

UNRAVELING THE OKINAWA-DAVAO IMAGINARY: OKINAWA'S COLONIAL
AMBIVALENCE IN SAKIYAMA ASAO'S "DAVAO PILGRIMAGE"

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of the 1997 novella, "Davao Pilgrimage," read within and against the circulating discourse regarding the Davao and Okinawa relationship being imagined in Okinawa during the late 1990's. I examine the story focusing on the textual clues through which the narrative represents Okinawa's position of being both the colonizer (in respect to the Philippines) and the colonized (in respect to Japan). I contend that in "Davao Pilgrimage," Okinawa's position as colonizer is constituted by issues surrounding the categories of race and gender conditioned by the inequalities of global capitalism. At the same time, the narrative is informed by Okinawa's past, as Okinawa's dominant position of colonizer in the story is enabled by Okinawa's colonial history with Japan. Ultimately, I argue that "Davao Pilgrimage" is expressive of Okinawa's colonial ambivalence, particularly its complicity in Japan's colonialism in the Philippines in addition to Okinawa's own colonial relationship with Japan. Considered against the Okinawa-Davao imaginary that I will describe, I want to use this reading of "Davao Pilgrimage" to reconfigure and reveal a more troubling understanding of this relationship in hopes of elucidating Okinawa's ambiguous coloniality in Asia.

Unraveling the Okinawa-Davao Imaginary: Okinawa's Colonial Ambivalence in

Sakiyama Asao's "Davao Pilgrimage"

On the Southern-most island of the Philippines, in Davao, a region by the Philippine Sea, 180 people from Okinawa Prefecture, Japan gather to pay respects to the fallen Okinawan soldiers during World War II. It is September 1997, fifty-two years after the end of the war. These travelers—prefectural officials, the elderly, and the middle aged—arrive at their destination, Mintal Cemetery, a place where an Okinawan monument stands. They carry out a memorial service and complete the object of their journey. Amongst them is Ikehara Kanae, a seventy-seven year old man who reflects on this trip back in Okinawa: "It was over there, just before the end of the war, I was drafted, and lost many comrades. My life should have ended there too, but as fate would have it, I survived, and so I participate in this memorial service to mourn them" ("Kyō Dabao de ireisai," 1997, p. 20).¹

A few months earlier in June of that year, a woman mourns her family. She is in the North, across the Philippine Sea, in Itoman, Okinawa. Her name is Fukumine Akiko, a sixty-two year old woman who was born in Davao, Mindanao. Standing in front of the Cornerstone of Peace, which is engraved with names of those who died during World War II, she visits her mother, Tokumine Shigeko, one of the many names engraved there: "Mother, I came to see you. Brother is here now, so everyone is finally together again" ("Okāsan ai ni kitayo," 1997, p.7).²

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終戦間際、現地で召集され、多くの戦友を失った。私も向こうで人生を終わるはずだったが、幸運にも生き残り、戦友の弔いのために慰霊祭に参加している。

² お母さん、光子が会いに来たよ。兄さんもみんな一緒にいるから。

After a lifetime of separation, Fukumine informs her mother that her brother has been added to the monument, reuniting their family. Memories of the past come flooding in, and Fukumine recalls thinking that they would be reunited soon when she was sent to Okinawa from Davao at the age of seven. That was 1941, fifty-six years ago. Yet the parting from her family became an eternity and the news of her brother only reawakened her sorrow. Only the inscriptions of her family on the monument give her hope: "They [my family] will remain on the stone forever. When I saw the names inscribed on it, it seems as if the pain in my heart fell away" ("Okāsan ai ni kitayo," 1997, p.7).³ She returned to this monument three days later.

In Gushikawa City, Okinawa, November 1996 marks fifty-one years that Hiyane Nobuatsu has been searching for his brother. He is fifty-nine years old. Born in Davao, Mindanao, Hiyane was put into custody of his grandparents in Okinawa where he grew up before the beginning of World War II. As a youth, Hiyane's father moved to Davao, Mindanao to become a Manila hemp farmer. With his wife, Kamado, an Okinawan woman from the same village, they had five children in Davao, one of whom was Hiyane. During the war, Hiyane's father was drafted into the war and died. As for his mother and his older sister, they died in an internment camp in Mindanao. The third oldest son and the youngest child died during the war. Only he and his remaining brother survived. It was recorded that his surviving brother was repatriated in November 1945. While it was confirmed that he landed in Japan, there are no records after that. With conviction, Hiyane says: "My brother must be alive somewhere; no

³ 礎はずっと残るでしょう。刻まれた名前を見ると、胸のつかえがおりたようです。

matter what it takes, I want to meet him" ("Hi kara hikiagego," 1996).⁴ Longing to see his brother after so many years, Hiyane can only describe the pain of the past half century in search of his loved one: "Every time I see the word "Philippines" in the newspaper, the feeling of "Is it about my brother?" eats into me. I have not forgotten about him all this time. I want people who have any knowledge to contact me" ("Hi kara hikiagego," 1996).⁵

Loaded with textual significance, these (re)tellings provide only fragments of a much larger picture. Glimpses of Okinawan newspaper articles in the latter half of the 1990's, they are bounded by common themes and tensions. Carrying unresolved issues of family and history, these stories depict in compressed form the ways in which the relationship between Davao and Okinawa was—and perhaps still is—imagined and remembered by people in Okinawa. At first glance, these individual narratives convey seemingly innocent stories—stories that appear to lack political significance—of the painful experience of the Okinawan people in Davao, Philippines. Forming a discursive configuration that I call the Okinawa-Davao imaginary, the pain of separation that Davao seems to signify links these two distant places together.

The reading that follows attempts to destabilize and complicate such seemingly innocent narratives. Understanding that literary texts reflect on and actively participate in discourse, the work of literature I interpret below offers an alternative way of imagining the connection between Okinawa and Davao, making the relationship not as innocent as it first appears to be. In

⁴ 弟はどこかに生きていると思う。何としても会いたい。

⁵

新聞でフィリピンの文字を見るたびに弟のことではないかと食い入るように見てしまう。ずっと弟のことを忘れたことはない。心当たりの人は連絡してほしい。

particular, this thesis is an exploration of the 1997 novella, "Davao Pilgrimage," read within and against the circulating discourse regarding the Davao and Okinawa relationship being imagined in Okinawa during this time. This thesis is separated into four parts. In Part One, I address the significance of "Davao Pilgrimage" in Okinawan Studies in general through the reception of the highly acclaimed novella. Part Two contextualizes the Okinawa-Davao imaginary within a larger movement of Okinawan identity that has been taking shape since the 1980's, particularly the ways in which Okinawa's history of migration has been invoked as part of the prefecture's identity politics. In Part Three, I employ the notion of "pilgrimage" as a moving text to demonstrate the transformative potential that my reading of "Davao Pilgrimage" may have in reconfiguring the Okinawa-Davao imaginary. Lastly, in Part Four, I examine "Davao Pilgrimage" focusing on the textual clues through which the narrative represents Okinawa's position of being both the colonizer (in respect to the Philippines) and the colonized (in respect to Japan) at the same time. Specifically, I argue that in "Davao Pilgrimage," Okinawa's position as colonizer is constituted by issues surrounding the categories of race and gender conditioned by the inequalities of global capitalism. At the same time, the narrative is informed by Okinawa's past, as Okinawa's dominant position of colonizer in the story is enabled by Okinawa's colonial history with Japan. Ultimately, I argue that "Davao Pilgrimage" is expressive of Okinawa's colonial ambivalence, particularly its complicity in Japan's colonialism in the Philippines in addition to Okinawa's own colonial relationship with Japan. Considered against the Okinawa-Davao imaginary, I want to use this reading of "Davao Pilgrimage" to reconfigure and reveal a more troubling understanding of this relationship in hopes of elucidating Okinawa's ambiguous

coloniality in Asia.

Summary of "Davao Pilgrimage"

Like many of the newspaper articles circulating in Okinawa during this time, "Davao Pilgrimage" is first and foremost a story about family and the pain associated with loss.⁶ Subtextually it is about the ways in which the past—in particular, Okinawa's colonial past—is made relevant to people in Okinawa and Davao today, elucidating the historically-determined problems they face in the present. A work of fiction, "Davao Pilgrimage" is a dramatization of a fifty-something colonial/colonized subject from contemporary Okinawa who joins a tourist group to visit Davao, located in the Southern Philippines. The protagonist/narrator, Machida, has joined this tour as a pilgrim to carry out memorial services for the Okinawans who died in Davao during World War II. The reason why Machida embarks on this trip is for his family, in particular his uncle, who died there during the war. Noting that his family takes turns going to Davao to carry out memorial services, Machida admits that this year's responsibility falls on him. Set in the present day, "Davao Pilgrimage" begins with the protagonist/narrator at the Naha International Airport where he meets with his fellow pilgrims. In the commotion of the international terminal, Machida bumps into his former middle school classmate, Haruo, who happens to be in the same pilgrimage group. While they catch up together, Machida finds out that Haruo's mother, Tomi—a close friend of Machida's mother—recently died. Additionally, Machida learns that Haruo is on this pilgrimage because of his sister who is presumed to have died in Davao during World War II.

⁶ In 2003, Ōshiro Tatsuhiro gave a speech commemorating the thirty year anniversary of the award. There, "Davao Pilgrimage" was categorized as "family literature." See Ōshiro T. (2003, January 29).

As the story progresses, the reader learns that this trip is not as innocent as it at first appears to be. The narrative becomes more about issues surrounding Haruo and his family than the memorial service, the official purpose of the trip. Filtered through the narrator/protagonist's viewpoint, Machida learns later that Haruo believes his sister is actually still alive and joins this pilgrimage tour group every year in hopes of finding her.

To search for his long-lost sister, Haruo goes out every night, hires local Filipino men to be his interpreter, and goes to the seedy part of Davao, where he assumes she is likely to be working or living. Excited by the possibility that he found her, Haruo convinces Machida to go with him to a bar in the red light district, where he believes a middle-aged Filipina bar girl named Edna is his sister. The story takes a dark turn; the discourse of the memorial pilgrimage the characters are on intersects with the discourse of Japan's sex tourism in Southeast Asia. The narrative conflates the two, as Haruo roams Davao looking for a Filipina body, not to fulfill with his sexual desire, but to fulfill the historically determined desire to find his sister. However, as it turns out, Edna is not the sister that Haruo is looking for. Later, Haruo learns from a Filipino man named Elbert, that he knows this Filipina that Haruo is looking for. It turns out that Elbert brings Haruo to his own sister, Helen, who he claims is Japanese and was picked up in the mountains in Davao during World War II. Haruo finds out that Helen has cancer, and that Elbert and his family are unable to pay for her medical bills. Haruo, instantly accepting that Helen is his sister, agrees to pay them. However, Helen has no say in this, as she cannot speak Japanese to deny Haruo's claims. Machida, witnessing this all, questions not Haruo's sincerity but his impulsive behavior in accepting first Edna, then Helen to be his sister without any evidence.

While not explicit—and it appears to be not intentional by the characters—Haruo, in his search to find his sister ends up exploiting the Filipinas in the story by imposing the identity of "his sister"—and therefore "Okinawan"—upon them. Haruo's forced identification is complicated as the issue of the Filipinas' identities are constructed around whether they look "Japanese" and not "Okinawan." The events in Davao end with Machida saying that Haruo will be paying Helen's medical bills and supporting Elbert from then on.

The narrative returns Machida back to Okinawa, where he talks with his mother about the events that unfolded in the Philippines. Revealing that she knew the truth about Haruo's sister all along—Haruo's mother actually told her the story—Machida's mother informs him that during World War II, Haruo's family lived in Davao. However, because of the war, they fled into the Philippine mountains. Haruo was a small child at the time and his sister was just a baby. Having a difficult time carrying both of her children at the same time, Haruo's mother accidentally suffocated her daughter to death, as she was carrying Haruo and her daughter in the mountains. Up until she died, Haruo's mother went to Davao to carry out memorial services to apologize for her actions and to step on the same ground as her daughter. Machida's mother explains that Haruo's actions in Davao were the legacies of his mother's pain. Yet, the realization that Haruo's sister was dead the whole time indicates that the events that took place in the Philippines were in vain.

The final scene of "Davao Pilgrimage" depicts the protagonist reflecting, thinking about the present beauty of the Philippine mountains and the sad events that occurred there in the past. The last line of the story ends with Machida saying, "This pilgrimage which spans two

generations between mother and child continues from here (Sakiyama, 2003, p. 133),"⁷ indicating all along, Machida's pilgrimage was not just his physical trip to Davao; it was a journey to discover a history and the lingering problems it embodies in the present.

Part 1: The Reception of "Davao Pilgrimage"

On December 6, 1997, the *Ryukyū Shimpō*, a major newspaper in Okinawa, Japan, announced the winner of their annual literary award, the *Ryukyū Shimpō tanpen shōsetsushō*.⁸ Forty-nine works of short fiction were submitted to the newspaper that year and were judged by a selection committee comprised of three prolific writers: Ōshiro Tatsuhiro (1925-),⁹ Tsujihara Noboru (1945-), and Hino Keizō (1929-2002).¹⁰ The result was a tie. Splitting the ¥100,000 award money that year, one of the winners was a fifty-three year old local government worker named Sakiyama Hidetoshi, who goes by the pen name, Sakiyama Asao.¹¹ Born in 1944 in the town of Motobu in Okinawa Prefecture, Sakiyama is a graduate of the Department of Law and Literature at the University of the Ryukyūs, like many other contemporary writers in Okinawa.¹² Currently, he resides in Naha, Okinawa, and works as local government employee.¹³ Not a

⁷ 母子二代にわたる巡礼はこれから続けのだ。

⁸ According to Bhomik (2008), from 1973 the award was started to commemorate the newspaper's 80th anniversary (p. 128).

⁹ See Motohama (2005), for an analysis of Ōshiro's significance in Okinawan literature.

¹⁰ Each member of this selection committee is himself a winner of Japan's highest literary award, the Akutagawa Prize.

¹¹ Shimpō tanpen shōsetsushō ni Matsuura, Sakiyama shi. (1997, December 6). *Ryukyū Shimpō*. The other winner was Matsura Shigeshi for his work, *Conbeniensu no yoru*.

¹² For other contemporary writers who also studied at The University of the Ryukyūs, see: : <http://manwe.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp/library/biblio/bib41-1/02.html>

¹³ Molasky & Rabson (2000) note that unlike many writers in mainland Japan, most Okinawan authors have other occupations to support their writing careers (p. 2).

stranger to Okinawa's literary world, Sakiyama has won other awards in addition to the *Ryukyū Shimpō tanpen shōsetsushō*, such as the *Shin Okinawa bungakushō* and the *Kyushu geijutsusai bungakushō*.¹⁴

"Davao Pilgrimage," the story which won Sakiyama the *Ryukyū Shimpō* award that year, was praised for its fluid, straightforward writing style and original content.¹⁵ Tsujihara Noboru, one of the selection committee members also lauded the work saying that the value of "Davao Pilgrimage" is that it makes you think: "Ah, such a story exists?" (*Shimpō tanpen shōsetsushō*, 1997).¹⁶

Almost three weeks after announcing the winner of the *Ryukyū Shimpō tanpen shōsetsushō*, Hino Keizō, one of the 1997 selection committee members, came out with an article commenting on the works of short fiction submitted that year. Occupying the center of the page, large characters read: "Feels like a "breath of fresh air"; the young generation of literature is quickly growing" (*Dai 25 kai Ryukyū Shimpō*, 1997, p. 11).¹⁷ Gesturing towards a watershed moment in the prize's history, Hino's evaluation praised that year's submissions,

¹⁴ Bhowik (2008) discusses a common trajectory that writers have taken to be successful in Okinawa. They win both or one of the local newspaper prizes, the Kyushu prize, and for the best, the Akutagawa prize (p. 128). Sakiyama has yet to win Japan's highest literary award, unlike Medorama Shun and Ōshiro Tatsuhiko.

¹⁵ In his evaluation of "*Davao Pilgrimage*", Hino Keizō actually argues that the topic of the story is not original, since there are many Okinawan fictional works that deal with the war. Hino K. (1997, December 26). However, while thematically this is true, I have not seen many, if any, literary works that deal specifically with Davao and Okinawa. "*Davao Pilgrimage*" is the only fictitious work that I know that explores this relationship.

¹⁶ 『ああ、こういう話もあるのか』

¹⁷ "新しい風"感じる 若い文学世代が台頭

crediting the ambitious work of younger Okinawan authors who competed for the award.¹⁸ In his words:

Among the selections of the award in the last ten years, I feel that this year's selections are a "breath of fresh air" which I could almost say is ground-breaking. The works move past the frame of Okinawa-ness in its narrow meaning and are quickly moving towards a universal horizon. The great efforts of Ōshiro Tatsuhiro, who has been consistently involved in the award selections each year, and the *Ryukyū Shimpō*, which has been continuing the prize for many years, welcome this rewarding time at this moment. ("Dai 25 kai Ryukyū Shimpō," 1997, p. 11)¹⁹

これまで十年近いこの賞選考の中で、今回はほとんど画期的とも言えるような“新しい風”を感じました。狭い意味での沖縄的という枠を超える普遍的な地平への胎動。何十年に及ぶこの賞を続けてきた琉球新報社と終始選考に当たられてきた大城立裕氏の長い努力が、このところ良い実りの時を迎えつつあるように思えます。

In his evaluation, Hino's commentary signals a generational shift that is reflected in the fictional works submitted that year. Indeed, he asserts that together, the submissions move past the limits of Okinawa to explore broader themes. "Davao Pilgrimage," which is a story set in the Philippines, is unlike many fictional works by Okinawan authors.²⁰ If we accept Hino's assertion, and further assume that "Davao Pilgrimage" is one of the prime examples of this new generation that Hino is talking about, what significance does "Davao Pilgrimage" have in Okinawan studies in general? In this part, I will tackle this question by locating "Davao

¹⁸ Sakiyama was in his fifties at the time of the award and therefore does not exactly fit the category of a young Okinawan author. Nevertheless, he still is categorized as one. This probably suggests that it is because he is a new author at this time.

¹⁹ I would like to thank Ms. Agarie Akiko from the *Ryukyū Shimpō* for helping me to find this article and for Ōshiro Tatsuhiro-sensei for putting me in touch with her.

²⁰ "Davao Pilgrimage" is the only fictional Okinawan work I have found that talks about the Okinawa-Davao relationship. As I mention in my introduction, "Davao Pilgrimage" causes another selection committee member to ask the question, "such a story exists?"

Pilgrimage" in the context of Okinawan literature, specifically as a means of working out Okinawa's history of colonialism.

In an attempt to resist and make its subjective agency known, Okinawan literature can be viewed as an anti-colonial nationalist project to the extent that it promotes an Okinawan consciousness²¹ establishing difference between Okinawa and the myth of a homogeneous Japan.²² This is not to say that these forms of resistances are aimed to have Okinawa become an independent nation-state, but rather to make known their cultural and historical distinctiveness (Ginoza, 2011, p. 19). Manifested by the notions of identity around which Okinawan literature revolves,²³ the task of Okinawan literature as a national project is invested in creating empowered subjects through the representations of their submerged historical experiences.²⁴ In his preface in *Living Spirit* (2012), a co-edited anthology of translated Okinawan literature, Katsunori Yamazato articulates that the volume of *Living Spirit* is a step towards making known that Okinawa's literature stands equal with Japan's and other world literatures (p. vii).

Although I do not wish to deny the importance of literature's transformative potential in Okinawa's national project, it nevertheless engenders certain problems, such as its treatment of gender,²⁵ where voices are left out. However, it is important to note that this project of

²¹ The best-known discussion of the relationship between literature and identity-making is Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*.

²² Bhomik (2008), on the other hand, would see this as problematic. To her, Okinawan fiction is consumed by mainland Japanese as part of the "Okinawa boom" which simultaneously feeds into Japan's Orientalist gaze towards Okinawa, at the same time, it is still used by Okinawans to protest the prefecture's colonialism (p. 3).

²³ See Bhomik (2008) for a discussion of an interview with Okamoto Keitoku who says that the themes of Okinawan fiction pursue the issue of identity (p. 16).

²⁴ I am indebted here to some of the language that Neferti Tadiar (2009) uses in her discussion of Filipino literature as a national liberation project (p. 4).

²⁵ For a discussion of gender in Okinawan identity politics, see Linda Angst, "The Rape of the Okinawan Girl" in

constructing historical agency through literary expression is never ending; the subject matters and narrative modes of Okinawan literature are fluid and constantly changing. Davinder Bhomik (2008) shows this in *Writing Okinawa*, as she examines the development of Okinawan fiction as a genre spanning the Meiji Period (1869-1912) to today, exploring the changes and continuities of Okinawan literature through time. Considering Hino's evaluation, the utterance of a "breath of fresh air" can be seen as an acknowledgement that the younger Okinawan authors are writing about experiences in ways that transcend "Okinawa-ness in its narrow meaning." In other words, it signals the younger generation's attempts to grasp and thus create the experiences theretofore left out of Okinawa's literary imagination. "Davao Pilgrimage," which is a story that takes place outside of Okinawa and in the Philippines, is an example of this—in fact it is a *prime* example—since it won the award that year. Therefore, the newness that seems to characterize "Davao Pilgrimage" is significant, as we can examine the "new" issues the narrative works out as a way to contribute to the study of Okinawa in general. This becomes clear in my subsequent discussion, as the subject matter of "Davao Pilgrimage"—specifically relating to the topic of Okinawa's relationship with the Philippines—carries significant implications pertaining to Okinawa's intellectual position between the United States and Japan.

Paul Jay, a literary critic and author of *Global Matters* (2010), says this regarding contemporary theories about space, place, and location: that, "to a significant degree, we construct the locations we study" (p. 73). Jay's assertion alludes to the problematic that

locations, although in fact constructed categories—such as "Okinawa," "East Asia," and "Southeast Asia"—are generally treated as static units of analyses rather than intellectual parameters that we choose. In much the same way, this seems particularly true in the case of Western academia's treatment of Okinawan Studies in general: that the prefecture's intellectual, political, and economic issues solely revolve around its supposedly predetermined position between Japan and the United States.²⁶ For instance, Laura Hein and Mark Selden's co-edited book, *Islands of Discontent* (2003), focuses on issues regarding Okinawa's cultural politics in relation to its double-colonized position between the United States and Japan. Central to the concerns of Okinawan cultural productions, Hein and Selden locate Okinawa's cultural politics as a response to the two closely related issues of U.S. military bases and Okinawa's economic position as Japan's poorest prefecture. They argue that people in Okinawa are unable to overcome these realities and so they employ cultural symbols and narratives relating to the past as a means of creating a sense of collective identity, redefining Okinawa's relationship with Japan and the United States (p. 9).

While important because it demonstrates the significant role that culture has in political movements, Hein and Selden's work can nevertheless be considered problematic—at least in relation to my study—as they treat Okinawa's position within the United States-Japan axis as a given. This would imply that all cultural politics in Okinawa regarding its colonial history must revolve around the politics between the United States and Japan. If we take anything away from

²⁶ I recognize that Okinawa's historical connections with China as a tributary state is present in Okinawa's identity politics, however, that is outside the parameters of this study.

Jay's assertion, we can understand that Western, academic discourse placing Okinawa between the United States and Japan is a choice, not a framework that is predetermined. At the same time, I do not wish to minimize the centrality that American and Japanese politics have in Okinawa. As shown in Hein and Seldon's book, American and Japanese politics dominate the predicaments that people in Okinawa face today. In fact, Sakiyama's narrative demonstrates this as the story cannot completely escape U.S.-Japan politics as seen from Sakiyama's references to Haruo's mother's job in Koza (which we assume catered to the U.S. military) and Helen's prostitution to U.S. military men and Japanese tourists in the Philippines. Nevertheless, the point I wish to make is that the issues that "Davao Pilgrimage" addresses point to an alternative framework, one that moves away from the United States-Japan axis.

If we consider Okinawan literature as something like a national project, recovering the subjectivities of Okinawan people from their colonial experience, a work like "Davao Pilgrimage," which focuses on the Okinawa and Davao connection, is extremely important. "Davao Pilgrimage" is a cultural production that does not exclusively focus on the U.S.-Japan context, and instead, attempts to explore Okinawa's relationship with other parts of Asia. In line with Jay's assertion, "Davao Pilgrimage" forces us to dislocate and reconfigure Okinawa's seemingly determined position within the U.S.-Japan axis, shifting our attention towards two peripheral areas: Okinawa and Mindanao. By making the intellectual shift away from the United States and Japan, and instead, looking towards Asia, we are able to see a different dimension of Okinawa Studies: instead of viewing themselves in a double-colonized position domestically

(which they are), we are able to understand another perspective, one that focuses on the conflicts and tribulations relating to Okinawa's participation and complicity in Japan's colonial project in the Asia-Pacific.

Part Two: The Uchinanchu Worldwide Community

Before continuing, it may be helpful to contextualize the discursive significance of the Okinawa-Davao imaginary generally within a larger movement of Okinawan identity that has been taking shape since the 1980's,²⁷ particularly the ways in which Okinawa's long history of migration has been invoked as part of the prefecture's identity politics. However, before I proceed, we need to take a look at history. While "Davao Pilgrimage" is set in contemporary Okinawa and the Philippines, it nevertheless depicts how problems of the past are connected to the present. Therefore, it is important to be introduced to the history of Okinawa's past vis-à-vis the Philippines.

From the late nineteenth century, Okinawans migrated and formed communities in distant areas of the world. One of these places was Davao in the Southern Philippines. In her article, "The Other Japanese (2007)," Edith Kaneshiro explores the history of the Okinawan diaspora there. Unlike other areas where the Okinawan community settled and flourished—such as Hawai'i and Brazil—the community in Davao ceased to exist by the end of World War II (KaneshiroA p. 71). Intimately linked with Japan's colonial expansion in the Pacific and the Southeast Asian region in general, the experience of the Okinawan diaspora in Davao is marked by experiences of separation. During World War II, many Okinawan men in the Philippines

²⁷ For this discussion, I take as a touchstone the televised and newspaper series known as *Uchinanchu Worldwide*, which I will discuss below.

joined the Japanese military to fight against the United States. Their wives and children fled into the mountains to escape the fighting. However, many died of starvation and there were also cases of children being abandoned. At the end of World War II, due to American policies, the Okinawans were sent back to Kagoshima and Fukuoka prefecture. Beginning in 1946, Okinawans were able to go back to Okinawa, but discovered that the island was transformed into an American military outpost (KaneshiroA, p. 181, KaneshiroB, p. 78-79).

The imagined Okinawan-Davao relationship can be understood as part of the greater imaginary concerning the people of Okinawa prefecture with their diaspora around the world, particularly through the popular newspaper and televised documentary series, *Uchinanchu Worldwide*. Since the 1980's, *Uchinanchu Worldwide* has been an important means of connecting the experiences of Okinawans around the world, playing a significant role in forming a worldwide Okinawan community.²⁸ In relation to this thesis, the episode titled, *Davao's Forgotten Post-War Second Generation Okinawans* is of particular note. Originally aired in 1991, it depicted the children who were left behind in Davao when the Okinawan community was repatriated to Japan at the end of the war. The episode depicted these Okinawans as wishing to be re-connected with their families and to visit Okinawa. Reflective of the newspaper articles introduced at the beginning of this thesis, this documentary episode in addition to the newspaper articles can be understood within the greater movement of forming a worldwide Okinawan community between the Okinawans in the Philippines and in the prefecture. However, as I will clarify later, the narrative in "Davao Pilgrimage" departs from many of the common narratives

²⁸ See Hayashi (2009) for a discussion the international Okinawan community through *Uchinanchu Worldwide*, particularly in Chapter 5.

that constitute the Okinawa-Davao imaginary. Ultimately, I argue that this departure reconfigures the meaning and significance of Okinawa's connection to Davao.

Part 3: "Pilgrimage" and Reconfiguring the Okinawa-Davao Imaginary

Before moving onto the reading of "Davao Pilgrimage" it is important to clarify the ways in which the literary work can potentially reconfigure the Okinawa-Davao imaginary. As mentioned in the beginning of this thesis, literature not only reflects discourse, but actively reflects *on* discourse, giving us a way to rethink and transform the meaning of the Okinawa-Davao connection. Considering the pain of separation that the Okinawa-Davao imaginary seems to signify, it is important to show how my reading of "Davao Pilgrimage" can complicate and thus change the relationship's seemingly innocent meaning, adding the issues the protagonist encounters in the story as a part of this imaginary.

In order to do this, the notion of *junrei*, which I have translated as "pilgrimage," becomes an important metaphor in thinking through the ways in which "Davao Pilgrimage" may be reflecting on the Okinawa and Davao relationship being imagined during this time. In his discussion of the Shikoku pilgrimage, one of the most famous pilgrimages in Japan, Ian Reader (2005) articulates that the pilgrimage is a moving text constantly rewritten by its participants, who inscribe themselves and endow it with meanings that are encountered, experienced, and imbibed by subsequent pilgrims (p. 73). In the very same way, the discourse in Okinawa regarding its connections with Davao is also a moving text, whose meaning is constantly shaped and re-articulated by those who participate in its construction. To those who read "Davao Pilgrimage," the meanings of Davao's landscape and its association with Okinawa become

inscribed with the issues the protagonist encounters in the narrative, participating in the discourse that bind Okinawa and Davao together—like the newspaper articles at the time. Yet, examining the problems and tribulations that the narrative works out encourages us to pause in reflection; perhaps in line with the events in the narrative, this relationship between Okinawa and Davao may not be as innocent as it first appears to be, and that it may in fact be indicative of Okinawa's ambiguous coloniality in Asia.

“Pilgrimage” may also imply a journey to another realm, most commonly, the land of the dead.²⁹ Indeed, Machida's pilgrimage serves as a space where he is able to learn the history of Okinawa's past in Davao through his exposure to the spirits that still haunt the land, manifested by the issues surrounding Haruo's predicament in finding his sister. This is important because Machida, while tangentially connected to Davao through his family, is not personally attached; the Philippines holds no cultural or historical significance to him. His pilgrimage to the Philippines therefore serves as a space for him to learn from these spirits, and to imprint his experiences on what this Okinawa and Davao connection might mean. The sites they visit on the journey contain not only the representations of mountains and other landscapes, but are in fact invested with the restless and troubled emotions of the histories they embody.

There is a scene where Machida is at a memorial site admiring the stretch of mountains surrounding him. He is unfamiliar with the land which he holds no personal connection to. In his fifties and having no memory of Davao before or during World War II, Machida only sees beautiful mountains without realizing their historical significance. Machida, who has never left

²⁹ See Reader (2005) for a discussion of the association between pilgrimage and death in Chapter 3.

Okinawa, has only experienced the continuing American presence on the island and its subordinate position to Japan. He is unaware of the history of his family in the Philippines. This pilgrimage offers him a chance to learn about a different history through his experiences on this trip:

"Magnificent view, isn't it?"

I nonchalantly offered this remark to an elderly man close to me.

"During the war, this was a jungle," the elderly man said in a low but firm voice. "It seems that you do not know, but Japanese people escaped into those mountains from the U.S. armed forces and many of them died there. A lot of them were Okinawans, who died there as well. The reason they've been transformed into treeless mountains is that after the war the Japanese cut and imported large quantities of timber from them."

I was ashamed that I hadn't known this. The old person smiled gently and said, "Let's pray."

「雄大な眺めですね」

近くにいた老人に何気なく声をかけると、「戦争中はジャングルでした」と老人は低いが強いの口調で言った。「あなたは知らないようだが、日本人が米軍から逃れ、あの山中をさまよって大勢死んだ。多くの沖縄出身の人たちも、あの山中で亡くなった。木のない山に変貌したのは、戦後、日本が大量に輸入した木材を切り出したためだ」

私は自分の不明を恥じた。老人は穏やかに微笑み「祈りましょう」と言った。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 121)

Machida's admiration of the scene is interrupted by an elderly man who we can only assume lived this experience. Machida, as the main character can be understood to be the everyday Okinawan, unaware and learning about the experiences of his people in a foreign land, much like those who watch Maehara's *Uchinanchu Worldwide* episodes. Demonstrating that Davao and its relationship to Okinawa is a moving text, Machida is exposed to the history which binds them

both, offering new meaning for him, for the people who read his narrative, and those who think and go to Davao in the future. Yet, while he is learning about the history of Okinawa and Davao, he adds something to this, as the process of meaning-making flows not only in one direction but two. What I mean by this is that Machida, as the protagonist of the story, leaves the Philippines with the lessons he learns on his trip. At the same time, Machida's experiences are projected onto the Okinawa-Davao imaginary; the exploitation that Machida is eventually exposed to is added onto the symbolic significance of the Okinawa-Davao relationship, imposing Okinawa's colonial history and the present predicaments there. Machida's experience in the Philippines disrupts the pain of separation that seems to bind Okinawa and Davao together, making it impossible to go back and view the Okinawa-Davao imaginary as being entirely innocent. Employing the metaphor of "pilgrimage" as a means of reconfiguring the Okinawa-Davao imaginary, I will continue my analysis focusing on Okinawa's ambiguous coloniality that "Davao Pilgrimage" seems to address.

Part IV: Towards a Colonial Consciousness

Shinjō Ikuo's 1998 Reading of "Davao Pilgrimage"

Before continuing with my discussion of Okinawa's colonial ambivalence found in "Davao Pilgrimage," it is relevant to consider another interpretation of Sakiyama's work. In his 1998 reading of "Davao Pilgrimage," Shinjō Ikuo, a Professor of Literature at the University of the Ryukyūs, views Sakiyama's literary work as a narrative that revolves around the theme of "relationships," particularly the pain associated with the loss of relations. Shinjō's analysis is

useful to my study insofar that it reinforces the Okinawa-Davao imaginary, and thus needs to be complicated. First appearing in the *Ryukyū Shimpō* on January 27, 1998 and re-appearing in his book, *Okinawa bungaku toiu kuwadate* (2003), Shinjō's commentary, while insightful, is problematic in regard to the symbolic significance he attributes to Davao—that it represents the pain of the Okinawan people. As he writes:

When you look at the structure of "Davao Pilgrimage," you discover the accumulation of many Okinawan and Filipino names (names of people and places). The story tries to revive the relationships that were lost, and while the search for them is hopeless, you cannot help but read the names as the desire to revive those relations. It is the hunger for those absolute relations that resemble the obsession that the abysmal feeling of loss triggers. Haruo, in his mind, in trying to search for his sister, reels in the slender threads relating to her, calling on many people and their names. He draws on one name after another, obviously "Edna" and "Helen," "Kishimoto" the tour guide, "Elbert" the young man from the Philippines who introduces "Helen," even "I," who is "Machida." On top of this all, the development of the inter-related names becomes the motif which runs throughout "Davao Pilgrimage." However, it becomes clear that at the heart of the many names is "Harumi" and her painful death.

Thus, the novella of "Davao Pilgrimage" makes the death of mother "Tomi" the backdrop of the story where she died embracing the painful memory of taking the life of her five-month baby with her own hands. At the same time, the novella compels Haruo, who continues to search for the existence of "Harumi," to endlessly go on memorial trips in the Philippines. "Davao Pilgrimage" is a novella that, through the accumulation of names, has the ability to express the yearning for the kin relationships that have been lost and the shared memories of the war. You can say it is a novella that reaches out to us readers from a new viewpoint the pain in the heart of those Okinawan people who died in the war and those who survived it.

こうして、「ダバオ巡礼」の成り立ちを見てくる時、おのず沖繩の、そしてフィリピンの幾多の名前（人名・地名）累積を見出すわけだが、そこに、喪失した関係を再現しようとする、絶望的だがそれだけに強い希求が働いていることの顕れを読まないではいけない。低知れぬ喪失感をもたらす妄想にも似た絶対的な関係への飢え。喪われた妹を探そうとする「晴夫

」の思いが、その妹に繋がる細い糸を手繰りよせるようにして、多くの人を、そして人の名を呼び招いているのである。「エドナ」や「ヘレン」はむろん、ツアーコンダクターの「岸本」や「ヘレン」を紹介する現地の青年「エルバートさん」、そして「私」こと「町田」にいたるまで、一つの名がもう一つの名を引き寄せ、さらに次なる名に連動するという展開が、「ダバオ巡礼」を貫くモチーフとなっているのだが、その幾多の名前重層の中心に、「晴美」が痛ましい死をむかえていたことが明らかになる。

こうして「ダバオ巡礼」という小説は、生後五ヵ月しか生きることの出来なかった乳飲み子の「晴美」の命と、その乳飲み子を自らの手にかけたという苦しい記憶を抱いて死んでいった母「トミ」の死を背景としながら、「晴美」というかけがえのない固有の存在を探し続ける「晴夫」いつはてるともない慰霊の旅を予感させている。崎山の「ダバオ巡礼」は、名前の累積を通じて、戦争の記憶の共有と喪失したはずの肉親との関係への希求とを表だし得て、戦争を生き、そして死んでいった沖縄の人々の心の痛みを、新たな視点から私たち読み手に差し出している小説といえるだろう。(p. 157)

While accurately fitting into Ōshiro Tatsuhiro's category of family literature as I indicate on page 7, Shinjō's introspective reading, which firmly places the "pain of Okinawans" as the central concern of the story, results in someone as perceptive as Shinjō overlooking the larger structural issues of Okinawa's ambiguous coloniality that Sakiyama's narrative seems to address. His use of "Okinawan people" at the end of the commentary points to this enclosed, "Okinawan" reading. Yet this fact alone does not exclusively make Shinjō's interpretation an introspective one, as it is the absence of critical analysis regarding the dynamics between the Okinawan and Filipino characters that make it so. While enclosed within an Okinawan context, Shinjō's reading usefully points out the function of the various names that appear throughout Sakiyama's narrative: that they are used to demonstrate the pain associated with the loss of relations. The name that

conveys this most clearly is the name of Haruo's sister, "Harumi," which is revealed when Haruo meets "Helen" towards the end of the story. This is also apparent in the names of the geographical places that Haruo and Machida visit, such as Tamogan Mountain where historically, many Japanese and Okinawan people died during World War II.³⁰ For Shinjō, these names and the pain of the Okinawans associated with them become the symbolic significance of Davao, binding the geographical spaces of Davao and Okinawa together.

At the same time, Shinjō overlooks that the names—in particular, the names that signify the pain of separation—are inscribed onto the bodies of Filipino women and geographical locations in the Philippines. However, in my interpretation of Sakiyama's work, I will read Okinawa's colonial ambiguity that the story seems to address to shift the symbolic significance of the Okinawa-Davao imaginary from the pain associated with loss to one that acknowledges Okinawa's colonial ambivalence.

Machida and the Formation of a Colonial Consciousness

The discursive space which constitutes what I call the Okinawa-Davao imaginary consists of an intertextual world where newspaper articles, cultural expressions, and the larger transnational phenomenon of Okinawan identity are casually, if not directly, associated. I imagine "Davao Pilgrimage" to be directed at and reflective of this world, reconfiguring the significance of Davao, Philippines in relation to Okinawa's larger worldwide project. Specifically, I argue that Sakiyama's "Davao Pilgrimage" is expressive of Okinawa's colonial ambivalence of being both the colonizer and the colonized at the same time. The duality that

³⁰ Shinzo Hayase (1999) points this out while examining the names on the Cornerstone of Peace in Okinawa.

"Davao Pilgrimage" seems to suggest is significant as it fundamentally challenges, and thus changes, the pain of separation that "Okinawa-Davao" appears to signify in Okinawa.

It is important to note at this juncture that the articulation of Okinawa's colonial ambivalence is conveyed through the experiences of Machida, the protagonist and narrator of the story. I argue that through his experiences in Davao in addition to his growing knowledge of Okinawa's past there, he ends up in a form of colonial consciousness signified by the uneasy mood at the end of the story. Returning to the final scene of "Davao Pilgrimage" where Machida is in a conversation with his mother, the narrative juxtaposes the experiences of Tomi-san (Haruo's mother) with Machida's own experiences in Davao, culminating in a mood of uneasiness through the story's lack of closure characterizing Okinawa's colonial ambivalence at the end of the story:

"But why did [Haruo's mother] confess that to you?"

"I don't know...I think maybe Tomi-san didn't think she could rejoin her daughter holding on to that secret."

I think Haruo will probably continue supporting Helen. There is no doubting his sincerity. His actions in Davao, which seemed so reckless, are definitive proof of that. This pilgrimage which spans two generations between mother and child continues from here.

「でも、なぜお母さんに告白したんだろう？」

「分からない。。。トミさん、秘密を抱えたまま娘のところに行けないと思ったんじゃないかしら」

晴夫はヘレンに援助を続けるだろう。真贋は問題ではない。ダバオでの無謀とも思える行為が如実に証明している。母子二代にわたる巡礼はこれから続けのだ。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 133)

The ending of "Davao Pilgrimage" conveys to the reader a mood of uneasiness, resulting from the lack of closure regarding Haruo's future relationship with Helen, Machida's revelations in the Philippines, and the painful incidences of Tomi-san's past. On one hand, Machida is aware of the sadness and the pain associated with the Philippines through the story of Tomi-san, who lived with the burden of killing her own daughter in Davao. On the other, Machida is tainted by his own experiences in the Philippines, as he was exposed to the inequalities between himself and the Filipinos there, as indicated by his thoughts about Haruo's reckless actions. The passage above juxtaposes the two, forcing the reader to consider both the pain of Tomi-san's past and the personal experiences of Machida at the same time, making it impossible to view the connection between Okinawa and Davao as completely as only about Okinawan pain. Filtered through the perspective of Machida, the mood of uneasiness at the end of the story expresses Okinawa's colonial ambivalence in the Philippines.

Furthermore, it is important to recognize that Machida's colonial consciousness develops throughout the story as he becomes exposed to the inequalities in the Philippines in addition to his growing knowledge of Okinawa's history there. Machida becomes the point where colonial consciousness forms and becomes realized, as it is he who tells the story. This is apparent from an important turning point in the narrative:

"That's trouble over there." Grumbling, the tour guide, Kishimoto, sat down next to me. "I hear he visits places in the red light district one-by-one. Looking for any girl I bet."

「あれです、困りました」添乗員の岸本がぼやきながら私の隣に座った。「歓楽街の店を一軒、一軒廻るそうですよ。女でも探しているんですかね」(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 120)

In a conversation with the tour guide who is bitter that Haruo participates in activities outside the perimeters of the memorial service tour, Machida hears gossip of Haruo's plans in the red light district. Marking an important turning point in the story, Machida learns of an activity that strays away from the innocence of the memorial service. Indeed, Machida is exposed to the possibility that Haruo is participating in the sex trade in Southeast Asia. Mediated by Machida's perspective, two very different discourses begin to merge. Representing the larger issue at hand, these two discourses—the innocence of the memorial service tour and Japan's sex trade in Southeast Asia—embody the contradictory nature that characterizes Okinawa's colonial history and its repercussions in the present. Ending in a form of an ambiguous colonial consciousness that he must confront, Machida becomes the nexus where these different discourses merge. Yet, at this point in the story, Machida is only aware that he is on a memorial service tour and this is his first time being exposed to the damaging aspect of it. That is why after the tour guide makes these claims Machida denies them to suggest that Haruo needs an interpreter to avoid the dangerous areas of the town.

The Global Condition in the Story

It is significant to note the materiality in the story because in "Davao Pilgrimage," the colonial consciousness caused by the main dilemmas in the plot is enabled by certain conditions, namely ones often associated with the material characteristics of a globalized world.³¹ While my ultimate argument drives toward the notion that "Davao Pilgrimage" is expressive of Okinawa's ambiguous position of the colonizer/colonized, it is important to also highlight the backdrop in

³¹ See Jay (2010) for a study about the connections between globalization and literature.

front of which these tensions occur. I want to argue that characteristics such as technological advances and the uneven flow of money within a global capitalist system, foster the colonial consciousness in the story, thereby becoming the setting in which the categories of colonizer/colonized become constituted and placed. New technologies of the twentieth century become the physical means that make the protagonist's story even possible.

It took more than two hours for everyone to get through the departure procedures. We re-affirmed the bonds of our group in the airport lobby afterward. And, one hour later than planned, we boarded our charter flight.

We arrived in Davao Airport at 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

全員の出国手続きが終わるまで二時間余かかった。それからロビーで結団式を行い、予定より一時間遅れで、チャーター機に搭乗した。

ダバオ空港には午後五時に到着した。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 118)

From the beginning of the story, Machida discusses his experiences at the Naha International Airport. An airport itself is what Grahm Huggan (2009) describes as a figure of the globalized world, which is a space that mediates a huge number of interconnected flows around the world (Huggan, 2009, p. 2). The airplane in particular is the literal and metaphorical symbol of this, physically linking distant parts of the world together. In Sakiyama's work, through the technology of the airplane, the length of time to get to Davao, Philippines is compressed. Reflective of globalizing processes, Machida describes no journey between these two places. He just simply arrives there. Juxtaposing the image of the airplane in Okinawa and the immediate landing in Davao is an indication of a seemingly borderless world, where distant places are made accessible by technological advances.

Significant in that it foregrounds an argument I make later, the technology of the airplane

affects the narrative in a subtle way. Acting as a symbolic and physical link connecting divergent locations together, the effortless movement of the airplane across distant places removes the story away from the narrow geographical confines of the nation and into a transnational space. It is precisely because of this that the narrative is unable to wholly treat the identities of the characters exclusively with the essential identities that characterize their nation—such as Japan and Japanese, Philippines and Filipino. To a significant extent, the identities of the characters are thus treated relationally causing the characters to deal with multiple and often contesting identities—such as the Filipino characters knowingly calling the Okinawan characters “Japanese” due to the social positions of the Okinawans in the Philippines. As I reveal later, because the Okinawan characters are incorporated into the nation-state of Japan, they occupy a dominant position in relation to the Filipinos in the story.

Another condition associated with a global world is the uneven flow of money within a capitalist system. Like the airplane which enables Machida to go abroad to the Philippines, the circulation of money plays another critical role, in that it allows everything to be commodified particularly across national borders. This is represented by tourism, as is clear from the fact that the group is using a charter flight. The memorial service trip that Machida undergoes in the Philippines is in some sense a group tour. This is significant because it shows that everything is subject to commodification under globalized conditions.

Before the service, representatives of the bereaved family association gave the opening address, which was followed by expressions of condolences by representatives of the prefectural government, the prefectural assembly, and bereaved families. One at a time, they all offered flowers. The memorial service ended in an hour, which we then took a commemorative photo. The group then

went towards the bus...

以祭は遺族連合会の代表者のあいさつに始まり続いて県、議会、遺族の代表者が弔辞を述べ、参加者一人ひとりの献花が行われた。一時間ほどで慰霊祭は終わり、記念撮影をした。一行バスに向かった。。。 (Sakiyama, 2003, p. 121)

Machida is a part of a memorial service tour group that pays respects to the Okinawans who died in Davao during World War II as depicted in a scene in Mintal Cemetery. The commodification of the memorial service as tourist practice structures the ways in which people can respect the Okinawan war dead. Mintal Cemetery and the memorial service become a tourist destination, made apparent in part from the commemorative photo they take afterward.

Associated with tourism and the circulation of global capital are the inequalities engendered by these conditions. This is particularly evident when Machida sees local children during the memorial service in Mintal Cemetery.

In front of the memorial stone, an altar had been erected; perhaps the prefectural association constructed this? People of the bereaved family association offer things they'd brought from Okinawa, such as awamori, fruit, and candy. After they finish arranging the offering flowers, chrysanthemums, everyone forms a line. In shady places around this area, figures of local children appear and disappear.

塔の手前に祭壇が設けられている。県人会の人達ちが設営してくれたのだろうか。遺族連合会の人が沖縄から持ってきた菓子や果物、泡盛などを供え、供花の菊の準備を終えると全員が整列した。会場の周りの物陰に地元の子供たちの姿が見え隠れしている。 (Sakiyama, 2003, p. 120-121)

Machida's attention towards the memorial service becomes interrupted by the figures he sees in the background. Echoing the main tensions of the story between the Okinawans and the people of the Philippines, are the inequalities between the people in the tour group and the people of the

area. Certainly, these small children, only seen by Machida as dimly-lit "figures," will be taking the offerings when the tour group leaves. Implicitly conveyed, this points to a larger issue relating to the monetary system that the global capitalist system operates on—that while being distinct from Japan, the Okinawans benefit from the fact that they use Japanese currency. A manifestation of Okinawa's incorporation into the nation-state of Japan, this image already previews the tensions to come.

Articulating "the Colonizer"

In order to articulate the colonial consciousness caused by Machida's experience in the Philippines, we should understand that while it occurs under the enabling context of global capitalism, it is fundamentally constituted by the interactions between people. Thus, the colonial consciousness that occurs within and through Machida's experiences is caused by Haruo's interactions with the Filipinos in the story. Important here is the fact that the relations between the Okinawan characters and those they meet in the Philippines are constituted by monetary transactions. I argue that within this, issues of race and gender are central. For instance, money allows Haruo to occupy a dominant position in the Philippines:

That evening, the interpreter joined us at eight o'clock and together, we took a taxi that we called to the hotel. The interpreter, who was sitting in the passenger seat, announced our destination; the taxi set off at a fierce speed. In about thirty minutes, we arrived at a brightly lit spot in the bar district. We got out of the taxi and Haruo took the lead; from the main road we entered the red light district. "Is it safe?" I asked. The interpreter said, "It's fine, don't worry." We walked for another five minutes and Haruo opened a door to an old-looking bar. After we walked in, Haruo just stood there looking around. The bar had counter seats and several booths that were sectioned off by fake plants. The booth seating was filled by people speaking loudly in various regional Japanese dialects. "Ask if Edna is here," Haruo said, turning to the interpreter.

その夜、八時に通訳を交えて三人でホテルに呼んだタクシーに乗った。助手席に座った通訳が行き先を告げるとタクシーは猛烈なスピードで走り出した。三十分ほどで特飲街の明るい所に着いた。タクシーを下り、晴夫が先頭になって表通りから薄暗路地に入った。「危くないか」と訊くと「大丈夫、心配ない」と通訳は言う。五分ほど歩き、晴夫は古びた店構えのバーのドアを開けた。店内に入った所で晴夫は立ったままあたりを見回した。店はカウンター席と歓葉植物で区切られたボックス席が幾つかあり、ボックス席はいずれも日本の地方の言葉で声高に騒いでいる人たちで埋まっている。「エドナはいないのか訊いてくれ」と晴夫は通訳を振り返った。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 122)

After convincing Machida to visit a certain female that he has found in the red light district, Haruo takes Machida, along with a Filipino interpreter that he has hired to a rundown bar. While only a cook, whose social background is rather poor, Haruo projects a sense of dominance, hiring taxi drivers and interpreters, directing everyone's actions. It seems that Japanese currency allows him to take this position; the Japanese yen that he earns in Okinawa goes far in the Philippines. Ironically, though Okinawa is the poorest prefecture in Japan in addition to being Japan's colonial Other, they nevertheless benefit from the yen in other parts of Asia. This further points to Okinawa's ambiguous position as it is simultaneously caught between Japan and the Philippines, somewhere between colonial subjugation and colonial participation. Okinawans are colonized by their historical experiences of being incorporated into the Japanese nation-state, but at the same time, become colonizers precisely due to this incorporation.

The narrative makes it seem as if the characters across national borders can only understand each other through and because of money. Haruo and Machida cannot function in the Philippines alone due to their limitations of language. However, using money allows them to not

only participate in the memorial service in the first place, but more importantly, enables the eventual exploitation that occurs, which I describe later in more detail. To demonstrate the hierarchy between the Okinawans and the Filipinos, the money that Haruo uses in the Philippines establishes his dominant position. In Okinawa, however, his position is not so dominant, as he comes from a poor family with only his mother. As Machida recalls from their childhood:

Haruo and his mother moved to the town of Koza when he graduated middle school. Shortly after that, rumors started going around that his mother was working in a bar there.

晴夫母子は、晴夫が中学に上がった年にコザの町に引っ越して行った。それから間もなく水商売をしているとの噂が流れてきたのだった。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 118)

The position of colonizer which Machida and Haruo occupy is enabled by Okinawa's incorporation into the nation-state of Japan; it is a colonial legacy that in this case Haruo and Machida are able to enjoy in the Philippines. In the context of global capitalism, the dominance that Haruo and Machida participate in is intimately linked to the gendered dimension of exploitation, as is seen from the interactions between Haruo and the Filipinas that he believes are his sister. It is these cases of exploitation which signify the merging discourses of the memorial service tour and the sex trade in Southeast Asia. The first woman that Haruo meets is Edna, a Filipina bar girl who works in the red light district in Davao:

The interpreter inquired in local dialect [about Edna] to the woman who came up beside us. "She is not here, but will be arriving soon," the interpreter conveyed the answer to Haruo. "Well, shall we wait?" said Haruo, and following the woman's lead, we settled into a booth. At once ten women gathered at our table. None of the women made a move to have a drink with us. "Machida, is there a woman that interests you?" The interpreter asked. I took a closer look at the women. From the teens to their forties, the age range was broad. The interpreter surreptitiously pointed towards the counter where couples of men and women

were coming in and out from the rear entrance. It resembled the caberets before Reversion where American soldiers would go in and out. Soon after that, a woman in her 40's came in. "That's Edna," the woman next to Haruo said. The interpreter said something to her and she rose from her seat. Shortly thereafter, the woman brought Edna to the table. Five or six women left their seats to make room for her. Haruo made Edna sit in the seat opposite of him. She looked as though she found the whole thing distasteful, and didn't even smile.

通訳はそばにきた女に現地語で訊いた。「いまはいないが、すぐに来ます」と通訳は晴夫に答えた。「じゃ待とうか」晴夫の言葉で、私たちは女に案内されて奥のボックスに入った。たちまちのうちに十人ほどの女が群がった。女たちはグラスに手を伸ばそうとしない。「町田さん、気に入った女いますか」と通訳が訊いた。私は、あらためて女たちを見た。十代から四十代くらいまで年層が広い。通訳がそっとカウンターの方を指さした。カウンター横の裏口通路を男女のカップルが出入りしている。復帰前の米兵が出入りしていたキャバレーに似ている。それから間もなく四十代の女が入ってきた。「エドナよ」晴夫のそばの女が言った。通訳がその女に何かを言い、女が席を立った。しばらくして女がエドナを連れてきた。入れ替わりに五、六人の女が席を離れていった。晴夫はエドナを対面の席に座らせた。彼女は厭がっている様子でニコリともしない。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 122)

While it is apparent that the positions of the colonizer and colonized remain relatively fixed between the Okinawans and the Filipinos as seen through the dominance of Haruo and his interpreter, it is important to move beyond this simplistic binary. Focusing on the position of women in this context, the gendered dimension of exploitation becomes the central way that Machida's coloniality becomes actualized. In this journey to the Philippines, he is exposed to and becomes confronted by Okinawa's ambiguous coloniality through the way in which the female body is commodified. Unlike the relations with the Filipino interpreters, who sell the services of their language skills, the women on the other hand sell their bodies. Indeed, when Machida is asked if any of the women interest him, he looks more closely, observing the women

from their teens to their forties, who are up for sale.

The interaction between Machida and the women that he can choose from, he cannot help but notice the parallel between the situation in the bar and what happened in the cabarets frequented by U.S. military men. It is this realization—the juxtaposition of the experience in the bar and his memories of Okinawa—which makes him understand that he cannot only occupy the position of the colonized. The gendered aspects of this are further demonstrated by the fact that the Filipino man facilitates and is complicit with the Filipinas' exploitation. As Haruo forces Edna to sit down, the expression on her face is the physical manifestation of her resentment of his power over her. This is ironic because Haruo, whose mother worked in a bar in Koza which we can assume catered to the U.S. military, one would think Haruo would be conscious of the power relations between himself and the Filipinas he encounters in the story. Money allows Edna to be comprehended by Haruo as a commodity, something to be bought and sold. In this way, she is not human, but instead something that Haruo can force to sit down.

However, I should note that while the interaction between Haruo and Edna signifies the position of Okinawa's coloniality, the intention of Haruo is not one of sexual objectification or commodification.

"Doesn't she resemble someone?" Haruo asked me. The facial features, the color of the skin, I thought she could possibly be Japanese, but no one in particular came to mind.

"Don't you think she resembles my mother in her younger days?"

To me, I did not know whether she looked like his mother. I was disappointed. Was it really worth making such a big production out of it – dragging someone all the way here just because he'd met a girl that looked like his mother?! Haruo appeared to be dissatisfied with my attitude.

「誰かに似ていないか」と晴夫が私に訊いた。顔つき、肌の色からあるいは日本人だろうかと思ったが、思い当たる人はいない。

「僕の母の若い時に似ていると思わないか」

私には似ているかどうかは分からない。私はがっかりした。自分の母親に似ている女を見つけたからといって大袈裟に人を引っ張って来るほどのことか。晴夫は私の態度に不満のようだ。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 122)

Suggestive of the discourse of sexual exploitation, Edna's body—by means of her commodification—becomes an object, not to be filled with sexual desire, but with Haruo's desire to find his sister. She is not a person, but an object, and regardless of whether or not Haruo's desires are rooted in sexual pleasure, the fact that her body is used as an object subjected to capitalist markets nevertheless makes it prostitution. In the scene above, the conversation is about Edna. However, while it is not explicit, Edna is left out as the Okinawan characters do not speak to her directly in this conversation. At this point, however, Machida is unaware of Haruo's intentions. There is tension in Haruo and Machida's interaction, as Machida is confused by the situation.

Related to the point of gender, particularly how Filipinas can be commodified within global capitalism is the notion of race and the ways in which Haruo can conceptualize the Filipina as being Okinawan in the first place. As I mentioned on page 29, categories of identities shift and are fluid in the story. Haruo claims that Edna is Okinawan—through her physical similarities to his mother—and not Filipino. Edna is thus perceived as being racially ambiguous, and it is precisely because of this ambiguity that puts her in a position of being claimed as "Okinawan." This contributes to the confusion that Machida experiences, as he observes Edna's

facial features and skin tone. Additionally, this forced identification of Edna as being "Okinawan" is complicated as the word "Okinawan" does not appear in Machida and Haruo's dialogue. Instead, the word "Japanese" is used.

In contrast to thinking about the colonial consciousness in regard to the Okinawan characters, who are confronted with issues of simultaneously occupying positions of the colonizer and colonized through the relationship with Japan and the Philippines, the Filipinas could be understood as forming another consciousness of different kind. In fact, this consciousness of the Filipina characters—being Filipino, Okinawan, and Japanese—can be argued to be relational to Haruo's colonial gaze. Namely, in Edna's perspective and resulting from her own commodification of literally selling herself in the bar, Edna is forced to face the possibility that she is Okinawan—and by extension—Japanese.

"Haruo, why are you so attached to her?"

"Edna is my younger sister. So I must, by all means, ask her what she knows about her mother."

"I am not your sister!" Edna cried out in anguish, covering her face with both hands.

「晴夫さん、どうして彼女にそんなに御執心なんですか」

「エドナは俺の妹なんだ。だから彼女の母親にぜひ話を聞きたいんだ」

「私、妹じゃないよ」とエドナは悲しい鳴を上げ、両手で顔を覆った。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 123)

Edna's commodification and racial ambiguity which make her a target of Haruo's desires are also constituted by the fact that she is able to speak Japanese; she was previously a dancer in Japan. Yet, as Haruo continuously insists that Edna is his sister, and as Edna tries to persuade Haruo

that she is not, she eventually can no longer tolerate her forced familial inclusion and sorrowfully cries out; sounding an intense cry which rings throughout the rest of the narrative. This is an emotional response to the consciousness that she faces, Edna is subjected to an identity situated at the intersection between Okinawa's colonial history and the contemporary tribulations of Filipinas in a globalized world.

Indeed, in Sakiyama's literary world, the commodification of the Filipina body does not exclusively equate with sex; rather, it is a prostitution of another kind as her body is used by Haruo to be filled with the identity of his sister. Intersecting discourses of Japan's participation in the sex industry and the history shared between Okinawa and Davao, Edna's body is used as a vessel to be filled with Haruo's desire for his sister. Enabled by global capitalism, Haruo is able to impose his desires onto Edna, which she is forced to accept, unable to move. Indeed, Edna's position is to meet the demand of Haruo, and it is to be identified as his sister.

In response to this, Edna's disavowal of Haruo's claims that she is his sister forces Machida to reflect on the situation:

I'm not sure if I understand correctly. It's okay to go and assume this based only on her resemblance to his mother?! Hasn't he gotten a little carried away with this obsession? One or two women who had been with us, started to drift away, apparently thinking there was no money to be made here. That left just three not-so-young women with us in the booth. It was an uncomfortable situation. As they only sipped sake, it appeared that their staying was not connected to potential income. Although he knew that Edna could speak Japanese, Haruo, through the interpreter, implored her repeatedly. Becoming fed up, Edna said, "There are many cute girls here. Hurry and enjoy yourself and go home."

"Well, you will do," Haruo became angry.

"I'm an old lady, a younger girl is better."

Edna got up, went to the counter, and said something to the big guy who was behind there. He came out from behind the counter and over to us, saying

something in the local dialect.

私は晴夫の真意を測りかねた。ただ似ているというだけで決めつけていいものか。過剰なおもいこみで常軌を逸してはいないか。商売にならないとみたのか女たちは一人去り、二人去りしてボックスに残ったのは比較的年を食った三人の女だけになった。気まずい雰囲気である。酒を飲むだけでは彼女たちの収人にはつながらないようだ。晴夫はエドナが日本語を話せると分かりながら、通訳を通じて哀頭を繰り返す。エドナはうんざりしたように「かわいい娘たくさんいる。早く遊んで帰ってよ」と、言った。

「じゃあ、お前がいい」と晴夫はムくれた。

「私、お婆さん、若い娘がいいよ」

エドナは立ち上がり、カウンターへ行き、中にいる躰の大きい男に何やら話している。その男がカウンターから出てきてこっちに来た。男は私たちに現地語で何か言った。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 123)

The interaction between Haruo and Edna causes Machida to become confused. This incomprehension, in addition to Machida's evolving understanding of Okinawa's colonial ambiguity, can be understood as a clear disruption of the notion that the trip is completely innocent. This incomprehension that Machida undergoes is constituted by the commodification of the Filipina body, as suggested by the Filipinas who stay at Machida and Haruo's table. Additionally, Haruo's objectifying gaze makes it impossible for him to treat Edna as a person, as she is only an object. What makes the interaction interesting is that Edna can speak Japanese and therefore has the linguistic ability to engage Haruo directly. Instead, Haruo chooses to talk through the interpreter, which only reinforces Edna's objectification. And when Haruo does speak to Edna out of anger, Haruo and Machida are kicked out of the bar, unable to procure Edna's mother's address so that Haruo would be able to confirm Edna's identity as his sister. Subsequently, however, Haruo's interpreter suggests that he can buy off one of the bar

employees to get the address of her mother:

Haruo, it might take some money, but how about I ask some of the bar staff where Edna's mother's place is?

晴夫さん、カネが少しかかりますが私が店の者にエドナの母親の居場所を聞いてあげましょうか。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 124)

Eventually, Haruo and Machida speak with Edna's mother. Haruo tries to give Edna's mother money for her time, after she makes it clear that Edna is Filipino who was born from Filipino parents after World War II. Edna's mother knows that Haruo and Machida are Okinawan and not Japanese. This is made explicitly clear when the old woman explains she knows that people from Okinawa worked in Davao before the war (Sakiyama, 2003, p.125). Nevertheless, this fact makes little difference considering the inequalities between the main characters and the Filipinos they meet on their trip.

Haruo held out a bundle of money and slowly got up.

"I can't take your money. In the past, the Japanese used force; now it's all about money," in a low voice, and looking uncomfortable as he said it, the interpreter conveyed the old woman's words.

"That's rude. It is a symbol of my apologies."

The old woman shook her head.

晴夫は札束を差し出し、ゆっくりと立ち上がった。

「お金は受け取れません。日本人は昔は力づく今は何でもお金」通訳が言いにくそうに小声で老婆の言葉を伝えた。

「無礼を働きました。そのお詫びのしるしです」

老婆はゆっくり頭を振った。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 126)

Slowly getting up to leave the poor home of Edna's mother, Haruo attempts to give money to her. As other relations in the story are mediated and enabled by monetary transactions, the refusal of the money by Edna's mother prompts Haruo's frustrations. An elderly woman, Edna's mother

recounts the presence of the Japanese people in the Philippines, only to describe the power relations between the two. Mediated by the interpreter, who is hesitant about interpreting the words of the old lady, she talks about the present and the past. While she knows that people from Okinawa came to Davao in great numbers, to her, Okinawans and Japanese are the same. While Haruo does not seem to understand it, the gesture of handing the old woman money signifies the traces of colonial relations in the present. Indeed, this is clear as the woman shakes her head when Haruo fails to realize it.

The power relations in the story should not be understood exclusively along racial lines between Okinawan and Filipino characters. They should also be understood in terms of gender, as the relations between Okinawans and Filipinos are affected by the relations between Filipino men and Filipino women. This becomes clear later in the story when Haruo meets Elbert who insists that he knows Haruo's long lost-sister—who is in fact Elbert's own sister. This seems particularly the case when Machida questions Elbert's intentions. Elbert mentions his sister has cancer, though he may be using the disease as an excuse to "sell" his sister. Meeting at their hotel, Elbert picks up Haruo and Machida to visit Helen, the woman he claims is Haruo's sister. In the car, Elbert shares Helen's story:

"Helen was found in the jungle by my father. After the war, my parents produced six children of their own. Poor people have large families. Helen, from a young age had to work a lot. When my parents got sick, she went to Manila, and worked as a prostitute, at first catering to members of the U.S. military, and later to Japanese tourists. My parents died. However, Helen worked. We, my siblings, have Helen to thank that we are alive." Haruo and I could only listen in silence. We arrived in the town at seven o'clock in the evening. The taxi stopped in front of a four-storey building with a cross on top.

「ヘレンは私の父がジャングルから拾ってきた。戦後、両親は六人の子供

を生んだ。貧乏人の子だくさん。ヘレンは小さいときからよく働いた。両親が病気になると、マニラへ行き、米兵相手の仕事をした。そのあとは日本人観光客相手です。両親は死にました。でもヘレンは働いた。私たち兄弟はヘレンのおかげで生きてきた」晴夫も私も無言で聞くしかない。町には午後七時に着いた。タクシーは十字架の立っている四階建てビルの前で停まった。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 129)

Listening in silence, Haruo and Machida absorb Elbert's story. Previously, Machida was suspicious that Elbert's story was too convenient and thought that Elbert heard rumors spread from Edna's bar that Haruo is on a search to find a woman to be his sister. Considering the possibility that this may be some plot fabricated by Elbert, Machida goes with Haruo to see where this leads. As this issue is resolved at the end of the narrative—Helen is not Haruo's sister—Elbert takes advantage of Haruo so that he can get money for his family and pay Helen's medical bills. Elbert's story may even be seen as an allusion to the famous "Tale of the Bamboo Cutter," where an old bamboo cutter raises a girl he finds in the forest. Perhaps knowing that Haruo and Machida are familiar with the story, Elbert alludes to the folk tale as a way to emotionally draw the Okinawan characters into his fiction. Therefore, the story that he tells Haruo and Machida is used so that he can market his own sister, who is treated like an object subjected to patriarchal order in the same way as Edna. In any case, the story which entices Machida and Haruo to meet Helen carries significant implications in the way that Elbert describes Helen's role in the family.

Beginning his story in the postwar, appealing to the presence of Okinawans in Mindanao, Elbert subtly likens Helen's situation to the Okinawans who came to Mindanao in that both she and they moved around to support their families from afar. Burdened with the responsibility of

this, with no responsibility being placed on Elbert and the rest of the family, Helen eventually falls ill, unable to work and loses her use to the family. As she is unable to work to provide for them, Elbert appears to "sell" Helen to Haruo as a means of retaining her position within the family as the financial supporter.

Like Edna, Helen is treated like a commodity and not a person, as we see in this scene, in which Haruo first visits Helen in the hospital:

Haruo went inside first. It was a large room with about ten people. Sensing our presence, a woman who'd been sitting up in a bed next to the window reading a magazine turned her face and looked at us. "Harumi!" Haruo abruptly yelled, and he rushed over to where she was and embraced the stunned woman. The woman screamed, and appeared to look toward Elbert to save her. Elbert pulled Haruo away from the girl. "It's Harumi, my sister, no doubt about it! She is the spitting image of my mother," Haruo was in tears he was so worked up.

"Harumi, it's me, Haruo, your brother."

When she heard the interpreter's local language, she shook her head fervently in denial.

Haruo looked at me with a shocked expression. "Harumi and I, we look like each other, right? We must be siblings, right?"

晴夫が先に中へ入った。十人くらいの大部屋である。私たちの気配で、窓際のベッドで上体を起こし、雑誌を見ていた女が顔を上げこちらを見た。「晴美！」といきなり晴夫が叫び、その女のところに駆け寄ると、驚いている女を抱きしめた。女は悲鳴を上げ、エルバートに助けを求めたようだった。エルバートは女から晴夫を引き離した。

「妹の晴美に間違いない。母にそっくりだ」晴夫は興奮して泣いていた。

「晴美、兄さんだよ。晴夫だ」

通訳の現地語を聞くと、女は激しく頭を振った。晴夫は驚いた顔で私を見た。「晴美と俺、似ているだろう？ 兄妹だもんな」(Sakiyama, 2003, p.

129)

Entering the four-storey building where Helen is kept, bed-ridden with her cancer, Haruo, Machida, Elbert, and the interpreter go inside her room. The room itself suggests her dire

financial situation, as she is sharing it with ten other people. Haruo sees Helen, and before even being introduced to her, yells out a different name, "Harumi," the name of his own sister. Unlike the previous encounter with Edna—who could speak Japanese, and therefore could resist Haruo—Helen cannot speak Japanese and can only scream, unable to convey coherently her displeasure and shock. Her voice is silenced by her lack of agency, her lack of language, which is filtered by the interpreter. Ultimately, it becomes a situation similar to Edna, as Haruo's certainty stems from Helen's perceived racial ambiguity and similarity to his mother.

In fact, the Filipina's perceived racial ambiguity, which Haruo wills "Okinawan," is a key element. This can be seen when Machida re-examines Helen:

I looked at the girl again. It is not that there was no resemblance to Haruo in her dark eyes and the features of her face. But still, at a glance it's not enough to prove they are siblings. If I answer that they look like siblings, that would sustain Haruo's belief. I am uncomfortably aware that with one word I can change the course of Haruo's life. I thought of running away. This is different from the situation with Edna. Maybe because of what Elbert had said about Helen, the idea was already planted in my head. I couldn't say with certainty that they didn't look alike. I regret that I had not thought about it more carefully before agreeing to come along.

私は改めて女を見た。黒目がちなところと顔の輪郭が似ていないこともない。しかし、一目で兄妹とわかる相似性はない。私が似ていると答えたら、晴夫は確信を持つだろう。私のその一言で晴夫の人生と関わりを持たせる虞もある。私は腰がひけた。エドナの場合と違い、ヘレンについては男の話で先入観が植え付けられたのか、はっきりと似ていないとも言えない。私は安易に付いてきたことを後悔した。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 129-130)

Machida looks at Helen once again, in a similar way to how he was forced to consider Edna.

Concerned that his words may significantly affect Haruo's life, Machida regrets tagging along on this adventure. Additionally, this reluctance not only comes from Machida being dragged

around the red light district by Haruo, but also being forced to look at Okinawa and Japan's colonial legacy in the Philippines—something that he was unaware of at the beginning of the story. Knowing that he plays a significant role in the exploitation of Helen, Machida recalls that the situations between Edna and Helen are similar but different. They are similar insofar as they are both perceived as being racially ambiguous. At the same time, the reason why Haruo believes this in the case of Helen is that he was convinced of it by Elbert before even seeing her. This points to the observation that Helen's exploitation is connected to her racial ambiguity, as her outward appearance allows her to be perceived as looking Okinawan. This is significant because Haruo's claim that Helen is his sister can only be made through her physical characteristics— especially since she cannot speak Japanese.

In addition to racial ambiguity, gender also plays a significant role in Helen's exploitation. As I mentioned previously, Helen is the financial support of the family. And it is precisely because of this role that she can be "sold off" to Haruo. When she does, her treatment as a commodity maintains her family position. Indeed, issues surrounding notions of race and gender are integral to the main tensions of the plot, so much so that it renders empirical evidence ineffective for Haruo. As Machida tries to rationalize with Haruo, asking if reliable evidence such as blood type or DNA tests are important, Haruo responds saying:

“Those things are not important; Harumi has a striking resemblance to my mother.”

「そんなのは必要ない。晴美は母に生き写真した。」 (Sakiyama, 2003, p. 130).

Informed by the Colonial Past

When looking at the relationships between the Okinawan characters and those they meet in the Philippines, it is apparent that colonial relations are at play. At the same time, it is important to note the inequalities that Haruo participates in are simultaneously determined and informed by Okinawa's own colonial history with Japan. This occurs most noticeably as Machida watches Haruo speak to Helen about his family's experience in Davao during the war:

I separated myself a little bit from everyone. Haruo stepped up next to Helen; he took her hand and declared that she was his sister. Elbert nodded vigorously as the interpreter conveyed Haruo's words in the local language to Helen. Helen could not hide the look of shock on her face. While holding Helen's hand, he told her about the situation of the Japanese just before their defeat at the end of the war, about how they were chased by the American military and fled to the jungles in the mountains of Tamogan. "Everyone was desperate, fighting for their lives. Mother was in a daze, not even noticing that you were missing from the sling she was holding you in. Mother came to the Tamogan Mountains with the war memorial group thirty times after the war, to apologize to you. You've got to find it in you to forgive her. I will do everything I can to make up for it."

Tears were streaming down Helen's face, but she was silent from the beginning to end. Haruo promised to support Elbert and cover Helen's hospital bills.

私は皆から少し離れた。晴夫はヘレンのそばに歩み寄ると、ヘレンの手をとり妹だと断言した。男は通訳の言葉に大きく頷き、ヘレンに現地語で伝えた。ヘレンは当惑の色を隠さないでいる。晴夫はヘレンの手を握ったまま、敗戦直前の日本の人たちが米軍に追われ、タモガン山岳のジャングルを逃避行した様子を語った。「皆、必死だった。母は懐からあなたがいなくなったのも無我夢中で気づかなかった。母は戦後三十数回慰霊団とともにタモガン山岳に来て、あなたに詫びた。どうか母を許してくれ。その償いは僕がきつとする」

ヘレンは涙を流したが、終始無言だった。晴夫はヘレンの入院費とエルバートへの援助を約束した。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 130-131)

In the midst of the intersecting discourses of the Japanese participation in the sex trade in Southeast Asia, Okinawa's complicity in it, and the discourses of Okinawan memorial service

tours in Davao, the narrative makes it seem as if Haruo's actions are determined by Okinawa's colonial history and its relationship with Japan. On behalf of his mother, Haruo apologizes to "Harumi" and not to Helen. Acting as a vessel for Harumi, Helen loses her identity. As Helen listens, shocked, the interpreter, mediating the words of Haruo, shares the story of Haruo's family. This moment clearly reveals Haruo's position. His intentions are unmistakable and for him, they are pure. The narrative conveys that this situation has been determined by historical circumstance, entwined with the actions of his deceased mother. While not his intentions to exploit the Filipino characters that he meets, Haruo ends up doing so because of the present conditions of global capitalism informed by Okinawa's colonial history in Davao.

Additionally, the historical experiences that direct Haruo's actions have been inscribed onto Haruo's body, signifying his inability to break away from the past in the present-day. This physically haunts him in the present.

Haruo was as extremely bow-legged as ever. It looked to me like it had gotten worse since when we were children. Although I heard a long time ago that Haruo's mother took him to several hospitals to try and correct his legs, it appears that it hadn't had any effect.

晴夫の足の湾曲は相変わらずひどい。子供の頃より悪くなった気がする。晴夫の足を矯正しようと母親が晴夫を連れて方々の病院を廻っていると昔聞いたことがあったが、成果はなかったようだ。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 120)

This is an observation made by Machida when he sees Haruo going to the red light districts in Davao for the first time. Machida and Haruo are childhood classmates, and the condition of Haruo's legs is a characteristic of him that Machida remembers. In fact, during the time of narration, Machida notes that Haruo's legs are even more bowed than before. Juxtaposed with

Haruo's interaction with the interpreter, indicating the present situation of exploitation in the story, the legs symbolize a curse from the past, unable to be healed with time, only getting worse. It is a condition that cannot be cured or resolved with medicine, but only through the actions of finding his supposedly lost sister. The condition of his legs symbolizes the sins of his family, which is a burden that only he can bear. Interestingly, this image of Okinawan family members hurting each other in the Philippines during the war alludes to similar images of the Battle of Okinawa. And Just as his deformity was caused by his mother, the pain that Haruo holds on to was passed down to him from his mother in the same way.

Haruo's bow-leggedness began when he was a child in Davao. It was the fault of his mother as they were running around the jungle escaping certain death. As Machida's mother explains this all to Machida:

"Haruo had a pitiful childhood. When they were running from place to place in the mountains in Mindanao, the tight sash his mother used to bind him to her cut off the circulation in his legs, causing them to be deformed. I heard that she went around to different hospitals here and there trying to correct her son's deformity out of guilt for her carelessness."

「晴夫も可哀想な子でね、あの足はミンダナオの山中を逃げ回っているとき母親が晴夫を細い帯で背負いばなしで血液の巡りが悪くなって変形させてしまったそうよ。母親は自分の不注意でと悔やんで息子の足を直そうとあっちこっちの病院を廻ったそうだけど」(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 131)

After the adventures in Davao, Machida returns to his hometown in K-Village, a place assumed to be the town of Kin, from which many of the migrants in Okinawa moved to Davao at the

beginning of the twentieth century.³² There, he talks with his mother whom he has not seen for a long time. Machida listens to what his mother has to say about Haruo's bow-leggedness, as well as the other events that occurred in Davao. It is revealed that Machida's mother learned the truth about Haruo's legs from Haruo's mother before she died. As it turns out, Haruo's bow-leggedness was not a condition that Haruo was born with. Since they lived in Davao before the war, after his father died there, Haruo, his mother, and his sister escaped into the mountains. Carrying Haruo bound tightly to her, his mother accidentally ended up cutting off the circulation to his legs. Haruo's mother's actions in the past caused Haruo's current physical state. Moreover, they led to the strangulation of her daughter—something which is revealed at the end of the story. Haruo then, with the condition of his legs as a physical manifestation of the past, continues his mother's participation in the memorial services every year to atone for her past sins.

In addition to revelations of the past and the physical inflictions of them on Haruo's body, Machida experiences flashbacks throughout the story which anchor the narrative in the colonial past—namely, Okinawa's colonial history with Japan. For instance, this can be seen at the beginning of the novella:

Haruo glanced quickly at me and then quickly turned to face the woman again. There is only one memory I can recall of Haruo's mother and it was in the mid-1950's when I was an elementary student. That woman hated the Japanese flag. During that time, displaying the Japanese flag was popular, and so on holidays no matter which house it was, people put out the Japanese flag. It was only her house that did not do it. Not only did she not display the Japanese flag herself, but she actually went to the school to take down the flag flying at the school's

³² See KaneshiroA (1998) whose study focuses on the Okinawan diaspora that came from Kin village.

gate. When the information reached us that she was heading to the school, us children started running at once, chasing after Haruo's mother from behind.

To this day, her heavy breathing and look on her face as she climbed up that hill towards school remains vivid in my mind.

晴夫はチラッと私を見て、すぐにまた婦人に顔を向けた。晴夫の母親については私が小学生だった。昭和三十年代の頃の記憶しかない。彼女は日の丸が嫌いだった。当時、日の丸掲揚運動が盛んで、祝日にはどの家でも日の丸掲揚したが、彼女の家だけは日の丸が掲がらなかった。それどころか学校の校門に立っている日の丸を倒しに行く。彼女が学校に向かったという情報が入ると、子供達は一斉に駆け出し、彼女の後を於追った。

彼女が学校へ続く坂道を駆け上がっていくときの息づかいと形相だけがいまでも鮮やかに蘇るのである。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 118)

At the beginning of the story, in the Naha International Airport, Machida, on his way to meet the war memorial tour group sees Haruo's face. Instantly, he is transported to the past, filled with memories of Haruo's mother in the 1950's. Her hatred of the Japanese flag is seared into his mind and he is unable to forget her. The fact that the Japanese flag was mentioned signifies the identity of Okinawan people as being distinct. What I mean by this is that the Japanese flag and Haruo's mother's hatred of it points to the colonial history between Japan and Okinawa. In particular, the woman's feeling towards the Japanese flag establishes difference between Okinawa and mainland Japan. Furthermore, the flashback centering on Machida's memory of Haruo's mother firmly anchors the story in the past.

During the time of narration, which takes place in the present-day, the use of Japanese in the Philippines signifies Okinawa's dominant position, as it is a language of global capitalism as seen from Edna who could speak Japanese. However, the use of the Japanese language in Okinawa stems from Okinawa's colonial relationship with Japan. This is clear from one of

Machida's flashbacks about his school days with Haruo:

I remember one time when Haruo and I were standing in line together. Yes, it must have been in elementary school. At school, the use of standard Japanese language was strictly enforced, and every Monday at the morning assembly, where the entire school had gathered, the Vice-Principal would look down at us from the reviewing stand and say "Those who did not use dialect³³ at home all last week may sit down." It was his way of finding out how well we were going along with the enforced use of standard Japanese. For about the first two months, almost all the students remained standing. I recall now that the school got fed up with all the students standing and began punishing them. They made them pick up the pebbles in the playground, or pull weeds, or haul sand up from the beach. The next week, the number of students who sat down became larger, and conversely, those who remained standing decreased.

It was obvious that the students who sat down were lying. However, the school couldn't prove it. Those who were sitting down would snicker as they looked up at those who remained standing. Finally came the week when only two of us were left still standing: Haruo and myself. I stayed standing out of a sense of rebellion. The vice principal was my father. While my grandmother was still alive, she, my father and I would all talk to each other in dialect. Haruo had compelling circumstances. Haruo's mother hated Japan. She hated the flag and standard Japanese. There was no one in our small community that did not know about her indignant denunciations of the school policy. What I will always remember is that woman's expression, her fault-finding face. After that, thirty years of blank space passed.

私は晴夫とある時期、二人きりで並んで、立っていたことがある。やはり小学校のころである。学校で、標準語励行が進められ、毎週月曜日の全体朝礼で「先週一週間、家庭で方言を使わなかった者はす割ってよし」と教頭が式台の上から標準語励行の進捗状況の調査をした。二ヶ月ばかりは、殆どの生徒が立っていた。業を煮やした学校側は立っている生徒に罰を与えることを思いついた。運動場の石ころ拾い、草むしり、浜からの砂運び等の作業を課した。すると翌週から座る生徒が多くなり、週を追うにつれ逆に立っている生徒は減っていた。

座っている生徒の嘘は明白だった。しかし、学校には立証できない。座っている者は薄ら笑いを浮かべて立っているものを見上げる。そしてある週

³³ Most linguists now would not use the word "dialect" to describe the Ryukyūan languages.

からは立っているのは、二人だけになった。私と晴夫である。私は反抗心から立っていた。教頭は私の父だ。祖母が存命中で、父も私も祖母とは方言で話していた。晴夫は切実な事情があった。晴夫の母は日本を憎んでいた。日の丸を嫌い、標準語を嫌った。彼女が学校のやりかたに怨嗟の声を上げているのを狭い集落で知らぬ者はなかった。私が憶えているのはいつも咎めだてするような鋭い目つきの彼女である。あれから、三十数年の空白を経ていた。(Sakiyama, 2003, p. 119)

The presence of Haruo prompts Machida to think about his childhood, particularly his experience with Haruo during school. Machida reminisces about the days when official Japanese learning was enforced in the schools in Okinawa, serving as a reminder of the various methods that Japan employed to assimilate Okinawa.

Conclusion: The Pilgrimage Continues

On July 15, 2012, a seventy-three year old man from Naha, Okinawa, travels to the Philippines on a memorial service tour. His name is Uehara, and he has been joining a memorial service group since 2010, to pay respects to those who died in the Philippines during World War II. With a similar family history to Haruo, one of the protagonists of the story, Uehara was born in Davao in 1939, as his parents migrated there as part of a group to develop the land. However, as the war broke out in the Philippines, Uehara's father was called to serve the Japanese military and died, leaving his mother to take care of him and his two other siblings. Uehara goes to the Philippines every year as he believes it is his duty as a survivor of the war; it is his way of resolving the wounds of the past that have not yet healed. As he says: "The emotional scars of those who lost friends and relatives before their eyes run deep; even now they have not yet

healed"("Firipin de senbotsusya," 2012, July 15).³⁴

Returning to the discussion of "pilgrimage" on page 18 and the Okinawa-Davao imaginary in general, I argue that "Davao Pilgrimage" de-centers and thus remakes the dominant discourse of the pain of separation which bridges Okinawa and Davao together. Considering narratives such as Uehara's, in addition to the newspaper articles at the beginning of this study, I suggest that they mask, rather than help resolve, the persisting colonial legacies that individuals in Okinawa face today—in particular, the legacies of Okinawa's colonial relations with other parts of Asia. As I have demonstrated, the Okinawa-Davao imaginary has come to be understood as the pain associated with the loss of Okinawan people in Davao. "Davao Pilgrimage," the 1997 novella that this study focuses on, disrupts this seemingly innocent understanding by placing Okinawa's colonial ambivalence at the center. Considering "Davao Pilgrimage" against the Okinawa-Davao imaginary—especially as part of the greater worldwide movement of Okinawan identity in general—the colonial ambivalence that "Davao Pilgrimage" seems to address makes these narratives more nuanced than what they first appear to be.

³⁴ 目の前で肉親や友人を失った人の心の傷はあまりにも深く、今も癒えることはない。

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