* than the history of the "majority" group. As a result, their work perpetuates the social symbolic power relation of the dominant and the marginal in these nations. I discuss this more in detail below.

Second, the attempts by auto/biographers and scholars to *represent* voices of Japanese war brides often entail stabilizing the category of "Japanese war bride." In order to challenge the old popular stereotypes about Japanese war brides and to draw attention to their cultural contributions to the local communities, they further employ the very language that was used to exclude these women in the first place (e.g. yamato-nadeshiko). There are two problems involved in constructing such a category: first, the category, "Japanese war bride," over-simplifies identities that are in fact much more complex and multiple; second, the use of the category reproduces the negative associations attached to the terms "Japanese war brides" and "senso hanayome" that were originally imposed on these women by the dominant media discourses (See Chapter One).

In this chapter, I further discuss the two issues I just raised above (the issue of inclusion and the issue of representation) and argue that the four senryu writers'

subjectivities are in fact much more complex and multiple. In the second half of this chapter, I will introduce my methodological framework, which proposes an alternative way of speaking about my teachers' experiences.

The issue of inclusion

As I pointed out in Chapter One, some auto/biographers and scholars have actively engaged in recording the history of Japanese war brides. But I still have not discussed which collective bodies are given the responsibility for *owning* such records. At a material level, one might ask, for example: Where could the historical records of Japanese war brides be archived? Empress Michiko, the female symbol of the Japanese nation, provided an answer when she suggested that Japanese war brides' historical records should be preserved in the archive of the Japanese Overseas Migrant Museum, which is funded by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the implementing agency for Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA).[34] This implies not only that Japanese war brides should officially be categorized as one of Japan's migrant groups, but also that the Japanese state is responsible for preserving the history of Japanese war brides.

At a more symbolic level, Empress Michiko's indirect involvement in both historical studies of Japanese war brides and their social movement, could also be viewed as a gesture showing that she supports including Japanese war brides' history within Japanese national history. Studies about Japanese war brides by Japanese scholars also attempt to document their voices and preserve personal documents like photographs as records of Japanese history (e.g. Ueki, 2002; Yasutomi and Stout, 2005). In the book, *"Senso Hanayome" Gojyu-nen*

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[34] As I mentioned in Chapter One (p.46), Empress Michiko expressed the necessity of archiving historical records of "senso hanayome" in the Japanese Overseas Migrant Museum, though it is notable that she does not suggest that they should be exhibited in Japanese national museums.

wo Kataru, the editor Takeshi Ueki (2002) gives an explicit message to Japanese war brides in the postscript: "Even if you will be buried in American soil or return to Australian land, you are former Japanese people, and will be recorded forever as glorious figures in Japanese women's history" (p.286). Meanwhile, recent critical work on Japanese war brides by American scholars criticizes the lack of historical studies of Japanese war brides and claims that their history should be included in U.S. history, and particularly U.S. immigrant history (e.g. Lark, 1999; Storrs 2000; Williams, 1991).

What these projects in Japan and the United States share is their goal to represent Japanese war brides as "legitimate (even 'ideal' in some contexts) national citizens" who should be included as subjects of national history. This goal is particularly evident in the construction of "senso hanayome" as "goodwill ambassadors" in auto/biographical discourses. I argue that this representation of Japanese war brides is inadequate and fails to capture their hybrid identities that have been formed through their on-going transnational experiences, but I leave this discussion until Chapter Five. There is another problem in the attempt to include the history of Japanese war brides in national histories, which I now want to examine in detail. Regardless of the apparent symbolic elevation of their status from a "national shame" or "Oriental (alien)" to "legitimate national citizens," their history still remains marginalized when it is included in national historical discourses, because their history is usually categorized as the history of "migrants," "immigrants" and "women," which are typically assigned secondary positions within modern national histories.

The problem of the marginalization of Japanese war brides' history closely parallels a problem inherent in the idea of "history from below" and "minority history." The origin of the movement of "history from below" can be traced back to the 1960s. British Marxist historians, including E. P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm, developed the area of "social

history," reacting "*against* pre-1960s dry-as-dust political and diplomatic history, and *against* the quantitative techniques of the economic historians" (Taylor, 1997, p.156, emphasis in the original). According to Tessa Morris-Suzuki (1998), these critical historians defined their goal as building a more "democratic history," in which the long silenced voices of farmers, factory workers, artisans and small traders find their space to tell their own histories (p.14).

Similar movements emerged in the United States. They were initiated by ethnic groups, including people of colour and immigrants as well as Indigenous people, in the context of racial and ethnic conflicts and the emerging spirit of pluralism.[35] In the American academy, "ethnic studies has been one of the most effective institutional means for the training of intellectuals of color," and it has been one of sites of production of historical knowledge about the ethnic groups to which these intellectuals belong (Yu, 2001, p.196). In addition to ethnic groups' struggles to recover their histories and to re-tell their stories from the bottom up (Hall, 1997), the discipline of history has been experiencing democratically minded "non-ethnic" historians who have fought against the exclusions and omissions of minority voices, on behalf of silenced ethnic groups (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.97).

Despite the fact that the democratic spirit has been the moving force of these movements, the very assumption that "minority history" exists in contrast to the dominant

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[35] According to Omi and Winant (1994), the concept of ethnicity "emerged in the 1920s as a challenge to then predominant biologistic and Social Darwinist conceptions of race" (p.12). The major difference between "race" and "ethnicity" is that ethnicity "denotes the cultural characteristics of a group" while race signifies "biological and/or somatic features" of people (Miles and Brown, 2003: 99). However, the notion of ethnicity has been also criticized because "race" always is the unspoken assumption embedded in the ethnic categorization (Miles and Brown, 2003, p.99; Omi and Winant, 1994, p.20; Gilroy, 2000). Like racial categorization, ethnic categorization (such as Asian-Americans, African-Americans, etc) is often based on essential assumptions about the relationship between culture and race, and ignores the complexities and heterogeneity within the so-called ethnic groups. The notion of "ethnicity" is sometimes problematic, because it is usually assumes minor/major relationships formed within the nation-state system (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989, p.3), and perpetuate the status quo of the social stratification.

History serves to perpetuate the marginal position of people represented in the writings of "minority history." According to Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000), the idea of minor/major itself was born out of the colonial assumption (p.100). It is not a matter of the number of people involved; one does not say that some groups of people are minorities simply because they are small in number. Instead, this dichotomy implies a parental relationship between the two, viewing "minors" as people who need to be taken care of by the "adults" of the world (ibid., p.101).

I argue that in the contemporary discourses about Japanese war brides created by Japanese scholars and journalists, even those who claim to be compassionate, Japanese war brides are positioned as a "minority" in Japan. Japanese war brides are viewed as "daughters of the nation," who still need to be taken care of by their motherland, although in most cases they are physically dislocated and no longer Japanese citizens. They are also viewed as a "minority" in the United States because they are "ethnic" and have not ever (read: "will not") completely achieve the status of white Americans.

The potential risk that may emerge as a result of the proliferation of "minority histories" is that it makes the society "look" democratic, while the histories of marginalized people remain "minor" relative to the history of the "majority" group. In his essay, 'Minority Histories, Subaltern's Pasts,' Chakrabarty (2000) suggests that "minority histories...in part express the struggle for inclusion and representation that are characteristic of liberal and representative democracies" (p.97). Using Eric Hobsbawn's (1997) term, Chakrabarty calls these minority histories "good histories," which Hobsbawn defines as histories that are supposedly "'good for us'—'our country', 'our cause', or simply 'our emotional satisfaction'" (p.270). At the same time, however, "good histories" work to homogenize people's experiences under the dominant view, and function *not* in the interest

of the people represented. They function "in the interest of a history of social justice and democracy," the system of which is still operated by the dominant group and perpetuates the existing social hierarchy (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.108). Within "good histories," Chakrabarty maintains, histories of "minority" groups "always have to be assigned to an 'inferior' or 'marginal' position as they are translated into the academic historian's language" (ibid., p.101). Once included in the national historical narrative, "minority histories" satisfy the desire of the representative democracy to look democratic, and become *less important.*

Those who are inscribed in the national narrative become, as Michel Foucault would put it, the "subject of knowledge." Just like the stereotypical media discourses in the 1940s and 1950s, the contemporary discourses about Japanese war brides still work well with the larger nation-building projects in the United States and Japan. Furthermore, the historical knowledge about Japanese war brides is "not of [their] form, but of that which divides [them], determines [them] perhaps, but above all causes [them] to be ignorant of [themselves]" (Foucault, 1978, p.70). Just like the production of knowledge about the "Oriental" aimed at maintaining the power-relation between the West, who dominates, and the Oriental, who is dominated (Said, 1975), historical knowledge about the "ethnic minority," specifically Japanese war brides, continues to perpetuate the power-relation between the major and the minor within the nation-state. This is the power of "inclusion," the making of a docile, obedient national population, who can be the object of knowledge but cannot control knowledge about themselves.

The issue of representation

Another limitation of recent publications by auto/biographers and academics is related to the way identities and experiences of Japanese war brides are represented. In the

recent movement to give voice to these women, the terms, "senso hanayome" and "Japanese war brides," function as a shorthand way to represent them. In addition, like other categories the employment of these terms often entails inclusion of certain people and exclusion of others, based on the identification of membership to the group. When these women arrived in the Nikkei community in Washington, the term "senso hanayome" was used to distinguish them from Japanese Americans. Today, the term continues to be used to classify them as a unique group within the Nikkei community, distinct from Japanese Americans and more recent immigrants as well as migrants from Japan. Organizers of the Nikkei International Marriage Society used the category, "senso hanayome," to build the membership of the Society and begin to create a safe, social space where so-called Japanese war brides were able to gather. The auto/biographies and scholarly work also use the terms, "Japanese war bride" and "senso hanayome," to distinguish Japanese war brides from other emigrant and migrant groups. The problem that arises when these terms become "categories" is that the terms speak too much about experiences of these women before they actually tell their stories, due to the powerful significations the terms carry. In addition to being always already positioned as a "minority," Japanese war brides are always already represented with certain fixed significations.

A category often serves to stabilize and even fix people's identities. The first chapter of Judith Butler's well-known work, *Gender Trouble* (1990), begins by pointing out the problem of "women" as a category to which feminist subjects are assumed to belong.[36] She points out that the category of "women" is always assumed as preexisting in feminist theory. As a result, feminism continues to produce the female subject whose identity is always

[36] The title of the first section of this chapter, "'War brides' as the subject of (minority) history," is drawn from the title of the first section of Butler's (1990) book, "'Women' as the subject of feminism" (p.1-6)

already given and fixed as "woman," while it fails to speak about other discursively constituted identities such as racial, class, ethnic, and sexual identities (ibid., p3). The discursive re-production and re-stabilization of the subject of "woman" takes place within the "very political system that is supposed to facilitate its emancipation" (ibid., p.2). She argues:

> The suggestion that feminism can seek wider representation for a subject that it itself constructs has the ironic consequence that feminist goals risk failure by refusing to take account of the constitutive powers of their own representational claims. This problem is not ameliorated through an appeal to the category of women for merely "strategic" purposes, for strategies always have meanings that exceed the purposes for which they are intended. (ibid., p.4)

What she means by the "excess" in the outcome of the strategic use of the category, is the over-determination of the subject's identity in terms of a single category. Butler argues that representation of people with a single category results in "gross misrepresentation" of the subject (ibid., p.5).

Not only does the reproduction of categories simplify people's identity, but it also reproduces stereotypical images attached to these categories. Categories further speak about characteristics and experiences of people they represent. For example, Chakrabarty (2000) points out that within the tradition of postcolonial Indian historical writing there is a tendency among Indian Subaltern Studies scholars to write their own history by employing the modern Western language and epistemology that have constructed the notion of "India" as a modern national category. As a result, their historiography reproduces the colonial discourse that views India as a nation that did not have history prior to contact with the West. He suggests that these scholars "read Indian history in terms of a lack, an absence, or an incompleteness that translates into 'inadequacy'" (2000, p.32). In postcolonial Indian

historiography, colonialism continues to exist in the form of self-colonization. He continues, "within his narrative shared by imperialist and nationalist imaginations, the 'Indian' was always a figure of lack" (ibid.) and this lack "ubiquitously characterize[s] the speaking subject of 'Indian' history" (ibid., p.34).

The two authors' discussions on the stabilization of identity by means of the categories constructed by the dominant subject, White Men, remind us of the notion of the "double-consciousness" of marginalized, colonial subjects (Du Bois, 1995). They articulate their political interests, their histories, and cultures through the eyes of the dominant subject. When subjects enter such a discursive space, they are already named prior to their own enunciation of themselves. Some discourses are so powerful and essentializing that it seems that there is no way out from the space.

By establishing the "Japanese war bride" as a category to represent silent voices, recent auto/biographical and scholarly discourses produce subjects whose identities are always already given and fixed as "Japanese war brides." In addition, these studies often begin with the stories about the negative stereotypes and discuss how Japanese war brides have struggled with stigma. As a result, in their discourses, "Japanese war bride history" begins not when the women were born, but when the term "senso hanayome" with all its negative connotations was invented. The distorted images of these women are always the "beginning" of their history.

Their representations of "senso hanayome" and "Japanese war brides" are always laden by earlier meanings of the terms. In the past, both terms, "senso hanayome" and "Japanese war brides," had particularly powerful significations that invoked images such as "pan pan," "national traitors," "Oriental," "aliens" (see Chapter One). Because they have

strong symbolic power, attempts to replace these negative stereotypes with positive representations in effect recall and reproduce the original associations. When self-identified Japanese war brides claim that "senso hanayome" are "yamato-nadeshiko" and "goodwill ambassadors," there are always the ghost voices that continue to whisper the discourses of "pan pan" and "traitors."

As I mentioned above, the highly nationalistic term, yamato-nadeshiko (the "true Japanese woman"), was once used to warn Japanese women who had relationships with American G.I.s to "be yamato-nadeshiko."[37] In this dominant narrative, yamato-nadeshiko existed as the polar opposite to "pan pan." As self-identified Japanese war brides began to strategically use the term "yamato-nadeshiko" to revise the public's perception of "war brides," these two signs became inseparable, together constituting today's ambivalent understanding of "senso hanayome." Similarly, the claim that senso hanayome are not a "national shame" but rather "goodwill ambassadors" invents another binary opposition and possibly reproduces the former stereotype. When "goodwill ambassadors" is uttered in an English-speaking context, it is also easily tied to the "model minority" discourse, because Japanese war brides serve the interests of the United States by building a friendly relationship to Japan. However, combined with the idea of the "Oriental," this "model minority" discourse continues to suggest that Japanese war brides are "alien" to the United States, because they are "ambassadors" who represent the Japanese nation.

Thus, these sets of terms, "yamato-nadeshiko/pan pan," and a "national shame/goodwill ambassadors," are co-constituted like other binary oppositions, such as white/black, man/women, nature/culture... Whenever the term is mentioned, the other

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[37] See Chapter One (p.29) of this thesis.

original negative associations are implicitly present. Regardless of the writers' intent, therefore, the "original" meanings of the the Japanese and American nationalistic discourses are not fundamentally challenged. The implicit statement that "they are *not* pan pan," especially makes me anxious, because it may induce another exclusion and vilification, for example, of women who were involved in the RAA project and other aspects of the sex trade.

In the discursive space where the discourses about the "Japanese war bride" have developed, the category performs on its own as *the* identity of these women. The women who are represented in this space continue to be a figure of lack as imperfect, deviant national subjects. Studies of Japanese war brides, especially those that incorporate Japanese war brides' "living voices," need to be aware of the symbolic power of these categories, which continue to speak *for* the subjects and represent them with negative significations. Once fixed in the texts, their identities become self-sustaining and self-perpetuating through their own auto/biographical "living voices" (Young, 1988, p.38). The texts end up playing a role of historical evidence, which continues to narrate who they are.

From speaking to hearing histories

In Chapter One and in the first half of this chapter, I analyzed the discursive space in which the terms "senso hanayome" and "Japanese war brides" have been constructed by conducting a critical discourse analysis. In this space, I argued, Japanese war brides are marginalized as a "minority" and their identities are fixed as "secondary national subjects" despite the positive portrayals of Japanese war brides as "ambassadors" and "model minorities." In fact, the dominant media discourses, which created a skewed identity of

Japanese war brides in the 1940s and 1950s, continue to be reproduced in the recent

attempts by auto/biographers and scholars to represent Japanese war brides' history.

I argue that representing my teachers' stories as one of many "minority histories"

would be an inadequate way to re-tell the historical knowledge I learned from them. I need

to talk about their knowledge without employing "minority" rhetoric and without imposing

assumptions about the Japanese war brides' life experiences, which are reproduced by the

terms, "Japanese war bride" and "senso hanayome." Thus, I need to employ a different

language than the one that is used in the "Japanese war bride" discursive space. This

requires me to shift my focus *outside* this space. For this purpose, in the rest of this chapter I

will make a methodological shift at two levels.

At the first level, I will theorize the notion of "cultural difference," which discards

the idea that a culture is something that can be objectified, classified and controlled (Bhabha,

1990, 1994). It does not operate within a national framework that categorizes people based

on the notions of "ethnicity" and "race." I argue that there are culturally different spaces

that produce historical knowledge, which do not employ modern national discourses. The

notion of "cultural difference" I explore below has been one of my methodological

frameworks that has enabled me to use a different language to speak about my teachers'

experiences.

At the second level, I make a shift away from critical discourse analysis in order to

speak about the multiplicity of subjectivities that are constituted through multiple discursive

practices, which do not necessarily function to produce modern national citizens. When I

say "discursive practice" here, I am not referring to the Foucauldian notion of discourse,

which assumes national subjects who are confined within a homogeneous modern national

space, and who are governed and controlled through discursive power (Foucault, 1995, 2000a, 2000b). Instead, I use the term "discourse" as an utterance or speech act that is made in a variety of forms whether oral, written, or visual. In the last section of this chapter, I will turn to a Bakhtinian analysis of "heteroglossic utterances" that constitute a speaking subject's subjectivity. Based on the notion of "cultural difference" that I theorize below, I argue that subjects in fact performatively move between culturally different discursive spaces and speak through hybrid languages. They produce historical knowledge that does not necessarily involve the reproduction of homogenous modern national citizens.

Oral historian Minoru Hokari (2004), who studies Australian Aboriginal people's historical practices, points out that people are now more aware that modern History does not present the "truth" about our pasts (p.207). At one level, Hokari says, we learned from Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and other poststructuralists that history is a discursive invention; therefore we cannot reproduce a past society *as it was* through history (ibid.).[38] He also points out that historian Hayden White also argue that there is no fundamental distinction between the "fact" and the "fiction," because both history and imaginative writings are kinds of narratives that attempt to tell the audience something about "reality" (ibid.).[39] At another level, Hokari acknowledges that Memory Studies, an amalgam of various fields, has provided us with another way to explore our pasts through people's collective and personal memories, which have been traditionally ignored by the modern

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[38] Hokari makes references to Foucault's *Kotoba to Mono* (2000; *The Order of Things*) and *Chi no Kokogaku* (1995; *The Archaeology of Konwledge*). He does not make a reference to specific work by Derrida.

[39] Hokari makes a reference to White's *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973).

discipline of History (ibid.).[40] Despite the growing criticism of texts that are written in the field of modern History, Hokari (1997) argues, there is still a strong tendency among historians to write what Hobsbawn (p.270) calls "good histories," that are more readily accepted by the modern "Western" audiences, and exclude studies of memory, for example, arguing that it is not legitimate (2004, p.209-210).[41] What is more, he argues that historical practices of non-Western cultures are rarely treated seriously in the conventional discipline of History, even if they often become objects of anthropological studies. He contends that History that is practiced in the Western academy is still Euro-centric.

Hokari argues that in order to make historical narratives genuinely multivoiced scholars need to seriously engage with culturally different ways to practice history. This requires something more than *including* a range of "minority histories" within National Histories. Scholars need to step further and pay attention to the culturally multiple ways to produce historical knowledge. For this purpose, I argue that it is necessary to re-work the notion of "cultural difference."

Homi Bhabha's (1990, 1994) distinction between "cultural diversity" and "cultural difference" is useful here. He claims that the notion of cultural diversity assumes "culture as an object of empirical knowledge" whereas cultural difference involves "the process of the *enunciation* of culture as 'knowledge*able*'" (1994, p.49-50, emphasis in the original). Cultural diversity assumes that people are able to "appreciate cultures in a kind of *muse imaginaire*, as though one should be able to collect and appreciate them" (Bhabha, 1990, p.208). Thus, the type of difference assumed in cultural diversity is "difference(s) within the Same"

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[40] Hokari makes references to the Introduction of *Kioku no ba* (*Rethinking France*, 2003, p.29-56) written by Pierre Nora, *History as an Art of Memory* (1993) by Patrick H. Hutton, *Rekishi to Kioku* (*History and Memory*, 1999) by Jacques Le Goff, and *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia* (1994) edited by Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton.

[41] See p. 53 in this chapter for the definition of "good histories."

(Chakrabarty, 1994, p.13), where people from diverse backgrounds "speak for an already given whole" (ibid., 2000, p.107). So-called "minority history" is based on this notion of cultural diversity. Stories are collected from diverse "minority" groups, that are often categorized on the basis of "race," "ethnicity," "gender," and "class," and represented in a homogeneous way. What these stories narrate is how the different groups have contributed to nation building. Together they speak for the given whole, National History.

On the other hand, the notion of cultural difference I define here is difference that emerges based on different "discursive practices" (Clifford, 1992, p.99). Each discursive practice has a distinct epistemology and a distinct language, and a distinct set of meanings and categories. Each discursive practice provides distinct positions from which one speaks. Modern History, for example, is *a* culture, *a* discursive practice that constructs a particular relationship between the past and the present. This notion of difference poses a question of "From where does he/she speak?" and it further acknowledges that "who speaks, and the subject who is spoken of, are never identical, never exactly in the same place" (Hall, 1990, p.222). Those who are named and spoken in a certain way in one culture (i.e. discursive practice), have a different name and a different way to speak about their experiences in another culture. By paying attention to cultural difference, therefore, "objectified others may be turned into subjects of their history and experience," and may provide us with an alternative way to apprehend our pasts and temporalities, as well as tell histories (Bhabha, 1994, p.225). It is also important that this notion of culture is not based on a fixed place or racial origin. Cultural differences even constitute individual people in unique ways, because individuals develop discursive practices in different collective bodies throughout their lives depending not only on their race and ethnicity but also on gender, age, social status, their profession, and so on.

Producing historical knowledge from different discursive practices allows us to go beyond "additive, 'building-block' approach to knowledge," where a new knowledge of history is only new in the sense that its subject—or in fact the "object" of the historical analysis—is new, and is piled up on the same ground of the existing knowledge system (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.107). Instead, Bhabha (1994) argues:

> The aim of cultural difference is to rearticulate the sum of knowledge from the perspective of the signifying position of the minority that resists totalization— the repetition that will not return as the same, the minus-in-origin that results in political and discursive strategies where adding *to* does not add up but serves to disturb the calculation of power and knowledge, producing other spaces of articulations. (p.232-233)

Therefore, a history based on cultural difference is not a history *about* or *of* exotic cultures that can be always represented in the same way, but a history produced *from* or *through* a different discursive practice. This differs from inclusion of "minority histories" discussed above. When a history is narrated *through* difference, such a history further contains possibilities to disturb the given categories and their meanings that have determined people's identity in the dominant discursive practice, such as, modern History.

An example can be found in the talk delivered by Dexter Gordon on October 26th, 2007 at the Public Memory and Ethnicity Conference held in Portland, Oregon.[42] He argued that black people are still invisible in the American dominant history, and stated: "One way to look at American history is through black eyes." While his notion of history still operates with a national framework since it fits the terms of the public narration of the national past, his statement in fact denies the notion of "minority history." He does not view the history of black Americans as one of the "minority histories" that constitutes segments of National History. Instead, his statement implies that black people can write a national history that is

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[42] The title of the talk was "Public Memory, Public Knowledge, History, and Race."

as legitimate as the one written by their white counterparts. The history written by blacks does not need the approval of white people who typically name it as "black history," and include it in the "multicultural" list of "minority histories."

Furthermore, there are multiple cultural spaces where histories are practiced. These histories are not necessarily recognized as legitimate in the Western academy. For example, Hokari (2005) explores the Australian "Aboriginal mode of history" practiced by Gurindji people, which is centred on storytelling involving both place and self and is contextualised in terms of Gurindji ontology and cosmology" (p.214). He argues that this is a distinct historical practice and is not conventionally recognized as history in the Western academy (also see Hokari, 2004).

In order to let the history finally become multivoiced, scholars in academia need to do something more than try to *speak* and *represent* others in order to include more people in National History. We need to start *paying attention to* and *hearing* different ways of practicing history. This does not mean that we need to discard the legacy of the modern History, but it does mean that we need to take other historical knowledge seriously without assimilating it into a single knowledge system. Chakrabarty maintains, "we have to stay with both [modern History conventionally practiced in the Western academia and other historical practices], and with the *gap* between them that signals an irreducible plurality in our own experiences of

history" (2000, p.108, my emphasis). [43] Referring to Chakrabarty's notion of "gap," Hokari (2005) also suggests, "we should not ignore this gap and pretend that we all can share 'history' without much trouble. However acknowledging the gap should not be the end of the story but a starting point to communicate across the gap" (p.221). In order to learn from cultural difference, one needs to be "humble" enough to accept the gap and to realize that not all knowledge can be collected and represented in the same way (ibid.).

During my fieldwork, I encountered a huge "gap" between the "history of Japanese war brides" I had initially conceived in my mind based on the academic literature and auto/biographical books as well as the stories I heard from the community, and "histories of kokoro" that my teachers shared with me through senryu (see Chapter Three and Four). I did not initially recognize their agency in producing knowledge about their lives. Their agency was "unrecognizable" in the dominant space and could not be narrated by the dominant language (Spivak, 2005). In order to hear their "unrecognizable agencies," it was not enough to let the person speak from the most evident categorical position, the "Japanese war bride," established by dominant institutions whether academic disciplines or the mass media. Their agencies emerged in a discursive space in which they actively participated in the production of meanings. In this cultural space, they were not merely "silenced" victims of the dominant discourses but active subjects who had authority over the knowledge they produced.

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[43] Different historical practices are not necessarily exclusively others' practices. Hokari (2004) suggests that history is happening everywhere in our everyday life, and not just through conducting historical research (in a conventional sense) or reading History textbooks. He says, "when you are listening to your grandfather's criticism about 'young people nowadays' and stories about 'good old days,' you are practicing history. When you make a trip to a hot spring with your partner and visit nearby historical sites, you are practicing history. You practice history when you participate in high-school reunion; you practice history when you listen to classic jazz; you practice history when you look at your old sores" (2004, p.20). This tells that, in a sense, we are already "staying with" plural historical practices in our everyday lives, but do not necessarily consider them as important as more conventional history.

Heteroglossic subjects

Here, I turn to a literary critic and philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin to theorize a speaking subject as a "heteroglossic" subject. Before I describe the alternative space in which my teachers practice history, that is, the space of senryu practices, it is important to discuss how I perceive their subjectivities as sites in which historical knowledge is produced. I specifically use the Bakhtinian notion of the speaking subject (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Volosinov, 1973). The following discussion will provide a theoretical and methodological framework to conceptualize and analyze the multiplicity of speaking subjects' subjectivities and their discursive activities.

To begin with, I view speaking subjects as *performative*, because they move between different discursive spaces, each providing different cultural positions from which they can speak. The subjects are performative also because they speak about their experiences by manipulating, combining and transforming existing sets of meanings constructed in multiple discursive spaces. I theorize their performance not in the way Judith Butler does as "repetition," that is, "a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established" (1990, p.140). Basing her argument on a Foucauldian notion of discourse, she finds possibilities of gender transformation in the arbitrariness of gender attributes, where new meanings can emerge by "failing" to perform as well as breaking given social norms (ibid., p.141). This view assumes that each performance taking place in a discursive space is dominated by a set of power-relations that privilege white straight males.

I find speakers' performativity rather in their ability to move, often instantly, between discursive spaces, each of which has a different tradition, authority, set of power-relations, and set of discourses that organize it. The subjects speak from different positions of enunciation provided by these spaces. They speak *through* different languages they learn

and develop in these spaces through dynamic dialogic exchanges with others (Bakhtin, 1981, p.299). They are "heteroglossic" subjects, who belong to multiple discursive spaces simultaneously, which makes their subjectivities complex and multiple. Each discursive space is not independent but is interrelated to one another. In fact, new meanings emerge not simply because a subject *disavows*, or *fails* to accept, the given meanings as a Foucauldian subject may do (Tate, 2005, p,25), but because languages from different discursive practices come together and are hybridized in the subject's speech activities. By hybridizing languages and voices from different spaces, "heteroglossic" subjects destabilize "monoglossia": the authoritative and unified dominant languages that attempt to fix meanings produced in each discursive space (Bakhtin, 1981, p.270-271).

To theorize a speaking subject in such a way, I base my argument on three essays: "The Problem of Speech Genres" (1986) and "Discourse in the Novel" (1981) written by Mikhail M. Bakhtin; and "Verbal Interaction" (1973) written by V. N. Volosinov.[44] In the two essays, "The Problem of Speech Genres" and "Verbal Interaction," the authors theorize the "utterance" as a unit of speech communication. Utterance marks a significant site of meaning production that drives the historical development of language itself. An utterance includes anything "from a short (single-word) rejoinder in everyday dialogue to the large novel or scientific treatise," and it begins and ends when the speaker changes (Bakhtin, 1986, p.71). The speaker "ends his utterance in order to relinquish the floor to the other or to make room for the other's active responsive understanding" (ibid.). The utterance and

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[44] Bakhtin, Volosinov and other like-minded intellectuals formed an intellectual circle, often referred to as the Bakhtin Circle. It is claimed that texts published under the name of Volosinov were in fact written by Bakhtin who needed to conceal his authorship due to the political situation in the Soviet Union. The uncertainty has not been solved today (Morris, 2003). In any case, their arguments are closely related and highly consistent.

dialogical exchange of utterances are significant here, because they constitute not only

speaking subjects' speech activities but also their subjectivities (Pearce, 1994, p.4).

In a Bakhtinian view, the utterance is dialogically constituted, and there are different

levels of dialogues taking place when a speaker makes an utterance, which together

determine the meanings of the utterance. Here, I identify the six levels of dialogue

summarized by Bakhtin and Volosinov. First, the utterance is always addressed to a certain

listener(s), regardless of whether the listener is present or absent at the time when the

utterance is made. It is "constructed between two socially organized persons": addresser and

addressee (Volosinov, 1973, p.85). The utterance is "*oriented toward an addressee*, toward *who*

that addressee might be" (ibid., emphasis in the original; also see Bakhtin, 1986, p.68-69).

Second, the utterance involves a dialogue with the context. The structure of an

utterance is historically conditioned and is determined by the "immediate social situation and

the broader social milieu" (Volosinov, 1973, p.86). Therefore, the meaning of the utterance

"can never be understood and explained outside of this connection with a concrete

situation" (Volosinov, 1973, p.95; also see Bakhtin, 1986, p.83).

Third, the utterance is a product of a dialogue with the speaking subject's own self.

The utterance is characterized by her or his individuality, which is exposed through her or

his distinctive styles and expressions (Bakhtin, 1986, p.63, 84). Fourth, however, the

utterance is not completely individual since the subject employs collectively shared

languages. Thus, each utterance involves a dialogue with the larger social framework of

communication. These collective languages include not only national languages. But,

Bakhtin (1981) suggests that within each national language, there are also:

> social dialects, characteristic group behavior, professional jargons, generic
> languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages,

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languages of the authorities, or various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day, even of the hour (each day has its own slogan, its own vocabulary, its own emphasis). (p.262-263)

Therefore, each speaking subject employs multiple languages in multiple forms that have developed in different collective bodies. Depending on who is the addressee and situation in which the speaker utters, she or he selects an appropriate language, sometimes by combining more than one language source.

It directly leads to the fifth level: dialogue with "preceding" and "subsequent" utterances (Bakhtin, 1986, p.94). A subject is able to speak by using existing resources of expressions. Speakers utter as they "assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate" words that have been used by others (ibid., p.89). Bakhtin (1986) suggests:

one can say that any word exists for the speaker in three aspects: as a neutral word of a language, belonging to nobody; as an *other's* word, which belongs to another person and filled with echoes of the other's utterance; and finally, as *my* word, for, since I am dealing with it in a particular situation, with a particular speech plan, it is already imbued with my expression. (p.88, emphasis in the original)

Therefore, "the word in language is half someone else's" (Bakhtin, 1981, p.293), and "any utterance...reveals to us many half-concealed or completely concealed words of others with varying degrees of foreignness" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.93). The utterance is constitutive; it is "a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances" (ibid., p.69). But, he continues, "the utterance is related not only to preceding, but also to subsequent links in the chain of speech communication" (ibid., p94).

Finally, the utterance involves a dialogue with the "speech genre." Speech genres are defined by Bakhtin (1996) as "relatively stable types of utterances" (p.60). They could be both oral and written. They include:

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short rejoinders of daily dialogue…, everyday narration, writing (in all its various forms), the brief standard military command, the elaborate and detailed order, the fairly variegated repertoire of business documents (for the most part standard), and the diverse world of commentary (in the broad sense of the word: social, political). (ibid.)

A speech genre shapes utterances by guiding the themes of the speech activity, the situation, and the nature of participants in the activity (ibid., p.78). Each genre has a distinct history of development, which is constituted by the "chain of speech communication," or accretions of utterances. A speaking subject has a repertoire of speech genres to select depending on the situation, and her or his utterance is formed by following generic expectations, or modifying and manipulating them (ibid., p.79-80).

Thus, an utterance is an embodiment of the variety of voices (the speaker's, the listener's, the preceding speakers', the subsequent speakers', and different collective bodies'), and, it is always already hybrid, i.e. the mixture of different languages and different views. The world, according to Bakhtin (1981), is dominated by heteroglossia, "a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships" (p. 263). This world is inhabited and developed by speaking subjects who are "heteroglossic" subjects whose utterances are always filled with others' voices. However, they do not perform simply as passive puppets who are spoken by others' words, but they often actively perform as story-tellers who speak different languages using different genres to tell their stories, as they negotiate the situations. This challenges the idea that a subject is always already programmed, named, categorized or fixed by external forces.

Speaking subjects tell their stories as they constantly and instantly, move between discursive spaces, each of which is collectively constituted by a particular chain of utterances, languages, and speech genres that condition the form, content and meaning of the utterance.

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Due to their performative abilities to move between spaces, speaking subjects develop a repertoire of words, languages and speech genres they negotiate and select to speak through. They utter differently and their utterances gain different meanings in each discursive space, because it provides different resources to utter and interpret utterances. Depending on the space in which they utter, the meanings of their utterances are more or less determined by earlier utterances. However, some spaces provide them with positions where they are more or less able to actively participate in the meaning production and also manipulate the meanings.

It is also important to emphasize again that utterances always assume the presence of their addressee, as does one's subjectivity. The subject "becomes 'himself [herself]' through a dynamic exchange with another's discourse; that is, through the process of *dialogue*," and this process is never-ending (Pearce, 1994, p.89, emphasis in the original). Volsinov argues that the concrete dialogical moments of "verbal interaction" are the sites where utterances acquire meanings and the languages evolve (1973, Part II, Chapter 3).

Dialogical moments were also crucial in the context of the dialogues between my teachers and myself. The meanings of senryu and the stories my teachers told me from their senryu pieces were not inherent in the already textualized senryu pieces. Rather they were produced in very particular situations during our face-to-face dialogues, where my teachers tried to translate their knowledge into words that were more accessible to me. The "orientation" of their utterances was directed to me, the listener, "toward a specific conceptual horizon, toward the specific world of the listener" (Bakhtin, 1981, p.282). And the meanings were produced at the moments when our horizons "came to interact with one another" (ibid.). If I had drawn meanings from these senryu without having the processes of the collaborative meaning production with the writers, these senryu would have looked very

different. While our focus was the senryu pieces that had been written prior to the interviews, it was the very "verbal interactions" between them and myself where these meanings were produced and translated. In the following chapters, I will discuss my teachers' senryu practices (Chapter Three) and the stories that were generated from their senryu pieces during the dialogues I had with my teachers (Chapter Four). When my teachers produce their histories through the distinctive languages they use in their senryu practices, these histories looked very different from the stories that have been constructed by "Japanese war brides" discourses.

CHAPTER 3
SENRYU AS A HISTORICAL PRACTICE

So I want to learn from those disjunctive temporalities; I do not see them as small scale, and I do not see them as the aestheticization of the fragment, I see them precisely as other points from which to start. (Bhabha, 1992, p.68)

Senryu

Obviously, a speaking subject does not develop an "intimate" relationship to just any speech genre. Bakhtin (1986) notes, "many people who have an excellent command of a language often feel quite helpless in certain spheres of communication" (p.80). Senryu is my teachers' intimate speech genre. Among the four women I interviewed, three have been writing senryu for thirty years (longer than my entire life); the other person for ten years (still longer than my post-secondary academic life). They are senryu writers who are experts in the genre and the distinctive languages used in it. As experts, they are familiar with its rules and conventions, and they manipulate and transgress those rules. They also practice senryu as part of their everyday life.

In this chapter and in Chapter Four, I introduce some links in the "chains of utterances" that constitute a distinct discursive space where my teachers practice senryu. The stories they tell through senryu are different from how their experiences are represented in the dominant discourses about Japanese war brides. These stories require us to have a different set of languages to understand them. Thus, an examination of senryu as a speech genre is a prerequisite for understanding meanings produced through their senryu practices. As I mentioned in the Introduction, the discursive space of senryu is the "field" of my fieldwork research where I met my teachers and heard their stories. In this chapter, I

performatively move into this space and translate my teachers' knowledge from their perspectives to explain what is considered a "good" senryu in this field. Like in any other disciplinary field, it is necessary to have the basic knowledge about and rules of senryu, before attempting to transgress them. It is important, however, to note here that my teachers provided me with some criteria for a "good" senryu to explain the basic characteristics of the genre and to highlight its distinctiveness in comparison to other genres. In Chapter Four I will present their senryu, which are much more complex and difficult to make generalizations about. Lastly, while there are historical and literary studies on senryu (e.g. Fukumoto, 1999; Kobayashi, 2006), I do not use them as the primary source of the discussion here. This is because the four writers' senryu practices differ from the traditional senryu of Edo-era Japan, which is usually studied in the literature. I use the literature as a secondary source. Here, my teachers speak to me and instruct me as senryu experts.

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5-7-5

"Japanese language is inherently 5-7-5" (Tomoko-san, interview, October 29, 2007).

Senryu is one of the "5-7-5 genres" like the more well-known haiku.[45] The numbers stand for the numbers of syllables.[46] Five and seven are the two basic units in senryu that maintain a particular rhythmic flow. It is like the beat that regulates the flow of a musical piece. The combination of 5-7-5—or 5-7-5-7-7 in uta, which is an older Japanese poetry form—creates the shortest piece of music. In fact, there is a particularly close relationship

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[45] Fukumoto (1999), a scholar of Japanese Literature, suggests that senryu as well as haiku are the shortest poetic forms in the world (p.14).

[46] Among Japanese-speakers, it is common sense that when one says "5-7-5," the number stands for the number of syllables. The combination of "5-7-5" is commonly known as the literary form used in senryu and haiku.

between music and Japanese traditional poetry, including uta, haiku, and senryu. The

Japanese term "uta" means "song." In Japanese expression, people do not *write* uta, haiku or

senryu, but they *sing* them. This syllable-sensitive form assumes reading-out loud.[47] A

printed music score accomplishes its goal when it is realized in an orchestra with the sounds

of instruments. Similarly, senryu pieces need to be realized as songs.

The combination of five syllables and seven syllables is not peculiar to traditional

poetry. In Japan, this combination has often been used in slogans or catchwords, and is also

a typical unit in *enka*, or Japanese folk songs.[48] It sounds pleasant to Japanese ears, and is

easy to remember and repeat. The combination of five and seven creates an intimately

familiar rhythm in Japanese oral culture. Miwa-san puts it this way: "my affect of one

moment to another enters into 5-7-5" (Miwa-san, interview, October 18, 2007).[49] To a

senryu expert, the restriction of the form (5-7-5) does not limit her capability of expression.

While as a novice senryu writer I need to count on my fingers to accommodate and mold my

words into the 5-7-5 form, experts do not. Their ideas naturally enter into 5-7-5.

Sometimes senryu writers transgress this formal restriction. Fuyuko-san said:

> Sometimes the middle part becomes eight. Old senryu folks don't like it, to
> have eight. But a big senior in Japan told me, 'Well, if your piece does not
> sound complete without the word, it's okay [to have eight syllables].' So I
> sometimes put the word, do eight, if that makes my expression vivid...But if
> possible, you should keep the last five in five. That way your piece becomes
> settled nicely. (Fuyuko-san, interview, November 9, 2007)

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[47] Most Japanese speakers instantly know the particular rhythm and intonation that regulate 5-7-5 (or
5-7-5-7-7).

[48] Some examples of the usage of the combination of five and seven syllables include national slogans
during WWII and police warning messages on the highway.

[49] As I will discuss in the following section, one of the crucial aspects of senryu practices is that it
captures the writers' affects. Miwa-san's senryu is especially characterized by the affective content
(see Chapter Four).

Difference from haiku

There is no 'season word' in senryu.[50]

Senryu writers are highly conscious of senryu's distinctiveness in comparison to the other established 5-7-5 genre, haiku. Senryu and haiku are like two siblings, yet my teachers emphasize, they have different characteristics. Speaking from my own experience, it seems that the most popular, commonsense knowledge about senryu is that it does not need to contain a word that represents a season, which is required in haiku.[51] One of the common experiences that I shared with my teachers despite the age difference of over fifty years, is that we all learned and sang haiku or uta during our school years in Japan, but we do not recall learning to write senryu. Senryu was not included in the Japanese school curriculum, although the textbooks briefly mentioned the genre, giving some basic information about its historical background.[52] All my teachers said that they had almost no knowledge about senryu before they joined Hokubei Senryu. Tomoko-san said, "I used to make *tanka* (one of the uta genres) during my school years...I also did some haiku back then...Haiku had season words, but I wondered, what about senryu? I read a book and found that there was no season word [in senryu]." What do senryu writers sing about, if not seasons or nature?

> In haiku, you sing the flow of wind or the landscape. So there is no *kokoro*
> (heart) in haiku. This flower is beautiful, or it's raining today, you arrange 5-7-

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[50] As I describe below, my teachers all noted that there was no "season word" in senryu. This knowledge is commonly shared by Japanese people.

[51] Fukumoto (1999) points out that there are in fact some haiku that do not contain a "season word." He maintains that the real difference between haiku and senryu lies in the linguistic technique employed in those two genres. What matters is whether the genre has *kireji* (sectioning letters), which are particular auxiliary letters and words that function to disturb the flow of the poem (Fukumoto, 1999). Whereas haiku always has kireji, senryu does not.

[52] Fukumoto (1999) notes that among the Japanese there is a general assumption that haiku is a higher form of literature than senryu (p.18). This was also pointed out by Fuyuko-san when she mentioned that a seasonal journal *Kaigai Nikkeijin* (Nikkei Abroad), published by the Association of Nikkei and Japanese Abroad, always has a section to publish tanka and haiku written by Japanese immigrants, but none for senryu.

5 about whatever you see with your eyes. But in senryu, there is emotion even in the rain. Lonely rain, happy rain, sad rain. So if you ponder alone and feel quiet, [you can sing] '*koyoinoameha wabishisugi* (the rain tonight is too quiet),' for example. (Miwa-san, interview, October 18, 2007)

Haiku sings primarily about seasons. This is a type of form. Haiku emerges in a place like Japan which has four distinct seasons. Pleasure in the moment of a seasonal change, appreciation, awe. Senryu expresses everyday emotions. Of course senryu writers sing about seasons, too. But senryu also contains kokoro in there. (Fuyuko-san, interview, October 18, 2007)

It seems that one of things that characterizes senryu is kokoro. I kept asking:

Suika-san	Haiku contains season words.
Ayaka	Then senryu...
Suika-san	Nope.
Ayaka	What do you write [in senryu]?
Suika-san	Senryu doesn't need those season words.
Ayaka	What sort of things do you sing in senryu?
Suika-san	Sometimes there are topics like spring, summer, fall, and winter, too. If the topic is Spring, you can do a story of going cherry-blossom viewing, a story of cherry blossom. In senryu, you put something like drunken people under the cherry-blossom, staying out all night, hangover, and so on. You don't do that in haiku.
Ayaka	So in senryu, people come in, don't they?
Suika-san	Uh-huh, because you sing about people's emotions.

(Interview, October 30, 2007)

Elsewhere, Suika-san emphasized the humorous aspect of senryu (See Suika-san's senryu in Chapter Four). But her comments suggest that another characteristic of senryu that makes it distinct from haiku is its focus on foibles of people and their concrete bodily experiences that symbolize experiences of their kokoro. People, emotions, kokoro—those are keys to understand their senryu practices.[53]

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[53] According to Fukumoto (1999), many senryu writers view senryu as the poetry of human affairs and haiku as the poetry of nature. Another view suggests that senryu is a critical genre, and haiku is a lyric genre (ibid.). It is also known that senryu was sometimes used as a satire, an indirect way of making fun of or criticizing *samurai* during the Edo period (Kobayashi, 2006). Fukumoto (1999) also points out that there is a strong tendency among people to view haiku as a higher and more sophisticated literary genre than senryu (p.18).

Kokoro[54]

Kokoro is a concept that involves affect, emotion, compassion, aesthetic sensibility, state of mind, colours or tones of one's heart. It can be translated into English in different ways. Kokoro is often translated into the English term, "heart." However, kokoro has less to do with the heart as an organ, at least in today's usage of the term. Instead, the notion of kokoro can be understood as the emotional aspect of the heart. Kokoro is affected by human relationships. It is also often oriented toward others and emerges from caring attitudes. For example, one can cook food with her or his kokoro when the person makes it for others, such as family or friends, trying to please them. One's kokoro can be positively or negatively affected in a particular social environment. However, kokoro is not always passively affected by external force, and not always uncontrollable. It often signifies the human capacity to connect oneself to the social world. In the example above, one can actively *put* her or his kokoro into a food she or he cooks by putting a lot of effort, time and personal meanings into its preparation (e.g. cook food as a gift). Kokoro also has meanings similar to those of the "mind." One can have an open kokoro (be open-minded) to difference or a critical kokoro (critical mind) toward politics. However, these qualities of kokoro often also accompany affective states. Kokoro is also related to aesthetic sensibility to the natural environment. It is a capacity to attend to the subtle signs of the seasonal change and appreciate them.

Kokoro, therefore, is a complex entity that organizes one's internal world. It is not necessarily an innate capacity given to a chosen few. Rather, kokoro is organic in a sense that its sensibility—toward human relationships, politics, nature, and so on—can *grow* in

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[54] The description of the concept of kokoro I present here is my own definition of the term. I describe the characteristics of the Japanese notion of kokoro that are most relevant in my teachers' use of the term in their senryu practices.

different ways as one lives in different environments. In Chapter Four, I present how each

writer has a different emphasis on particular aspects of kokoro which she expresses through

her senryu practices. In general, when Miwa-san and Fuyuko-san discuss senryu's difference

from haiku, they suggest that even when the writer is observing her external world, what she

captures in her senryu is the internal movements of her kokoro. Thus rather than the

"outside world," what is important is the writer's kokoro that moves with the changes of the

outside world.

Difference from kyoku/salaryman senryu

Both *kyoku* and senryu are offshoots of "Edo senryu," the first senryu type of senryu

being introduced by Senryu Karai in the Edo period (Fukumoto, 1999). However, that

"senryu is not kyoku" was something my teachers always emphasized.[55]

Ayaka	So you didn't have much knowledge about senryu in the beginning?
Fuyuko-san	No, not at all. If anything, [I even thought] it was kyoku in the old days. *'Chounaide shiranuwateishu bakarinari* (Only the husband doesn't know [about his wife's love affair] in the town),' or '*Isourou sanbaimeniha sottodashi* (Sponger burps up by stealth after the third cup [of rice or *miso* soup, etc.]).' I thought senryu was those jeering kinds. But once I joined [in the senryu group], [I found that] these were not good, very unseemly pieces. I learned that senryu was a literary genre and should avoid something grating on or putting down on others.
	(Interview with Fuyuko-san, October 18, 2007)

Senryu practiced by the four writers in Hokubei Senryu is also different from senryu

practiced by the contemporary Japanese, known as "salaryman senryu," which is sung

through the eyes of *salarymen* (corporate employees). To my teachers, salaryman senryu

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[55] In the early phase in the development of Edo senryu, senryu began to establish its genre as kyoku (Fukumoto, 1999, p.17-18). Today's senryu is what Fukumoto (1999) calls the "new senryu" that emerged in the Meiji period in the wave of criticism against kyoku for its depraved content.

places "too much" emphasis on criticizing the government or employers, and joking about

and laughing at those in power.

> Today's senryu in Japan—you see them in the [Japanese mainstream]
> newspaper—I never get it. These pieces are very bizarre, you know, bizarre
> pieces like 'the [American] president got in trouble and is being in a mess,'
> those belittling ones. They call it what, "salaryman senryu"! I don't know
> much about it, but I just don't like it. Ours is old fashioned, it is sung by
> Japanese people living here, America, longing for home. (Miwa-san, interview,
> November 16, 2007)

"Origins"

Miwa-san's last comment that their senryu was "old-fashioned" was emphasized by

other members of the senryu group as well. In fact, the senryu they practice in the United

States has developed in a very distinct way, diverging from senryu in Japan. It is different

both from the "original" senryu that is called "Edo senryu" (Fukumoto, 1999), and the

contemporary Japanese senryu, including salaryman senryu. In order to discuss the

distinctiveness of the atmosphere of the senryu that my teachers practice, it is necessary to

trace its two "origins." These origins set the tone of senryu practiced by my teachers.

The first origin is the late Edo period in Japan where the preliminary form of senryu

began to appear with the work of Senryu Karai (1718-1790; his formal name is Hachiemon

Karai) (Brown, 1991, A Note on Senryu, unpaged). As discussed above, senryu inherits the

traditional 5-7-5 rhythm, the origin of which can be traced back to an anthology, *Manyoshu*,

with work written between the seventh and the eighth century (A.D.). It is the oldest

compilation of poetry existing in Japan today. Senryu was born before Japan's harbours

were forcefully opened by the United States and Western culture was introduced to a degree

never before experienced. The 5-7-5 rhythm was easier to create with Japanese language

before it began to be hybridized by the new Western vocabulary—but regardless, I should

note, senryu writers in the United States skillfully incorporate English words in their senryu in a way that still creates the 5-7-5 rhythm, demonstrating their capacity to hybridize different languages in their utterances. To contemporary Japanese, therefore, senryu, like other forms of popular culture that emerged and flourished in the Edo period, such as *enka* (popular ballad), *ukiyoe* (wood block prints), invokes the notion of the "pure" and "traditional" Japanese popular culture. It seems to me that my teachers believe that while they practice "old-fashioned" senryu that preserves the heart of the original senryu, what is called senryu in Japan, especially "salaryman senryu," has diverged too far from the original. Senryu in Japan, in their eyes, are often too offensive, like kyoku, and use contemporary expressions that are not meaningful to them.

The second "origin" can be traced back to the Meiji period in the Japanese immigrant community on the West Coast of the United States. Senryu practiced by the Japanese diaspora in the United States today is often called "American senryu" (Ueno, 1964; Tamura, 1996), and was first established in 1912 by a Japanese immigrant, Kaho Honda in Yakima, Washington (Ueno, 1964). Just like my teachers, ten or so people gathered at the first meeting, "without any knowledge about the difference between senryu and kyoku" (Senryu Bara Ginsha, 1996, p.114).[56] Senryu is one of the Japanese cultural practices that pre-WWII Japanese immigrants brought from Japan and began to practice in the foreign land of America. To the Japanese diaspora today, the practice of American senryu is still

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[56] After the first senryu group was established in Yakima, Honda opened Hokubei Senryu Gosen Kai (North American Senryu Mutual Voting Organization) in Seattle in 1929 (Ueno, 1996, p.209), which became the origin of American senryu groups today. Japanese immigrant communities in the late 1920s and 1930s witnessed the rapid increase of interest in senryu and newly organized senryu groups in different communities in the Northwest (Ueno, 1996, p209-210). Even during the internment era of WWII, senryu continued to flourish among many Japanese immigrants in each camp across the United States (Kumei, 2002; Ueno, 1996). While there are haiku and tanka groups in Seattle today, it does not seem from literature on American senryu and from my fieldwork that there have been active exchange and crossover between members of senryu groups and those of other poetry groups.

inseparable from the notion of homeland and appreciation of their cultural heritage. The atmosphere of senryu created by my teachers is very much filled with "nostalgic" feelings toward Japan. Importantly, however, the nostalgia here does not involve what is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "sentimental longing or wistful affection for the past." As I argue in Chapter Five, nostalgia in this context involves "establishing a link between a 'self-in-present' and an image of a 'self-in-past'" (Spitzer, 1999, p.92), the active formation of their present identities. These nostalgic feelings enable them to be productive and positive about their current lives.

While American senryu itself has kept transforming since its inception in 1912, these two "origins" together create a unique tone and colour for senryu collectively practiced by the four writers and other members of Hokubei Senryu. Regardless of the fact that they write senryu based on their personal experiences, whether they are physical, emotional or imaginary, once it is uttered in the 5-7-5 form among the Japanese diaspora in the United States, the world of these senryu gains a particular atmosphere from these "origins."

People's poetry

"I sing senryu about what's happening at the moment, about the moment, just like I'm speaking to you right now," Tomoko-san taught me (interview, October 29, 2007). Fuyuko-san also said:

> If there is too much consciousness of others, you cannot write a good senryu.
> I mean, if you try to show it off to others. You should speak to your own
> kokoro (heart), or to others…Well, to sincerely speak to others means to make
> it comprehensible to everyone. (Interview, October 18, 2007)

Senryu is a people's genre; it is usually not considered a high art.[57] It needs to be

comprehensible to others, while it requires a certain degree of knowledge about literary

expressions. A "good" senryu, my teachers told me, conveys experiences that everyone can

relate to her or his own experiences. In the practice of capturing one's experiences, the

writer needs to identify the collective—"our"—kokoro in one's own. A senryu piece

becomes meaningful when it is meaningful to many. This also means that in order to write a

"good" senryu, one needs to use simple terms and describe one's concrete experiences of

oneself. Simplicity and concreteness are key elements in a "good" senryu, because they

allow the readers to comprehend and sympathize with the experience captured in the senryu.

As a novice senryu writer who is more familiar with abstract and theoretical writing styles, I

struggled in the discipline of senryu. On the last day of my interview with Fuyuko-san, I

brought my own senryu wishing to learn how to write good senryu.

Fuyuko-san	Well, expressions like this, "*manabito omoedo (I attempt to learn, but)*," is not senryu-like.
Ayaka	No?
Fuyuko-san	We use simpler words.
Ayaka	How do you think I should change this so that it becomes more like senryu?
Fuyuko-san	You need something more concrete...

Fuyuko-san	And, *tsukanomano kumomanikokoro odorasare* (a brief moment of between-the-clouds excite my heart). You know what kind of kokoro you are talking about, but others don't.
Ayaka	Hmm.
Fuyuko-san	So, make it clear to others.
Ayaka	Concreteness, isn't it?
Fuyuko-san	Yes, right. Your pieces all lack concreteness.

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[57] While both senryu and haiku are known as popular literary genres (Fukumoto, 1999, p.222-224), senryu was even "more down-to-earth than the classical, formal style of haiku" (Kobayashi, 2006: 154). Kobayashi suggests that senryu was "hugely popular, especially among the common people" in the Edo period (ibid.). According to Fukumoto (1999), the first anthology of senryu, *Yanagidaru* (1765), does not identify the author of each collected senryu pieces, which further shows that senryu emerged as a "collective property" among the townspeople in Edo, Japan (p.63).

Ayaka   I see.
Fuyuko-san   And this one, *keikenwa ijin'noronwo shinoguzai* (the experience is a wealth
             that outshines a giant's words), this is too difficult, too theoretical...
                                            (Interview with Fuyuko-san, November 16, 2007)

"Too theoretical," "not getting across," and "lacking the concreteness" are

comments Fuyuko-san gave me on my senryu. Among seven senryu pieces I had brought,

only one was approved.

Miwa-san gave me an example of good senryu:

                                             サクサクと枯葉のようなコンフレクス
                                             Sakusakuto karehanoyouna konfurekusu
                                             (Anonymous, n.d.)
Cornflakes
  sound like dead leaves

> There was a famous senryu writer, Ryuka Okada, in Seattle. According to him,
> a good senryu is one that a housemaid can understand, one that others can
> relate and say "Mm-hmm." So something like *cornflakes sound like dead leaves.*
> You know cornflakes that you eat for breakfast? When you eat them, they
> sound like [you are stepping on] dead leaves. You can understand this senryu,
> right? Senryu has to be like that. So you don't need to fill a piece with lots of
> bombastic words. A simple, ordinary one is good. (Miwa-san, interview,
> October 18, 2007)

Kukai

Ku, in Japanese, is a unit of poetry, in other words, one poem. It can also refer to

poetry as a whole. *Kai*, in this context, means a meeting or a session. Combined together,

kukai means a poetry meeting. The chapters of Hokubei Senryu in Seattle and in Tacoma

have monthly meetings. The primary activities during the meeting include writing senryu

and sharing selected ("good") senryu pieces. These are highly structured activities, which I

managed to learn about by participating in the meetings during the two-month fieldwork

period.

First of all, at the meeting, each member brings three senryu pieces called *mochiyori-ku*. All include the same word assigned to every member prior to the meeting. For example, the assigned word for the October 2007 meeting for both groups was "to prepare." Each member brought three senryu pieces that all include the word "to prepare"—the word can be accommodated in any tense—and then submitted them, placing them in a box located in front of the room without indicating her or his name. By the end of each meeting, the *senjya* (selection person) for the month selects the "good" pieces and reads them out. The writer of the piece then responds by saying her or his name. Since the pieces are submitted anonymously, this is the time when the "authorship" of each selected piece is revealed. Members rotate the senjya position, so that everyone has an opportunity to become senjya.

However, during the meeting most time is spent on writing senryu on site. The meeting has two writing sessions, and in each session there is an assigned word that needs to be included in the pieces. The topical word for these sessions is called *sekidai* (on-site-topic) and senryu produced in these sessions are called *sekidai-ku*. Each session lasts approximately for half an hour and each member needs to come up with three pieces. Members from both the Seattle and Tacoma meetings let me join in these sessions, but I was only able to make two pieces each time, although I became a full "participant," allocating all my energy to concentrating on producing senryu, while leaving my task of "observation" as a researcher behind. Just like students writing examinations, the group members became very quiet during the sessions and concentrated on completing their work within the time limit. Unlike an exam, however, they spent more time on pondering than on writing; in the end, their work was condensed into fifty-one syllables. They truly became quiet ponderers who ultimately said only a few, carefully chosen words.

When the two sessions are over, another senjya selects the good pieces from all the collected sekidai-ku. Sekidai-ku again are submitted anonymously. Good pieces are presented by senjya together with selected mochiyori-ku, and the writer reveals her or his authorship each time a piece is read out. What surprised me is that not many comments were made during the time of sharing senryu. Senjya simply reads out pieces, although she or he sometimes suggests an idea for editing to make the piece better. Other members carefully listen to selected senryu, nodding, laughing, and uttering a few words to express their affinity.

Each meeting also is a time for socializing. Members bring their own dishes of food and enjoy each other's food after sekidai sessions are over. This is when senjya are able to select "good" senryu that will be shared with the group after the lunchtime.

Ryushi

Kukai is not the only space where senryu is shared. Hokubei Senryu publishes its monthly journal, which is generally called *ryushi* (senryu journal) in Japanese. The title of their ryushi is *Hokubei Senryu* and is distributed to the group members. In addition to the senryu pieces (mochiyori-ku and sekidai-ku) that are selected in the previous month's meeting, ryushi also includes *zatsuei-ku* (free topics) and *kadai-ku* (assigned pieces) that are submitted by members to the editor by the monthly deadline. Each month, members of the groups write seven zatsuei-ku with no specifically assigned topic. Zatsuei-ku is a type of senryu where the individual characteristics of the writers are the most explored and expressed. They also write five pieces for kadai-ku, in which a topic is assigned. Almost all zatsuei-ku are included in ryushi, while for kadai-ku only two or three pieces per person are selected and published.

Ryushi provides opportunities to look back at the past work of the members. It can also be used as a textbook for novice senryu writers since it presents examples of "good" senryu. When I asked Fuyuko-san how she had learned how to write good senryu, she said that one of things she did to improve her writing was to "study ryushi over and over again until it becomes worn out" (interview, October 18, 2007).

Ryushi circulates not only amongst the members of the Hokubei Senryu, but it is also mailed to the Nikkei community newspaper, *Hokubeihochi*. Mochiyori-ku and sekidai-ku in ryushi, then, are published in a special section of the newspaper allocated for senryu every month. Japanese language newspapers, including *Hokubeihochi* and its pre-war predecessor *Hokubeijiji*, have been another channel through which the senryu writers' work has traditionally been shared with a larger audience.

Besides these pieces that are shared at kukai and through ryushi, however, I found out that my teachers also write senryu outside their collective context. Whenever they come up with senryu, they jot them down, among which they select only the "good" ones to submit to the group. The "leftover" pieces are never shared. Fuyuko-san, in particular, told me that she used to keep a senryu diary to familiarize herself with the 5-7-5 form when she was a novice writer.

Senryu as a historical practice

Senryu is one of the ways in which my teachers practice history. I view senryu as a historical practice because it involves the processes of working with the past and connects the past and the present. More precisely, they do this by textualizing, or capturing in a few chosen words, their present experiences by connecting them to their past experiences, which are mediated through their memories. They work with the past also by reading or listening

to senryu and recalling the moment that was captured in the senryu. I said "one of the ways" of practicing history, because I believe that my teachers engage in multiple types of historical practices. The four senryu writers practice history in a wide variety of ways. They learned "History" at school, watch historical documentaries on TV, write diaries, talk about the "good old days" with friends, visit historical sites, and record memorable events by taking photographs. Nonetheless, I selected senryu as a way to learn their histories, firstly because this is the area in which my teachers have more experience and expertise. Therefore, this is also where they most explicitly exercise their agency by actively producing meanings. They have "authority" in the senryu group because of their rich experiences and knowledge of the genre. Especially Fuyuko-san, Miwa-san, and Suika-san are considered "good" writers among the members. In addition, like the academic discipline of History, senryu involves collective knowledge production that takes place in a collectively shared field of activity.

I view senryu as a historical practice also because Fuyuko-san calls senryu "history," or more precisely, the "history of kokoro." While this is not the term commonly used by all the members of the senryu groups, all my teachers emphasized the importance of expressing kokoro in senryu. Looking into the notion of the "history of kokoro" allowed me to understand the core philosophy behind their practices. The gap between modern History and the "history of kokoro" exposes the "irreducible plurality" that constitutes our experiences of history (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.108). By examining senryu as a historical practice, one then may realize that the "history of kokoro" is not a practice that is exclusively "theirs," but is something that many other individuals or groups of people also practice in their everyday lives in different ways.

I came across the phrase "history of kokoro" when I was reading Fuyuko-san's essay that is collected in *"Senso Hanayome" Gojyu-nen wo Kataru* ("War Brides" Tell Fifty Years;

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2002). Her essay is very much characterized by her own writing style for it is composed by inserting senryu between her autobiographical narrative. In fact, the title of her essay is 'Spelling My American Life in Senryu," which implies that senryu has had a primary role in how she has narrated "American life." In the end of the essay, she tells a story about the death of her husband. To overcome the loss and make her life meaningful, she shows her commitment to continue to engage with senryu for the rest of her life. She concludes her essay with the following: "After a few years when I look back to myself, I shall see my *history of kokoro* in my senryu" (Martley, 2002, p.185, my emphasis).

I want to explore in more detail what she means by the "history of kokoro," although it may seem difficult to conceptualize the "history of kokoro" uttered in senryu. In fact, the idea of viewing and studying senryu as a historical record is not completely new. For example, the journalist Kazuo Ito (1969) uses Japanese immigrants' senryu pieces to include the living voices of individuals in historical texts about pre-WWII Japanese communities. Teruko Kumei (2001, 2002) examines senryu written by pre-WWII Japanese immigrants to capture their experiences before and during WWII. However, they only recognize the historical importance of senryu as historical documents, and do not discuss what type of historical knowledge senryu produces nor how senryu is a historical *practice*. The term "history" itself is in fact a controversial word. Scholars from different disciplines have argued over the definition of history. In the following, I attempt to translate what the "history of kokoro" is by borrowing concepts from areas such as Memory Studies in the fields of Sociology and Cultural Studies by highlighting its difference from modern History that is based on positivist assumptions and realist forms of representations. In order to understand what Fuyuko-san means by the "history of kokoro," first I need to challenge, once again, the dichotomies of history/memory and of history/fiction that have been

identified within academic debates. It is important to examine the relationship between history and memory, and between history and fiction, since the notions of memory and fiction, which are conventionally cited as anti-History, are very useful in conceptualizing senryu as the "history of kokoro."

The writer's practice

To begin, I will examine the relationship between a senryu writer and her or his senryu pieces, and discuss how the writer produces her or his "history of kokoro" through senryu. To say that one "sees history of kokoro in senryu" (Martley, 2002, p.185) could mean that each senryu piece reminds the writer of her kokoro—that is, feelings, emotions, aesthetic sensibility, colours and tones of the heart—of the moment when the senryu was written. During the interview sessions, Fuyuko-san also described senryu as the "record of kokoro," and "record of feelings" (interview, November 9, 2007). The notion of history here, then, is closely related to the practice of "recording" and to the "record" as a product of such a practice. Fuyuko-san also used the terms, "everyday self-history" and "history of living" (ibid.). In this sense, senryu is like a diary because it is a record of one's everyday experiences. However, Fuyuko-san, who also keeps a diary, emphasized that to her "a diary is the record of acts" while "senryu is the record of feelings." The "history of kokoro," then, is the record of everyday experience of kokoro. What is crucial when one says the "history of kokoro" is the affective and aesthetic atmosphere of kokoro that is captured in words in 5-7-5.

Nonetheless, my teachers rarely use expressions in senryu that directly convey the writer's emotions or feelings. The meanings of senryu are not inherent in the text. They are rather generated *outside* the text. Thus, recording emotions does not mean that one writes, "I

am sad or happy today" in senryu. Instead good senryu writers often use concrete words such as verbs or names of objects that are embedded with their emotions, so that the piece successfully invokes colours and tones of the writer's kokoro at the moment of writing. The words used in senryu must also have cultural references that resonate with experiences of "our" (not just the writer's own) kokoro.

The "history of kokoro" often involves performative fictionalization of experiences.[58] In his careful discussion on the relationship between fact and fiction in the context of writings about the Jewish Holocaust, James Young (1988) points out that "even if narrative [testimony] cannot document events, or constitute perfect *fac*tuality, it can document the *ac*tuality of writer and text" (p.37, emphasis in the original). While the writings by Holocaust survivors have little relevance to my teachers' senryu in terms of the content, his insight is useful here. In senryu, or the "history of kokoro," factuality is not as important as in the realist, and postivist history; rather, what matters is the "actuality" of the state of kokoro that is expressed. The following piece written by Tomoko-san is a good example:

秋刀魚焼く煙に夕餉の両隣[59]

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[58] I argue that the binary between history and fiction needs to be challenged when speaking about the "history of kokoro." However, the "history of kokoro" differs from history that is constructed in a narrative form. Historian Hayden White (1978) suggests that there is no fundamental difference between History and fiction in terms of form, because both historical events and fictional events are told in the form of "narrative." However, the "history of kokoro" should be understood as a historical practice that does not take a narrative form. Senryu lacks most of the primary characteristics of a narrative: there is no central subject (it does not usually include personal pronouns), although it is usually assumed to be the writer; and there is no clear development of the story with beginning, middle and end (White, 1978, p.6). Unlike history told by academic historians, senryu by itself does not provide any "plot" that creates a coherent story about the past (Ricoeur, 1981, see chapter 11). Furthermore, there is no clear notion of chronological sequence in senryu. One cannot line up senryu pieces in chronological order according to the dates of writing and tell a coherent story that develops in a certain direction. Even if we look at one piece of senryu, it by itself does not tell a meaningful story of any event. It speaks too little.

[59] I do not include the publication information about this piece in order to protect the author's anonymity. Tomoko-san's husband kindly translated this piece into English, and I use his translation.

Smoke from cooking samma fish
  wafts in from the neighbour's houses
at suppertime

Tomoko-san	This is a story of *nagaya* house, nagaya.[60] Neighbours cook *samma* with smoke. Your neighbour cooks samma, too. You say, "your dinner is *samma* tonight? Ours too!" I wrote this based on my imagination. Imagining, sometimes you do that. *Smoke from cooking samma fish wafts in from the neighbour's houses at suppertime...*
Ayaka	Is this about old Japan?
Tomoko-san	Yes, yeah, yeah, old time. I've never lived in a nagaya house, but if you watch TV, everyone in the neighbourhood cooks with clay stoves, you know, those old days. I make a piece like this based on my imagination.
	(interview, October 29, 2007)

She did not eat samma when she wrote the piece. As she told me, she "never lived in a nagaya house" where this samma is being cooked. The senryu is based on her "imagination." Regardless, it is still "actual" in the following sense:

> I was thinking [when I came up with the piece], "It's the fall now, the samma season, oh my memories of samma smoke...," you know. We used to have a big barbecue grill (in her house in Bremerton), we gave it to someone, but I used to cook fish, cook salmon. When we had fish, I used to cook it with the grill outside the house, because it smells...But there was a dog who always picks up on the smell and looks up at us, sitting there and bleating, *kun kun.* It's the same thing. Picking up on samma smoke and "Oh, my neighbour, too!" (ibid.)

The senryu piece is still based on her memories of cooking fish outside her house, eating samma every fall in Japan, "picking up on samma smoke," and viewing a television image of nagaya house where women are cooking with clay stoves. The piece gathers these bits and pieces of memories and condenses them so that it invokes an image of a peaceful supper time, filled with the good smells of samma, with an excited feeling, all based on her actual experiences.

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[60] Nagaya literary means a "long house" and is an old Japanese housing style.

My teachers often also "personify" objects (i.e. gives objects human qualities) in order to express their experiences. For example:

電話ベル今日も私を放っとかず[61]
Denwaberu kyomowatashiwo hottokazu

Phone bells
 for another day
never leave me alone

Since the phone bell is not a human, it is not proper to say, "phone bells never leave me alone," in a precisely factual sense. It is people who make phone bells ring and "never leave me alone," not the phone bell. However by personifying the phone bell, the reader or listener can vividly imagine the situation where the phone keeps ringing and making her busy, and the emotional state of being busy and being called to answer the phone. In addition, this single word, "phone bell," successfully symbolizes caring relationships between her and those who make phone-calls. This piece suggests that she never feels lonely or isolated. Therefore, senryu writing is a performative act through which the writer creatively encodes her kokoro into concrete expressions. However paradoxical it may sound, the employment of "fiction" or the "imagination" is often a necessary process through which a senryu writer expresses the "actuality" of her experiences.

Senryu as a historical practice always stimulates the writer's memories. The relationship between history and memory has been debated elsewhere, especially among scholars who engage in critical studies of memory. Scholars of Memory Studies often criticize the dismissal of memory in the traditional discipline of History. One way to look at the relationship between history and memory is to consider them as polar opposites such

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[61] Fuyuko Taira (1985, p.220). This piece is from a catalogue of Japanese senryu writers published by Nihon Senryu Kyokai (Japan Senryu Association).

that history is "the enemy of memory" (White, 1998, p.4; also see Nora, 1989, p.8). This view looks at the history, such as "National History" or "World History," as a "master narrative" that totalizes and fixes everyone's experiences based on scholarly scientific investigations into past events through positivistic archival research. But in fact, history is not an array of "objects" that exist out there, waiting to be "discovered." In the modern project of writing collective National Histories, historians played the role of "political actors" who wrote histories as the "raw material for nationalist [ideology]" necessary for building the Nation-State (Hobsbawn, 1997, p.5). Private memories that do not cohere with National Histories were often eradicated in such projects (Nora, 1989). "'History'...has been less willing to engage with 'memory' than one might expect" (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003, p.2); or, History sometimes even "forges weapons from what memory has forgotten or suppressed," and claims its superiority over memory in telling about the past (White, 1998, p.4). Another view is to see memory as a meaningful resource to critically reconstitute history (Lipsitz, 1990, p.227). Here, "in both private and public manifestations, [memory] makes claims about the past, which will not be acceptable to everybody" (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003, p.5). Memory politically engages in the struggle over how the past is remembered. Memory further "forces revision of existing histories by supplying new perspectives about the past" (Lipsitz, 1990, p.213).

Speaking about the "history of kokoro" in the context of senryu practices, history and memory are not mutually exclusive or politically conflicting. The "history of kokoro" is not the enemy of memory. Rather the "history of kokoro" and memory are mutually constitutive and together generate meanings about the past. Moreover, memory does not merely serve as a supplement for history, but it becomes the primary source for writing the "history of kokoro," i.e. senryu. When the writer reads the "history of kokoro," which she

or he wrote in the past, memory also becomes the primary source that gives meanings by reminding the reader of the colours and tones of kokoro captured in the senryu. As I will explain in detail, the "history of kokoro" and memory co-construct each other in senryu practices in three different ways: firstly when a senryu writer "memorizes" *recent* experiences to write "history of kokoro"; secondly, when a senryu writer works with memories of *past* experiences to write "history of kokoro"; and thirdly, when a writer actualizes memories by reading "history of kokoro" she wrote in the past.

First, zatsuei, since it has no pre-given topic, provides a senryu writer with the best opportunity to "memorize" her most recent and direct experiences into the 5-7-5 form by means of textualization, so that she can remember these experiences. Miwa-san told me how she usually comes up with a zatsuei-ku:

> You cannot write senryu simply by being at the desk. It occurs, say, when I'm doing the dishes, looking at the evening sun through the window, and thinking, "Wow, what a beautiful sunset," or "this sunset gives me a hope." Then I quickly come up with a piece, and jot it down on my notebook. These are zatsuei. (Miwa-san, interview, October 18, 2007)

Second, kadai, mochiyori or sekidai are more likely to make a writer work with memories that mediate her past experiences. It is true that she could just make up a piece by including the topic word without recalling any specific experience of her own. However, in order to produce a "good" senryu that conveys the "actuality" of human experience, a senryu writer works with her own memories that are particularly important to her kokoro and tries to write a piece from her own experiences. Tomoko-san's samma piece is an example of senryu, which is partly imaginary, yet where she worked with her memories of different moments in the past.

Finally, by looking back at the senryu she wrote in the past, a senryu writer is able to see a history of her kokoro, because senryu actualizes the colours and tones of her kokoro at the moment that was captured in it. However, for the same reason that a "good" senryu is open to different interpretations so that others can relate it to their own experiences, the writer's interpretation of her own senryu pieces may change each time. Senryu, in the written form, is a text, a "discourse fixed by writing" as defined by Paul Ricoeur (1981, p.145). Like other texts, as Ricoeur suggests, its meaning cannot be discovered somewhere deep in the text itself. The meaning of senryu is actualized in the writer's kokoro each time the senryu is read or sung in a particular discursive situation. As Bakhtin and Volosinov would suggest, the meaning of senryu as an utterance is generated depending on when and under what circumstance the senryu is re-read (Bakhtin, 1986, p.68-69; Volosinov, 1973, p.85-86). In fact, by the very act of textualization, each senryu piece comes to be endowed with some degree of autonomy independent from the writer's subjectivity at the time of composition. While the text is fixed in words, the writer's subjectivity keeps changing, and so does her relationship to the text. Her relationship to the text is always reformed as she works with her fluid and unstable memories that always modify her interpretation. Thus, the "history of kokoro" is not just about the past, but also involves reconstructing the past in the present and continues to shape the future (Bal et al, 1999, p.vii). Each time the writer sings senryu, the past is continuously modified and reimagined. Just like memory, which is a living process that changes over time (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003; Nora, 1998), the "history of kokoro" is also always in process of change even after it is textualized in senryu.

The writer-reader's practice

Once an image of writer's kokoro is textualized into the 5-7-5 form, it becomes available to others. Now the relationship between the senryu piece and readers or listeners emerges. As I mentioned above, a "good" senryu is inclusive and collective. It should be intelligible to others and offer a way for others to relate their own experiences.[62] In other words, through senryu, a writer speaks not only to her own kokoro, but also to others. Senryu is oriented toward a collective and assumes the notion of "us." In Bakhtin's (1981) words, each senryu is dialogically oriented "toward a specific conceptual horizon, toward the specific world of" other members (p.282). Therefore, senryu is a product of dialogues both with personal memory and with collective memory. A "good" senryu then is a place where a personal experience meets the collective, and a place where the "history of kokoro" is collectively practiced.

I argue that senryu materializes collective memory because a writer's experience is textualized in a way that allows others to remember their experiences, while its meanings are still open to different interpretations. Topics of senryu given by the month's senjya also determine what to remember to a certain degree. What is more, the generic form, its 5-7-5 rhythm, and a set of conventions that have historically developed in the genre, provide a culturally shared framework for not only *what* to remember, but also *how* to remember the past and the present. Senryu writers, who are familiar with the genre of senryu, therefore, share a "common 'way of seeing'" and understanding the discourses they produce in their

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[62] In her discussion about storytellers of Yukon First Nation ancestry, Julie Cruikshank (1998) applies Walter Benjamin's notion of storytelling, where "narrators explore how their meanings work" and "audiences can think about how those meanings apply to their own lives" (p.154). While a senryu piece is less a "story" or "narrative" in the conventional sense and more a fragmented "image," its openness to different interpretations and applicability to readers' or listeners' lives seem to be similar to storytelling as theorized by Cruikshank.

senryu practices (Olick, 2007, p.58). Sharing senryu at the monthly kukai and through ryushi also facilitate members working with collective memory. Although working individually, sekidai-ku are a kind of senryu that involves bodily practices of being at the meeting and producing pieces in the presence of others. When the senjya reads out selected senryu pieces, different interpretations and uses of the topic word are revealed, further activating others' memories. The same is true for mochiyori-ku. One's senryu activates memories of others and facilitates the development of shared meanings. In the production of their senryu, the members of Hokubei Senryu collectively develop a culturally shared speech genre and language. Using Bakhtin's (1986) word, these distinct speech genre and language are constituted by "chains of utterances" (p.69), which have historically been constructed by preceding utterances made by earlier senryu writers and the current members.

When I say "collective memory" in this context, therefore, I do not exactly mean what sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1992) conceptualizes as "collective memory": memories that are homogenously, ideologically shaped within the social system, and that belong to everybody. Unlike the homogeneous form of "collective memory," senryu does not claim any sort of universality. In fact, each of the four writers has a different life style, a different set of family relationships and a different experience of travelling. They also engage in a different set of discursive practices beside senryu. As a result, especially in zatsuei, their senryu look quite different from each other in terms of the content, that is, what they remember.

Furthermore, while bodily practices at kukai are significant in the production and interpretation of senryu as Paul Connerton (1989) argues, it does not conform to "collective memory," which Connerton defines as "images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past [that] are conveyed and sustained by" habitual performances (p.3). Habitual, collective

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performances of writing senryu at the meeting are significant. But again, the performances are not ways to remember a specific event shared by members of the group (as discussed by Connerton in his discussion, for example, of the commemorative ceremonies of French Revolution). What writers remember through senryu practices are ordinary, everyday experiences that take place in different moments of their lives. At the same time, senryu practices are collective practices, because they facilitate memorizing, remembering, and re-working memories in dialogues with others, in the culturally specific form of 5-7-5 and with distinct generic conventions.

There are also times when my teachers borrow the languages and images from different media and sing their mediated experiences, which makes their senryu intertextual, or heteroglossic. These media, such as TV and literature, often serve to provide them with languages to speak about their mediated memories that are collectively shared by the members of the senryu group. These languages and images are usually used outside the context of senryu practices. However, by using these outside sources, they add new languages to their "chain of utterances" to sing their experiences. Mediated memories also provide readers or listeners with a framework to interpret others' senryu.

The notion of "prosthetic memories" by Alison Landsberg (2007) is useful in discussing how certain senryu pieces successfully invoke certain images in the mind of a group of people, despite the fact that they never directly experienced what are sung in the pieces. Landsberg uses the term "prosthetic memories" to refer to memories produced by mass cultural technologies that "dramatize or recreate a history" one did not live (ibid., p.28). She suggests that such memories provide "particular histories or pasts available for consumption across existing stratifications of race, class, and gender" (ibid., p.34).

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Tomoko-san's samma piece is an example that sings her prosthetic memories, since

it is primarily based on the image of Edo she had seen on television. The past she sings in

this particular senryu is the past she never lived, and neither did the other members of the

Hokubei Senryu. And yet, all of us are still able to picture the image in certain ways, because

mass media provides visual resources that the viewers can collectively share. Recall

Tomoko-san's samma piece:

秋刀魚焼く煙に夕餉の両隣[63]
Sammayaku kemuriniyugeno ryodonari

Smoke from cooking samma fish
  wafts in from the neighbour's houses
at suppertime

My imaginary space: *A cluster of single-story houses arranged in lines, no walls, no fences; women*

in sober-coloured-kimono (maybe brownish or greyish) squatting and cooking samma *with a small clay stove,*

holding long chopsticks so that they can turn samma *and cook the other side; looking at each other, smiling*

shyly, covering mouth with their left hands, "yours, too?"; two trails of smoke rising from the neighbours to

the sky, sky of evening glow.

Tomoko-san's piece invokes such an image of the Edo period in Japan, which I

created most probably from the bits and pieces of images I remember from television shows

and history textbooks about Japan from the period. Furthermore, when my teachers

recounted their memories from the pre-war and the war periods, which considerably vary

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[63] I do not indicate the publication information of this piece in order to protect the author's
anonymity. Tomoko-san's husband kindly translated this piece into English, and I use his translation.

depending on the person, I was able to imagine vaguely how Japan looked like then based on my prosthetic memories, which came from visual images from TV and films.[64]

In the following chapter, I will attempt to communicate meanings that emerged from my teachers' senryu pieces, based primarily on the interpretations they gave me during our dialogues. Their senryu actualized my memories, collective and personal (they still do, every time I read them). These dialogical moments, I believe, have also facilitated my teachers' actualization of their own memories in new ways. These moments provided the site where my memories and their memories meet and negotiate meanings, or in other words, the site where we together practiced "histories of kokoro." Therefore, their senryu served as a medium for both my teachers' memories and my memories, and as a channel through which we interpreted, negotiated, and produced, meanings.

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[64] Andrew Hoskins (2004) also suggests that the "frameworks of social memory" (Halbwachs, 1992) that bound the collectivities of the past have been "fundamentally intensively and extensively mediated" due to the recent technological advance (Hoskins, 2004, p.110). To characterize the phenomenon, he uses the term "collapse of memory" to refer to the "collapse of the certainties of the past by a media that can paradoxically create and recreate an apparently certain past through their command of visual images" (ibid.). On the other hand, Landsberg (2007) rather highlights the pro-social aspect of prosthetic memory, and this view is more useful in explaining the role of mediated memories in my teachers' senryu practices. Landsberg says, "the wide circulation of mass-mediated images brings people into contact with other people, other cultures, and other histories divorced from their own lived experiences" (p.47). In the context of collective remembering of the past among the members of Hokubei Senryu, mediated memories often serve to *build* the certainties of the collective past that can be shared by the members, while their pasts are in fact often disconnected from each other since they are often from different parts of Japan and sometimes from different time periods.

CHAPTER 4
HISTORIES OF KOKORO: FOUR WRITERS' MEMORIES EMBODIED IN SENRYU

I must admit that I oversimplified my teachers' practice of senryu in the last chapter in order to describe the general characteristics of the genre. This chapter takes a closer look at each of the four writers' senryu to show the heterogeneity of their senryu practices. I employ a dialogic mode of writing and bring together individual voices that are distinct from one another (Bakhtin, 1981, p.360-361). Being set against each other, each writer's senryu illuminates her distinctive stories. At the same time, by bringing the four writers' senryu together, I generate new historical accounts that are not produced through other discursive practices.

In this chapter, I performatively speak from within the senryu discursive space even more so than in Chapter Three. My voice is inserted in my writing to show my position in relation to my teachers and to expose the processes through which I gradually learned about senryu as a genre and as a historical practice from each senryu writer. These were the processes through which I identified the gap between modern History and the "history of kokoro." I organized this chapter in order of the first meetings with these writers to show how my own reaction to their senryu changed as I went through each interview. During the first two interviews—one with Miwa-san and the other with Fuyuko-san—I was still trying to gain some sense of what senryu was and how it mediated people's experiences. At this point, my questions were very much based on my realist preconception of how history should be told. As a result, I frequently faced disturbing moments of confusion and internal

conflicts caused by the gap between two different historical practices. In the last two interviews—one with Tomoko-san and the other with Suika-san—however, I was able to accept stories about their senryu practices more smoothly with fewer internal conflicts. At the same time, my interview style became less and less structured. During those interviews, my teachers sometimes used stereotypical terms that described their identities, which also created internal conflicts in my mind. However, these conflicts were resolved as I continued the dialogues and found that they used those terms as their intertextual strategies to transform their identities (see Chapter Five).

Below, I will attempt to interpret meanings of senryu primarily based on my teachers' own interpretations of each piece. In addition, I also use images that their senryu created in my kokoro during the dialogues as a way to translate the meanings of the pieces. In addition to my internal voices, I also insert these images, because that is how I, as a novice senryu writer, experienced senryu. In a sense, senryu worked for me like photographic snapshots. I found that senryu captured a moment of the writer's first person experience and her kokoro like a photograph captured a moment of a physical scene from a first person perspective. Like a snapshot, the senryu formed a still image of a momentary experience in my kokoro with a few words. A "good" senryu did this by employing concrete words and allowed me to "picture" a moment of experience captured in the piece. However, the images created by my teachers' senryu in fact kept developing and transforming as my teachers' stories developed during the dialogues. The interpretations of their senryu pieces presented here illustrate processes through which my teachers and I collaboratively interpreted, negotiated, and produced, meanings and images.

Miwa-san's senryu: jikkan

Key words: *jikkan-ku* and *omoide*.

Omoide: 1) to be reminded of past matters that remain deep in one's kokoro, or those matters, or things that trigger that state of mind; 2) the pleasant feeling created by recollection. (Shinmura, 1998, my emphasis)

From field notes:

Thursday, October 18, 2007: The first interview with Miwa-san
(Before interview—in the car)

As soon as she picked me up at the bus-stop and started her car, she initiated our conversation by sharing her memory about the time when she started senryu in 1977. It was after ten years of marriage and after she found out her husband had marrow cancer. She was told that he had only two weeks of his life remaining. She "saw nothing but darkness." His doctor was very supportive, and eventually saved his life. Later he got other illnesses "one after another," and stayed at the hospital "almost half of his life." Her friend encouraged her to join Tacoma Chapter of Hokubei Senryu, telling her that senryu would make her feel better. (field notes, Yoshimizu, October 18, 2007)

Miwa-san was the first person I interviewed in this project. She kindly prepared a list of the ten favourite pieces she wrote in the past. I asked her to describe each piece one by one. In fact, when she picked me up by car and shared her story on the way to her house about how she came to join Hokubei Senryu. Thus, she provided me with an introduction to an understanding of her relationship to senryu before we started the formal interview. Our conversation in the car set my framework for hearing about the experiences she sang in her senryu. All the stories Miwa-san shared with me were very affective, full of memories of her husband, who had passed away just a year ago. This is not surprising, considering that her senryu practices were inseparable from her relationship to her husband from the beginning. Her telling was very lively, and it sounded that she was talking about her loved one as if he was still alive.

A single word,
  "stupid you,"
is full of love

Miwa-san   This is a husband-wife thing. "Stupid you," you know, husband says that
            when you get into trouble. People often say, "Stupid you, don't be
            bothered too much!" But when he says that to you, there is a full of love.
Ayaka   What kind of situation do you think of?
Miwa-san   Well, small things. When I get into trouble, to give you an extreme
            example, a car accident—I haven't experienced it though—I am worried
            because the car is crashed, and I talk to my husband. He first says "Are
            you alright?" and then, "Stupid, you, you don't have to worry about it,
            the insurance will pay." It's my emotional state in that kind of situation.
                                                     (Interview, October 18, 2007)

My internal voice: *What is the factual experience she is referring to in this senryu? The example*

she gave me was a fiction, because she says she had never experienced a car accident. Then, when did it

happen? Exactly when did her husband say "Stupid you"? She is telling me that he did say the word to

her, but she does not recall exactly when. She just tells me, "A long time ago."

Instead of providing me with factual information about when and under what

circumstance he said "Stupid you," she emphasized again that although the word "stupid"

sounds rough, "there is love in it." Later, she did not recall the dates of writing for the rest

of her senryu pieces, either. This was the first time my preconception about "history" was

challenged during my research. I learned that factual accuracy and precision were less

important in senryu. In terms of this particular piece, it seemed to me that it was not about a

one-time event. It sounded rather that this moment, her husband's utterance, "Stupid you,"

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[65] Miwa Yoshimura (1996, p.184). This piece is included in a senryu anthology, *Amerikan Senryu Gekijyo*, edited by Kenbo Tamura and Katsumi Minaki. The year of publication of this anthology is in fact not clearly indicated but I assume that it was published in 1996 based on the date identified in Tamura's preface ("prologue"). While many pieces that Miwa-san shared with me during the interview are included in this anthology, she did not mention it. I happened to find her pieces in this anthology after my fieldwork.

was part of his everyday conversation with Miwa-san. The piece brought up the moment even after her husband's death. In fact, she described the example in the present tense as if her husband was still alive. His word, "Stupid you" is still living today in her everyday life and moves her kokoro.

Talking about the piece, she looked into space, somewhat feelingly, happily, and she added that she liked the piece very much. Her tone sounded joyful yet not too excited. She was recalling her husband. Sitting beside her, listening to her, I was nodding about the warmth of such a word like "stupid" exchanged in an intimate relationship. I was trying to trace my memories: *Who said that to me most recently?*

Ayaka	How did he say "Bakadana" ("Stupid, you") in English?
Miwa-san	Oh, my husband can almost speak Japanese. He studied it very hard. So when I say, *ojiji*, he returns, *obaba*.[66] When I say "You are like *hyottoko*," he says "You are *okame*."[67]...So when we plan to bring kids to the movie theatre (secretly), we talk in Japanese, just two of us. He understands almost everything. Sometimes it's lucky, but sometimes not, because when I talk to my friend and say bad things about him...
Ayaka	He understands everything?
Miwa-san	He understands everything!

She goes on...

前向きに生きよう明日の陽を信じ[68]
Maemukini ikiyoasuno hiwoshinji

Shall we look forward
   and live another day,
believing in tomorrow's sun

Miwa-san	Don't look back, try to look forward, do your best, believe in your dream, dream for tomorrow, it means something like that.

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[66] Ojiji is a teasing expression for "grandpa," and so is obaba for "grandma."

[67] Hyottoko is a droll face man. Okame is its female version.

[68] Miwa Yoshimura (1996, p.184).

Ayaka	What does this piece remind you about?
Miwa-san	This one...I was emotionally down, because my husband was hospitalized. But even then, I kept writing senryu, "No, I shouldn't be like this. I cannot walk forward if I am looking back like this," I encouraged myself, "There is tomorrow, let's live today wishing for tomorrow," and this piece came out.
Ayaka	What was your "dream" back then?
Miwa-san	My dream, of course, I wished my husband a good health. I was hoping that my kids would grow up and do good work in society...
Miwa-san	He got heart trouble after getting over from the cancer, and he had a heart attack...His heart stopped four times. It happened when we were having a family dinner at a restaurant...I asked the restaurant manager to call an ambulance. It took us to a medical hospital...It happened at seven o'clock and I was finally able to meet him again past eleven. The doctor said very seriously, "His heart stopped four times, but he managed to come back. He needs to be hospitalized"...My husband's best friend came and he drove me back home. I didn't drive, because I went there by ambulance...
Miwa-san	Many bad things had been happening at that time and I was emotionally down to live everyday life. So I thought, "I shouldn't be like this," "Look forward."

The similar ideas appeared again in another piece:

信じねば明日の虹が消えてゆく[69]

Shinjineba ashitanonijiga kieteyuku

If you stop wishing
  tomorrow's rainbow will disappear

Miwa-san	You cannot continue living if you have no belief. [A belief could be that] "there will be another morning." If you don't believe in this, there is no meaning in your life. By the "rainbow will disappear," I mean that you'll lose your hope...Humans cannot continue living without dreams. Imagine that you just get old, having nothing left. That's too boring. So you need some hope, a prop...I too wish a good health for myself, and I have other dreams. Humans must have dreams, they support your life. They will eventually make up your omoide. Yeah...I have lots of omoide in each piece...

(Interview, October 18, 2007)

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[69] Miwa Yoshimura (1985, p.220). This piece is from a catalogue of Japanese senryu writers published by Nihon Senryu Kyokai (Japan Senryu Association).

My internal voice: *These two senryu pieces are particularly oriented toward the future. How could this be "historical"? How does it tell about her past?*

What is unique about these pieces is that in writing them, she is not so much working with her past memories per se, but with her present emotional state and with her future. She struggled with the present and wrote her kokoro, wishing that her present experience would become omoide tomorrow. Omoide, which is usually translated simply as "memory" in English, often signifies "good" or "pleasant" memories, memories that make one feel happy and become nostalgic in a positive, productive way. Omoide is not just something that is recalled unconsciously without one's active involvement, or that comes to appear in one's consciousness after being triggered by symbolic forms that remind her or him of the past experiences. Rather, the concept implies a person who actively names some of her or his particular past experiences as omoide over other memories. Furthermore, the Japanese speaker often says, "Let's make omoide," referring to a future activity planned ahead. The speaker's intent is not to passively hope that the activity will become a "good memory" in the future, but rather to motivate herself or himself or a group of people to spend a memorable time together.

It seems that her practice of writing senryu is not simply about recording the past or present but also about encouraging herself to actively live the present through textualization. It is also about projecting herself positively into the future, so that even if she has struggles and trials, they will become omoide, "good memories," when she reflects back in the future.[70] Through senryu writing, she attempts to transform herself. History becomes something she actively creates, but not in the modernist's sense of "historical progress,"

[70] In her study about senryu sung by Issei immigrants who were incarcerated in the Santa Anita Assembly Center during WWII, Kumei (2002) also suggests that some senryu sing the writers' belief that the time of suffering would eventually end and become omoide (p.244).

moving toward one direction, believing in the "better" future (Huyssen, 2003, p.2). Behind

her words, "They (moments she lives where she projects herself into the hopeful future) will

eventually make up your omoide," is a notion that if one actively engages with today, she or

he will be able to live tomorrow harmoniously with the past. Today is the future's past;

hopeful moments of today will later be omoide, which she continues to remember through

her senryu. In this case, working with the past takes place after the senryu is written.

Her last words, "I have lots of omoide in each piece" further imply that her senryu

sings about "lots of good memories." Following this she continued, "Each day, each time, I

have omoide, and they become 5-7-5. Even in the most boring piece [is full of omoide]."

"So", she told me, "'your senryu is like your child,' my teacher once told me. He said, 'You

have to cherish it, never imitate others." She then described her senryu as *jikkan-ku*.

Ayaka   What is jikkan-ku?
Miwa-san   Pieces that you actually experienced. You actually thought so...If you pour
            your kokoro in a piece, your senryu becomes animated. Say you think,
            "This flower is beautiful." You don't end there, but keep thinking why it is
            so beautiful. Say, if you've worked hard to grow the flower, then it gains
            different meanings. Even the grass is not there for nothing. It is there to
            live, right? Dandelion, too. We may think that we want to have the
            strength like dandelion. These desires and feelings bring jikkan into your
            kokoro and into your senryu.
                                                          (Interview, October 18, 2007)

Jikkan-ku is contrasted with *sozo-ku*. According to her, sozo-ku is "something you write

based on your imagination. So these are not authentic, real pieces...There is no kokoro in

such pieces, no truth." In fact, all of her favourite pieces, the ones that she shared with me,

were zatsuei-ku, the form of senryu with no assigned topic, which allowed her to explore her

immediate experiences from everyday living.

The following two pieces suggest somewhat different memories:

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Living modestly
—crying
and smiling

Miwa-san	It means that I am living modestly in my social relationships with my mother-in-law and my friends, while I also cry and smile behind the curtain.
Ayaka	Which means, you cry and smile but in public...
Miwa-san	I don't show it.

Miwa-san	I encounter many things each day, because I am a human-being. But I try to be modest, not to stand out. So I take a step backward in front of my mother-in-law, and serve her. I don't push myself in relationships. If you maintain such an attitude, there would be no trouble. Now you know what the next one means:

<div align="right">

郷に入り郷に従い和を保ち[72]
Goni'iri gonishitagai wawotamochi

</div>

Stepping in a new country,
I follow the local way
and maintain peace

Miwa-san	Same thing. Once you enter this living here, people have their own family ways, you know, about many things. So you follow them and live in harmony, maintain peace. This is my wish.
Ayaka	Did you feel so when you came here?
Miwa-san	Yeah, once you come to America, there are American conventions. So you follow them, and live in peace.
Ayaka	Were you living with your parents-in-law when you first came here?
Miwa-san	No, no, but they were still alive, and my husband was their first son. His parents were very against his marriage with Japanese. When he left for Japan, he was told not to bring back a Japanese woman. My husband joined the army when he was in his sophomore at university. It was right after the attack on Singapore, so his parents weren't feeling good about the Japanese. But after they met me—because I was not a clattery person— they began to like me. And I thought, "I see, it works in this way." No one

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[71] Miwa Yoshimura (2006, p.98). This piece is from a senryu anthology, *Sowan Senryu Ginsha Souritsu 60 Shunen-kinen Jisen Jyukku-shu*, published by a senryu group in San Francisco, Sowan Senryu Ginsha.

[72] Miwa Yoshimura (1996, p.184).

told me but from my experience, [I learned that] "I need to live in the American way of living."

It seems that she did not find it too difficult to follow the American way, as she also commented, "I wouldn't have been able to survive longer than three days if I had married a Japanese man! It's much more laid-back here. Family relationships are less complicated in America" (ibid.).

For some reason, these pieces did not work on my kokoro as much as the other pieces. In fact, these pieces were where heteroglossia comes into play in a more explicit way. In the second piece, she explicitly uses a Japanese proverb, *Goni-itteha goni-shitagae* (7-7), which means, "in a new country, follow the local way," or, "when in Rome, do as the Romans do." The employment of the proverb, which recalls "old ideological" ideas, makes the piece sound almost obsolete. The words she used to describe the first piece—"being modest," "taking a step backward," "follow [others]"—triggered in my mind a word that is often used in the recent Japanese war bride discourses: yamato-nadeshiko (the "true Japanese women"). In addition, when she said "following American conventions," she did not seem to be simply suggesting that it was important to become more like Americans. Combined with the former piece ("Living modesty..."), it rather sounded to me more about being a stereotypical Japanese woman. These pieces created conflicts in my mind.

My internal voice: *Could it be interpreted as part of the Japanese war bride discourses? Whose voice dominates these pieces? A self-identified Japanese war bride's voice? Or, I should rather say, the voice of "an old conservative Japanese male"?*

I was hearing a collective voice through these pieces. They did not move my kokoro. Instead, I was attempting to analyze how these pieces were shaped ideologically. The tone

and colour that these pieces created in my kokoro looked exactly like those that dominate the discursive space in which the "Japanese war bride" is represented with nationalistic terms. They were static, fixed, complete, and moreover, they were distanced from my kokoro. I could not relate them to my own experiences of being a contemporary Japanese woman.

Miwa-san then emphasized, "The Japanese in America is more Japanese than the Japanese in Japan" (interview, October 18, 2007). This further made me wonder what her notion of "Japanese-ness" was. When I followed up and asked what she meant in the comment in the second interview session, she first explained by pointing out the difference between the parent-child relationship of the old days and that in contemporary Japan: "In my generation, we used to respect parents and old people. Today, when I return, I notice the complete lack of such [attitude among young people]" (interview, November 16, 2007). Instead of telling me how this traditional philosophy is collectively maintained in the United States among Japanese women and Japanese war brides, she brought back her memories of her husband. And this, quite to the contrary, did not affirm the link that I thought existed between her last two pieces and the recent Japanese war bride discourses, disturbing my simplistic link.

Miwa-san   When we raised our kids, they didn't start eating until I was seated at the table. They waited, very patiently. Even when I said, "please eat," my husband didn't let them do that. He was very strict about manners. Our kids had to comb their hair and wash their hands before they were seated at the table, because that was how my husband was raised. He taught these manners to our kids, "Put a napkin over your lap, and do not start eating before your mother does." They had kept the rule.

Miwa-san   My daughter once said to her father, "Daddy, you used to be very strict about manners and I didn't like it when I was small, but today, whenever I go to a classy restaurant for my business I can perform very well, all

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thanks to you." She said that, clinging to his neck. My husband was very happy and crying...After his death, everything about him became omoide.

<div align="right">(Interview, November 16, 2007)</div>

Her senryu always comes back to memories of her husband. She used stereotypical words and manipulated their meanings to talk about her relationship to her husband. These memories can never be narrated in the way discourses about "Japanese war brides" present their life stories. Asked what was the topic that she had written about the most over the last thirty years, she said: "[My senryu pieces are] usually zatsuei based on my ordinary everyday living. You say 'thirty years' in a single word, but many different things happened in that 'thirty years'" (interview, October 18, 2007). She never lets any one single word bring the closure to her life story, as she continues to produce senryu to sing her everyday experiences of the past, present and future.

Fuyuko-san's senryu: jyo

Key word: *jyocho* and *ninjyo*

Fuyuko-san and Miwa-san are close friends. Both are members of the Tacoma Chapter, and both started senryu around the same time. Fuyuko-san joined the group in 1976 and Miwa-san joined the following year. They also used to study senryu together by "assigning topics for each other" (Miwa-san, interview, October 18, 2007; Fuyuko-san also mentioned this during the interview on October 18, 2007). However, Fuyuko-san's senryu is quite different from Miwa-san's. Fuyuko-san was my second interviewee following Miwa-san, and I felt lost during the first interview session with her, not being able to find a coherent way to make sense of what made senryu "good." In the beginning, Fuyuko-san's senryu contradicted what I had learned as "good" senryu from Miwa-san: some pieces were based on her "imagination," and not on her direct experiences. Furthermore, she explained

that she liked the pieces she shared with me, because they won prizes, not because they

embodied particular omoide. Her senryu certainly looked sophisticated. I knew that she was

an expert of senryu based on others' comments and on the fact that she had published her

senryu elsewhere outside kukai (e.g. Ueki, 2002; Yasutomi and Stout, 2005, Ch. 6). Yet, at

first, the pieces sounded dry, felt less affective, and did not add many colours and tones to

my kokoro in contrast to Miwa-san's more affective senryu. They resembled photographs of

natural landscapes, which are beautiful and artistic, yet detached, and aloof.

It turned out that I spent the longest time with Fuyuko-san. I visited her home three

times, and I stayed over night at her home twice. During our sessions, we did not spend too

much time talking about her senryu except in the first session. Instead, topics included the

following: her travelling and living experiences overseas; her love for literature (French,

English, Japanese, Russian); politics and wars; her childhood memories in Nagano

prefecture; and her community activities in a Japanese women's club where she has served as

the president for eight years. In fact, it was these off-topic conversations where I gradually

began to understand the depth of her senryu pieces. Regardless of the topics, there seemed

to be two consistent themes, which she repeatedly came back during our dialogues and

which also run throughout her senryu: jyocho and ninjyo.

無理はもう利かぬと知った鍬の汗[73]
Murihamo kikanutoshitta kuwanoase

Sweat of hoe—
I realized that
my body no longer allows overwork

Fuyuko-san   I often work on my farm.
Ayaka   What do you grow?

[73] Fuyuko Taira (2006, p.59). This piece is from a senryu anthology, *Sowan Senryu Ginsha Souritsu 60 Shunen-kinen Jisen Jyukku-shu*, published by a senryu group in San Francisco, Sowan Senryu Ginsha.

Fuyuko-san   Many things, vegetables, flowers, fruits, I do it all. "Kuwano ase (sweat of hoe)" is a very senryu-like expression. Well, I actually use a "scoop" but I changed the expression to "hoe" [to accommodate to five syllables]. If you work, you sweat, and realize that you cannot overwork any more...The hoe (a scoop) itself does not sweat, but I expressed myself by personifying the hoe.

土愛す汗が農具を錆びさせず[74]
Tsuchiaisu aseganoguwo sabisasezu

My sweat
    loves the soil,
it never rusts my farm tools

Fuyuko-san   I work on my farm because I love the soil, so there is no chance for my farm tools to rust. I wrote this piece under the topic, "tool." This one was selected, too.

(Interview, October 18, 2007)

When she said, "my farm," she was referring to her garden outside her house in

Tacoma. During this conversation, I drew a picture in my mind, which was based on her

very concise description about these pieces: a first-person-look at the garden soil, pretty

flowers, organic vegetables... It was only when she began talking about her place of origin

and her sensibility to nature that these pieces began, little by little, to add an atmosphere to

the landscape images I created in my kokoro.

Fuyuko-san   I like working in the garden. I like flowers blooming. It never bores me, and it's good for my health. I'm actually from a farm family.
Ayaka   Where are you from?
Fuyuko-san   Kawanakajima, Nagano. My family did farming, so I have know-how. To grow this, I use this seed, and so on. So I never feel it's tough work. I rather like it. Once I start working, I lose my sense of time...[75]

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[74] Fuyuko Taira (1996, p.85). This piece is from an anthology, Zenbei Senryuka Jisen Sakhinshu: Wa, published by a senryu group in Portland, Bara Ginsha.

[75] Later she also commented that "I didn't like living in the countryside, I was a colourful type...I wanted to wear fancy dresses, which was impossible in my hometown. I say 'I love the soil' today, but I didn't want to be a farmer. Doing farming for living and for hobby are two different things" (interview, October 18, 2007). Her feeling toward farming is very ambivalent. I return to this point in Chapter Five.

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She continues, "There is another piece":

<div align="right">

乗り捨てて歩けば橋に水の音[76]

Norisutete arukebahashini mizuno'oto

</div>

Leaving car behind,
  I walk until I find a bridge—
the sound of a stream

Fuyuko-san   You don't usually happen to hear the sound of a stream, if you just pass it by car. You realize the sound of water for the first time when you walk by.

Fuyuko-san   If you go to a quiet place in the mountains, you'd realize it for the first time. You have to be away from the hustle and bustle of the urban life.

<div align="right">(Interview, November 16, 2007)</div>

At this point, I was still puzzled by some of her pieces that were apparently based on her imagination, or at least not based on her recent experiences of her everyday life in the United States. My assumption here was the following: a "good" piece should be jikkan-ku, which is written based on the writer's actual ("real") experiences. But many pieces Fuyuko-san shared with me were sozo-ku written based on her imagination.[77] Noticing my confused reaction, she might have thought that I did not understand the piece. So she began to express the peculiarity of the Japanese sensibility for nature, for the expression of nature in senryu, by employing the notion of jyocho:

Fuyuko-san   You have to actually practice senryu until you become familiar with its nuances. Japanese nuances are especially difficult to understand for a foreigner...Say, you hear the frogs' chorus at night in the summer. Would non-Japanese understand that taste? I don't think so. Or, singing of insects.

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[76] Fuyuko Taira (1996, p.85).

[77] I have already introduced the term "sozo-ku" above on p.110. Also see glossary for its meaning.

Ayaka   It might be just another noise.

Fuyuko-san Yeah. Insects signify the fall, night in the fall...I've heard once that there was a person from Europe who was trying to understand Japanese jyocho. One day, he was taking a walk in the Japanese countryside and saw a *kaya* inside a house. You know kaya?[78] (I nodded) The family was sleeping in the kaya, but there were also fireflies flying in there. And then the person finally realized, "Oh, this is Japanese jyocho." We hear it and understand what it means easily. But it might not be the case for others.

(Interview, October 18, 2007)

My imaginary space: *A thatched house in the dark, quiet rice field surrounded by mountains, softly illuminated by the moonlight, the moon half obscured by the clouds, the still, humid air, and endless chorus of frogs, gero, (gwa), gerogero, (gwa)...Walking by the house—paper screens are left open—I notice weak, small dot-like lights flying in the room—I also hear sleep-breaths—the lights, slowly moving in the air, very weakly, very slowly. It makes me excited but also wistful, because I know that they are here today, gone tomorrow.*

I returned to the piece, from the rice field to the mountains.

Ayaka   So when you say "the sound of a stream," do you imagine the view between-mountains?

Fuyuko-san Yeah, in the mountains, valleys...

Ayaka   Are they mountains in Nagano?

Fuyuko-san Mountains in Nagano, that's right. Places I used to walk, mountains in Shinshu.[79] Shinshu has a lot of mountains and valleys.

Fuyuko-san If you go to places like that, you hear nothing but a stream, sometimes birds cry and monkeys cry. The sound of a stream is the true, natural sound of water. You wouldn't feel that you are hearing water if you were on the Azuma Bridge over the Sumida River.[80]

(Interview, October 18, 2007)

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[78] Kaya is a Japanese term for a mosquito net. It is rarely used in the household today, at least, in urban areas of Japan.

[79] Shinshu is an old name for Nagano.

[80] Sumida River runs through part of Tokyo and ends in the Tokyo Bay.

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My internal voice: *No, I wouldn't even able to hear any sound of the water on the Azuma Bridge because it would be drowned out by other noises of cars and people.*

She repeatedly said that she missed the four seasons of Japan: "I want to experience the sense of seasons once more." She described Japanese nature as she remembered it from the old days so vividly that I even felt that I was viewing a short film:

Fuyuko-san   The sky in Japan is different from what you see here. It's dark in here. Japan is brighter, especially in May. Maybe it's something about geography...I love Japanese four seasons, I especially liked looking at clouds. I lay in the field like a dummy, people would have thought I was crazy. My taste is unique...I used to enjoy the season like that.

Fuyuko-san   Japan is truly beautiful, it's got beautiful green—not so much today because of the auto exhaust. My favourite was May. In Shinshu, May is the get-out from the long, cold winter. When April ends, the wind, northerly wind completely stops. And as I told you, when April comes, kites start to fly high up in the sky and flow in whirls. But there is no wind down here. They ride on the wind up above. As time passes, it comes down and down, and at around three o'clock, the wind blows, you know, in March and April. Northern wind, northern wind, bleak, annoying. It's bleak, always brought me a dark feeling. But it completely stops at five o'clock in the evening. This cycle repeats everyday. And every time I knew, "Kites took that turn, oh, it'll be windy today again." But when the weather is nice in the morning, it means the spring has truly arrived. Larks chirp, the sky becomes bright. I wonder if these things still exist.
Ayaka   Hmm...I don't really experience that in Tokyo.
Fuyuko-san   Maybe not. Yeah, people in Tokyo wouldn't...There is no sense of the seasons whatsoever over there...I want to meet the glittering sunlight of May, once more.

(Interview, November 9, 2007)

My internal voice: *This image, the landscape that is full of jyocho might be something she always recalls when she works in her garden, her little farm. This image really is her everyday experience.*

I was finally able to make a link between her pieces and her memories of Japanese pastoral landscapes, as well as a link between her pieces and my own memories of Japanese

pastoral landscapes. I am not even sure if the landscapes I imagined came from the images

portrayed in some of Studio Ghibli's animation films, such as *Grave of the Fireflies* (Takahata,

1988), *My Neighbor Totoro* (Miyazaki, 1988), and *Only Yesterday* (Takahata, 1991), or from the

images I remember from the few occasions I visited the countryside outside Tokyo. In any

case, I realized then that it took time for me to actualize such an image, because I had never

lived in the Japanese countryside. I was not as sensitive as she was to the seasonal change—

the little signs that the wind, kites, and the sky give us. I did not recognize these signs and I

did not have the language to describe such a change. It was not her expression that had

made her pieces look detached or aloof, but it was myself, my lack of experiences and

knowledge. Finally, however different the sources of images of Japanese pastoral landscape

were, I was still able to fill my kokoro with the atmosphere full of jyocho.

Then she told me that she first realized the positive aspect of Japan, including jyocho

and natural landscapes only after she left Japan: "You realize the goodness of Japan after you

experience living outside it" (interview, October 18, 2007). When she was living in France

after her husband was transferred to an American base there, she ordered the complete

collection of modern Japanese literature and this was how she learned about the Japanese

aesthetic sensibility. Part of her vocabulary and expression used in her senryu, such as "jyo,"

might have come from the literature she has read.

The word *jyo* in jyocho, generally means the movement of kokoro, and this

movement does not occur only in the context of the appreciation of nature or seasonal

change but also in the context of human relationships. Human jyo does not discriminate

nature from people, or other way around; they are on the same continuum. Fuyuko-san also

mentioned the latter aspect of jyo as one of the things she missed about Japan when she read

Japanese literature. Here she brings up the word *ninjyo* (jyo toward people), which is closely

related to the notion of human compassion and the capacity to care about others.

Fuyuko-san	When I read Japanese *zuihitsu*,[81] I realize the goodness of Japan such as seasons, food, and ninjyo. I especially miss ninjyo of Shitamachi.[82]
Ayaka	Hmm, what do you think is the ninjyo of Shitamachi? I'm actually not too familiar with it.
Fuyuko-san	You know, Kuma-san and Has-san [in Shitamachi during the Edo period], those guys like to do things for others.[83] If anything happens, they shoot out, rush into it and help people out. There is no American sense of "not my business." Today in Japan, too, there is a sense that you have to protect your privacy, but things weren't like that in the old days. It might be noisy sometimes, but if the family over there got a baby but got no help, an aunt in the neighbourhood said "All right," and jumped in to support. If an uncle passed away, people in the neighbourhood got together and discussed what to do. Something like that, they liked to help others outside your own family.

<div align="right">(Interview, October 18, 2007)</div>

My imaginary space: *Not exactly like Edo ninjyo, yet that "humidity" in human relationships*

still exists today in Japan—not in my neighbourhood in Tokyo where I grew up, but in student clubs, school

circles, workplaces. The human humidity—your body feels it. It's always around you, with you, enters into

you; it's sticky and annoying, but it enriches your kokoro, never leaves you alone. Sometimes I miss it, too.

We were always updated what was going on with everyone in the group, good news and bad news. We knew

repertoires of each other's clothes. We were informed of each other's schedules, Monday to Sunday. We were

aware of relationships between here and there. We shared achievements and losses.

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[81] Zuihitsu is a Japanese literature genre characterized by the "random" or "formless" mode of composition (Keene, 1967, p.xvi).

[82] Shitamachi literally means downtown, but it usually invokes the image of a particular area located in Tokyo, which is inherited from the pre-modern Edo period. In Edo, Shitamachi was inhabited by ordinary town people and it was where the Edo popular culture, including senryu, flourished.

[83] Kuma-san and Has-san are two fictional characters set in Edo.

As I talked and spent more time with Fuyuko-san, the following piece, which she

had shared with me in our first session, began to make sense to me at a much deeper level.[84]

<div style="text-align: right">

電話ベル今日も私を放っとかず[85]
Denwaberu kyomowatashiwo hottokazu

</div>

Phone bells
*   for another day*
never leave me alone

At first, she simply explained, "I have many relationships and nobody forgets me, I

have many friends. I'd think, 'Maybe it'll be finally quiet today.' No way, the phone bell rings

one after another. It means, nobody forgets me, everyone needs my help" (interview,

October 18, 2007). This piece was actualized, now in the *factual* sense, several times when I

was at her home. The phone rang quite frequently. Each time she answered the phone, she

repeated the piece, "Phone bells for another day never leave me alone!" People who called

her were either from her women's club, the senryu group, or her neighbourhood—often

they belonged to more than one of these—and all of them were Japanese women around her

age. It seemed that it was not only that others cared about her and made phone calls, but

also that they called her for her help, because they knew that she took care of others. She is

a Kuma-san and Has-san to them. Now the piece actualizes that sticky humidity in my

kokoro. Later when she talked about her women's club, Tampopo no Kai, which is

sometimes regarded as one of the "Japanese war bride groups," it also began to look

different.

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[84] I have already introduced this piece in Chapter Three (p.94).

[85] Fuyuko Taira (1985, p.220). This piece is from a catalogue of Japanese senryu writers published by Nihon Senryu Kyokai (Japan Senryu Association).

My internal voice: *The heart of the club may not just be about establishing the presence of Japanese war brides in the larger society, or being an ambassador group from Japan, but is about having another version of Kuma-san and Has-san for amongst themselves.*

Fuyuko-san   These days, more people [in the women's club] are becoming widows. I went to a meeting the other day, and one of members came to me, crying. I'd been talking to her over the phone, but wasn't sure, so I asked her, "What happened?" She said, "My husband passed away." People emotionally support each other like this. If there are unfamiliar faces, they introduce each other. They need these helps, especially because we are getting old. There are also those who become demented. The best way to prevent it is to get together and talk…Communication is important. If you make an organization like this, people are able to socialize. People cannot be able to make friends or talk to each other, just because they are both Japanese. So I think making opportunities for people to get together is important. As I said earlier, it doesn't take more than three meetings until a person develops familiarity with others.

(Interview, October 18, 2007)

Her last words seem to be true. I visited her three times, met her at kukai two times, and she has been more than one of my "research participants." Now, she appears in my kokoro with a humid atmosphere. She and her pieces move my kokoro, and I know that this is what is called the phenomenon of jyo. Whenever I call her by phone, I imagine that she must be uttering the piece for another time: *Phone bells for another day never leave me alone.*

Tomoko-san's senryu: wa

Key word: 和 (wa) and 輪 (wa)

和 (wa): 1) peacefulness, repose; 2) to be friendly, to get along with somebody; 3) to accommodate oneself, to be blended well together; 4) sum (mathematics); 5) Japan, Japanese. (Shinmura, 1998)
輪 (wa): a loop, a circular object. (Shinmura, 1998)

The first thing I noticed when I visited Tomoko-san's house was a daily calendar of

Mitsuo Aida's poetry hanging on the wall just above the stairs to the living room.[86] His

unique calligraphic style was familiar to me, as well as his "piece of the day." I was delighted

to encounter the piece unexpectedly, because it was my favourite piece.

> If a china and another china clash with each other
> they easily break
> if one of them is soft
> they are all right
> Let us have a soft kokoro
>   (Aida, 1995, n.p.)[87]

A framed character of "和" (wa) written with brush also caught my eyes. It was also

hung on the wall of the living room. Lastly, nearby the dining table where Tomoko-san and

I spent so much of our time during our conversation, there was a big stone placed on the

floor together with the title, again, "和" (wa). It is interesting to think back about why these

three objects particularly drew my attention, because her living room was quite decorative

and there were many other objects that should have attracted my attention, for example,

furniture and ornaments from Thailand, a Japanese tea set, and family photographs.

Mitsuo Aida's poetry and the Chinese character of "和" (wa) have something in

common, not only in a visual sense (calligraphy), but also in a semantic sense. Interestingly,

from our conversation I found that one of the three senryu pieces Tomoko-san initially

showed me shared a similar semantic quality, which is symbolized by the notions of "和"

(wa) and kokoro.[88] These became the themes of our conversation as I will describe below.

During our conversation, even when she was talking about other senryu pieces, or

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[86] Mitsuo Aida is a Japanese chirographer and poet.

[87] This poetry piece is untitled.

[88] All these three senryu pieces were her favourite pieces and were hung on the wall of the other side of the living room.

completely different topics, she often came back to these two notions. In fact, we spent an

unusually long time tracing the meanings that this single senryu piece could signify. In this

process, I also asked about the stone and the framed character, both of which are entitled, "

和" (wa). As she explained the histories and meanings behind them, she always connected

them back to the senryu piece. While the piece does not speak about a "single factual event"

that took place at one point in her life, she still recalled bits and pieces of various different

memories, all of which brought us back to "和" (wa) and kokoro. She "assimilated,

reworked, and re-accentuated" the word, "和," that had been used by others to tell her

stories (Bakhtin, 1986, p.89). By combining its meanings with her notion of kokoro, she

actually produced new meanings for the senryu piece. Given the richness of the meaning

that the single piece generated during the dialogue, I pay attention only to this piece here and

attempt to hear what it sings about her experiences.

お互いの心の繋ぎ明るい市[89]
Otagaino kokoronotsunagi akaruishi

A cheerful city
  is made from
the bonding of kokoro

Tomoko-san	This piece received a prize from Yashiro Kokusai Koryu Kyokai (Yashiro International Exchange Association). Surprise! They had called for senryu pieces to celebrate the synoecizing of three towns…I didn't even try to win the prize, I just wanted to support them because they needed senryu from us. Ono-san informed me about the news, "You won the prize," and it surprised me. I didn't even write it down to keep it for myself.
Tomoko-san	It was for the celebration for the newly-born Kato city—I guess it is in Hyogo prefecture, I don't know much about the city. The local group,

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[89] I do not include the publication information about this piece in order to protect the author's anonymity. Tomoko-san's husband kindly translated this piece into English, and I use his translation except for the word, kokoro, which I left in Japanese.

	Ashitaba Senryu called for senryu from outside the group…We used to have a relationship with Ashitaba Senryu…
Ayaka	Where did this idea come from, "the bonding of kokoro"?
Tomoko-san	I'm telling you, people need bondings from hearts, okay? Simply being friendly to each other is not enough. They have to work for the city from their kokoro to connect one another. That's what I meant. This is what I call, "the city bound by kokoro." Because three towns gathered, there are people from all over the place. Three towns come into one city, so everyone has to be united for the new Kato City. That's why I put the "bonding."
Ayaka	How do you think people can create a strong bonding? What kind of attitude is required?
Tomoko-san	Of course, [they need to work] for the City, the goal is "for the City." Well, don't think too much, take it lightly. Imagine everyone holding hands with each other.

<div align="right">(Interview, October 29, 2007) [90]</div>

So I came up with a picture: *People from different backgrounds holding hands, making an endlessly huge circle, surrounding the City, the World*…Probably this image came from one of advertisements of United Colors of Benetton. Later, she further developed meanings that this piece signified by making a connection to different moments in her life when she felt the importance of having a "bonding."

| Ayaka | I was thinking that maybe this idea came from your volunteer work in the women's club. |
| Tomoko-san | Hmm, maybe. Well, as I told you earlier, my belief—that it is important to help each other—is coming from my experiences of being born and raised in *gaichi* (a Japanese colony). You often say "pick" in English, "pick somebody," you know, "That person is this and that" (in a critical tone). Don't be narrow-minded like that, see? Everyone, please look at that person's good side, and hold hands. My friends from gaichi who returned to Japan together are my best friends. We hug each other and cry when we are reunited. |

Prior to this conversation, she had told me about her childhood experiences of living in one of the Japanese former colonies in Korea. She is the youngest child among four

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[90] All the following quotes in this section are based on the interview I conducted with Tomoko-san on October 29, 2007.

siblings and was born in Korea in 1929. Later she pointed out a photograph of her parents

and said, "My father was a police officer and was sent [to Korea]. He was the chief officer

and was being transferred from place to place. He got a daughter during that time, that was

me." It was at her age of sixteen or seventeen when she "returned" to Japan. Her

childhood experiences in Korea seem to be remembered as particularly cherished memories

in her life. She described these memories as omoide. She repeatedly told me that she

wanted to write stories from those days before she forgot.

Ayaka	You commented earlier that people who have experiences of living in gaichi or outside their home countries have broad minds. What does it mean?
Tomoko-san	Well, at that time, Japanese people in Korea were privileged. So we were less constrained in some sense. And I think people who have lived in the continent (as opposed to the island, that is, Japan) are not too complicated. Well, ten people, ten colours, so sometimes it's not the case.[91] But on average, people gained some form of mental strength after living in gaichi.

She later shared the story of "return" which she called an "awful experience,"

including the experiences of immigration and the strict Japanese customs, and of settling

down in her unfriendly relative's home. This might also have contributed to her notion that

living in, or rather, leaving, gaichi required mental strength.

The fact that she was raised outside Japan immediately increased my affinity toward

her. While she told me about her experiences in a Japanese colony in Korea, I was recalling

my days in a small Japanese community in Moscow. Like her, I cherish my memories in

Moscow and I still have a strong relationship with the Japanese friends I made there.

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[91] "Ten people, ten colours" is a Japanese expression, which means that if there are ten people, there are ten different characteristics. It means that no one has the same personality. Here, Tomoko-san uses the expression to explain that it is difficult to generalize people's characteristics.

My internal voice: *Could it be what she calls the "bonding of kokoro"?*

I understood what she meant by "we were less constrained [in Korea] in some sense," because I felt the same about my life in Moscow. This might be because my family was privileged economically and socially in Moscow as guests of the Communist regime, like that Tomoko-san was privileged in Korea under Japanese imperialism, or, maybe because Japanese social norms lost their power and transformed when they were dislocated in a different context. I also recalled my bitter experiences of "return." For a few years after the return, I felt out of place in my own country.

She then shifted her topic to her women's club in Bremerton and continued:

Tomoko-san	In our women's club, people blur blur blur about other members. I did the president for six years and sometimes I had to stop it. [They said] "You are harsh." No, I'm not harsh. I had the responsibility to stop it, because otherwise it would have got more serious, right? You ladies, you came from Japan and live far away from the homeland. It is some kind of bond that let us be connected in this foreign land, on this huge earth! I met you, Ayaka, because there is some bond, some connection. So let's get along, be friendly, with a bonding from kokoro. From kokoro, not just on the faces...
Tomoko-san	Now, I'm in the Board of Director of the club. I just help them for the development of the club. I nag them, because the club just celebrated the twenty fifth anniversary, it has come such a long way! So, everyone, please holds your hands...
Ayaka	So it comes back to your piece, "A cheerful city..."
Tomoko-san	That was about the City, but [the bonding of kokoro] is important in any relationship. Whether you are in America, or in Japan, or in family, see? Bonding between children and parents is important, too.

Talking about the "bonding of kokoro," she came up with the notion of "wa" and replaced it with kokoro. By making a circle with her fingers, she said, "This is an image of binding [jointing] wa." The sound of "wa" simultaneously evoked two Chinese characters in my mind: 和 (wa) and 輪 (wa). Together they further created a misty picture and replaced my

earlier Benetton's advertisement image: *peaceful kokoro—it looked round-shaped in the image—are connected with each other and making up a circle, just like a loop of chains.* In fact, the notion of "輪," which usually signifies a "loop" or a circular object, coheres with the notion of "和" as "peace," since roundness is very much related to softness as in personality and in relationship. This quickly connected me to Mitsuo Aida's piece, and his expression, "soft kokoro" in particular.

At the same time, her utterance ("binding wa") triggered my attention to the stone on the floor, and then to the frame on the wall. This was the point at which I began to play an active role as a listener in generating her accounts out of her senryu piece.

Ayaka	I have noticed the stone, "和," just there.
Tomoko-san	Oh, this stone! My husband and my youngest son were digging the ditch outside the house, two of them. They were trying to let the stream go. I was standing there, and this stone just rolled out. Of course it was muddy, not clean like this. Then I said, "Keep this stone!" I like stones…I like stones. I have lots of them outside the house. Something from this earth solidify and become stones, I like them. I said to them, "Keep the stone" and washed it later. This is so beautiful, isn't it…The reason why I put "和" is that there was a peaceful atmosphere when the parent and the child were working, sweating, shirtless.
Ayaka	I see. Then what is the framed character, "和," hanging over there?
Tomoko-san	My niece is a calligraphy teacher. She doesn't teach any longer but used to. And she asked me once, "Aunt, do you want any of these [calligraphic pieces]? I have some." So I said, "That's great." But you know, this is square, "I cannot get a frame for this in America." "I can give one for you," she said. So it was hard to bring this back here, because it's square.
Ayaka	So your niece wrote this.
Tomoko-san	She did. So it doesn't have to do with the stone. The stone is from a long time ago, and later on I happened to get this frame from my niece…She had several other characters, too. There was "dream," too. But I said, "I like '和.'"
Ayaka	Why do you like the word?
Tomoko-san	I like it. "和," peacefulness…"和" is important in our lives. Think about it. Calmly, peacefully. In any situation, if you can bind it, there is no fight, no divorce, see?

The character also represents Japan or Japanese philosophy. I wondered if she related her philosophy to Japan.

Tomoko-san	Yes, after all, I love Japan, Japanese kokoro will never get away from me.
Ayaka	What is Japanese kokoro?
Tomoko-san	Maybe it is different now among your generation. Young people might ask, "What is Japanese kokoro?" But the old Japan…It's hard to describe…
Tomoko-san	If I go back to Japan today, and ask someone a question at a train station. I'd say, "Excuse me." And he'd reply, "I don't know (roughly)!" I often feel sad. If he doesn't know, he could respond in a more polite way.
Tomoko-san	I believe it was different in the old days. Maybe it was the same in the past. But in my kokoro, it was not like that back then.
Ayaka	How do you remember Japan [of the old days]?
Tomoko-san	Even if you don't know the person, you smile and say, "Good morning." After I returned [from Korea], I lived in a rural area (Tottori prefecture), so people said *Ohayo-gozansu* ("Good morning" in the dialect) and bowed. And if I was in trouble, they always helped me. I clearly remember that…
Tomoko-san	My husband, when he was in Tottori, he used to go buy cigarettes. He said, *Ohayo-gozaimasu* ("Good morning" in the "standard" Japanese), and the woman said, *Ohayo-gozansu* (Good morning) in the Tottori dialect, "Oh, you are the groom of Matsuda family." He was so happy and made a trip every morning just to see people in the shop. It was Japan like that.
Ayaka	Is that your image of "和"?
Tomoko-san	Yes.

It seems that Tomoko-san's philosophy sung in the piece, "A cheerful city is made from the bonding of kokoro," originated from her different experiences of being in Japan, being outside Japan, and remembering Japan. Our conversation about the piece developed in different directions but these apparently unrelated stories eventually returned to the notion of "和" and the "bonding of kokoro." New meanings of the piece were also generated in the living dialogue between her and myself. Furthermore, the dialogue with

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Tomoko-san was very circular, making multiple circles. While each circle does not completely repeat itself, it was just like a loop made up with jointed rings ("輪"). And this piece confirmed that even though it does not describe a "single factually true event" that took place in the past, it still reaches her different memories, and her kokoro.

Suika-san's senryu: laughter

Ambivalent laughter in senryu: it is gay, triumphant, and at the same time disconsolate, teary (modified Bakhtin, 1984, p.11-12)

From field notes:

Sunday, October 7, 2007: Meeting with Ono-san

Ono-san suggested that I talk to Fuyuko-san, Miwa-san and Suika-san. Apparently they are the oldest folks ("masters") in Hokubei Senryu. Suika-san has been ill for past few years and has not shown up for kukai, but according to Ono-san, "it shouldn't be a problem for her to talk to you at her home." He kindly offered to introduce me to her when he meets her next week. (field notes, Yoshimizu, October 7, 2007)

Suika-san is a very cheerful and talkative person. Everyone who knows her agrees on this: she amuses everyone. Time passed very quickly whenever I talked to her over the phone or face-to-face. She is also witty. In every conversation, she instantly came up with senryu that illustrated the topic. I was surprised how readily and skilfully she inserted senryu in her normal speech during the conversation. Senryu really is her everyday genre.

When I heard her voice over the phone, I was almost positive that her health was perfectly fine. But in fact, I had to reschedule the initial plan for the interview at the last minute due to her condition. As a result, she was the last person among the four senryu writers whom I met. The interview finally took place on the second last day of October 2007.

Out of nowhere, her telling broke out as soon as I arrived at her home...

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Suika-san	I was a nurse then and I was always joking around. My husband likes the cheerful type, that's why he was attracted. And then, yeah, I wanted to stay in Japan, I wanted to have higher education...Oops, I was supposed to be talking about senryu, not about us.
Ayaka	No, no, it is relevant.
Suika-san	Is it?...All right then! My husband left the army and left Japan. But he was eager to return to Japan. I never thought about coming to America, never. Besides, my family was old-fashioned, and it was obvious that they were going to disagree. To begin with, I had no sex appeal, I was just funny...And this guy, he left the army once, but wanted to come back to see me by any means. At that time, you could not travel to Japan so easily. And the war started, the Korean war. He jumped into it.
Ayaka	Just to see you?
Suika-san	Yeah!

(Interview, October 30, 2007)[92]

I was completely absorbed by her cheerful telling. She left me with no time for reflection. She then went on her long utterance all at once, but let us fast-forward her story until we get to the topic about senryu:

It has been fifty six years since our marriage...The commander came to him and said, "Why do you want to marry Japanese?"...The head nurse then came to me, 'you have a perfect job, why do you have to go to America?'...As long as I became a Christian, my mother-in-law didn't care which country I was from...She kept writing her diary until 105 years old when she finally passed away. I do that, too. I've been writing a diary since marriage...The life in North Dakota, it was very different. Snow comes up to the roof, like in Aomori...My sisters-in-law were very nice. I never became home sick...When I left Japan, nobody missed me: *Ishiomote owarerugotoku kokyowoideshi* (Ugly face leaves home as if she is running away from it)...[93]

She also said several times that she was not welcomed by local Japanese Americans when she came to Seattle, except for the Issei members of Hokubei Senryu. She was also

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[92] All the following quotes in this section are based on the interview I conducted with Suika-san on October 30, 2007.

[93] According to Suika-san, this is a well-known senryu piece written by an unknown author.

excluded from white American society, as I will describe below. "It was," she said,

"*shimensoka* (the situation of being forsaken by everybody)."[94]

Suika-san	But senryu group didn't have such hostility...All the old folks were well educated.
Ayaka	What kind of people were there?
Suika-san	Issei people. They were 70 years old at that time. Every group was occupied by these people, even church. The Japanese church didn't welcome newcomer people like us. There were people in a uta group who wrote that hostile sentiment downright in uta...[95]
Ayaka	When did you join senryu group?
Suika-san	Fuyuko-san has been [there for] thirty years. She started two years earlier than me. Miwa-san, when I joined, won the highest prize. "Wow, even such a young person is able to win the prize." I was wishing to get one, too. They started about two years earlier than I did. Anyway, Fuyuko-san is very good at it. You met her, right?... Miwa-san writes good senryu, too.
Ayaka	Her kokoro appears.
Suika-san	Yeah, yeah, yeah. Fuyuko-san never writes those ones. She writes the true senryu.
Ayaka	What do you mean?
Suika-san	Well, "true" might be a wrong put. Fuyuko-san always says, "I don't select 'sweet' ones like 'mother's heart.'" She writes senryu that make me say 'aha!'"...
Ayaka	What kind of senryu do you write, Suika-san?
Suika-san	Suika-san's are "sweet."
Ayaka	Hahaha.
Suika-san	Sweet. Because I like people. These are mostly about people. Last year, for some occasion—oh, it was for the Cherry Blossom Festival—I did a piece for our fiftieth-year-anniversary since our marriage. I wrote:

<div align="right">

来世も一緒になると脅かされ[96]
Raiseimo isshoninaruto odokasare

</div>

"*I will marry you
   in the next life again,*"

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[94] Shimensoka is an old expression that originates in China. It originally means to become surrounded by enemies, while having no supporter.

[95] I mentioned the term, "uta," on p.76 in Chapter Three. Suika-san uses the terms "uta" and "tanka" interchangeably. See glossary for a brief description of each term.

[96] Chieko Suika (n.d.). From her description, it can be assumed that this piece was composed in April, 2006. The annual Seattle Cherry Blossam and Japanese Cultural Fstival took place between April 18th and 20th in Seattle. According to Suika-san, Hokubei Senryu had its own booth at the festival (personal communication, June 16, 2008). One of the members wrote this piece with a brush on *shikishi* (thick and fancy papers) to exhibit and sell them on site (ibid.).

he threatened me

Suika-san   This piece made everyone laugh. Recently I became ill and wrote another
one:

来世も条件付で承諾し[97]
Raiseimo jyoukentsukide shoudakushi

I accepted the offer
for the next life
with conditions

Ayaka   Why "with conditions"?

Suika-san   It is conditional. He always hangs out outside, doesn't do much
[housework]. Besides, he's got a chickenheart. I do all the fixing jobs, and
he says "This is a nightmare." This one, that one, I did them all…His
timidity is [a problem]. So it is conditional. In addition, he doesn't say
anything bad. He can't, even to sales people. I made a lot of loss because
of that! When the phone rings, he always dilly-dallies. I tell him to say,
"You've got a wrong number." When I answer [the phone], I say "I don't
speak English" and hang up!…He is very gentle, yes.

Suika-san   What I deeply feel is that it is truly happy that I have someone to talk to
when I wake up in the morning. So I'm thinking about writing a piece on
that for the coming topic, "Spring." That guy is being gossiped by me [in
senryu] so often, but he doesn't know.

Suika-san also regularly writes tanka and sometimes haiku. Her familiarity with

different Japanese poetry genres might be due to her family background. She told me that

her father was a haiku writer, and also shared a story of her family grave that was engraved

with a haiku piece, which was illegible to her due to the old cursive style. She mentioned

that her family had produced many poetry writers. Her family background might have

influenced her initial interest in tanka and haiku. While Miwa-san sings jikkan-ku through

senryu, Suika-san does it through tanka: "tanka is 5-7-5-7-7, so there is more room to put my

emotions." In fact, she has a longer history of writing tanka than senryu. She talked about

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[97] Chieko Suika (n.d.). Suika-san does not recall the date of composition for this piece. But she wrote
this as a sequel piece of the earlier one (*I will marry you…*).

the time when she worked as a military nurse at a field hospital in the battlefront near

Beijing. Her face suddenly became serious for the first time.

Suika-san	I wrote uta (tanka) in the battlefront, too.
Ayaka	In the battlefront?
Suika-san	Yes, in the battlefront. But I didn't know senryu then, so was writing tanka…
Ayaka	What made you write tanka in that situation?
Suika-san	Because I like uta. And if I had not written those things, I would not have been able to remember my mind of those days. It was total despair. I was thinking, "Why did I come here?" It was "for the nation." Do you understand? "For the nation," everything was "for the nation." There was something called "Battlefield Admonishment." You don't pledge to the God, you do that to Emperor. We were forced to read it everyday. It was a brainwash. And we were told, "Your life is like a feather," like a feather. It blows off…

I was not able to find appropriate words and just kept listening. I was not able to

imagine what those tanka pieces looked like. She told me that she did not bring her tanka

back to Japan, because there was a rumour that she was not allowed to bring anything in the

country. The only things she brought from China were a few group photographs she took

with her co-workers at the field hospital. She shared them with me without hesitation and

briefly introduced the people in the photographs. She said, "I thought, 'how can I live

without omoide!?' and sneaked these pictures in my shoes." Asked why she chose

photographs over tanka to bring back to Japan, she said, "I can write it anywhere." Maybe it

was more important for her at that time to keep pieces of "documentary evidence" that

reminded her that she was there with these people. I was amazed by her mental capacity to

identify omoide even in the most despairing time. And her words, "I can write it (tanka)

anywhere" convinced me about her familiarity with the genre.

She has long been singing her despair and joy, her jikkan, through tanka. I imagined

that she would have told a different history if our dialogue had been centred around her

tanka pieces. She uses senryu to bring laughter. She emphasized the playful tone of senryu as a genre and a humorous, cheerful atmosphere of the senryu group from the old days. The laughter which humorous senryu bring is inclusive and never offensive to anyone. She told me that she began senryu because she loved the people she met at kukai in Seattle and the humorous aspect of senryu. From my experiences of talking to kukai members, it seems that she continues to bring laughter to the group today with her humorous pieces. While her senryu often sings her relationship with her husband, her senryu practice itself has developed in a strong relationship with the old and new members of the group.

Nonetheless, senryu laughter is ambivalent; behind such laughter is always a trace of disconsolate, teary moments. In the initial phone conversation, she told me that the cheerful Issei members from the old days were using senryu as a "mental sustenance."[98] Probably she meant that by memorizing events in a humorous way through senryu, Issei members momentarily forgot their burdens and possibly transformed painful experiences into laughable and warm memories. The earlier Suika-san's pieces (ones about "the next life") suggest that she also writes humorous senryu to repeatedly actualize laughable moments to remember the positive side of her life. In fact, she later commented, "I have never cried about the relationship with my husband!" Yet her other senryu pieces, which I found from her senryu notebook that she showed me, rather sing the negative experiences of her life in the United States.

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[98] Kumei (2002) studies senryu sung by Issei immigrants who were incarcerated in the Santa Anita Assembly Center. She argues that to these Japanese-speaking Issei immigrants, senryu served as a way to express their emotions (delight, anger, sorrow, and pleasure) at the time of oppression, and hopes toward future (p.243-244).

On my long way
  were also days of tears
for longing home

She wrote this piece when she attended the Japanese International Marriage

Convention, which was organized by the Nikkei International Marriage Society and took

place in California in 1999. It sings her experience through the more collective voice of the

Japanese diaspora, particularly, the diaspora of "Japanese war brides" who migrated to

foreign lands. She explains:

Suika-san   This is about everyone. Everyone longed for home. There might have
              been friction with her mother-in-law, [problems caused by] national
              difference, and miscommunication with her husband…everyone longed
              for home. I generalized these feelings in this piece. Not everyone got along
              with her husband like me, and however happy she was, she still longed for
              home, yeah, longed for Japan. We were not able to just fly back there like
              today.

In the piece above, she utilizes senryu to sing a collective experience of Japanese war

brides. However, it is now sung in senryu, which speaks too little to form a narrative. For

example, there is no explicit word that indicates whose experience it is; and it does not reveal

what happened in the beginning and in the end. Its meaning is less determined than the

"Japanese war bride" discourses produced by the mainstream media, auto/biographical

publications and academic literature. Its meaning is much more open to different

interpretations. I then asked what this piece sang about her individual experiences.

Ayaka   Did you miss Japan, too?

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[99] Chieko Suika (n.d.). Suika-san wrote this piece when she was attending the Japanese International
Marriage Convention (Nikkei International Marriage Society) held between October 23 and 25 in
1999.

Suika-san   Well, sometimes, especially when I heard Japanese old songs and when I heard my mother's voice. But I knew that I could never go back. Those were times when I missed Japan. Yeah, "home." I wrote a senryu piece later that the death of my mother made home far away.

母逝きて故国は遠い島と知る[100]
Hahayukite kokokuhatoi shimatoshiru

Mother passed away
and I realized that my homeland
was a distant island

At first, it seemed to me that her piece ("On my long way...") was only about the collective memories of Japanese war brides who longed for their homeland. However, in our dialogue, the piece in fact actualized her personal memories about her mother and mother's death. The same piece would have actualized different personal memories if it had been read by other women participating in the Convention. In fact, it would actualize memories of anyone who lives away from home. As I uttered this piece, I thought about my own "way" outside my "homeland," days in Moscow, days in Vancouver, and days in Seattle. While discourses of "Japanese war bride" tell me about experiences that I never experienced, her senryu piece reached my memories.

My internal voice: *Ten years later when I come back to this piece, I wondered, what memories is it going to activate in my kokoro?*

Another piece she wrote during the Convention reads:

泣き笑い異国の人生今日の幸
Nakiwarai ikokunojinse kyonosachi

Crying and laughing—
my life in the foreign land
and today's happiness

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[100] Chieko Suika (1996, p.193). This piece is included in a senryu anthology, *Amerikan Senryu Gekijyo*, edited by Kenbo Tamura and Katsumi Minaki.

Suika-san	My life was filled with tears and laughter...We had no money. My husband was laid off and he brought no money on the Christmas day. I had such a day, it happened when he was working at Boeing. It was after he had bought a car. We had the car and we had debt, couldn't eat. So I began working.

She continues...

Suika-san	American land was very discriminatory...
Ayaka	Did you experience any?
Suika-san	Here? Here? What are you talking about!
Ayaka	So you...
Suika-san	It was okay as long as I went there by myself, you know, to American stores. But when I was with my husband, it was so explicit. They didn't serve me when it became my turn.

Suika-san	My neighbours were all white. When I waited at the bus-stop right there, nobody talked to me. I was forsaken by everybody, including some Issei...There were those days, too. I was young, so didn't care about it too much. It's upsetting thinking back from now. Those days, on the bus—because I always took the bus—when I found a seat, young girls next to me moved to other seats. I was putting perfume, and they said, "Your smell gives me a headache."

I asked her, "What is the 'laughing' part of your life when you say 'Crying and laughing'"? She replied, "I laugh, because I became happy. I can talk about stories of crying, I can laugh and talk about these stories, because my status changed, the social environment changed." Behind her laughter is a trace of teary, despairing moments: WWII; exclusion by "everyone"; husband's layoff; mother's death; her illness. Later she told me, "Listen, if you want to get along in life, don't let many things bother you too much. Days go by, no matter what." No matter what, she always comes back to laughable moments...

Suika-san	I liked humorous pieces. I was good at sekidai.
Ayaka	Better than zatsuei?
Suika-san	Better than zatsuei. It just flashed on...I used to have the flash, the skill, but not any more.

Suika-san   I don't go to kukai. I tell them that I cannot write on site anymore. I don't want to write bad pieces. But if you try to write good ones, that brings you pressure and that's what I have to avoid. My first priority is my health. You'll be surprised if you see the number of my pills. My life is controlled by them. But then, in the last *dohigin*, someone wrote about me, *Yokukita chiekonokuchiha yokushaberu* (The medicine took effect on Chieko's mouth, it talks a lot)![101] It is still okay, still acceptable. There is another one, *Batteriga kiretemochiekoha yokushaberu* (Chieko keeps talking even after her battery runs out)! How rude (laughs)![102]

Dohigin pieces are senryu written anonymously by members of kukai about other members in laughable, but not too harmful, ways. By making fun of other members, these pieces show intimate relationships between them, again, rather than insulting individuals. She seemed happy about being the primary target of dohigin. Being such a target, in fact, demonstrates the strong intimacy she has with other members.

I was able to see her again at the kukai in November. Other members told me that it was first time in the past year that she attended kukai. She fully participated in the two sekidai sessions, and of course, she fully exerted her mouth throughout the meeting.

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[101] Chieko is Suika-san's first name.

[102] Both the dohigin pieces presented here are included in the ryushi, *Hokubei Senryu* issued in October, 2007. See Hokubei Senryu (2007) under the section "Dohigin" (pp. 9-10). Dohigin pieces are collected only once a year.

CHAPTER 5
PERFORMING HETEROGLOSSIA, PRODUCING HOMES

In the last chapter, I was able to share only a few senryu pieces among the hundreds of senryu my teachers have produced. While the pieces presented in this thesis characterize the themes that emerged during our dialogues, they are by no means the perfect representatives of their senryu. It is important to note that these pieces are only a few links in the "chains of utterances" they have built (Bakhtin, 1986, p.69), and therefore provide only fragmentary images of their "histories of kokoro." What is more, it is extremely difficult to give an explanation of everyone's senryu practices in a coherent way, since the practices differ.

However, my teachers' senryu practices share some characteristics. I argue that my teachers all produce distinctive temporalities and spaces in their practices of senryu. Based on the "histories of kokoro" my teachers shared with me, in this chapter, I conduct a meta-analysis of the discursive space in which they practice senryu, focusing both on their temporal and spatial experiences. I discuss how the temporality and space produced through my teachers' heteroglossic utterances are irreducible to the homogeneous time and space of the nation.

I will first suggest that their senryu practices all involve a certain way of experiencing temporality, which is not based on the linear notion of time that characterizes the temporality produced by modern History. I will then examine their spatial notions of "Japan" and "home." I argue that neither complies with nationalistic notions of "Japan" that are dominant in Japanese war bride discourses. Nor do their "histories of kokoro" align

themselves with "minority histories" of "ethnic" groups, which claim that they need to be added to the list of members who have contributed to the history of nation building. My teachers use different languages to speak about their experiences and negotiate identities that are irreducible to "national subjects" from either the United States or Japan. There is a crucial gap between their "histories of kokoro" and what has been currently presented as "Japanese war bride history" by some scholars—including Ethnic Studies scholars in the United States, Emigrant Studies scholars in Japan, and Historians in the both nations—who employ the national framework.

Through their discursive practices of senryu, I argue that my teachers produce multiple notions of home that are constructed *beyond* national spaces. Their notions of home are both imaginative and real, both personal and collective, and keep being transformed and transforming their inhabitants.

Attending to temporality

I define "temporality" as a subject's experience of change. My teachers' senryu practices are inseparable from the notion of change. More precisely, they always pay attention to how their kokoro notice a change and how their kokoro react to it. As I will discuss below, my teachers' experiences of change usually involve working with their memories of the past and with the notion of the present. Thus, like modern History, their senryu practices involve working with the relationship between the past and the present. However, while the former reconstructs the past by objectifying it and distantiating it from the present, in senryu practices, the past is experienced as something that *comes back* in the present. The past is not a set of fixed facts, but is a living organism that transforms in the interactions with the present. Furthermore, while modern History only implies the present

as the consequence of the past, my teachers' senryu practices, especially zatsuei writing, often

begin with paying attention to the present experiences of their kokoro. My teachers then

brings bits and pieces of past memories to sing their present experiences. Thus, the past can

be the consequence of the present.

Fuyuko-san told me that a senryu writer is required to have the capacity to "attend"

to the world and its changes. Ideas for senryu could be found in one's surrounding and

experience of everyday living when she or he is attentive to them; "Otherwise, everything

simply passes by and will be gone," she said (interview, October 18, 2007). This reminded

me of two sets of lines I memorized at my middle-school in Japan. These are the openings

of two zuihitsu written in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries[103]: *Hojyoki* by Chomei

Kamo and *Tsurezuregusa* by Kenko Yoshida. *Hojyoki* reads:

> Ceaselessly the river flows, and yet the water is never the same, while in the
> still pools the shifting foam gathers and is gone, never staying for a moment.
> Even so is man and his habitation. (Kamo, 1971, p.1; originally written in
> 1212)

Tsurezuregusa reads:

> What a strange, demented feeling it gives me when I realize I have spent
> whole days before this inkstone, with nothing better to do, jotting down at
> random whatever nonsensical thoughts have entered my head. (Yoshida, 1967,
> p.3; originally written between 1330 and 1332)

The former sings the shifting nature of society as an analogy to the flowing river.

Kamo's eyes are directed toward the world that keeps changing. In the rest of the work he

critiques the political and social vicissitudes of his society around the time he wrote the

zuihitsu. On the other hand, Yoshida's writing begins as he attends to the shifting nature of

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[103] I have already introduced the term, zuihitsu, in Chapter Four. See footnote on p.121 or glossary
for its definition.

his own kokoro. The rest of *Tsurezuregusa* is the outcome of his attempt to "jot down" internal thoughts that appear and disappear in his kokoro.[104] While he states in the beginning that his zuihitsu is based on "random whatever nonsensical thoughts," they in fact constitute his philosophy of living and politics. Both are characterized by the writers' attentiveness to change and their "situationalization" of themselves in the change. Both zuihitsu are also highly analytical. Their textualization of change is distinct from what Andreas Huyssen (2003) suggests as memorization driven by "fear and danger of forgetting" witnessed in today's rapidly changing global capitalist societies (p.18). While these zuihitsu writers express evanescence of the living world, their writings are not necessarily wistful or unproductive ("nostalgic" in the negative sense). In fact, the evanescence and change of the world are the source of knowledge and their productivities as writers.

My teachers' senryu presented in Chapter Four often activated nostalgic feelings toward the "good old days," such as one's earlier life with a loved one (Miwa-san), the pre-war landscape of Nagano (Fuyuko-san), and peaceful days from old Japan (Tomoko-san). However, like zuihitsu by Kamo and Yoshida, nostalgia, in this context, is not necessarily an unproductive attitude oriented only toward the past. It is less about combating change by fixing self in a certain time, and more about being attentive to the change so their *work* with memories become productive in senryu practices. Fuyuko-san said, "Flowers are beautiful, because they are ephemeral" (field notes, Yoshimizu, November 17, 2007). If one's kokoro is sensitive enough to subtle changes in flowers, this is where her or his kokoro finds the true beauty of flowers. Nostalgia becomes a productive source for senryu writers.

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[104] In his original work, Yoshida uses the term "kokoro" for "head" that is used in the English translation.

Furthermore, the nostalgic feelings produced in their senryu practices do not entail an uncritical celebration of the past. In fact, although they often told me about the positive sides of their pasts, they do not completely embrace the old days as I mentioned in the Introduction and in Chapter Four. For example, they all commented that WWII was the most horrible time in their lives. Miwa-san said, "I was born in the most terrible time" (interview, November 16, 2007), and Suika-san recalled her experience during the war as "total despair" (interview, October 30, 2007). Even describing her life in Nagano, which were the memories that she cherished the most, Fuyuko-san commented, "I didn't like living in the countryside, I was a colourful type...I wanted to wear fancy dresses, which was impossible in my hometown. I say 'I love the soil' today, but I didn't want to be a farmer. Doing farming for living and for hobby are two different things" (interview, October 18, 2007).

They are also highly critical of Japanese society and its government during and before the war. Suika-san criticized Japan's wartime invasion of Asia and the government's justification of the war in the name of Emperor. She called "Battlefield Admonishment," which she was forced to recite in the battlefield in China, a "brainwash" (interview, October 30, 2007).[105] Fuyuko-san often talked about the harsh lives of sharecroppers in the Northern Japan before GHQ introduced Land Reform in 1947: "They were so poor. During wartime, they willingly joined the military, so that they could eat everyday...In the old system, they had to pay [their landlords] no matter how poor they were. That's why they had to sell their daughters [to *geisha* houses]...In the old days, things were totally different from today" (interview, November 9, 2007).

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[105] See Chapter Four p.135 for the more detailed story she shared with me with respect to her experience in battlefields in China.

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Thus, singing the "good old days" in senryu practices is about attending to the changing world and "establishing a link between a 'self-in-present' and an image of a 'self-in-past'" (Spitzer, 1999, p92). By doing this, my teachers actively re-define their identities, which keep transforming. The links between the past and the present are often constructed in the selective and analytical processes of identifying thematic consistencies in their own lives, such as experiences of "working with soil" (Fuyuko-san), of "building familial relationships" (Miwa-san), of "laughter" (Suika-san), and of "peaceful time" (Tomoko-san).

Recall one of Fuyuko-san's pieces: *My sweat loves the soil, it never rusts my farm tools.*[106] By writing about her everyday work in her garden and by attending to the growth of plants and flowers, she recalls her childhood memories of lying in the field and looking at clouds to enjoy the seasonal change. When she says, "I like working in the garden...I'm from a farm family" (interview, October 18, 2007), she connects the past and present and finds a continuity in her own self.

Miwa-san sings senryu by working with the memory of her husband. To Miwa-san what constitutes her "good old days" is the time she spent with him. This includes the period when she developed her relationship to her husband's family, and the time when she and her husband raised their children. In writing about these times, she also sings her old knowledge about Japanese traditional familial relationships, which she learned before she left Japan, because this knowledge has provided her with a philosophy to foster relationships with her husband, mother-in-law and children. By writing about these times, she makes a link between a self-in-present and selves-in-pasts. This link makes up who she has become.

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[106] I have already introduced this piece in Chapter Four p.116.

Everything she has sung in her senryu is now her omoide, which constitutes her present

identity in a positive way.

Suika-san brings back the laughable moments that she shared with her husband and

kukai members. She says that she "had no sex appeal," but her husband fell in love with her

because she was "funny." She says, "My husband always brings laughter, too. Yeah,

whatever happens, waking or sleeping" (interview, October 30, 2007). Laughable moments

are something that she and her husband have experienced throughout their married life. Her

senryu practice is also characterized by laughter. She began senryu in the cheerful

environment created by the kukai members thirty years ago. Her "good old days," which are

characterized by laughter, have motivated her senryu practices. These moments also

constitute who she has become as a writer and a member of Hokubei Senryu. While none of

the old Issei members remains, she still brings a cheerful atmosphere to kukai today. 1

repeatedly heard from the current members during my fieldwork that "Suika-san is funny."

For Tomoko-san, the "good old days" include multiple peaceful ("和") moments,

which were created by the "bonding of kokoro." For example, she experienced a peaceful

moment when she was in the former Japanese colony in Korea, away from her relatives. As

she grew up with other Japanese kids without being constrained by strict extended Japanese

family codes, she developed bonds with her friends who shared the distinctive experiences

of being away from their "homeland." She experienced a peaceful moment also when she

got to know other Japanese women of her generation in the foreign land of America and

created a social space where they could get together and talk in their mother tongue. She

also identified a peaceful moment when her husband and son were working outside the

house in Bremerton, "sweating, shirtless." She felt peaceful when people in Tottori

welcomingly greeted her husband in their dialect, "Good morning." Those moments are when she experienced bonds with other people, those are her "good days."

People change, many people they have known have passed away. Society changes, natural landscapes change, and so do the writers themselves. Yet if one is attentive to such changes, she or he can also find the continuity of her or his experiences of kokoro. Senryu is a historical practice in which my teachers attend to temporality so as to live today and tomorrow harmoniously with the past. The notion of omoide and their active selection of memories to textualize their experiences suggest that senryu writing is a way to connect the present to the past, and to the future.[107]

At the same time, my teachers' senryu practices imply that the past is in the present, or the past *comes back* in a renewed form and is realized in the writer's kokoro—flowers are ephemeral but they will come back and bloom the next year again. Senryu practices enable the writers to transcend the linear notion of time. Time *warps*: the bits and pieces of past moments come back to the present, as the writer sings the present or past experiences by working with memories. Recall Fuyuko-san's piece once again: *My sweat loves the soil, it never rusts my farm tools*. This senryu reads the moment when she was working in the garden in Tacoma; however, it was also the moment when she recalled the pastoral landscape of Nagano. The piece activates the landscape filled with jyocho each time she reads it. This is where the past and the present meet. When these different times are brought together, they further generate a new image about the present. The image of the garden in Tacoma, for example, gains jyocho of the farm in Nagano from the old days. The same thing is applicable to other pieces my teachers shared with me. Therefore, senryu temporality is

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[107] See p.105, 109 in Chapter Four or glossary for a detailed description of the notion of "omoide."

repetitive and circular like the seasonal temporality.[108] However, just like living organisms in nature, the meanings of senryu and the images of the past continue to grow and transform. The image of Nagano's landscape, for example, transforms as the language sources that Fuyuko-san uses to interpret her senryu, develop, as I will discuss below. Senryu is not arrangeable in the linear, chronological historical time where the past is always left behind. My teachers' experiences of change involve organic interactions between the old days and today.

Performing heteroglossia

When my teachers sing senryu, the image they invoke is in part often related to "Japan." In fact, their senryu, and their interpretation of senryu often involves identifying themselves as "Japanese" and their strong attachment to their "homeland." Their notions of "Japanese" sometimes overlap with what is defined as "Japanese" in the "Japanese war bride" discourse. For example, as I discussed in Chapter Four (p.112), it could be argued that in Miwa-san's two pieces, *Living modestly—crying and smiling*, and *Stepping in a new country, I follow the local way and maintain peace*, she identifies herself as "yamato-nadeshiko," or a "true Japanese woman." In what follows, I intentionally bring back some stereotypical images of Japanese war brides discussed in Chapter One and Two, and dialogically set them against my teachers' utterances, in order to highlight the gap between what is recently represented as "Japanese war brides" and how my teachers as senryu writers speak about their identities in more nuanced ways. While what they *state* often seems to be nationalistic, I argue, what they *sing* through senryu involve much more complex and ambivalent meanings. The term,

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[108] It also reminds me of Kristeva's (1986) notion of "women's time," which she explains are both "cyclical" ("repetitive") and "monumental" ("eternal") (p.191). However, I would like to emphasize the "change" that co-exists in the four *senryu* writers' experiences of circular temporality. Their temporality is circular, yet it transforms (therefore, not completely "repetitive" and "eternal").

"Japanese," is constructed in a distinct way in the discursive space of senryu. Moreover, meanings of being "Japanese" continue to be produced through my teachers' heteroglossic utterances.

To begin with, my teachers' notions about "Japanese" reveal that so-called "Japanese" is in fact heterogeneous. My teachers clearly distinguish themselves from other groups of "Japanese." On the one hand, being "Japanese" does not mean that they are another hyphenated group of Americans and form a monolithic "ethnic minority group." They are highly aware that they do not belong to the community of so-called "Japanese-Americans." It is not simply because some of my teachers were excluded by Issei immigrants and sometimes of their Nisei children, but it is also because of their cultural difference, especially from English-speaking Nisei and successive generations. My teachers all said, "They (Nisei) are Americans. We don't share the same culture." The meaning of being "Japanese" to them cannot be explained in the monolithic ethnic category. This statement also makes it evident that even if they often seem to view themselves as "American citizens" they still culturally distinguish themselves from other Americans in general.[109]

On the other hand, if one reads their senryu and their interpretations carefully, being "Japanese" does not mean either that they are Japanese national subjects forming a microcosm of the Japanese nation-state in their local communities. In fact, they distinguish themselves from people in their "homeland." This is suggested by Miwa-san's statement that "The Japanese in America is more Japanese than the Japanese in Japan" (interview, October 18, 2007). They have all noticed how things have changed in Japan. It was in fact

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[109] Miwa-san's pieces, "Living in modesty…" and "Stepping in a new country…" are good examples that can be interpreted as becoming a "good citizen of America" (a "model minority") by following the American way and maintaining peace at home and in her community.

one of the main themes they brought up in our dialogues. They often commented, "Japan

has changed," in terms of culture, economy, and natural environment, comparing with both

the pre-WWII period when they grew up and the post-WWII period when Japan was

completely devastated. Tomoko-san and Miwa-san both emphasized that "Japanese people

changed" and "*We* are different from *them*." What they mean by being Japanese, therefore, is

being *less* contemporary Japanese.

Can I conclude then that they are more "authentic" Japanese than Japanese

Americans and the Japanese in Japan? I would argue that their identity statements are not

simple affirmations of the notion that they maintain their "innate" identities as "Japanese."

Instead, I argue that the statements *produce* their identities in relation to others (the Japanese

in Japan, Japanese Americans, Americans in general, and so on). In fact, their Japanese-ness

and the notion of "Japan" are not fixed in the past or maintained in a "pure" form, but keep

transforming and being hybridized. As they sing senryu, they perform heteroglossic

identities by employing their intertextual strategies to capture in words their complex sense

of belonging. Their cultural hybridity comes into play in their senryu practices. Their

performances *sometimes* involve the employment of stereotypical terms that invoke essential

notions of the "true Japanese woman." But what my teachers mean by those terms is

constructed based on what their kokoro identify as important in their lives, and is often

different from the dominant notions of the terms.

For example, Miwa-san's use of the Japanese proverb, Tomoko-san's use of a very

stereotypical symbol of "和" (wa) that signifies Japan, and Suika-san's use of the Buddhist

notion of the "next life" cannot be explained without deeper understandings of their

concrete experiences and colours and tones of kokoro sung in senryu, which I introduced in

Chapter Four. Just because they employ these terms, one cannot conclude that they are

aligning themselves with stereotypical notions of Japanese women. In fact, while Suika-san uses a Buddhist concept in her senryu piece, she is not a Buddhist. Suika-san's was converted to Christianity when she married her present husband. She showed her strong faith in Christianity during our dialogue by saying that her goal was to do her best to serve God throughout the rest of her life (interview, October 30, 2007). The way she simultaneously uses Christian concepts and Buddhist concepts demonstrates her performativity in speaking about her identities.

These overused terms are only one source from their repertoire that enables them to speak about their senses of cultural belonging in one way or another. As I briefly mentioned in Chapter Three, they also often work with their "prosthetic memories" (Landsberg, 2007), by borrowing images and languages provided by the mainstream media or literature. The languages they use to describe their cultural identities, therefore, are not necessarily those that they learned in the past in Japan, but are those they acquired after they left Japan. They combine these mediated sources with their own memories and sing particular states of kokoro.

For example, Tomoko-san's samma fish piece is largely influenced by the representation of Edo Japan that was available in the United States through a Japanese satellite public broadcasting service. By portraying the image of the ordinary supper of townspeople of Edo without the current hustle-bustle of Tokyo, she sings her notion of a peaceful day in the fall, which makes up part of her sense of Japanese-ness. To Fuyuko-san, jyo is part of what defines her as Japanese. Her notion of jyo—especially Edo ninjyo— comes from the Japanese zuihitsu she first read in France. But later she also shared her direct childhood experiences of neighbourhood gatherings at times of crisis, such as fires and floods. She told me how people used to help one another outside their families, which

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today she translates as scenes of ninjyo. Furthermore, Fuyuko-san's memory of the landscape

of Nagano is in fact modified by a fairly recent Japanese documentary program on the region.

On the last day when I visited her home, she showed me the videotaped program, and I

realized that part of her description of the Japanese landscape had been based on images

from the documentary. She borrows these mediated images, such as an image of mountains

in Nagano, to describe what she remembers as the Japanese landscape, which constitutes

part of her identity.

Both their personal experiences and collectively shared language sources make up

the ways in which they translate their identities. The fact that they employ multiple language

sources to speak about their identities demonstrates the ambivalence of their identities that

often present conflicts with stable and fixed stereotypical images of traditional Japanese

women. In senryu, they do not sing themselves as "ambassadors" who represent the

Japanese state, or as "yamato-nadeshiko" who reproduce the Japanese nation, even in a

symbolic sense. As I have discussed, the ways they feel Japanese are much more diverse.

Rather than reproducing stereotypes and media representations, I view their senryu practices

as processes of renewal and change, which involve heteroglossic utterances about difference

(their identity statements as "Japanese") *through* difference (as of the discursive practice of

senryu that constitutes one of the positions from which they speak). This is to say that the

meaning of being "Japanese" are multiple because they have different discursive positions to

enunciate their Japanese-ness, and each enunciation constitutes the processes of

"becoming," rather than discovering who they "are" (Hall, 1990). Both their identities and

subjectivities are, therefore, in flux.

Senryu as a discursive practice also keeps transforming. It is not an inorganic, life-

less cultural practice that was brought and maintained by "ethnic minority" women from

Japan. It is not an "authentic," "national art," which Fanon (1963) describes as "serene and immobile, evocative not of life but of death" (p.225). Neither is it one of the "dying" cultures of the marginalized groups that needs to be "saved" before it disappears under the dominance of European cultural imperialism (Crosby, 1991, p.270). My teachers' discursive practices of senryu are dynamic, being developed by heteroglossic utterances of the writers who use and add different language sources. Monisha Das Gupta (1997) critiques academic literature on immigrant communities that assumes the "opposition between old, ethnic culture and new, American culture" and argues that immigrants are often aware of changes in their homeland and the contemporary culture there, due to "developments in telecommunications, information technologies, and conditions of travel facilitating transnational traffic" (p.582). As I mentioned above, my teachers also develop their sources for their senryu practices by using up-to-date information and images from the mass media.

While they often use the language sources that are available in Japan, however, the meanings they produce through senryu are unique and hybrid, which would not be duplicated by the Japanese in Japan. As I mentioned in Chapter Three, American senryu is different both from Edo senryu and from contemporary senryu in Japan. It is "sung by Japanese people living here, America, longing for home" (Miwa-san, interview, November 16, 2007). Therefore, they sometimes sing their recent experiences in the United States by describing the situation, borrowing images of the traditional Japan (recall Tomoko-san's samma fish piece), which may seem obsolete among the Japanese in Japan. I also often see their use of English terms in their senryu (e.g. "kitchen," "gas"). Often English terms serve better to actualize their memories since these are words that they actually use in their everyday lives. Furthermore, how they translate English terms into the Japanese sound system and spell in Japanese characters often differs from how Japanese people in Japan

spell these sounds.[110] This also demonstrates the unique process through which they have developed their linguistic hybridity.

These examples suggest that American senryu became possible only in the context of *divergence* from the origin. Borrowing Gupta's (1997) word, it is a "transnational construction of tradition" that is born out of the negotiation between at least two cultures (p.590). It is also similar to Paul Gilroy's (1993) notion of the "non-traditional tradition," which he defines as an "irreducibly modern, ex-centric, unstable, and asymmetrical cultural ensemble," which is characterized by the processes of hybridization, renewal and invention (p.198).[111] What the four senryu writers sing in senryu, their "histories of kokoro," therefore, do not belong exclusively to either of the two nations, but is characterized by its hybridity, constantly invented and renewed *in-between* these national spaces. As I will discuss below, they are travellers and have been moving between multiple national spaces. Through senryu writing, the four writers speak "betwixt and between times and places" (Bhabha, 1994, p.227), and collectively and continuously produce "homes" their kokoro remember. Their homes are produced in the hybrid discursive space they practice senryu, somewhere *beyond* national space and time.

Producing homes

As I have discussed, in their senryu practices, my teachers imagine and sing the "home" they call "Japan." "Everyone," Suika-san said, "longed for home" (interview, October 30, 2007). At the same time, they are highly aware that Japan is not what used to be.

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[110] For example, for the term, "kitchen," they spell, "ketchin," in Japanese characters, while it is normally spelled "kitchin" in Japan; for the term "gas," they spell "gyasu," while it is normally spelled "gasu" in Japan.

[111] Also see the notion of "re-constituted traditions" in Fortier (2000, p.160).

If their "home" no longer actually exists in the fixed geographical place called "Japan," is there any relationship between the physical place, Japan, and what they sing as their "home"? Does their "home" only exist in their imagination and develop only through the mediated information?

In order to explore their notion of "home," first I need to trace their physical movements after they left Japan in the 1950s. Their relation to "home" is similar to that of other recent diasporic populations. The concept of "diaspora" seems to be useful to discuss my teachers' identities and notions of home, because it provides me with a transnational framework to discuss a migrant groups' sense of belonging, which cannot be explained by a concept such as "ethnicity," which usually assumes minor/major relationships formed within the nation-state system (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989, p.3).[112] Diasporas, "once separated from homelands by vast oceans and political barriers, increasingly find themselves in border relations with the old country thanks to a to-and-fro made possible by modern technologies of transport, communication, and labor migration" (Clifford, 1994, p.304).

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[112] The term diaspora, which originally refers to Jewish migrants, has recently been employed to explain "a whole range of phenomena that encourage multi-locale attachments, dwelling, and traveling within and across nations" (Clifford, 1994, p.306; also see Brettell, 2006). While the traditional conception of diaspora referred to "victims of forcible dispersion" (Cohen 2004: 3642), the term recently includes labour, professionals, business people who live abroad for voluntary purposes as new types of diaspora (Cohen 2004, p.3643, Fazal and Tsagarousianou 2002, p.7). Clifford (1994) distinguishes diaspora from other travel experiences, arguing that "it is not temporary," and that "the term diaspora is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement, but of political struggles to define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement" (p.308). Avtar Brah (1996) also suggests that while the notion of diapora is characterized by the image of a journey, "diasporic journeys are essentially about settling down, about putting roots 'elsewhere'" (p.182). Although there are some controversies on the definition of the term diaspora, there seems to be an agreement that the major contribution of the idea is its calling "into question the principle of modern political organization," or the nation-state system (Schnapper, 1999, p.227). Diasporic populations have traditionally demonstrated "the limitations of cultural homogenization policies led by the nation-states" (ibid., p.231-232). In comparison with the notion of "ethnicity," the notion of "diaspora" is also more useful in recognizing the heterogeneity within the group and the fluidity of the collective formation. For the limitation of the notion of "ethnicity," see footnote on p.52 in Chapter Two.

Like other diasporic subjects, my teachers and many other so-called "Japanese war brides" also have returned to Japan several times since departing it after WWII. In fact, Tomoko-san and Fuyuko-san both returned to Japan in the 1960s for their husbands' assignments in the military and lived in Kanagawa prefecture for a few years. My teachers, except for Suika-san, have made multiple short trips to Japan lately for personal visits or in organized tours. The largest Japanese women's club in Tacoma where Fuyuko-san serves as the president, organizes a group tour to Japan once every two years. During the period of my fieldwork, she was organizing another tour for Japan. While they are aware of the gap between an imagined Japan and actual Japan, their memories of home still motivate them to visit Japan, and as a result, their memories about "home" continue to be updated, not only through mediated images but also through their direct experiences of visiting the place.

Their imagined Japan also facilitates movement that enables them to *virtually* experience elements of Japan. They often organize short trips within Washington or to Vancouver, B.C. instead of travelling to Japan. Suika-san (interview, October 30, 2007) told me that before local Japanese grocery stores flourished in Seattle like they do today, she used to join tours to Vancouver across the border to purchase Japanese food that was only available there. Fuyuko-san told me that she had recently visited a hot spring in Washington although it was "not as good as ones in Japan" (interview, November 16, 2007).

Thus, when they imagine "home" and sing it, it is not a re-affirmation of "home" that only exists in their imaginary space. They do not simply stay put in their new home in America and reproduce the same images. It is the practice that takes place between the long

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processes of their discursive and physical searching for "home," or ongoing "homing" processes.[113] Not only do they imagine "home," but they also physically keep moving.

At the same time, like other diasporic populations, my teachers also expressed "multi-local attachments" due to "dwelling, and traveling within and across nations" (Clifford, 1994, p.306). For example, Tomoko-san spent the first sixteen years of her life in the former Japanese colony in Korea. It was clear from our conversation that she had a strong attachment to her days in Korea. Her notion of "home" is in fact "multi-placed" (Brah, 1996, p.197; also see Fortier, 2000, p.165).

Furthermore, returning to the place of "origin" (Japan) does not necessarily give my teachers a sense of *being at home*. They have "many imagined 'homes'" and "different ways of 'being at home'" (Hall, 1995, p.207). Avtar Brah (1996) summarizes this ambivalent meaning of "home" very well. Diasporas' "homing desire…is not the same as the desire for a 'homeland'" (p.197). For example, Miwa-san expressed a very ambivalent feeling toward "home": "I want to visit Japan, at least once every three years. Well, I very strongly long for my old country since I'm distant from it…But, you know, nothing is special back there. And, after all, I feel at home coming back here (in Tacoma)." Fuyuko-san, who had experienced living in multiple places within the nations and across oceans (Texas, Idaho, Hawaii, and Washington in the United States; Nagano and Kanagawa in Japan; and France), also expressed multi-local attachments and different ways of "being at home":

Ayaka   Reflecting back, where do you feel at home the most?

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[113] The original idea of the term, "homing" that I use in this context is based on my personal communication with Roy Miki (September 19, 2007). He came up with the term specifically to describe my diasporic on-going travel experiences of imagining and actively searching for homes in the process of travelling between spaces.

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Fuyuko-san	Well, I guess here (Tacoma), as I see myself now being settled down nicely. I didn't like Texas, because of the weather. People were very nice, but the weather was the issue. I don't know any other place drier than it…
Ayaka	How long were you in Texas?
Fuyuko-san	Three years, before I went to France. I was in France for four and half years. I liked France, it had something similar to Japan. Plus, French literature used to be my favorite when I was young…
Ayaka	You also returned to Japan.
Fuyuko-san	I lived in Japan at total of six years. My mother had cancer and was ill at that time, and I was able to nurse her. Japan was good, too. My husband was stationed in Kanagawa, Japan…
Ayaka	But you still feel at home the most here?
Fuyuko-san	Here is the best among other places I have lived. It is the closest place to Japan, the weather is nice—though I don't like rains. And we've got many Japanese restaurants…
Ayaka	Do you recall your hometown [in Japan]?
Fuyuko-san	Of course. I never forget, even for a single day.

(Interview, October 18, 2007)

While geographical and cultural closeness to Japan was always mentioned as the reason why she liked the places she had lived, she did not wish to return to Japan permanently. She said, "I know some people who returned to Japan after their husbands had passed away. They all regret. Why do people ever think about going back? If you stay here, you've got friends, at least" (interview, November 9, 2007).

My teachers' homing processes and multi-placed notions of "home" demonstrate what Stuart Hall (1995) suggests as the critical difference between home as the "root," a geographically fixed place of "origin," and home as the "route," a process of redefining places to which they belong. Their senryu practices certainly facilitate remembering and imagining "home," which both motivate and are influenced by their physical movements within and between the nations. What their historical practices—including imaginative and physical homing practices as well as their senryu practices—suggest is that their historical "origin" cannot be located in a fixed place like what the textbook of National History defines.

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My teachers are from different places in Japan, and their experience of Japan varies

from person to person. When they first immigrated to the United States, they did not settle

down in the same place, either. They were first all scattered nationally and internationally

and did not form a geographically delineable community like pre-WWII immigrants, which is

not surprising due the fact that their husbands were not people of Japanese descent.

Fuyuko-san and her husband settled down in Washington in 1970 after her husband retired

from the military. Fuyuko-san decided to moved to Tacoma, because she had heard from

other Japanese people she met in the United States that there were accesses to Japanese

foods and Japanese satellite TV programs in Washington. Tomoko-san immigrated to

Washington in 1959, but she moved with her husband to different places outside the

mainland of the United States, including Hawaii, Japan, and Thailand. Suika-san and Miwa-

san settled down in their current homes soon after marriage and did not move outside the

state. However, it was only around thirty years ago, after they retired from raising their child

and started to have extra time, when both Suika-san and Miwa-san finally began to

participate in Japanese community groups, including senryu and women's groups, and

developed a sense of Japanese community. Therefore, for a long time, my teachers had

different routes of imagining and redefining "home."

However, their imagined "homes" sung in senryu, including "Japan" and the other

places where they feel at home, do not seem just personal or individual, for senryu practices

are collective processes of singing "histories of kokoro," as I mentioned in Chapter Three.

The senryu space is a collective space. Through the practices of writing on the same topic,

being physically together at kukai, and reading each other's senryu, senryu writers produce

the imagined "homes," part of which overlaps with others' imaginations. Here, the

members engage in the intersubjective processes of actively building "chains of utterances"

and producing new meanings they can share. Little chit-chats about everyday topics during the meeting—about their grandchildren, health issues, food, recent travel experiences in Japan or elsewhere, and about Korean soap operas currently popular among middle-aged women in Japan—also provide them with sources to build a framework that all of them can share to write or interpret senryu. It often surprised me how similar the content of their senryu pieces were when they work on the same topic.

The distinctness of the culture they share becomes visible when I feel that I do not share the same experience when I hear others' senryu pieces. This is perhaps due to the generational, age, and other cultural differences between myself and the other kukai members. For example, they often sing about their American husbands, children, and grandchildren, people who are essential in their lives and create their sense of "home" in the United States. These have never been my senryu topics since I do not have such connections to the United States. For another example, when I attended kukai during my fieldwork, I had an assigned topic, "first dream." "First dream" refers to the dream one has on the New Year's night. Traditionally, the content of the dream is believed to signify the following year's luck. The topic was assigned to all the kukai members for the annual "New Year's Senryu," which was going to be published in the local Japanese newspaper, *Hokubeihochi New Year Special Edition.* It took me a long time to come up with a piece, because "first dream" had less significance in Japan today, at least among my generation. I was familiar with the term, because I had often heard it from my grandparents when I visited their house during the New Year Holidays. But it never came up in conversations I had with my friends. To most kukai members, it seemed that the "first dream" constituted one of the significant New Year's conventions in their "homeland" Japan. To me, it was a "foreign" belief, which I had never practiced.

In a sense, their collective imagination and collective facilitation of working with memories create affection and intimacy that constitute collective notions of "home" that their kokoro remember and produce. What is more, the discursive space where senryu is practiced, and where their utterances gain full agency, is and continues to be another "home" to which they belong.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

From field notes:

Friday, October 12, 2007: Kukai in Tacoma:

> *Ono-san called for topics for annual New Year's Senryu that would be published in the Hokubeihochi New Year Special Edition. Fuyuko-san made a comment that "something related to everyday living" was usually good for a senryu topic. People began to raise some ideas: "dream," "sunrise" (someone said, "I would oversleep and miss it anyway," and everyone else laughed), "New Year's oversleep," and the "first dream."[114] People agreed on the topic, the "first dream." Someone commented that it was a good topic, because "it gives people hopes."*
>
> *Trying to recall if I remember any of my "first dreams" in my life, nothing comes up. I know the "first dream" only "in theory," it's simply one of the old New Year vocabulary to me. I've never experienced it.*
>
> <p style="text-align:right">(Field notes, Yoshimizu, October 12, 2007)</p>

Friday, November 9, 2007: Kukai in Tacoma (At the Tacoma Buddhist Church):

> *When I arrived at the Church with Ono-san, there were two early birds: Fuyuko-san and Miwa-san. After setting up tables, arranging boxes for dropping sekidai-ku and mochiyori-ku, we sit at the table and began chit-chatting before other members show up. Fuyuko-san and Miwa-san started to talk about the upcoming New Yea's senryu topic: the "first dream."*

Fuyuko-san	I remember that the best "first dream" is Mt. Fuji, if you see Mt. Fuji in your dream, it will be a lucky year. The second best, I guess, is the hawk.
Miwa-san	Is there any hawk here?
Fuyuko-san	I think so, maybe if you go up to Mt. Rainier.
Miwa-san	I wonder if "Rainier hawks" will bring the same amount of luck (just like hawks in Japan)!
Fuyuko-san	When I was in Shinshu, I used to look up and see kites flying high up in the sky and flow in whirls.

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[114] "New Year's oversleep" is an expression that describes the way people spend the New Year's Holidays as they idle and take a rest being away from the regular work.

Miwa-san	Did you? Autumn leaves I saw in Kyoto were beautiful, too. I wish I could see it again. It should be the best season around this time. Have you been to Kyoto in the fall, Ayaka?
Ayaka	No, I went there only in the summer.
Miwa-san	You should definitely visit it in the fall once, it is so beautiful.
Fuyuko-san	Yeah, the fall in Japan is wonderful. It has jyocho.

<div align="right">(Field notes, Yoshimizu, November 9, 2007)</div>

<div align="center">***</div>

From the *Hokubeihochi New Year Special Edition (January 1, 2008)*:

New Year's *Senryu*: Topic "First Dream"[115]:

初夢が運んで欲しい年の運
(Hatsuyumega hakondehoshi toshinoun)
Wishing that my first dream will bring the year's fortune
—Fuyuko Taira

素晴らしい初夢を抱く新春の朝
(Subarashi hatsuyumewoidaku shinshun'noasa)
I foster wonderful first dream on the New Year's morning
—Miwa Yoshimura

幸運の初夢抱いて年迎え
(Koun'no hatsuyumeidaite toshimukae)
I foster a fortunate first dream and welcome the New Year
—Tomoko Matsuda

初夢を語り合ってる置き火鉢
(Hatsuyumewo katariatteru okihibachi)
We share each other's first dream at okihibachi[116]
—Chieko Suika[117]

飲み明かし初夢逃がす若正月
(Nomiakashi hatsuyumenogasu wakashogatsu)
We party over night and give away the "first dream"—the New Year of youth
—Ayaka Yoshimizu

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[115] These senryu pieces are cited from New Year's Senryu (2008, January 1).

[116] *Hibachi* literally means a "fire bowl" which is a traditional heating device in Japan. *Oki-* means "placing." Together, *okihibachi* refers to a fire bowl placed (usually mobile) on the floor.

[117] Suika-san's piece was not published in the *Hokubeihochi* since she had been absent from kukai when the topic was announced. However, her New Year's piece is included in the January issue of ryushi (Hokubei Senryu, 2008, p.13) with other members' pieces.

CONCLUSION
UN-NAME AND UTTER

Un-name

It took a long time for me to decide how I should "name" this study. I have argued that this is not a historical study about "Japanese war brides," but a "history of kokoro" produced by my senryu teachers. As one of the primary methodologies of this project, I employed an ethnographic approach, being greatly influenced by post-modern anthropological studies. This is distinct from *traditional* anthropological studies, which assume that culture is something that can be objectified, classified and controlled under the positivist scientist paradigm (Denzin, 2000, p.12). I do not name my study as a traditional anthropological study of Japanese women's "exotic" cultural practices, senryu, which can be displayed as an object for academic scholars' scrutiny. I do not want to "anthropologize" my teachers' senryu practices in such a way, as if these are easily objectified and exhibited as knowledge of "others" by means of scholars' own views and languages (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.105). Anthropologization, while assimilating their stories into the most comprehensible form to modern readers, paradoxically alienates the translated people from the readers. Stories of my teachers would be *consumed* once and for all like museum artefacts, instead of being *taken in* to the readers' lives (Lee, 1998, n.p.).

Chakrabarty (1994) asks, "How can one write/think/talk the non-West in the academy without in some sense anthropologising it?" (p.12). I have attempted to avoid anthropologizing my teachers' knowledge in telling their stories by employing a dialogic

mode of writing and using multiple languages and epistemologies that do not necessarily

have their traditions in the Western academy. What I have wished to do is not to translate

my teachers' experiences for objectification, but to translate them for an understanding of

discursive differences that constitute my teachers' subjectivities, emphasizing the doubleness

and hybridity implied by the dialogues.

While this is a study about difference, however, this is not merely a study of

institutional and discursive inequalities, such as racism and sexism, that have affected the

lives of women from an economically and politically disadvantaged nation.[118] It is certainly

important to examine the dominant discursive practices that represent my teachers, control

knowledge about them, and confine their identities. Nonetheless, I wanted to take a further

step and explore another discursive practice, another language that speaks about their

experiences.

This thesis is a study of cultural differences, multiple discursive practices and

subjectivities. I realized that such multiplicities existed through the dialogues with my

teachers. Their knowledge is marginalized in the epistemological empire that dominates the

modern Western and Japanese bodies of knowledge, yet it has an authority in another

discursive space. Borrowing Homi Bhabha's (1994) words, I learned history from my

teachers by attempting to shift my focus "from the culture as an epistemological object to

culture as an enactive, enunciatory site [in order to] open up possibilities for other 'times' of

cultural meaning and other narrative spaces" where "objectified others may be turned into

subjects of their history and experience" (p.255). Senryu, thus, is not an artefact, but is a

practice that provides my teachers with a site of knowledge production. Throughout the

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[118] By "an economically and politically disadvantaged nation," I refer to post-war Japan between 1945 and 1960 when "Japanese war brides" immigrated to the United States. In this context, I view Japan as disadvantaged, very specifically, in relation to the United States.

project, I have engaged with multiple epistemologies, multiple ways of producing historical knowledge, multiple positions of speaking, multiple voices I heard during my fieldwork, and multiple languages. This is a study of such differences, which I was only able to perceive by learning from my teachers.

Through my writing, I have attempted to visualize the "gap" between two historical practices, modern History and senryu; and two discursive spaces that speak about my teachers' experiences, "Japanese war bride" discourses and senryu discourses. This is not to essentialize the cultural difference between West and East, but rather to recognize the "irreducible plurality in *our own* experiences of history" (Chakrabarty, 2000, p.108, my emphasis). Cultural difference exists in every subject, and we need to be critical of what Chakrabarty (2000) calls the "anthropologist's politeness," or cultural relativism, that ultimately fixes difference by saying "I respect your beliefs but they are not mine" (p.105). As long as one continues *speaking* about "cultural diversity" by *representing* cultural minorities ("them") by using the dominant discourses from the dominant position of enunciation, one cannot begin *hearing* voices that tell us about the irreducible ways of being in the hetero-temporal/-spatial world. The world cannot be narrated in a monologic voice, and this world constitutes every single person who makes "heteroglossic" utterances.

I have also avoided too-readily representing myself as a feminist who is interested in Japanese post-war female migrants. My methodological approach, which emphasizes collaborative and dialogical relations between the researcher and "research participants," has been hugely influenced by feminist scholars (e.g. Behar, 1993; Dossa, 2004; Smith, 1999; Stacey, 1991). I also conduct a feminist postcolonial critique of the construction of Japanese war brides as sexualized "Orientals" and "grassroots ambassadors" i.e. servants of the nation. But at another level, I hesitated to explicitly identify myself from the beginning as a feminist

scholar who aligned herself with "third world feminist" scholars and attempted to decolonize her research relationship with their non-Western research participants by incorporating participants' knowledge in research methodologies (Smith, 1999). Here I was concerned that my identification as a feminist would automatically mold my teachers into the monolithic category of "non-Western women," which presents victim-oriented stories of "powerless" and "sexually harassed" subjects, prior to my telling of my teachers' transnational experiences (Mohanty, 2003, p.23). In the particular context of my goal to understand and translate identities they produce through their senryu practices, I was not sure if it was truly meaningful to highlight the oppressive patriarchal systems as something that played a primary role in determining their identities. While I begin my study by examining the construction of my teachers' experiences in these terms by popular and scholarly discourses, my study is concerned primarily with their poetic practices as alternative and inventive ways to enact multiple identities.

Thus while their gender is very much related to their transnational experiences and identities, the question of how my teachers as Japanese female migrants negotiated gender identities in particular in Japan and the United States is not the central focus of this project. This project is not about my teachers' experiences as women or "brides," but is about the experiences they as senryu writers identify as important. In order to elicit the plurality of being of my teachers, I wanted to avoid externally imposing cliché-like categories on them, such as "people of colour," "Asian," "non-Western," "women," and "Japanese war brides," instead of seeking other possibilities for them to name themselves (Oka, 2000, p.176; also see Lee, 1998).

The direction of this study changed when I realized the symbolic violence of representing my teachers as "Japanese war brides," the most readily available category to

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describe them. My attempt to speak about the irreducible multiplicities of my teachers'

subjectivities has simultaneously been a process of *un-naming* them "Japanese war brides."

When I tried to explain to my teachers my research interest in sengo-ha women's community

activities, my body reacted in a very awkward way.[119] I was very cautious about not using the

term "senso hanayome." I was nervous and felt guilty. When I asked them what they felt

about the term later on, they responded with negative comments. These moments were

when I realized the symbolic power of the term "senso hanayome," and violence of

representing my teachers in such a way. I repeatedly questioned myself, "If the act of

representing them as 'war brides' in the past was such a violent act, isn't it no less violent to

continue to represent them as such?" When I realized that they had their own languages to

tell their stories, I also realized that they had their own ways of "naming" them. When I met

my teachers, they did not introduce themselves in terms of "Japanese war brides" and "senso

hanayome." They did not use these terms when we exchanged names (Oka, 2000, p.35-36).

Throughout my fieldwork, I have used their pen names, and they called me by my first name.

I felt that I could most sincerely respect the knowledge I had learned from my teachers by

continuing to call them by their pen names, which indicates our relationship between

teachers and a student.

What are my teachers' 'right' names (Oka, 2000)? I should not claim that "senryu

writer" is always the "right" name to represent my teachers. This could neglect other

cultural positions (their hybridity) from which they speak about their experiences over the

long course of their lives. As Mari Oka (2000) argues, however, what is important is not to

ask what their 'right' names are, but to ask what names I use to represent them and what is

negotiated in speaking about them as such (p.31). Here I need to recognize that the

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[119] I used the term, "sengo-ha," in Introduction (p.12). See glossary for its definition.

utterance I make about my teachers' experiences will be partial due to the particular

historical and social context in which I am located. My utterance is also shaped in a

particular way since I am speaking to a particular group of addressees. As I discuss below,

what names I use to re-tell my teachers' experiences and how I construct these experiences

in this thesis are conditioned by my historical and social positioning.

Positioned knowledge

What is presented in this thesis is "situated" or "partial" knowledge, which I was able

to learn only by being and performing whom I was and how I conducted the research

(Clifford, 1986, 1988; Haraway, 1988; Kondo, 1986; Narayan, 1993). As I discussed in the

Introduction, I have attempted to tell stories that I learned from my teachers with a

particular purpose. Through my writing, I attempted to illuminate differences between the

stories they told me and the stories of "Japanese war brides" by employing a dialogical mode

of writing, which shaped how their stories were presented in this thesis. Beside the intent of

my study, my unique positioning also influenced what and how my teachers shared their

stories and how I interpreted them. As Renato Rosaldo (1993) argues:

> All interpretations are provisions; they are made by positioned subjects who
> are prepared to know certain things and not others. Even when
> knowledgeable, sensitive, fluent in the language, and able to move easily in an
> alien cultural world, good ethnographers still have their limits, and their
> analyses always are incomplete. (p.8)

In addition, since my teachers were not passive "objects of analysis" but "analyzing

subjects" with their own views and opinions, what they told me was also based on how they

saw me as a listener (ibid., p.21). The outcome of my research, therefore, is relational. It

was formed in the particular relationships between each of my teachers and myself.

While they were aware that I was there as a researcher to hear their stories for my master's thesis, it seemed that they viewed me less as a researcher but more as a twenty-six-year-old Japanese woman, who was interested in learning senryu. I also viewed them as senryu teachers, and as senior Japanese women who have much richer life experiences than I. In this thesis, I decided to call them "my teachers" instead of "research participants" or by their pen names, adding the Japanese postfix "san" to show my respect for the width and depth of their experiences, which in this case is most evident in their senryu practices.[120] Even outside the discursive space of senryu, they still hold authority over me—although they never behaved in an authoritative manner to me—because they have life experiences that I can never achieve at least until I reach their age. Confucian values have certainly shaped my attitudes so I respect people based on seniority, but my own experiences of interacting with my teachers and hearing their stories have convinced me even more that they have special knowledge I must respect.

The age gap as well as our cultural intimacy influenced how I developed relationships with my teachers and how they shared their knowledge with me. Because of my cultural background, I had some degree of understanding about how I should behave and speak to elderly Japanese women. For example, I brought a souvenir in my first visit to their homes and used polite language. Partly due to my age, they warmly welcomed me like a young Japanese girl in their neighbourhood. In each interview, they suggested that I come around

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[120] I decided to use the term "my teachers" instead of "research participants" in the midst of my thesis writing. As I mentioned in the Introduction, in this thesis I have been a student of the both two disciplines, one, academic fieldwork, and the other, senryu. It was often difficult to make a decision about how much I should conform to social scientific conventions in representing people who shared their knowledge with me for my project. However, I made the decision to represent the four senryu writers explicitly as "my teachers" in my third draft, based on a suggestion made by my senior supervisor, Kirsten McAllister. I felt that the term illustrates the relationship between the four writers and myself in a more appropriate way than the term, "research participants."

lunchtime so that they could prepare food for me. They always made sure that I took leftover food, because they knew that I was living by myself in Seattle. Fuyuko-san suggested that I stay over at her place and I accepted her hospitality.

However, I also soon realized that they were different from elderly women in Japan, and there were certain things we shared, not because we were all Japanese, but because we were all diasporic. I had no problem understanding their hybridized language, which included English terms. My initial anxieties over whether I was properly following conventional Japanese formalities and norms began to disappear, especially after hearing Miwa-san's comment she made during the first interview: "I wouldn't have been able to survive longer than three days if I had married a Japanese man! It's much more laid-back here. Family relationships are less complicated in America" (interview, October 18, 2007). She also told me that her Japanese had been broken Japanese, which made me feel more relaxed since I was worried about my broken Japanese polite language.[121] It seemed that my teachers viewed me as their little *kouhai* (junior fellow), because I was also a Japanese female who had been away from her family and living in North America, in addition to the fact that I was their student in the discipline of senryu.

I interpreted their negative and positive comments about Japan in certain ways, which were influenced by my own experiences of viewing Japan from the outside. For example, Fuyuko-san said that she started to like certain aspects of life in Japan after she left Japan, such as her life in the countryside and modest way of living, but did not like them when she was there. As Chapter Four suggests, my teachers very much appreciated Japanese traditional values, such as notions of modesty, jyo, ninjyo, and wa. At the same time, they

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[121] I should note that my polite language is "broken," not only because I have been away from Japan for a few years, but also because I grew up in a contemporary Japanese household where children no longer use the polite form of language when speaking to their parents.

also commented that they could never live in Japan, because Japanese cultural norms and expectations were too strict. I comprehended and emotionally shared their ambivalent feelings, and this may have affected how I interpreted their senryu practices as "transnational construction of tradition" (Gupta, 1997, p.590).[122]

Because of my positionality in relation to them, I was both able and unable to hear certain things. For example, they seemed comfortable talking about their opinions and teaching lessons to me. At the same time, I responded affirmatively to whatever they suggested, and avoided certain topics that I felt they did not want to further discuss. Because of our generation gap, they knew many things that I did not know. I did not have the memory of the war. I did not know what Japan was like before the war. I only knew Japan after it gained today's economic power, which was after my teachers left the country. When they talked about the old days of Japan, I was only able to imagine it through my mediated memories created by the mainstream media or stories I heard from my parents and grandparents. They told me about a Japan where I had never lived. My teachers might have intentionally told me particular pasts about, for example, WWII and Japanese culture and landscapes from the old days, because they throught it was important to pass them down to the younger generations who did not directly experience them.

My thesis is addressed to a particular group of addressees, and this has influenced what and how I have shared my teachers' stories. I might tell different stories about my teachers if I were located in a different discursive context and addressing a different audience. For example, if I was to speak to a certain group of people in Japan who still held the old stereotypes, I may have to use recent "Japanese war bride" discourses and claim in a

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[122] I discussed this in Chapter Five (p.155).

reactive tone, "Women who married American G.I.s are not a shame to the nation." In this case, making such a statement might be the only way I could begin to share the knowledge I learned from my teachers. In this thesis, I tell my teachers' stories to North American and Japanese scholars in a particular way, highlighting the issue of how to name people and their knowledge in academic studies. I place an emphasis on this issue, because scholars in academia have privileged positions in the dominant society to produce knowledge, which is socially accepted as legitimate and often as "truth."

My social and cultural positions in relation to my addressees have also shaped how my teachers' knowledge is shared in this thesis. As an international student and as a novice scholar in Canada, who was born in Japan and speaks Japanese as her mother tongue, my utterances always negotiate at least two languages, English and Japanese, and at least two frameworks for seeing the world. When I speak in English, I am often frustrated by the moments when my experiences and knowledge are too often "said" by English in North American contexts. Too often, I am "spoken" by the given categories ("Japanese," "woman," "international students," "ESL students," etc.), and often I am not articulate enough to transgress these categories and describe experiences that cannot be explained by the frameworks they provide. Most of the time, I just say, "I am Japanese, so, you know," and let the category explain the rest of who I am. At the same time, I still have a desire to speak, to communicate, and to translate so that I am understood. When I speak in Japanese, I am much more empowered, and I feel that I am speaking on my own terms. Whatever I utter immediately makes sense to me, and I am capable of elaborating details and complexities. Regardless, I am still frustrated by the moments when I have to suddenly switch to English terms in the middle of my utterance, because I do not remember or do not know equivalent terms in Japanese. This is probably how I came to emphasize the

significance of the multiplicities of discursive practices and my teachers' hybrid subjectivities, which both constrain and enrich their agency.

At the same time, while I was talking with my teachers, I found myself being a young North American graduate student, whose subjectivity was already partly made up of "chains of utterances" that constitute Western academia. I often encountered the situation where my beliefs about the world did not completely agree with those of my teachers, because of my own framework, which I learned in a Canadian university. My thesis is a product of negotiations with these different views of the world, and is partial and unique due to my particular position in relation to both my teachers and to the North American academy.

Utter and tell

Now I would like to make one last point on the "history of kokoro" to conclude my long utterance that re-tells my teachers' experiences. When I launched this project, I was personally fascinated by the idea of creating a historical archive so that my teachers and other "war brides" were able to record their histories in a concrete form and pass it on to later generations. I was vaguely thinking about how it might be possible. During the early period of fieldwork, I visited a librarian at a local university, where I was conducting archival research. Sharing my research interest with the librarian, whose specialty was Japan Studies, I found that it was not only me who was thinking about this idea. She told me that the university owned very few resources for studies of Japanese war brides at the moment, and suggested that I ask my teachers to donate their photos, diaries and other records to the library archive, and that I donate my interview records. The librarian said, these resources would benefit future scholars who conduct studies about Japanese war brides.

Despite the initial excitement about the idea, however, as my research interest shifted, my interest in building an institutionalized archive for "Japanese war brides" became questionable. I was no longer sure whether my interviews about my teachers' senryu practices and their senryu writings should be archived under the subject name of "Japanese war brides." In interview sessions, I felt awkward to ask my teachers to donate their senryu to an archive for "Japanese war brides." At the same time, I was not sure if institutionalizing their personal possessions was what I really wished to do, while I also understood the librarian's interest in building the library archive for future scholars, in a fully professionalized, "secured" university space.

In addition to my own hesitation to record their experiences and preserve them under the category of "Japanese war brides," my teachers also expressed mixed feelings toward getting publicity for themselves. For example, Fuyuko-san's said, "I have no wish to leave a good name" in history, and emphasized that it was more important to be modest and care about others (interview, November 9, 2007). Suika-san, talking about her personal writing such as her diary, said, "I have told my kids to burn everything I wrote with me when I die…They are my history. Nobody needs it. My kids cannot read them anyways." Asked whether she also wished her senryu to be disposed of, she replied, "Senryu is the same thing, it doesn't leave anything useful" (interview, October 30, 2008).

At first, I thought that they were simply humble. I said to Suika-san several times that there were so many cultural and literary values in her senryu and tanka and they should be publicly accessible for later generations. Yet, while saying it to Suika-san, I simultaneously sensed the gap between modern History and my teachers' "histories of kokoro." The idea of archiving historical records crucial for the practice of modern History may not be viewed as important for senryu. The "history of kokoro" is meant to be

evanescent in a sense that its meanings are not retrievable in the same form. It is able to continue to live only by being having its meanings be transformed by people who relate their kokoro to it and re-tell it in a new form. In other words, the "history of kokoro" is required to continue to grow in someone's memories in order to gain its afterlife. It dies when it is placed in an institutionalized archive as an "old text from the past" and starts to be nothing more than an object of historical analysis that does not involve the actual historical practice of working with memories.

Senryu practice is like what Benjamin (1968) discusses as storytelling, which is a form of communication characterized by a craftsmanship. The "storyteller takes what he tells from experience—his own or that reported by others," and "he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale" (ibid., p.87). Likewise, my teachers write senryu and sing their experiences by using a variety of sources that they construct in multiple discursive practices, and by making them available to other senryu writers. Such a telling involves the "slow piling one on top of the other of thin, transparent layers which constitutes the most appropriate picture of the way in which the perfect narrative is revealed through the layers of a variety of retellings" (ibid., p.93). Benjamin also suggests that "storytelling is always the art of repeating stories, and this art is lost when the stories are no longer retained" (ibid., p.91). Rather than filing their personal documents in an institutionalized archive, I feel, as a listener of their "histories of kokoro," that I can more sincerely respond to the knowledge my teachers produced in the form of storytelling. My thesis is one version. I "assimilated, reworked, and re-accentuated" their words and shared their stories (Bakhtin, 1986, p.89). Here is my thin, heteroglossic layer of utterance.

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