

“Tokyo, 1947”: Cultural Retrospection and the Westernization of Postwar Japan in Lynne
Kutsukake’s *The Translation of Love*

Pamela Cisneros

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Supervisor: Dr. Agatha Schwartz

Department of Modern Languages and Literatures

Faculty of Arts

University of Ottawa

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ABSTRACT

As one of the first novels to offer an alternative depiction of postwar Japan, Canadian writer Lynne Kutsukake's novel *The Translation of Love* follows five protagonists. These characters experience life in a postwar Tokyo while shaped by their own experience of World War II's cultural memory. Japanese nationals and the Japanese community abroad in the U.S. and Canada are the work's central focus. Japan's occupation by American forces overhauled its traditional way of life for Westernization and inevitable identity clashes. Amid these sociopolitical and cultural changes, I first provide a historical overview of pre-and post-World War II to supplement the narrative's brief references to the era before providing a literary analysis through postcolonial and feminist theory. The second chapter applies the theories of Homi K. Bhabha's third space, Sander Gilman's stereotyping, and Edward Said's Other to explore how Tokyo's transformation into a hybridised space gives way to racial prejudice. In the final chapter, the feminist thought of Luce Irigaray's approach to women's roles in patriarchy, along with Laura Mulvey's reflections on the male gaze, highlight Japanese women's contact with gender disparity as they learn how to act and be perceived as modern women. This project serves as an early contribution to discussions on Kutsukake's work to illustrate its function as a critical response to a tumultuous period in Japan's history in which the U.S. and Canada also make their presence known.

KEYWORDS

Westernization, Lynne Kutsukake, racial prejudice, women, postwar Japan, *The Translation of Love*

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INTRODUCTION

This research paper offers a literary analysis of Canadian writer Lynne Kutsukake's debut novel *The Translation of Love* (2016) that focuses on the aftermath of World War II's impact on Japanese nationals and the Japanese community from both the U.S. and Canada. Previous writings in the Canadian literary canon highlight the historical context about World War II's internment camps, such as Joy Kogawa's 1981 semi-autobiographical narrative *Obasan* and Roy Miki's 2001 poetry collection *Surrender*. However, Kutsukake's novel deviates from these contemporary focuses, transcending Canadian borders and incorporating the U.S. and Japan. She explores how Japanese Americans, Japanese Canadians, Japanese nationals, and Americans interact in a multinational space. Her work follows five protagonists who personalize their country's cultural memory – Japan, Canada, and the U.S. – as they live through Japan's sociopolitical landscape in 1947 postwar Tokyo. Her novel features an alternative representation of Westernization's impact, which leads to various identity crises, while illustrating the collision of stereotypes and internalized racism alongside gender discrimination.

The paper's central research question considers how Kutsukake's novel personalizes cultural memory through her characters as they navigate postwar Japan's occupation and the onset of Westernization. Specifically, I will explore the following questions:

- a. What were Kutsukake's intentions in writing this novel, focusing on the Japanese American experience in conjunction with the Canadian one through her characters?
- b. What were the political attitudes and roles adopted by Japan, the U.S. and Canada, respectively, during and after World War II given their relevance to Kutsukake's work?

- c. How are the American Occupation and U.S.-Japan relations portrayed in postwar Tokyo; why is General MacArthur held in high esteem in Japan and how did locals interact with him?
- d. Why were Japanese Canadians repatriated to Japan? What were the Canadian government's intentions behind the community's internment?
- e. What was the attitude towards Japanese Americans in the U.S.? How were they treated during and post-World War II?
- f. As a result of the official postwar cultural memory that Japan constructs and its personal lineage to each of Kutsukake's protagonists, how do her characters come to terms with their identities; what are their individual purposes within the American occupation and do they reject or attempt to enter this new, hybrid Japanese cultural space?
- g. How does Kutsukake depict the lives of Japanese women in postwar Tokyo?

1. *The Author*

Lynne Kutsukake is a third-generation Japanese Canadian writer living in Toronto. She studied Japanese language and literature in Canada and Japan, taught English in Japan, and earned an MA from the University of Toronto's Department of East Asian Studies (Chibba). Her writing career began with two short stories, "Away" and "Mating," which appeared in *The Journey Prize: Stories: The Best of Canada's New Writers* in 2009 and 2010. Kutsukake was a literary translator for Mizuko Masuda's 2011 short story collection *Single Sickness and Other Stories* (Japanese Canadian Artists Directory). She was also a Japanese librarian at the University of Toronto until 2007. *The Translation of Love* was published in 2016, winning the annual Canada-Japan Literary Award and the 2017 Kobo Emerging Writer Prize in Literary Fiction.

2. Plot Summary

The Translation of Love presents five parallel storylines that explore the aftermath of World War II's internment period. The narrative centres on the story of thirteen-year-old Japanese Canadian Aya Shimamura as she and her father face their "repatriation" to Japan following World War II. At school, Aya meets Fumi Tanaka, a twelve-year-old girl who, at first, teases her relentlessly for her returnee status. Fumi lacks any empathy for Aya until one of Aya's embarrassing moments resurfaces Fumi's own traumatic memories of the air raids. This event motivates her to apologize to Aya and they cultivate a friendship, leading Aya to help Fumi find Sumiko, her older sister. Sumiko Tanaka works in Tokyo's entertainment district in Ginza and has gone missing out of fear of being considered a potential suspect in the accidental death of an American soldier. While the two girls traverse Tokyo to find Sumiko, on their journey they also cross paths with two other prominent characters. Corporal Matt Matsumoto is a second-generation Japanese American translator working with the Occupation forces for the Allied Translator and Interpreter Service.¹ He is a correspondent for letters addressed to General MacArthur asking for help, including one from Fumi. Lastly, Mr. Kondo is Fumi and Aya's middle school teacher who translates letters for people in Love Letter Alley, primarily Japanese women in relationships with American soldiers. All characters are directly impacted by World War II's aftermath, and the rapid process of Japan's westernization alters both their identities and Tokyo's cityscape.

¹ "Nisei" or "second-generation" in Japanese "refers to American-born children of Japanese immigrants" (Yamashiro 986-88). During World War II, most men in this generation served in the U.S. military "as volunteers or as draftees" while their families remained in internment camps except those from Hawai'i "where Japanese Americans were not interned" (986-88).

3. Literature Review

The Translation of Love was published in 2016, and given its recency, reviews and scholarly essays focusing on Kutsukake's novel are limited. Current scholarship addresses the work's relationship with postcolonial theory alongside national and personal identities.

Jan Lermite's 2017 book review entitled "Asian Occupations" emphasizes the novel's focus on the women's struggles to supersede "poverty, suffering, war, trauma, and even sexual slavery" (156-57). Lermite also highlights how Kutsukake demonstrates through Aya Shimamura's integration into Japanese society that biculturalism cannot prevent the opportunity to experience "love and kindness" from friends, family, and lovers alike (156-57). In this paper, I will also address the difficulties the various female characters face from a feminist perspective.

Laura Okihiro's 2017 dissertation "'We've only lost *things*': Lost Objects and Dispossession in Novels about the Japanese Canadian Internment" mentions Kutsukake's novel in brief. Okihiro articulates that material objects provide emotional and social value, acting as an unspoken means for the Japanese Canadian characters to assert themselves because their repatriation robbed them of their livelihoods (Okihiro 7). In my analysis, I will highlight how the novel connects possessions and financial stability during the Canadian internment.

Allan Laine Kagedan, in his 2020 book *The Politics of Othering in the United States and Canada*, considers how the Other appears historically through the racial prejudice toward the Japanese community in the U.S. and Canada.

Alexandra Roxana Mărginean's 2019 article "Renegotiating Japanese, Japanese-American and American Identities and Cultural Specificity in Post-World War II Japan: Lynne Kutsukake's *The Translation of Love*" analyzes how the novel processes Japan's culture clash with its Westernization at the expense of traditional cultural attributes. Mărginean centres her

argument around Kutsukake's depiction of how Japan changes its national landscape to a Westernized one. She illustrates four specific aspects: Western food as a prestigious commodity, U.S.-inspired educational reforms, the resistance of a "traditional Japanese culture and mindset," and the identity struggles of Japanese Americans (204-12). These factors indicate the implications of these drastic changes towards Japan's national identity and the characters' identities. In addition to these perspectives, I shall also consider how Aya Shimamura, one of the work's major protagonists, embodies the Canada-Japan dynamic.

Another analysis of Kutsukake's work addressing impediments towards cultural change is Bhakti Satrio Nugroho and Muhammad Arif Rokhman's 2020 collaborative article "Imposition, adoption, and resistance in Lynne Kutsukake's *The Translation of Love: A postcolonial approach*." These scholars reiterate that Japan's modernization inevitably risks "*kyodasu* (... an economic, social and moral crisis caused by [World War II]" (348). They also reference Homi K. Bhabha's mimicry theory in which the colonized nation aims to become "'a reformed, recognizable Other'," which in this case, appears through the Japanese people's level of difference under the U.S, a more powerful nation-state (qtd. in Nugroho and Rokhman 347-48). Kutsukake first demonstrates this aim for recognition through the students' immersion in the reluctant changes to the Japanese education system, emphasizing the English language's inclusion, American democracy, and individualism (348-49). Japan's further exposure to the West leads to another visual form of cultural dominance known as the Americanization of romantic relationships between men and women (350). The abundance of Western food, eating habits, and fashion illustrates the more commercial consequences of American dominance over Japan (350-51). I agree with Bhabha's mimicry theory and will apply his third space conjecture to the characters' personal experiences of Westernization outside of transnational interests.

I will reference the above-cited scholars in my analysis of Kutsukake's novel as I incorporate the work's genesis alongside historical context about postwar Japan's political ties—Japan-U.S. relations and Canada's connection. Being the result of one of the first research projects on Kutsukake's novel, merging contemporary postcolonial and feminist theory, this research paper will contribute to the ongoing discourse on Kutsukake's fiction and benefit future research endeavours.

4. Methodological and Theoretical Approach

I will base my methodology on a close reading of *The Translation of Love*, investigating how the novel's protagonists portray the influence of their respective national cultural memories during postwar Japan's Westernization process into a modernized nation-state. Postcolonial and feminist theories will frame my theoretical analysis, and historical sources compose part of my secondary literature.

I will use concepts from the works of Bhabha, Edward Said, and Sander Gilman. Bhabha's 1994 seminal work *The Location of Culture* indicates that cultural interactions emerging in times of globalization lead to the creation of a Third Space that challenges the idea of pure national cultures and identities. Gilman and Said's respective theories benefit the Americans' emboldened superiority against Japanese nationals. Stereotypes and prejudice make up a crucial part of racial discrimination. Gilman asserts that stereotypes are an everyday mental schema that people often unintentionally harbour. They are part of our social interactions yet as we age and learn to perceive society beyond the needs of "food, warmth, and comfort," we tailor our perceptions of the world to reduce a supposed failure to control it and trust our communities (Gilman 284). The self and the world separate depending on what an individual considers

reflective of the good and bad, the “‘us’ and ‘them’” divide, and the “Other” in an interchangeable fashion (284). People adopt one of two routes for stereotypes. The harmful alternative manifests a “line of difference” between oneself and others along with an “aggressive” mindset towards individuals and attitudes their stereotypes affirm (285). The more favourable type negates hostile behaviour because a stereotype is only “a momentary coping mechanism” (285). I will demonstrate how these mechanisms surface in the novel in intercultural exchanges.

In his 1978 seminal work *Orientalism*, Edward Said argues that the West, specifically Western Europe, has historically approached the Orient through a fantastical lens, as “a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences” (1). Orientalization became a significant contributing factor to the West’s identity in terms of “colonies, ... its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its ... most recurring images of the Other” (1). Said further argues that European and U.S. political involvement in the “East” fueled Orientalism to sometimes “control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different ... world” (12). He considers Orientalism a product of political concerns from “the three great empires—British, French, [and] American” (14-15). Likewise, up to the 19th century, political ties to the Orient stressed an unquestioned adherence to “Western dominance” (73-74). These Western powers created a view of the Orient as a lesser regional power that required military and educational intervention to guarantee “political domination” and recognition “as an appendage to Europe” so the latter can modernize (86). There are, ultimately, “generalization[s]” to create literature or “immutable law[s] about the Oriental nature, temperament, mentality, custom, and type” for the Orient to remain subservient and inferior (86). Asia’s image was a unanimous “[representation of] silence and alienation” (91-

92); Western imperialists engaged in the “Orientalist effort” to imperialize the continent, its people, and redefine its entire identity, so as to make the Orient increasingly familiar to a Western audience (91-92).² These Western interventions have deprived the Orient of its independence, cultural distinctions, and, for the longest time, self-determination. Said’s concept of Orientalism can be applied to Kutsukake’s narrative in how the Japanese and Americans view each other, especially through the social tensions between ethnic Japanese nationals and Americans along with bicultural Japanese people.

Regarding feminist theories, I will rely on Luce Irigaray and Laura Mulvey. The 1985 English translation of Irigaray’s *This Sex Which Is Not One*, originally published in French in 1977, features an analysis of women’s position within a patriarchal society, as elaborated particularly in her chapter “Women on the Market.” Laura Mulvey is well-known for her proposed theory of the male gaze, a concept she introduced within the cinematic space and coined in her critically acclaimed 1975 essay, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema.” These two theories are relevant to my analysis of Kutsukake’s work regarding how her protagonist, Sumiko Tanaka, navigates postwar Tokyo as a young woman in search for an independent life and her identity as a woman in both a patriarchal Japanese society and in post-war Tokyo under American occupation.

Kutsukake’s *The Translation of Love* embeds the impact of cultural memory on her characters within the fictionalized historical construct of postwar Japan, specifically Tokyo. The singular experiences of World War II that these protagonists embody impact their everyday lives

² Japan was not unknown to the West; its artwork is one cultural link. European modernist artists, that include Monet and Matisse, and countries such as France, Germany, and England, attest to engaging in the cultural exchange of *japonisme*, Japanese aesthetics, during the impressionist era such as Claude Monet’s 1872 *Impression, Sunrise* (Roy 120-22). Another example is Japan’s *ukiyo-e* artwork introduced in European modernism (124). Katsuhisa Hokusai’s 1831 *Under the Wave off Kanagawa* is widely renowned and replicated today.

in an increasingly westernized Tokyo and how they interact with each other. I will additionally use cultural memory theories as defined by Jan Assmann and Birgit Neumann. According to Assmann, cultural memory encompasses “repeatedly used texts, images and rituals in the cultivation of which each society and epoch stabilizes and imports its self-image; a collectively shared knowledge of preferably (yet not exclusively) the past, on which a group bases its awareness of unity and character” (qtd. in Grabes 311). The memories and resulting repercussions of the war inevitably influence Japanese national identity and the respective identities of Kutsukake’s protagonists.

In terms of cultural memory’s place in literature as “fictions of memory,” Birgit Neumann indicates that fiction addresses the contribution of memory upon reflections and reinterpretations of the past, creating narratives that follow how “individuals and groups remember their past and ... construct identities [from these] recollected memories” (333-34). The commonality here is the selective prevalence of the past in the present time (Neumann 333). Selectivity in cultural memory is necessary to inform readers more about the “individual’s present ... desire and denial ... than about the actual past events” (333). In a narrative, an individual’s self-assurance or collective identity is the end goal when processing memory and, by extension, the past itself in an imaginative form “to [suit] current needs” (334). Literary texts, therefore, offer a “mimesis of memory” or create an alternative history to befit a storyline conscious of its role in “the real and the imaginary” divide: “Novels do not imitate existing versions of memory, but produce, in the act of discourse, that very past which they purport to describe” (334-35). The fictional genre’s approach to memory through the characters’ private reflections is retrospective, enabling readers to understand “culturally prevalent concepts of memory, [...] stereotypical ideas of self and other, and [...] both sanctioned and unsanctioned

memories” (335). In narratives that explore the collective past, memories are curated according to the characters’ “particular perspective[s], which [offer] insight into their level of information and psychological disposition as well as the norms which govern their actions” (338).

The use of multiple protagonists via focalization also creates various sets of “memories of several narrative instances or figures and ... they can reveal the functioning and problems of collective memory-creation” (Neumann 338). Various perspectives complicate memory conservation because of the factors involved: Who remembers what memories, how they transmit these memories depending on the degree of importance, and even the possible “convergences between ... individual memory perspectives ... in the battle for interpretative sovereignty” (338). Neumann argues that “marginalized versions of memory” are allowed to “[challenge] the hegemonic memory culture and ... boundary between remembering and forgetting” (339). These memory interpolations between protagonists provide “an integrative image of the collective past” but also serve to recall the “repressed, past experiences” that people encounter together in their country’s history (339-40). Assmann considers space as a material reminder “of the multilayered cultural past, ... inscribed in the landscape and in the architecture” (qtd. in Neumann 340). A text’s storyline is meant to experiment with “cultural self-renewal” (341). Despite the limits of imaginary fiction, the genre empowers lesser-known historical events to participate in the mainstream historical canon.

In an interview for *CBC Radio*, Kutsukake asserts that her novel is a cathartic response to General MacArthur’s infamous statement about Japan as a childish nation-state:

The idea came from a book called *Dear General MacArthur*, written by Japanese historian Rinjirō Sodei. The book is a study of the letters written to General MacArthur during the occupation period, letters written by the Japanese public. Some were letters of

adoration and thanks, and some were letters denouncing him, and some were letters asking him for personal advice and for help. So I began thinking about what kind of person would write a letter to General MacArthur. I decided the person should be a young girl, a 12-year-old. I wanted the person to be a 12-year-old because General MacArthur quite famously called Japan ‘A nation of 12-year-olds.’ (Kutsukake, *CBC Radio*)

The excerpt highlights Kutsukake’s critical approach towards MacArthur’s words. Her characters’ interactions with an eminent American occupation figure embody this counter-argumentative story: “I thought ‘I’ll have a twelve-year-old ... write to General MacArthur.’ Then I wanted her to have a friend [,] ... a Japanese Canadian girl ... recently ... repatriated to Japan ... [and] enrolled in the same school [as her]” (Kutsukake, *CBC Books*). She humanizes the people writing to General MacArthur during Japan’s immediate postwar era, responding to his statement with her novel’s exploration of the hypothetical scenarios behind the identities of the Japanese who wrote to MacArthur. Postwar Japan’s westernization and U.S. political interference challenges each of Kutsukake’s Japanese protagonists and their identities.

Incorporating postcolonial and feminist perspectives, I argue that the aftermath of World War II sparks distinct recollections of cultural memory for Kutsukake's protagonists who depend on these memories to understand their contentions with their own identities throughout this work.

CHAPTER 1: Historical Context: Postwar Japan as an Epicentre of Westernization

This chapter provides the historical contexts of World War II in *The Translation of Love*, focusing on Japan, the U.S., and Canada's roles as separate nation-states, including how they collectively impacted Japanese immigrants and civilians. There is a four-part structure. The first section delves into Lynne Kutsukake's approach to her novel and the purpose of the historical fiction genre. The later sections analyze the wartime involvements of Japan, the U.S., and Canada, respectively, maintaining their relevancy to her work.

1. *The Genesis of the Novel*

The inspiration for *The Translation of Love* can be traced back to Kutsukake's statement about her family's connections with the internment and repatriation of Japanese Canadians during World War II. Her commentary reveals the political transgressions her family endured, and how these events sourced her creativity. In an interview with *CBC Books*, she mentions that both her parents and grandparents were interned during the war and the latter repatriated to Japan, causing her family to not discuss "[the] internment let alone about ... repatriation so it's something [she learned] ... about as an adult" (Kutsukake). Besides her Japanese Canadian heritage, Kutsukake emphasizes history's role in her life. She explains her postwar research, especially around General Douglas MacArthur. His role was often perceived in Japan as that of "a hero," and Japanese people wrote him "requests for both reform and advice" (Coyne 66). Kutsukake offers a fictional scenario to her questions about the "kind of person [who] would write to MacArthur" and renders Tokyo's "intermediate state" as a multicultural city because Japanese nationals, "Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians" had the same ethnic

background but distinct upbringings (66). Thus, she wishes to provide a human identity to those writing to this famous American political and public figure.

John W. Dower builds on MacArthur's exact statement, investigating a series of hearings that the General attended in the U.S. in April 1951 (Dower 549-50). The most remarkable statement from his perspective is, besides MacArthur's calling Japan "*a boy of twelve*," that he referred to the Japanese government as "trustworthy" because of its slow economic progression, in comparison with Germany (550-51, original emphasis). Japan was not impressed, however, with being likened to a child. It led to an erasure of MacArthur's previously heroic reputation; as Sodei Rinjirō states, people renounced him, and companies "[published] a joint advertisement headlined 'We Are Not Twelve-Year-Olds!!!—Japanese Manufactures Admired by the World'" (qtd. in Dower 551). Japan outright rejected MacArthur's definition of its country and his infamous phrase received hostile reception. Fumi Tanaka, the twelve-year-old who writes to MacArthur in Kutsukake's novel, is the author's response to the General's insulting generalization of her people (*CBC Books*).

The Translation of Love's historical fiction element also blends Kutsukake's life experience in Japan with the country's history and cultural features. In a short interview with Michelle Chibba, she reveals that her novel's settings are based on existing sites in Japan that she visited "'during [her] trips to Japan'" (qtd. in Chibba). She provides several examples of the buildings she transposed into her narrative. The Daiichi Building corresponded to the novel's "General Headquarters (GHQ)" both for fictional and real-life purposes because it is close to the Imperial Palace, "although [now,] there is a tall office tower on top of it, the base ... [resembles] the way it looks in old photographs" (qtd. in Chibba). On a similar note, upon the novel's publication, Kutsukake discovered that the "original site of 'Love Letter Alley' (Koibumi

Yokocho) ... is where a department store called '109' is located today" (qtd. in Chibba). The novel's historical realism aligns these sites with the relevant historical events as closely as possible. Another cultural feature is Japan's social context of "honno" and "tatema", which Kutsukake argues is essential to how Japanese people and her characters communicate with each other.³ Gerald Lynch proposes that the historical genre provides readers a revisionist perspective of significant events within Canadian fiction. However, narratives, even personal ones, must be purposeful, otherwise, they risk distortion and the impression that this "is no ... true history at all" (9). Kutsukake provides a fictional story inspired by reality. Through her novel, she conveys both her heritage and her critique of the U.S.'s involvement in Japan, representing the consequences of MacArthur's fateful phrase.

2. *Japan: The Redefinition of an Imperial Power*

Developments in Japan's 20th-century history shaped the country's cultural memory; its transformation from an unparalleled imperial power that had fought in a terrible war and ended in the catastrophe of Hiroshima and Nagasaki led to the postwar and Westernization period. Prior to the 1920s, the Japanese empire had established its colonial power in the Pacific region by taking control of Formosa, an island won against Russia in 1905, and Korea through its unconstitutional annexation in 1910 (Dower 21; Gordon 154). Additionally, the government joined World War I, fighting alongside the Allies "against German holdings in China and was rewarded by being seated as one of the 'Big Five' Nations at the Versailles peace conference" (21). Furthermore, the 1920s and 30s signalled yet another drastic colonial power shift when in 1937, the Japanese empire invaded China. Their military offense culminated in the 1938 Nanjing

³ In the Japanese language, "honno" equalizes the "true sentiment of ordinary Japanese" while "tatema" means "a façade" (Dower 302-03).

massacre that led to countless dead and brutal mass rape (Chang 99-104; Gordon 204-06). While Japan downplayed the extent of these war crimes, its imperial expansion continued with the installation of “a new Chinese government to administer these regions in March 1940 ... [,] led by Wang Jingwei, a rival to Chiang [Kai-shek] in the Nationalist movement” (Gordon 206). However, Japan’s attempts to control China greatly underestimated the West and the Soviet Union’s political power (207). Likewise, Japan’s Pacific expansions were guided by plans for a “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” which was projected to include “the Netherlands, East Indies, French Indochina, the British colonial possessions of Burma, Malaya, and Hong Kong, and America’s Philippine colony” (Dower 21-22). Japan’s imperialist ambitions to preserve the emperor’s “national polity” and to win against the Allies eventually backfired (22). Cities became vulnerable to Japan’s losing stance in the war; people died as a result of “suicide charges” or even “killed their own wounded and ... compatriots in places such as Saipan and Okinawa” (22). Thus, the cost of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity initiative ended in numerous human casualties and destruction rather than economic progress (22). The Japanese government’s later participation in the Pacific War began with Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941 and ended with the 1945 atomic bombings and Japan’s renouncement of its imperial and military powers (22).

1945 signalled the beginnings of Japan building its cultural memory around national trauma.⁴ However, this development was not without some challenges resulting from censorship in the literature about the war. On August 7 and 10, the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively, “killed approximately 160,000 people” and forced Emperor Hirohito to

⁴ Aleida Assmann explains cultural memory as identity and memory combined via “cultural acts of remembrance, commemoration, eternalization, past and future references and projects, and ... forgetting” (18). The knowledge depends on being “*formative* ... in its educative, civilizing, and humanizing functions and ... *normative* ... in its function of providing roles of conduct” (Assmann and Czaplizka 132).

accept Japan's surrender to the Allied powers (Tipton 151). From the Japanese perspective, these nuclear explosions made the country and its people "victims of the war," rendering an emotional disconnect from "the fact that they ended a war that Japan had some responsibility for getting into in the first place" (151). In addition, survivors of these violent events faced health complications from the radiation and "social discrimination in finding jobs and marriage partners" (151-52). Thus, the atomic bombing rhetoric forced the Japanese to re-evaluate their cultural memory concerning the events. Approaching the subject became a complicated matter.

The resulting dialogue about the logic and purpose of these U.S.-made bombs was heated in the political and literary spheres. One of the most prominent disputes by Justice Pal during the Tokyo trials argued that the atomic bombs were "crimes against humanity" (Dower 473). However, Justice Jaranilla counter-argued that these nuclear weapons were what ended both Japan's military advances and "the horrible war" (473). On a similar note, Dower explains that the Allies believed the "Japanese ... reaped what they had sown" and retribution was the result for their 20th-century imperial endeavours (415). The political controversy around the atomic bombings gradually died off but continued in other writings on this subject.

Literature became an introspective outlet for the atomic bombings, providing answers, which, although incomplete, did pinpoint words for Japan's unspeakable grief and loss. The initial writings on the event were few and not well-received. For instance, Nagai Takashi's 1949 testimony *The Bells of Nagasaki* conveys his reflections about the bombings "as scientist, Christian, and victim" (Dower 196-97).⁵ Takashi argued that God wanted "to bring the world to its senses" considering Nagasaki's ties to "Christianity [which] only reinforced his sense of divine intervention" (198). Skeptical Japanese disagreed with Takashi's arguments but

⁵ Nagai Takashi (1908-1951) was a former radiology doctor whose works including 1949's *The Bells of Nagasaki*, garnered prolific attention for his reflections about the atomic bombings that he published prior to his death from radiation exposure (Dower 196-97; 414).

sympathized with the feelings of “victimization” given the Tokyo Trials (198). Before official publication, Takashi’s writings were censored until 1948 when the Japanese government finally allowed the “atomic-bomb genre” to acknowledge the subject (414). Keiji Nakazawa’s autobiographical manga *Barefoot Gen* resonated with people’s growing comprehension of military violence and the posttraumatic effects of the bombings (Hashimoto 11).⁶ Contrary to Nakazawa’s positive reception, scientific research experienced controversy because reports publicised post-occupation could have helped Japanese and American “scientists and doctors” treat victims better (Dower 414). The atomic bombs destroyed Japan’s imperial agenda yet launched an exclusive literary era unseen in world history. *The Translation of Love* references the bombings and associated air raids briefly through how Mr. Kondo’s class, Fumi, and Aya unintentionally act out their shared cultural memory. The next chapter addresses this topic.

The American Occupation was a cultural primer to Westernization and a path for Japan’s economic recovery even though they relinquished political control to the U.S. Various measures reduced Japan’s imperial titles to promote democratization (Gordon 231). These included naming Emperor Hirohito a “symbol of the State and of the [people’s] unity,” the provision of “fundamental human rights” via legal protections against gender and social discrimination, the promotion of women’s rights, and the use of article 9 for Japan “to ‘forever renounce war as a sovereign right ... and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes’” (231). Japan was receptive to a Western way of life to embrace modernity.

3. *The American Occupation*

The American Occupation that began in September 1945 was inevitable for the Japanese because the U.S. was “extraordinarily rich and powerful, and Japan unbelievably weak and

⁶ Keiji Nakazawa’s *Gen* teaches readers to denounce “war and nuclear weapons” despite little clarification about the link between World War II and the events leading up to the atomic bombings, including Hiroshima’s status as “a military city” (Hashimoto 11-12).

vulnerable” (Dower 42-43). As a result, Japan found the Americans keen on democratizing the country through exposure to Western media, culture, and lifestyles. For instance, the American military introduced the Japanese to Western commodities such as “chocolate and chewing gum” and was recognized for their respect towards a new culture (207).

Despite Japan’s fascination with the Western world, the American military had the goal to modernise Japan under strict supervision. Pearl Harbour solidified the U.S.’ role in World War II. The American government denounced Japan for their “secret attack” and joined the Allies despite Japan’s intention to provide some information before this military advance (Gordon 210). Consequently, the atomic bombings led to Japan’s occupation and reformation. Gordon states that the U.S. intended to “demilitarize and democratize” Japan through the abolishment of their military and the introduction of political philosophy (229-32). Japan’s education system was redesigned to suit the U.S. agenda. This consisted of the extension of mandatory education up to grade nine, the exchange of “lessons for war and loyalty to the state with teachings of peace and democracy” and the use of rewritten textbooks that erased mentions of “tanks and battleships” as well as “imperial” titles within the Japanese context, including universities (Gordon 331). In this case of postwar censorship, Japanese students were required to censor “[undemocratic] passages” and were no longer taught “ethics, Japanese history, and geography” (Dower 247) which were reflective of a former Japan. Americanised classrooms shocked students. They now had to adopt the Ministry of Education’s new “Democracy Reader for Boys and Girls,” a textbook that legitimised the American Occupation as in Japan’s best interests because of its pacifist mindset (249). The Japanese language also became accustomed to English in addition to these alterations, borrowing words for the classroom such as “home room,’ ‘home project,’ ‘course of study,’ and ‘club activity’” to foster curiosity as well as expressions for adults “to

learn “the consciousness ... of a democratic people” (251). Women also now attended “private and public universities” thanks to these reforms (Gordon 331). The U.S. aimed to make the Japanese people, regardless of age, open to Westernization, yet the American government disregarded the Japanese way of life.

Nevertheless, intercultural exchange became a prevalent occurrence, extending to new yet rare friendships outside of the military context, the introduction of western medicine, even “public libraries, ... as well as tutoring” (207). A dictionary series entitled ““American Culture”” coined this era “the ‘Period of Love/Hate towards America,’” in which the Japanese adopted an Americanized lifestyle through food, fashion, and popular culture with some examples being “‘English conversation’, ‘Readers’ Digest’, ‘Jazz’, ‘Blondie’, ‘Pro Wrestling’, ‘Westerns’, ‘Disney’ and ‘Popeye’” (Yoshimi and Buist 433-34). This mass consumption of American popular culture had a particular impact on Japanese women.

Women considered the American Occupation a chance to revisit and redefine gender roles. However, the opportunity presented overt forms of gender disparity. For instance, Dower states that the initial freedom the Japanese people found in alcohol mixing (107) gave way to “three ... subcultures: the *panpan* prostitute; the black market ...; and ‘*kasutori* culture’ ... which celebrated self-indulgence and introduced ... pulp literature and commercialized sex” (122-23).⁷ Women adhered to wartime fashion and social norms during Tokyo’s Americanisation. They had to settle for “pantaloon ... rather than ... feminine attire” and refrain from appearing “friendly” even though the Japanese government was covertly aware of the fact that “foreigners would demand sexual gratification” (124). Considering these circumstances,

⁷ *Kasutori* culture originates from experimentation with “methyl alcohol” and “sake dregs” and these bombs resulted in over 384 deaths by 1946 (Dower 107-08). This subculture later included “the *panpan* and black marketeers”; pulp magazines emerged from postwar Japan’s positive reception towards sexual freedom and were popular in the 1940s and 50s (148).

Japan's Home Ministry collaborated with "regional police officials ... to prepare special and exclusive 'comfort facilities' for the occupation army" in absolute secrecy within Tokyo's Ginza neighbourhood (124-26). An advertisement sought young women for this work but "also mentioned openings for 'female office clerks, aged between eighteen and twenty-five. Housing, clothing, and food supplied'" (127). This work initially appealed to women and while a majority refused, some women embraced "the appeal to give their bodies 'for the country'" (127).⁸ What followed was a period of sexual liberty and libertinage integrated into the American Occupation (129-30). Women were often mistreated, contracted sexually transmitted diseases, and eventually let go "without severance pay" after the American government outlawed "'public' prostitution" in defence of women's rights (130-31). Despite the government's intervention, prostitution continued and the Japanese women who embodied this sexual culture were considered *panpan* (132).⁹ On the other hand, this work appealed to women who wanted guaranteed payment. They were able to ensure the financial futures of their families but also access a wealthy lifestyle and sexual freedom without reservation or guilt (133-34). The interactions with American soldiers also exposed these women to Western ideas of romantic relationships and social gender norms (135-37). These standards included the use of makeup, fashion, and romance (137-39). Interracial relationships between American GIs and Japanese women were discouraged; the mothers and their children born of these unions faced racial prejudice because of their mixed-race heritage (Gordon 229). Westernization led Japanese women to adopt certain aspects of American popular culture given Japan's positive attitude towards these new freedoms.

⁸ In more precise terms, Japanese government officials recruited women who would be named "'the Okichis of the present era,'" adopting the namesake of Okichi, a woman made "consort for Townsend Harris, the first American consul ... in 1856" (Dower 127).

⁹ The term *panpan* came from the American soldiers' impression of Japanese women as "available women" but for those women who embraced the term, they lived "with a proud defiance of conventional norms" (Dower 132, original emphasis).

Americanised Tokyo defined the physical representation of the U.S.’ overarching control of Japan. The U.S. government gentrified the capital to suit American standards. Policies included forbidding “state Shinto” along with “any display of the Japanese rising-sun flag” that were replaced by American ones on the streets (Dower 208-9). The Japanese people found it difficult to access “Little America” because of U.S. ownership of various spaces by GHQ headquarters such as “stores, theatres, hotels, buildings, trains, land ... and recreational facilities [were now] designated ‘off limits’ to Japanese” unless they were servants in American upper-class homes (207-8). The black market was a way for some Japanese to cross these American-imposed borders. In 1946, Tokyo’s Shinbashi black market legally operated under police control, selling “food supplies ..., sea products, and former military stockpiles” via legal and illegal means (142). U.S. merchandise was brought here by “panpan who received them from their patrons, ... [and vendors] ... struck private deals with occupation personnel” (142-43). Tokyo’s reconstruction as an American space inevitably proliferated racial disparity between the Americans and Japanese citizens who found themselves locally displaced.

General Douglas MacArthur was the individual responsible for leading the American Occupation. He is regarded as a prominent political and military leader in light of the U.S’ reforms (Gordon 232-33). In 1945, he was photographed alongside Emperor Hirohito, and the photograph “conveyed the subordinate position of the Japanese state and people” (233). The photo reinforced the reality of U.S.-Japan relations –Japan lived in a state of “*defeat and [a] subservient relationship [with] its occupiers*” (233, original emphasis). The extent of General MacArthur’s power emerges from U.S.’ Tokyo headquarters and his “title of Supreme Commander ... No other Allied nation could challenge his authority” (Dower 73). There was minimal collaboration with other countries, with some anomalies, including “the stationing of

British and Australian forces in nuclear-bombed Hiroshima” (73). MacArthur’s role in Japan was to oversee the country’s reformation through policies encouraging the Japanese to value “freedom and democracy,” yet the irony was that he only spoke to “sixteen Japanese [citizens] ... more than twice” outside of the military (Dower 204-06). His political stature construed him as unapproachable, but the Japanese found a way to subvert this social divide.

Regardless of General MacArthur’s distance from the Japanese people, they still integrated him into their lives during the American Occupation, although he was later rejected for his vocal and demeaning opinion about Japan. The people respected him or regarded him on par with the emperor and wrote “[hundreds of] letters and postcards” to GHQ (Dower 227). This level of correspondence began on August 21, 1945, when Prime Minister and Imperial Prince Higashikuni encouraged the Japanese to convey “their hopes and concerns” to the General, reaching unprecedented levels (227). These letters were read, “translated, or at least summarized in English, and eventually between three and four thousand [letters] ... ended up in General MacArthur’s personal files,” potentially contributing to his “optimism” for the U.S.’ political agenda for Japan (227). The purpose of this correspondence differed according to each writer. People praised the General’s “generosity” in helping Japan’s financial recovery, confessed past misdeeds, and critiqued his policies with respect to the Tokyo trials, “the repatriation of family and acquaintances overseas,” [and] the condemnation of corrupt government, criminals or education officials (229-32). President Truman reversed this trust in 1951 when he dismissed General MacArthur for “insubordination” during his post in Korea and advocacy for stricter military policies against China (548). The *Asashi* newspaper lamented his departure, thankful for his contribution to Japanese democracy (548-49). However, another major contributor to the fallout was the General’s speech before the U.S. Congress in which he called Japan’s attitude to

democracy akin to a “*boy of twelve*,” thereby breaking Japan’s trust in his diplomacy (550-51, original emphasis). Japan was still under U.S. control, with its subordination culminating in the 1951 Peace Treaty, officiated in 1952 (551). The U.S.-Japan treaty had Japan accept U.S. military’s presence in Okinawa given the island’s exclusion from Japan’s “occupation reforms,” agree to another treaty “with the Nationalist Chinese regime in Taiwan,” and stay away from U.S.-China relations (551-52). MacArthur hoped to provide Japan with unilateral benefits, but the occupation’s end indicated otherwise.

A final aspect pertinent to both the American Occupation and Kutsukake’s novel concerns the Japanese American experience and the acceptance of their heritage. One protagonist, Corporal Matt Matsumoto, works for the U.S.’ Tokyo headquarters as a translator for Japanese letters to MacArthur. Adachi and Lee state the American Occupation did in fact enlist Japanese Americans in combat and administrative roles to facilitate revitalization efforts during and post-World War II, including the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal (105). The status of Japanese Americans in Tokyo and Japanese American identity will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

4. *Canada: Internment and Repatriation of Japanese Canadians*

Lynne Kutsukake’s heritage carries historical and literary ties to Canada’s tense relationship with Japanese Canadians during World War II. In *The Translation of Love*, Aya Shimamura is a Japanese Canadian girl repatriated to Japan because of the Canadian internment period and resulting legislation. Early aggressions against Japanese Canadians began in 1907 when a riot broke out in Vancouver targeting Japanese businesses and prompting anti-Japanese supporters to validate “removing the Japanese from British Columbia” under the pretence of

their protection” (Kagedan 71). The government opposed Japanese settlement because of their involvement with Canadian “fisheries and logging [industries]” (Roy, “Canadian and American” 49-50). Negotiations over time between the Japanese and Canadian governments controlled the immigration and rights of Japanese nationals, including the right to vote “until 1949” (50-52). The oriental bias gained credibility in Canada when “alarmists” believed the Japanese to be spies for Japan and that their “language schools taught Japanese nationalism” (Roy 57). As a result, the government justified their control over the Japanese to preserve Canada’s European demographic and their war intelligence. The Japanese Canadian community’s situation worsened in 1942 when being Japanese, regardless of having Japanese or Canadian citizenship, meant being an outlier.¹⁰

National discrimination became prevalent at this point and set a dangerous precedent; Japanese Canadians experienced a mass exodus from the West Coast. Japan’s 1941 Pearl Harbour attack thus became the catalyst for racial prejudice and discriminatory practices. White Canadian citizens considered Japanese Canadians “spies” for Japan and requested the government to intervene (Donaghy and Roy). In response to these suspicions, the Canadian government “[expelled] Canadians of Japanese origin from the British Columbia Coast five days after the United States had taken similar action [against Japanese Americans]” (Kagedan 76). Authorities stereotyped the Japanese as dangerous and sold their property “with proceeds to the owners, less the cost of processing, or sold by the owners themselves at a low price” (76). However, that same year, Ian Mackenzie, “Minister of Pensions and National Health,” confessed that these seizures of Japanese-owned property surfaced from “intense economic jealousy of the

¹⁰ Patricia Roy mentions that on February 24, 1942, Canada’s Parliament discussed how to address the Japanese Canadian community and the end result of this meeting “authorized the minister of justice to ‘exclude any or all persons regardless of their citizenship, from protected areas as defined under the defence of Canada’s regulations’” (61).

Japanese' ... and greed" (76). Japanese Canadians were thus deprived of their property acquired in Canada and illegally sent away against their will to internment camps.

Japanese Canadians were forced to consider these internment camps, in their inhospitable and inhumane state, their new homes. Their Canadian citizenship did not spare them from relocation. During the internment, "23,000 men, women and children were forced from their homes, ... [and] over 75 percent ... were Canadian-born or naturalized citizens" (McRae). Kelley Stathis explains they were sent to Hastings Park Exhibition Grounds, Vancouver before the internment camps.¹¹ Tashme in British Columbia was the largest internment camp with "over 2,600 residents" (Stathis). Families either worked "on the sugar beet farms of Alberta and Manitoba" or were separated, with the fathers "sent to work in road labour camps, while women and children [lived] ... in largely abandoned mining towns" (Donaghy and Roy 146). Income was only available through forced labour or family savings (Robinson). These towns were in the interior of British Columbia, in "Slocan Valley, ... New Denver, Kaslo, Greenwood, and Sandon" (Robinson). However, the internment camps had poorly constructed housing unsuitable for the cold and a lack of basic necessities (food, clothing) in addition of offering only basic educational opportunities at the elementary level. Select wealthy Japanese Canadian families relocated independently (Robinson). Over 22,000 Japanese Canadian people were evicted from their homes under the orders of Prime Minister Mackenzie King who orchestrated their inability to access the "protected area" of the West Coast (146). Reintegration into Canada was forbidden.

On August 4, 1944, Mackenzie King declared that Japanese Canadians could not assimilate to Canada so they could not stay in British Columbia (Roy 112). Covert racism

¹¹ The Japanese Canadian community were housed in Hastings Park, Vancouver before their transfer to internment camps between March to September 1942 during which time, "about 2,000 Japanese had passed through [the park]" (Roy 69-72).

prompted the government to enact legislation against Japanese Canadians, beginning with “the Public Schools Act to bar Japanese children” from a quality education (113). In Vancouver, the government targeted their property because of gentrification for white Canadians but guaranteed a Japanese exodus (116-18). In 1945, the government let Japanese Canadians choose between “‘voluntary repatriation’ to Japan” or resettlement in other cities such as “Toronto, Montreal, and Winnipeg” (Donaghy and Roy 147). This decision occurred amid racial scrutiny from white Canadians because they saw “*all* Japanese, including the Canadian born, as ‘enemy aliens’ or ‘Japanese nationals’” (Roy 34-35, original emphasis). Families relocated across Canada and “10,000 Japanese Canadians” moved to Japan (147). Returnees faced linguistic and social prejudice. A lack of Japanese skills and the unwelcome attitude from Americans and Japanese nationals made people feel out of place, as one testimony reveals: “[The] Occupation Forces regard us as Japanese while the Japanese . . . , because we were born abroad, regard us as . . . non-Japanese, and then are unable to see why we [cannot] give them soap, cigarettes, and clothing” (Roy 159-60). Japanese Canadians questioned their place, an issue that Kutsukake explores through Aya Shimamura’s story arc that will be highlighted in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2: Postwar Tokyo's Racial Dynamics in *The Translation of Love*

Kutsukake depicts postwar Tokyo as it manages the social change brought on by Westernization. In this chapter, I will borrow theoretical concepts from Bhabha, Gilman, and Said to analyze how the novel's characters adapt to a new Japanese-American-Canadian hybrid space in Japan's capital. I rely on Bhabha's third space theory to analyse the depiction of Tokyo's Westernization, while Gilman's definition of stereotypes and Said's theory of the Other offer an appropriate framework for how the protagonists interact with each other and even differentiate themselves from Japanese immigrants—despite sharing the same ethnicity—as well as the American people living in Japan. This section focuses on three major aspects of Tokyo's post-war setting highlighted in the novel: 1. interactions between several Japanese nationals and the American Occupation through cultural commodities and General MacArthur's status; 2. American Corporal Matt Matsumoto's identity dilemma as a Japanese American and how it impacts his work; and 3. Aya Shimamura's struggle to belong in Japan and how it exemplifies the Japanese Canadian experience in Canada and Japan.

1. *The Japanese People in Coexistence with the American Occupation*

The Translation of Love renders the American Occupation as a critical moment in Japan's history and social landscape as Japanese nationals learn to coexist with U.S. commodities and citizens who live in their midst. The reality is that Tokyo, aside from being a city exposed to a Western lifestyle, has become a space with inevitable culture clashes and racial discrimination.

Minami Nishiki Elementary and Middle School reflects the impact of the U.S.' Westernised reforms on Japan's education system and political involvement. At this Japanese

school, Fumi Tanaka, Aya Shimamura, and their teacher Mr. Kondo live the aftermath of U.S. reforms through food, class materials, and the presence of American soldiers. It is here that what Bhabha calls third space begins to appear at a micro-level. Bhabha proposes a definition of culture that is continuously evolving and changing rather than static and anchored in an immutable national identity. Building on Benedict Anderson and his challenging of a homogeneous and serial way of constructing the narrative around a national culture, Bhabha defines the third space as an intervention in “our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People” (“Cultural Diversity” 208).¹² In the novel, third space accessibility uncovers potential benefits and drawbacks, which the school exemplifies through the Japanese children’s exposure to American food, a process in which their eating and, as a consequence, cultural habits begin to shift. Upon Fumi’s introduction, she observes her classmates’ fervour towards lunchtime as they treat food as a competition of sorts and although “the milk the bread, [and] the peanut butter ... could easily be stretched so that everyone got something, ... an egg was an egg” (Kutsukake 4). Alexandra Roxana Mărginean argues that food was important for Japanese children since they became active consumers of American food (204-05). Western food denotes prestige considering Japan’s “scarcity of resources” and contributes to accepting a “[superior] American ideology” thanks to U.S. efforts to oversee Japan’s long-term recovery (Mărginean 204-05). Consumerism leads the students to compete for the limited food, so they rely on their intelligence, “to elbow their way there, or ... to crawl between the others’ feet” (Kutsukake 204-05). A desire to engage in U.S. food culture motivates the “creative” nature of their plans because of the egg’s rarity in Tokyo as “a special treat ... said to make you

¹² J.A. Cuddon and M.A. R. Habib further explain that the third space is a solution to cultural polarity because “we can overcome the problematic claims to cultural purity” (723).

democratic faster” (3-4). Lunches fulfill a “basic need,” but the Americans politicize their food culture and prompt the children to consider non-Japanese food as more substantial for their growth (Mărginean 205). Bhakti Satrio Nugroho and Muhammad Arif Rokhman argue that while this is a humanitarian effort, food is part of U.S. campaigns to get Japanese citizens to embrace American culture and escape “famine” given Japan’s economic hardships (351). Mr. Kondo also observes the children’s willingness to accept American food as an added consequence of the Occupation given the “[change] ... in the air and the children handled it with an insouciance that he envied” (Kutsukake 20-21).

While American food leads to a hybridization of the children’s eating habits, we cannot ignore the fact that it happens in a post-conflict situation where imposition by an occupying force on Japanese culture prompts unequal power relations. As Néstor Garcia Canclini reminds us, hybridization is not always linear and often involves conflict since cross-cultural exchanges can be selective and coercive given that the borrowing of cultural elements between countries from “different historical periods [are then articulated] by hegemonic groups [, giving] them coherence, drama, and eloquence” (xxviii). The initial positive exposure to other cultures becomes paradoxical because hybridization is attributed to helping unite two “‘torn and belligerent’ worlds” (Polar qtd. in Canclini xxix). However, this cultural exposure and its “practices” render the involved parties inequitable (Canclini xxx). This is exemplified in the novel as Mr. Kondo’s classroom embodies this partiality not only through the students’ rejection of Japanese food but also within the academic resources.

The positive and negative aspects of this hybridization process through American intervention are illustrated in the dramatic changes imposed on the curriculum. American class materials and English in the classroom demonstrate the academic focus of the U.S.’ participation

in Japanese education, yet the initiative solidifies Japan's occupied nation status.¹³ Mr. Kondo supports the alterations to westernise Japan's education system but acknowledges that these changes make a pre-World War II Japan disappear indefinitely. He recalls how the "morals, history, and geography classes, had to go—too feudalistic, too militaristic—[had] to be replaced by a new curriculum that emphasized ... democracy and individualism" (Kutsukake 21). The Americans also established co-educational junior and high schools to replace those destroyed in the bombings and to overcome resistance towards coed schooling by parents who believed this shift was "unthinkable" (21). In the classroom, English language education becomes the goal for Minami Nishiki's redesigns. However, Mr. Kondo sees that the change surrenders pre-World War II Japanese-centered history. The principal has good intentions behind Aya Shimamura's transfer to the school, hoping that her presence would lead to "helpful contributions toward this end" (5). English's international prestige overshadows Japanese in this postwar era, causing "a devaluation of Japanese pride toward [their language]" (Nugroho and Rokhman 350). Mr. Kondo tells his students that the curriculum overhaul moves away from the previous generation's focus on "bad history and ... geography" so they can emulate "American children [who] are more democratic" (Kutsukake 18-19). He figures that the U.S.' "donation of maps for the new geography program" would excite his students, but the maps complicate his students' linguistic barriers because "[everything] was in English" and Japan is depicted without "the vast stretch of red that had once represented the empire across Asia" (19). Mr. Kondo resolves to accommodate his students by writing "the most important countries and capital cities in Japanese underneath the English lettering" but Japanese remains secondary to the English language (24). Furthermore, his students are reluctant to answer his question about "what ... America [was] most famous for" given the infamous U.S. atomic bombings against Japan even though "*Chocoretto*" is another

¹³ See Chapter 1, Section 2 to read about the American reforms targeting Japan's education system.

important American commodity (19-20, original emphasis).¹⁴ Britta Kalscheuer argues that in Bhabha's third space, culture's malleability disrupts the imperialist's superior power within "the colonizer and the colonized" dynamic (37-38).¹⁵ In keeping with the power inequity factor, while the colonized move toward a third space, the imperialists oppose this process, making their subjects powerless to have a say in how Japan's modernization exchanges a Japanese everyday life for a hybrid one through U.S. policies (39). When the American Hygiene Patrol visit Aya and Fumi's school to spray the students with DDT, Aya tries to escape her discomfort but "[trips] ... face-first onto the hard-packed dirt ... Her skirt blew up over the back of her head" (Kutsukake 45-46).¹⁶ Her classmates' taunts drive Fumi to "[clasp] her hand in a tight grip and [lead] her forward past the other pupils" (46-47). The U.S.' educational policies target Minami Nishiki School, maintaining the evolving third space in Tokyo under American control and risking an overturn of a familiar way of life for, in this case, the Japanese schoolchildren.

Occupied Tokyo's transformation into an emerging third space faces a restructuring through American gentrification and General MacArthur's prominence. However, this transformation demonstrates the arrogance of American cultural superiority and the stereotypes against the Japanese. While Gilman argues that stereotypes are an inevitable part of intercultural interactions Said postulates that the East-West dynamic established the West as the prominent political mainstay through its imperialist agenda. Although a new national identity along with Bhabha's third space definition appears at the intersection of Japanese and American national cultures, the power imbalance not only demonstrates American superiority but also allows for the

¹⁴ See Chapter 1, Section 2 for an overview of the 1945 atomic bombings.

¹⁵ Kalscheuer also suggests that Bhabha overlooks Spivak's 1998 subaltern theory that postulates a nation-state subject to an imperial power cannot disregard the original political inequality established upon their country's colonialization (39).

¹⁶ The DDT chemical was designed to prevent lice, administered by American officials for Japanese citizens because they "[were] deemed less human than ... [white people]" (Mărginean 206).

manifestation of stereotypes and prejudice. The expansion of U.S. influence and an underlying imperialist agenda are impossible to ignore in Tokyo. When Corporal Matt Matsumoto accompanies his GHQ colleague, Nancy Nogomi—also a Japanese American—to American Alley—the black market—to purchase “soap, cooking oil, shoyu, rice, sesame seeds, toasted seaweed, [and] some charcoal” (Kutsukake 97), she is treated as a Japanese despite her American nationality (93). Mărginean states that Nancy harbours “animosity against the Japanese, not the Americans who have rejected her, because America is the country she identifies with, and where she pictures her life as potentially better” (212). Nancy is painfully aware that, although she is considered Japanese by the Americans, her lack of Japanese language skills, which reflects her American upbringing, puts her at a disadvantage in Japan (212). At the market, she is unable to bargain properly (even with Matt’s help; 97), which leaves her frustrated and demonstrates the obstacles cultural hybrids must face because they pose a challenge to the still prevalent definitions of national identity along single identification lines.

Matt recognizes that the market is a lifeline for Japanese civilians despite the “illicit activity” (97). It is under strict control yet even the Americans are participants, “in search of booze and drugs like hiropon” and “selling [army supplies] ... to the yakuza who controlled the market” (98).¹⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter, the creation of Little America transformed Tokyo’s businesses and neighborhoods, keeping Japanese nationals away unless they worked for the upper class (Dower 206-09). The freedom of the American Alley and its separation from Tokyo made its isolation from the American Occupation ironically positive despite its illegality, thus labouring toward the creation of cultural hybridity. Despite the American superiority over

¹⁷ The yakuza are Japan’s organized crime syndicate resembling the Italian mafia (Davis 295). Hiropon, or philopon was a black-market staple that “had been used as a stimulant to induce wakefulness among pilots during the war” (Dower 108).

the Japanese, who now survive by selling American goods, it simultaneously becomes a space of cultural hybridization.

Kutsukake's novel expands upon General MacArthur's image and the Japanese people's correspondence with Fumi Tanaka, who writes a letter to him, with Aya Shimamura's help, and Matt Matsumoto whose work deals with the letters this public figure receives. The General is a well-respected figure in the novel; historically, he sought to improve U.S.-Japan relations during the Occupation.¹⁸ The novel's prologue is the only direct characterization of the General. He is in his car with his son, who watches two girls—later revealed to be Fumi and Aya—run to their car. When a police officer restrains Fumi, the General does not notice and is lost in his “private [thoughts]” (Kutsukake 2). The physical distance created here presents MacArthur as unreachable. However, the Japanese people's correspondence with him attempts to bridge the social divide. Sumiko Tanaka is Fumi's older sister who works in Ginza's entertainment area, and she has gone missing. Fumi wants to look for her. When Fumi catches sight of her father's newspaper, she notices a war veteran's testimony of his motive for writing to MacArthur with the headline, “GHQ SWAMPED BY LETTER-WRITING FRENZY” (33-34). Fumi feels inspired to act after reading about Hiroyuki Nishio thanking the General for his new glasses and encouraging people to write: “If you have a problem, write a letter. . . . You never know what might happen” (34). She then asks Aya to write to the General because the newspaper reported, “everybody is writing to him” (88-89).

While Aya learns about Sumiko Tanaka from Fumi (in Japanese) to write in English, Aya becomes conscious of English's political power because “simple words, . . . if arranged in just the

¹⁸ In Japan, MacArthur wanted to win the Japanese people's confidence “as a protector, not a conqueror,” respect from “high-ranking Japanese officials,” and ensured the proper conduct of U.S. soldiers (Leavitt 319-20). He also wanted to remedy the stereotype of the murderous American (319-20).

right order, could compel even a general to ... take notice" (88-89). The fact that Fumi writes a letter in English illustrates Said's imperialist-subject dynamic because she must change how she presents herself. English is the General's language and since he does not know Japanese, the latter cannot achieve linguistic equality with English thereby rendering "the Orient ... subservient and inferior" to the West (86), despite all the benevolent rhetoric displayed by the General and Japanese people's high opinion of him.

As a result, Fumi is the one trying to talk to him in person, engaging in linguistic hybridity. Changes in speech habits and linguistic meaning instigate cultural change because "cultural enunciation—the place of utterance—is crossed by the *différance* of writing," then depicted as "the disjuncture between the subject of a proposition (*énoncé*) and the subject of enunciation, ... the acknowledgement of ... cultural positionality" (Bhabha 52-53). Those who traverse beyond the initial spaces of "translation and negotiation" contribute to a "culture's *hybridity*," leading to modifications in people's habits and behaviour (56, original emphasis). As Fumi wonders in Japanese how to deliver her letter, she finds herself in "cultural positionality" (52-53). While Aya accesses Tokyo's third space because she knows English and Fumi does not, Fumi relies on the General's supposed altruistic reputation towards the Japanese people's concerns to keep her hopes intact (Dower 227-29; Gilman 284). Since the General speaks only English, Fumi succumbs to the West's power dynamics towards the East; she is required to accommodate the General's lack of Japanese knowledge. Fumi's impression of the General is that of the superior public figure he is in Japan, but with this mindset, she has to rethink what language their dialogue would use: "[She] couldn't decide whether MacArthur would be speaking Japanese to her or whether she would be speaking English. It was a small but

nettlesome point” (Kutsukake 116-17). She fantasizes about meeting an omnipotent General MacArthur at the General Headquarters:

Young lady, don't you have something for me? He would hold out his upturned palm. She would give him the letter.

Please find my sister, she would say.

Don't worry, he would reply. *I am the Supreme Commander. I can do anything!*

(Kutsukake 116-17, original emphasis)

Fumi's daydreaming highlights her idealism. She considers the General her saviour and illustrates Bhabha's connection between the third space's origins and language.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, language is an important point here. When Fumi and Aya visit GHQ to deliver their letter, Fumi utters the following sentences in Japanese, “*Please find my sister. Please help,*” as motivation to pursue the General's car with Aya before being stopped by the police (117-19). The girls try to speak to him as Japanese nationals, but the General does not reciprocate their struggle. He distances himself from the potential creation of a shared hybrid space, in this case, through language (Bhabha 54). According to Said, the West remains above the Orient. As revealed in the prologue, MacArthur ignores Fumi (2) while his son acknowledges her struggle (121). However, when the girls meet Corporal Matt Matsumoto, Fumi spots an opportunity to deliver her letter and reach her goal to find Sumiko. Her older sister prompts Fumi to engage with Tokyo's third space and the U.S. military through her idealization of MacArthur regardless of her mistakes and non-existent English skills.

¹⁹ According to A. Duff's *India and India Missions* (1839), Christianity was repurposed to suit Hinduism's concept of Brahmanhood in India with the English language (Duff qtd. in Bhabha 48-49), which led to “the language of the master to [become] hybrid—neither the one thing nor the other,” accentuating colonial resistance and “cultural difference,” which ultimately threatened imperialist goals (49).

In this instance, linguistic hybridity works in Fumi and Aya's favour given that Matt is ethnically Japanese, and they do not have to accommodate him. Although Matt speaks to them exclusively "in polite Japanese" (123), he as a Japanese American participates in linguistic hybridity but from a more respectful position as he establishes Japanese as their common language. Additionally, Matt becomes a bridge builder between Fumi and the General. He follows along with Fumi's insistence that the General is "the most important person in Japan;" when he confirms that he is his boss, his word is enough for Fumi to entrust him to deliver her letter to MacArthur and find her sister Sumiko in her place (Kutsukake 124-25).²⁰ Eight weeks later, Fumi continues to place her expectations on MacArthur to find Sumiko, remembering how images of the General capture him "often seated at his desk" (160). She blames him, and by extension Matt, for the inactivity because, as she recalls, "General MacArthur [said] he was here to help the Japanese" (160). Matt's status as an American citizen (albeit with Japanese roots) makes him accountable to them. However, the General's aesthetic, with his "leather jacket" and "aviator glasses" along with his charisma point to a deeper conflict for Matt (211). After meeting Fumi and Aya, he remembers that his superior's presence is a quality he wants to emulate but cannot because of personal familial expectations—he is reminded of his late brother—and his inner conflicts around his own identity.

2. *Negotiating Japanese American Identity*

Corporal Matt Matsumoto is a Japanese-English translator at the GHQ headquarters. Fumi and Aya force him to mediate his Japanese American identity and the tensions around Japanese American racial dynamics. The memory of his older deceased brother, Henry Hiro

²⁰ General Douglas MacArthur's appointment as Supreme Commander was significant for Japan because he was the "first foreign ruler and occupier in 2,000 years of Japanese history (Leavitt 318).

Matsumoto, is the catalyst that launches Matt's interest to partake in the war. He wishes to replicate his brother's heroism in his own way and so, helping Fumi and Aya provides him with the best opportunity to experience an iteration of Henry's goal to be acknowledged by the U.S.

At first, Matt remains indifferent to Fumi's letter because the reality is that the chances of MacArthur responding to her are minuscule. In the narrative, Matt is the only protagonist directly involved in translating letters addressed to the General from Japanese citizens. Although he can help Fumi, he remains cynical on the matter. He acknowledges his work's importance as a translator, seeing how the Japanese convey their thoughts with language. Every letter contains the writer's "soul and individual personality" (Kutsukake 70). However, he also recognizes that the plethora of "missives ... [haunted] him long after they had passed through his hands" (71). The GHQ Headquarters is a place where a third space seems to be possible at a personal level. For Matt, the road to it seem to lead via his Japanese American roots and bilingualism. He reads about people's concerns ranging from "the difficulty in obtaining train tickets" to "women's rights" (27). A mother pleads the General "*to intercede and hasten the return of [her] son*" (71) while a philosophical man asks him "*How should a man live?*" (287). While he is privy to the people's hopes, Matt becomes more involved in Japanese culture, which creates an identity shift for him.

The letters and presents addressed to MacArthur highlight the hybridisation of Japanese and American culture in one of its most visual manifestations. However, the efforts from Japanese nationals are not met with the expected outcome of an answer. Although Matt and his fellow Japanese American work colleagues translate these letters, they know it is unrealistic to expect their superior to read and even less to respond to everything (26-28). Their linguistic hybridity not only helps them see how enamoured Japanese nationals are with the

General—given that the people respond to the “*government*[‘s] [*interests*] *in hearing from* [them]” (26, original emphasis)—but also understand Japanese anti-American sentiments (26). The gifts people send to MacArthur reflect Japanese culture, such as “[ink] paintings mounted on silk” and “folding fans” (27). Jan Assmann emphasises how commodities such as “texts, images, and rituals” add to a country’s cultural memory through national personality (qtd. in Grabes 311). The Japanese people enact their national personality through what Aleida Assmann refers to as “acts of remembrance” across time through their culture (18), shown here through the gifts for McArthur to learn about Japanese traditions.

Matt and the other employees gain a better understanding, through the presents sent to the General, of Japan’s national image and the cultural memory its people wish to convey to the Americans. However, there are also letters expressing people’s disapproval, stating “*Get out, Americans*” or marking their letters “in blood” (27, original emphasis). While Matt and his co-workers doubt that the General (whom they refer to as the “Old Man”) reads most of these comments, they develop a more thorough understanding of Japanese national culture. Matt acts as a cultural intermediary when he wants to help Fumi, knowing the General rarely interacts with Japanese nationals: “She was waiting for a goddamn miracle. Honestly, MacArthur was scarcely going to drop everything to send out search parties for a missing bar girl” (126-27). His co-worker Eddie, a fellow Japanese American, shares Matt’s skepticism because of the number of women working in Ginza’s entertainment district (136). When they both visit the Midnight Club to find Sumiko, Matt, despite his American nationality, encounters claims to white racial superiority. As they enter the establishment, the “impassive” Japanese guards stop them because they only admit American nationals: “*Amerikajin dake. Americans only*” (Kutsukake 139, original emphasis). Matt and his colleague experience firsthand localised racism imposed on

Japan by the American authorities. Although Americans and Japanese nationals can socialize at the club, thus labouring toward the creation of a third space beyond national, ethnic, and racial division lines, Matt and Eddie as cultural hybrids are excluded from it. The guards remain indifferent despite Eddie's retaliation that they are American because they wear a "GI uniform" (139). Although the uniform is synonymous with the American nationality, their Japanese ethnicity denies them equal treatment. The guards have interiorised the stereotype that American means being *white*, accentuating white privilege and the fact that Matt and Eddie are treated as outliers (138-40).²¹ Mărginean argues that the Midnight Club targets Matt's Japanese American identity with internalised racism because for the Japanese, he betrayed their ideals of "collectivism, [patriotism], honor and sacrifice" and represents "the nation who has destroyed their homes, killed their families and brought them to starvation, despite mimicking the happiness of democracy, and ... against [Japan, which] is ... his true home country" (211-12). Thus, nationalism and internalized racism intersect in how he is being stereotyped and discriminated by the Japanese.

Matt cannot enter the space reserved for white American nationals so he must rely on his Japanese American identity to locate Sumiko's whereabouts. With Nancy's help, Matt visits various dance halls to look for Sumiko, but their effort is futile. In one instance, a proprietor ignores Nancy's role as an American translator and only sees her as a woman (Kutsukake 225). He assumes that Nancy works in the entertainment district like many Japanese women did during the American Occupation, as will be elaborated in the next chapter. After Nancy leaves, Matt takes Sumiko's photo and "[rips] the picture in half (228). In so doing, Matt erases his

²¹ The soldiers here exercise xenophobia and demonstrate their "[dislike] of or prejudice towards people, cultures, and customs that are foreign, or perceived as foreign" (def. 1 *OED Online*).

involvement in Fumi and Aya's search. However, this situation is prompted by his grief over the loss of his brother Henry as he ponders what it means to be a Japanese American.

Matt remembers Henry took the opportunity to defend his American identity, being "one of the first in their [internment] camp to sign up as soon as Japanese Americans were allowed to serve" (53-54). Matt considers Hiro his opposite, who "would have reveled in his role as a GI in Japan" (53). Hiro made peace with his Japanese identity, considering it essential to his individuality, as Matt himself once did. At the internment camp, Matt pitched his enlistment to his parents, telling them that this was "the only way" to demonstrate their American identity: "How else are we going to prove our loyalty?" (53-54). Eiichiro Azuma states that U.S. officials were reluctant to permit Japanese Americans into the war effort, citing a lack of white Americans working as Japanese translators in the intelligence sector (188). Despite the allowance, Japanese Americans found their "cultural quality" doubted because they were ethnic Japanese and U.S. authorities believed they were traitors (188-89).²² However, unlike Henry, Matt was never sent to the frontlines, so he finds purpose "in the occupation" instead (Kutsukake 54). Nevertheless, he also resents the Pearl Harbour bombing because "America would never have joined the war. Henry would never have died" (55). The war's end places Matt in the "neither-nor, rejected by both sides ... as a Nisei, being a ... reminder of a fresh trauma ... to either country" (Mărginean 211). Thus, ultimately, a third space is not available for Japanese Americans since neither country accepts their hybridity because of racial prejudice and political division lines.

Matt's motivation to find Sumiko is ultimately driven by his own identity quest and because he wanted to become "the hero type" that Henry became due to his untimely death in combat (272-73). Matt knows he cannot match Henry's recognition, his "bravery that

²² Japanese Americans experienced racial prejudice in the army. During their training, superiors distrusted them, tracking their belongings and "daily activities" (Shioya qtd. in Azuma 189). White military colleagues watched over them during war operations (Mashbir qtd. in Azuma 190).

accompanied the Purple Heart” (273). Questions of true loyalty, being American, Japanese or both, cannot override the pressing importance of family: “Were you loyal? Were you brave? Whose side were you on, anyway?” (274). Matt accepts that his national identity is ultimately a private matter that cannot find external validation as he had tried to find through Fumi and Aya’s approval. He admits that he failed, but given Sumiko’s eventual return, Fumi appreciates his efforts: “My sister came back. Everything is all right” (299-301). This way, she helps Matt find closure on his hero trajectory. However, this outcome does not take away from the fact that postwar Japan continues to complicate Japanese American hybrid identities.

3. *Negotiating Japanese Canadian Identity*

Aya Shimamura tackles the Japanese Canadian experience; her forced repatriation to Japan enables her to reconcile the injustice she faced with her family, including her mother’s death, in light of her friendship with Japanese national Fumi Tanaka.

In World War II’s aftermath, Aya and her father had to choose whether to remain in Canada or move to Japan in response to the Canadian government’s efforts to assuage white Canadians’ worries over their re-settlement in British Columbia.²³ The initiative leads the Shimamura family to emigrate to Japan. Aya’s father believed that Canada was no longer their home because Canadians “will always hate [them]” (Kutsukake 11). Her father’s decision to change countries leads to Aya’s social isolation in Japan. On her first day of school in Tokyo, her father lectures her “to behave like a real Japanese” to help her blend in (10). He wants Aya to know certain Japanese stereotypes to mitigate the “line of difference” between herself and her national Japanese peers (Gilman 285). Aya must observe the nuances of Japanese manners because “[every] phrase had a correct counter-phrase, every gesture a precise ... response”

²³ See Chapter 1, Section 4 for an overview of post-1945 Canada-Japan relations.

(Kutsukake 10). The pressure to learn Japan's "traditional etiquette" conveys part of what Eric Berne calls unspoken "dialogues in which the meaning ... [is] inferred" (Mărginean 208). Aya's lack of confidence in her Japanese language skills and the fact that she has never lived in Japan (Roy 159-60) contribute to Fumi Tanaka's resentment for being Aya's tour guide. At lunchtime, Fumi pressures Aya to hurry, but since Aya does not understand what is happening, Fumi tears her blouse and makes Aya run away in tears (Kutsukake 6). In a bout of xenophobic prejudice, she concludes, alongside her classmates, that Aya is a "stupid" immigrant (6-7). In Tokyo, everyone is "cross and impatient" with Aya (15-17). These Japanese nationals rely on their defense mechanisms to perpetuate internalised racism to keep their social group aligned with their familiar upbringing and label everyone else outside of their community, even those with the same ethnicity, as Other. Although Aya shares a Japanese national culture with her peers, they treat her as inferior to them. The Other is caught in a Japanese national-bicultural dynamic and the failure to bridge these cultural divides perpetuates xenophobia against Aya.

Once she is in Japan, Aya faces xenophobic exclusion because the children focus on her being Japanese Canadian. They resort to stereotypes to express their beliefs about Japanese repatriates being unable to talk or "[eating] all [their] food," which debilitates Aya (Kutsukake 6-7). The children's behaviour strengthens their aggression because they taunt her, "and [throw] handfuls of sand [at her]" (16). They continue to reject Aya from their social dynamic; yet they have two choices, as Canclini expresses: "We can choose to live in a state of war or in a state of hybridization" (xxxix). The social divide between Aya and her Japanese peers escalates to a breaking point, but Fumi eventually abandons her negative attitude and befriends Aya.

The American Hygiene Patrol's visit to the girl's school is the catalyst that encourages Fumi to discard her misguided negative stereotypes. After saving Aya from embarrassment

(Kutsukake 46-47), Fumi remembers the Allies' air raids against Japan during World War II when Aya on the ground reminds her those who hid from the bombs (49). Aya's terror and familiar emotions recalls Neumann's "integrative image of the collective past" for Fumi (339-40), encouraging Fumi to calibrate her earlier behaviour. She reassesses her social prejudice against Aya and now tries to understand her Japanese even if "she had a funny accent and used old-fashioned words" (50). She admits that she targeted Aya's appearance, her "sour foreign stink, and ... her [brown] hair" out of conformity and to avoid her classmates' questions about her sister Sumiko (50). Stereotypes helped Fumi to control her world, as per Gilman's definition (284). Fumi eventually overcomes her rejection of Aya and refuses to deprive Aya of acceptance in Japan where people made her an outsider (Lermitte 156-57). Once Fumi changes, Aya reciprocates her friendship and consoles Fumi when she fails to deliver her letter (120-21) and meets Matt (123-25). In the aftermath, however, their friendship hits a barrier when they accompany Matt and Nancy to a café. During their meeting, Nancy and Aya use English (213), causing a jealous Fumi to dislike their camaraderie and feel excluded from their conversation (229). As fellow North American Japanese, Nancy and Aya find in each other someone who shares their experience and insight into the third space. They face different extents of xenophobia because their shared linguistic background (English) and Japanese ethnicity hybridized in North America do not make them homogenous.

Bhabha states that, as a matter of fact, language supersedes imposed national boundaries and accesses a new Third Space to gain meaning, an experience unique to Aya and Nancy (53). With language, people regard "cultural knowledge" as a "code" that disrupts "homogenizing," and, above all, insinuates a shared history (54). The merging of two distinct cultures from their respective countries is, at first, expected to mitigate stereotypes and encourage respect, but the

issue is that the people ultimately decide how to interact with a culture different from their own (Polar qtd. in Canclini xxix). When Nancy goes to American Alley, she is seen as a Japanese national because of her Japanese surname, but on the other hand, vendors take advantage of her lack of Japanese linguistic skills to get her to overpay (93-96). Likewise, Aya's xenophobic experience at school makes her vulnerable to being Othered, yet her peers lack compassion to hear why she ended up in Japan. Fumi cannot participate in this cultural exchange between two hybridized individuals and resents Aya. Fumi becomes a subject who is "decentered from [their] own history" and becomes "'incompatible'" with Nancy and Aya's space (Polar qtd. in Canclini xxx-xxxi). On the contrary, Aya was happy to revisit a part of her old life in Canada because she felt that Nancy finally acknowledged her (Kutsukake 219). Once again, we see language contribute to identity building and hybridization.

When Aya doubts that Fumi will find her sister, the latter retaliates: "You don't even have a mother. Nobody cares about you. You're ... a stupid repat" (Kutsukake 222). Fumi disregards Aya's past in Canada, which is central to the latter's personal and cultural memory. During the initial racial discrimination against Japanese Canadians, Aya wanted to buy a luxury coat to earn the respect of her classmates and give the illusion of financial stability (106).²⁴ At the department store, Aya also exposes her mother to racial prejudice, observing how the saleswoman, a white Canadian, ignored them and attended to other white "customers who came later" instead (106-07). The saleswoman belittles the Japanese Canadian family. She brings an ill-fitting coat on purpose for Aya and then says the coat does not fit because "this is the only coat [they] have in stock, for people like [them]" (108). This episode illustrates how stereotypes and prejudice validate discrimination, soon leading to the official policy against Japanese Canadians—including Aya's family—when they are ordered to move to internment camps.

²⁴ See Chapter 1, Section 4 on World War II's racial prejudice against Japanese Canadians.

Still, in Canada, Aya and her family live in an internment camp during World War II because of the government's racial hostility. While they live here, Aya's mother commits suicide; her mother's coat, a fashion item, acquires personal meaning for Aya. Although everyone considered her death "an accident," the mother suffered from depression and wore her "wool coat" with stones she placed deliberately in its coat pockets over time (Kutsukake 176-78).²⁵ Aya later tells her father she discovered the coat had "white cloth" with messages for her, such as "*Do your best. Be strong*" (294-95). The mother's coat becomes a Japanese Canadian identity marker for their stolen lives (Okihiko 7). The coat is also a personal memorial for Aya's mother (Kutsukake 295). Her daughter finds strength in her memory and her messages of resilience she left behind to assert herself as a Japanese Canadian, eventually adjusting to Japan and reconciling with Fumi.

4. *A Precursor to Postwar Japan's Interracial Relationships*

Interracial relationships between Japanese women and American soldiers during the American Occupation compose part of the novel's significant features. This section will address initial hints of how these people interact from a distance before focusing on biracial children and Love Letter Alley as two outcomes of these romances.

An air of romanticism presents these relationships as a product of Tokyo's transformation into a hybridized semi-Westernized society. As Matt observes, Japanese women and American soldiers in Ginza engaged in confident "theater" with each other, verifying society's new liberal attitudes for these men and women (Kutsukake 130). Bhabha's mimicry theory explains how the "colonized" become a "'recognizable Other' by ... mimicking and adopting [the colonizer's] behaviours, attitudes, language and culture," leading to cultural hybridity for distinct cultures

²⁵ Virginia Woolf's similar self-inflicted passing inspires this instance of intertextuality (Dalsimer 809).

(Bhabha qtd. in Nugroho and Rokhman 347-48). In the novel, the Western approach to dating signals an acceptance of the “American lifestyle [as] a correct model of society” which Japanese citizens can use to reform themselves as more Americanised rather than relying on Japanese “traditional norms and cultural value[s]” (352-53). Matt continues to see Tokyo’s transformation and processes of mimicry. When meeting Nancy at Ueno Zoo, dressed in civilian clothes, he notices two Japanese women accompanying American soldiers in uniform, and observes one of the women smiling at him “as if to say, See, I don’t need Japanese men like you” (Kutsukake 91). The rejection of Japanese men implied a “reproach for [their] ... inability” to provide a living for the local women (Mărginean 212). One GI acts out his actual indifference toward both the Ueno Zoo and his girlfriend, highlighting the uncomfortable reality of these relationships that usually did not go beyond helping women generate income for their families and have a more liberal lifestyle (Kutsukake 91). These women believed they were involved in a love relationship; their trust made them vulnerable to heartbreak, and often led to biracial children.

Love Letter Alley attests to the truth that Japanese women learned about their American lovers. Mr. Kondo acts as a translator for Japanese women wanting to write to their American partners with discretion. These relationships fail though since most men are already in a relationship—often marriage— with an American woman back home, and “they feel bad about having a Japanese girlfriend” (Kutsukake 197). Mr. Kondo translates a letter from a Japanese woman, but the man “asked for forgiveness” (197-99). The woman expected positive news, but when Mr. Kondo reveals that her lover is actually married, she argues that she too, is married to him, with a Bible and “his friend ... as a witness” (201). She cannot discern her American lover’s emotional manipulation.

Biracial children born out of wedlock are another concern of these romantic fallout because they were susceptible to social stigmatization and abandonment. Fumi and Aya find a bucket with an abandoned dead baby near the rubble of Tanaka Books, Fumi's former family business. They determine the child is biracial, "tiny with very dark skin [and] a deep rich hue of brown" (Kutsukake 164). The deceased baby's features hint at the child's mixed Japanese-African American heritage since black GIs, too, had relationships with Japanese women who entertained Americans (Dower 129-30).²⁶ Biracial children whose parents were able to get married usually emigrated with their parents, but children born out of wedlock were usually abandoned by their birth mother and only sometimes received any financial support from their father (Okuda 91-93). Mr. Kondo helps Aya and Fumi bring the dead infant to the police for usual procedures since, sadly, many children shared the baby's fate (169). Yukiko Koshiro explains that the U.S. wanted "mixed-race babies ... to be treated as Japanese" (67). However, the request complicated interracial couples' lives.²⁷ Japanese mothers could not confirm their child's paternity because only the fathers could, and when they refused, the children were left "in orphanages or with their mothers alone or with Japanese stepfathers" (67). As Fumi questions Mr. Kondo about the baby's appearance, she understands that the child came from an interracial relationship (Kutsukake 169-70). The child's death is a sad reminder of how the American Occupation legally drove couples apart and left the women to their own devices, leaving American-fathered children alone and with no legal protection. Women's ambitions to build a

²⁶ In Camp Gifu, the 24th Infantry Regiment where only African Americans were stationed, relationships with Japanese women were common but needed legal "approval of the American consul," unlike for white Americans (Okuda 82-84).

²⁷ American fathers, regardless of race or marriage status, confirmed paternity even if they were not required to do so (Koshiro 67). When they did, they could not return to the U.S. with their Japanese families since "the 1924 Immigration Act [kept] them from becoming citizens or permanent residents" (67). Revisions on June 28, 1947, to "Public Law No. 126" allowed Japanese wives to immigrate if they married but only "between July 23 and August 2, 1947" (67; Okada 85).

better life in post-war Japan's third space were thus often curtailed because of patriarchal realities, leaving them in a state of vulnerability and social stigmatization. The following chapter explores both the advantages and pitfalls that Westernization brought for Japanese women.

CHAPTER 3: Western Modalities and Women's Identities in *The Translation of Love*

The focus of this chapter is Kutsukake's take on women's participation in the ideals of femininity that women in Japan had to embody under Westernization's influence. In my analysis, I will rely on Irigaray's and Mulvey's feminist theories to address how men's sexist perceptions of the female body and women in general proliferate gender disparity. As Irigaray argues, a patriarchal society values women based on their gender alone rather than considering them as individuals. Mulvey follows a similar trajectory, suggesting that women experience an undermining of their autonomy because the male gaze under which they live leads to disrespect. Relying on these theories, I examine one main protagonist, Sumiko Tanaka, and her coming-of-age narrative as she defines her identity and women's roles in postwar Tokyo through her interactions with the novel's other characters.

Patriarchal structures and gender roles existed in Japan prior to the American occupation and began to be challenged in the early 20th century. During the 1910s and 1920s, women began to resist sexist and domestic labels that present "fragile" women who must stay home as dependent on men (Gordon 168-69). The 1930s found women working in western-style cafés that created expectations of "romantic love" for men and women (Tipton 715-16).²⁸ Dance halls also appeared already during the 1920s but were generally considered scandalous and once again, men's expectations were favoured over women's (718-19). Under the guise of women's independent identities, the opportunity to partake in a modern social life benefited men's view of women as accessories to their lives. These social and gender structures remained intact post-

²⁸ The anticipation of romantic encounters shifted café culture to favour men's expectations such as Osaka cafés asking women to "flirt with patrons and behave like a girlfriend" (Tipton 716-17). However, women were disadvantaged because they paid their visitor's expenses (717).

World War II as well and the Occupation did precious little to bring about a fundamental change, as the novel also demonstrates.

Sumiko Tanaka is a twenty-two-year-old Japanese national and Fumi Tanaka's older sister, who leaves home to work in a dance hall in Ginza, Tokyo's entertainment district. She wants to alleviate her family's financial difficulties and her younger sister, Fumi's medical condition.²⁹ As time passes, Sumiko is immersed in the glamorous atmosphere that caters to American GI customers. Although Sumiko refuses prostitution, being a woman accentuates specific barriers. Japanese and American men restrict Japanese women to the gender roles expected of them. Women's independence becomes secondary in this process of having to cater to male expectations. Sumiko's story connects to the greater community of Japanese women who endure the harsh realities of gender disparity and rejection after their failed romances with U.S. soldiers.

1. *The Reinvention of Gender Norms in Postwar Tokyo*

Kutsukake intersperses her depiction of women's lives in Tokyo with feminist criticism that addresses how gender norms limit women's prospects, contradicting post-war Tokyo's promise of freedom as the city welcomes Westernization and its different social norms. Looking at Westernization only from a positive angle for Japan is one-sided. Popular culture, while it was embraced particularly by young women, also harmed Japanese girls who grew up to perceive themselves as men's pleasure objects, influencing the ways they participated in and belonged to Tokyo's westernized lifestyle. It is pertinent to consider how children, including Sumiko's

²⁹ Beriberi is a medical term for "[an] acute disease generally presenting dropsical symptoms, with paralytic weakness and numbness of the legs" (*OED Online*). Vitamin B deficiency causes beriberi, which in Fumi's case (and likely for others in post-war Japan), was due to poor nutrition.

twelve-year-old sister Fumi, and Corporal Matt Matsumoto observe their views of gender norms before addressing Sumiko Tanaka's story.

At Minami Nisiki Middle School, which Fumi attends, the students participate in what they are taught to be the standard gender norms expected of women and men, respectively. When the teachers, Mr. Kondo and Miss Ikeda, observe the children role play as American men and Japanese women, one boy, Masatomi, pretends to give “*Chocoretto*” to a girl (Kutsukake 60-61).³⁰ As she continues with this role play, Masatomi becomes confused as to what she wants him to do and two other boys tease him relentlessly: “She wants you to kiss her” (61). The children imitate the interracial relationships they see in Tokyo with a “[democracy] kiss” without, of course, understanding its complexity.³¹ Miss Ikeda considers the occasion “imaginative play” (61) rather than a microcosm of gender dynamics, which indicates how she, as an adult Japanese woman, perceives “democracy” brought into Japan by a superpower and biracial relationships with positivity. Such open romantic attitudes between men and women emerged not only from pulp magazines but also from “American reformers... promoting kissing as ... liberation from the feudal ... past” (Dower 149-50).³² Although Mr. Kondo believes the students crossed the line, he watches Miss Ikeda laughing at the scene and giving him “a horrible smirk” which Mr. Kondo interprets as him being “out of touch” with men and women’s liberal attitudes towards each other (61-62). Miss Ikeda believes Mr. Kondo unable to understand how children see the world at their age, mistaking the adoption of certain Western gender

³⁰ In Japan, “chocolate and chewing gum” made children construct a positive “association with General MacArthur” (Tsurumi 7). They adopted the phrase, “‘Give me chocolate’ ... within days after the first GIs arrived” in 1945 (Dower 72).

³¹ The kiss and democracy analogy grew from Japan’s wave of postwar pulp magazine publications with “illustrations of sensual women, or ... lovers” often depicted as “Caucasians” (Dower 149).

³² Post-1945 romantic gestures between men and women are traced to the influx of American films and observing U.S. soldiers, setting a precedent for Japanese-American interactions (Tsurumi 7).

norms—those harmful and exploitative towards women—for modernization. The children’s dynamics run parallel to Fumi’s family given Sumiko’s entertainment work for American GIs.

Fumi is initially uncertain about the new westernized gender roles. She recalls how Japan’s postwar economic situation impacted her family when air raids destroyed their business, Tanaka Books in a fire (161).³³ Her father lost his source of income because he only “owned ... the contents” (161). As a result, he relied on pulp magazines, and this is how Fumi becomes acquainted with this type of reading. She once asks her father if she could read the “[penny] romances and pulp magazines” that he resold from secondhand customers, but he refused, finding them “too contemporary” for her (160). He shields Fumi from these texts depicting “men and women embracing, ... and the captions promised exciting stories of romance” (160).³⁴ These magazines influenced how Japanese women sought to approximate the “idealized Western female figure, ... [that] became an object of male lust” (Dower 149). Fumi later reveals that she read these magazines to understand Sumiko’s occupation. She contemplates the nature of her sister’s work, aware of her changes because of her “clothes or ... the way she ...[laughed] when a handsome GI ... [asked] for a dance” (Kutsukake 236). Thanks to her father, Fumi is aware that she is being protected from “pulp fantasy” and the realities of being a woman in post-war Japan. Her parents no longer discuss her future in terms of being “a fine wife and mother,” which troubles Fumi because of their greater focus on basic “essentials” to survive (236-37). This popular culture informs young girls what to expect in a westernised Japan, but they are unaware that the women’s images are highly biased and geared toward a male readership.

³³ Gordon explains that from 1944 until the war’s end, the American military launched a series of “high-flying B-29s” targeting neighbourhoods and local factories of “major cities” (212-18).

³⁴ The main audience for these works were not Japanese women but men looking to comprehend these “sexual encounters” as did the Americans to understand Japan (149). Japanese men saw “[Western] women ... as voluptuous sexual objects,” affecting their image of Japanese women. (Dower 149).

Hisayo illustrates the clash popular culture imagery causes between Japanese women's expectations and the realities of their experiences. Fifteen-year-old Hisayo is a young girl who, like Fumi, is exposed to the sight of biracial romantic relationships, but Hisayo has a clear goal, namely, to eventually interact herself with American soldiers. She boasts to Fumi about her "natural talent ... [for] Western dancing," perfect for the dance hall, as the other girls tell her (Kutsukake 231). She ignores the dangers and concentrates on the fashion and "beauty mark" lipstick (233). Nugroho and Rokhman argue that Hisayo's love for Western fashion indicates her wish to fulfil American beauty standards and emulate "postwar Japanese women, specifically young *panpan* girls to be 'a modern and stylish woman'" (353, original emphasis). Likewise, after Hisayo and Fumi watch a Japanese woman leave the dormitory accompanying an American soldier, Hisayo reckons the scene to be a "romantic" one and states that she wants to be "somebody's *only*" (245, original emphasis).³⁵ This scenario describes women, "loyal to [one] American patron," as an ideal experience.³⁶

Matt Matsumoto, although an American himself, observes the effects of these interracial relationships with a critical eye. While at Hibaya Park, he relays the idealized nature of Tokyo's relationship dynamics, noting how Japanese women now live in an increasingly Americanised society. He first sees Japanese women walking with their families or their partner in a reserved manner, wearing "colorful dresses" and carrying "parasols" (Kutsukake 52). He also observes GIs "sauntering alone or in groups [with] cameras" (52). The most "commonplace" sight is that of GIs and Japanese women as couples (52). Japanese women's changing views on Western

³⁵ The word "only" in the novel's context is translated from the Japanese word "*onrii* ('only'), short for *onrii wan* ('only one')" (Dower 134, original emphasis).

³⁶ Hisayo's hopes for a romantic relationship have a historical basis. During the American Occupation, some Japanese women and U.S. military men married after meeting and the women worked as "housemaids, office clerks, typists, and waitpersons" (Adachi and Lee 57-58). These marriages, however, perpetuated the negative assumption that women were "prostitutes [for] ... foreign soldiers" (57-58).

relationships perpetuate romantic ideals which transpire in this space (Dower 135-37). Mārginean notes that biracial couples represent both Japan's social change and U.S. supremacy where "the American—just like the male is, in the relationship, [has] the upper hand—and the modified morals" (209). Beyond the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, Tokyo's social sphere is reinvented because "it was possible and right to fall in love" (Kutsukake 52). The narrative celebrates the convergence of racial diversity but also uncovers the inevitable gender trap for women as they experience emotional distress, social rejection, and even expose their newborn children born from these relationships to violence such as infanticide and child abandonment.

2. *The Reinvention of Gender Prejudice in Postwar Tokyo*

The aforementioned characters live the surface-level reality of redefined gender expectations for Japanese women and consider racial relationships as part of everyday life. Consequently, these expectations, brought about through U.S. influence and Japan's *kasutori* culture, increase gender disparity and affect Japanese women's life prospects.³⁷ Kutsukake offers a critique of women being accessorised through Sumiko's journey in postwar Tokyo's social world. Sumiko is introduced through a photograph in Fumi's possession, the latter praising her sister's "beautiful" appearance in "stylish Western clothes" that deviates from Japan's social expectations of "baggy pants and tops many women ... [wore] out of necessity" (Kutsukake 66). However, Sumiko's unhappy demeanour indirectly expresses the impact of gender prejudice and women's subservience to men. Sumiko's early days at a Ginza dance hall and the patriarchal mistreatment she receives addresses the issue of women's inequality. As Sumiko waits in line for food, Mr. Harada, the owner and manager of a dance hall, convinces her to work for him after he capitalises on her fear about her family's financial instability. He is presentable in "the

³⁷ See Chapter 1, Section 3 for a summary of Japan's *kasutori* culture.

entertainment business” looking “to start a dance club for American[s]” (111-12). He uses Sumiko’s yearning for attention, which she has not received for a while, against her (111-12). When she mentions her worries about “bill collectors,” she refuses Mr. Harada’s money and, instead, opts for a loan in return for working at his dance hall to save Fumi’s life (112-13). However, her decision puts her in a precarious situation.

Although Sumiko’s resolution grants her a certain degree of agency, her workplace highlights the limits placed on her due to her gender. Her situation illustrates Irigaray’s argument regarding “the exchange of women” (170). The framework presents women as objects for men’s consumption (170-71). When Sumiko first joins the dance hall, its atmosphere of “lust” becomes a microcosm for the relationships in this space because the “cigarettes and liquor” made these “women [smell] different ... from ordinary Japanese women” (Kutsukake 131). Sumiko observes how Harada’s control over the women in his establishment manifests the submissive composure they are expected to uphold as they “waited to be picked for a dance” (132). The gender norms imposed on and expected of these young women reflect what Irigaray categorizes as the literal commodification of women’s bodies, a situation which, she explains, is created by men’s dominance so that “social life and culture” can thrive around their needs (171). Men create and control this gender dichotomy as the ruling participants in this “transaction” that stifles women’s decision-making power in these “exchanges” (171-172). Accordingly, Sumiko recalls how Harada dictates women’s etiquette: “Smile, laugh, even when you had no idea what the man was saying” (Kutsukake 133-34). The dance hall caters to men—here men of the occupying force no less—with Sumiko “learning how to dance and how to banter in bar-girl English” but also how to defend herself for instance, with a “sewing needle” to keep manners in check (132). While she is conditioned to protect herself, she resigns herself to the harsh reality of the dance hall.

Harada leaves Sumiko with no other choice but to tolerate this lifestyle until she pays off her debt. He resorts to lies when Sumiko asks to be paid “for the tickets she collected” (184). Harada’s control over Sumiko grows when he puts her under more pressure as the loan increases, leaving Sumiko no other choice but to seek ways to make “supplemental income” with her body through prostitution, which leads to another situation of exploitation for her (Kutsukake 134). The dance hall forces her to progressively adapt to men’s expectations of women: “The safest way to react was ... [to] give in, to be *passive*. To ... make yourself *small* ... and not be a threat” (135, emphasis added). To speak with Irigaray, women must subordinate themselves to men and act in a passive manner to conform to social roles, in this case, an object, a “reflection” for men that erases their individuality and reduces them to an exchange item (Irigaray et al. 187). Both Japanese and American men enforce this situation in which Japanese women find themselves at the entertainment district. Harada reinforces his patriarchal bias and creates a micro-structure to reduce women’s autonomy. Although he himself is Japanese, he offers up Japanese women as objects for American men’s use.

Sumiko realizes that this “feminine” behaviour expected of her is a necessary act she must perform for the sake of her parents and her little sister who depend on her income and goods she provides for them. When Sumiko visits on one occasion to deliver her earnings, her mother tries to convince her to leave the dance hall, but she insists she has “a small debt to pay off” before she can quit (76). Her stance indicates her work is not for romance prospects: “No matter what her mother feared, she was not a panpan, and she felt no desire to become anyone’s only” (114). The food Sumiko has access to is at the expense of allowing American soldiers to touch her (132). She would rather tolerate these men (Mărginean 209) than allow herself and her family to live in poverty. Her experience aligns with Irigaray’s “*abstraction*” concept because

these men do not pay any attention to Sumiko's individuality (175, original emphasis). Most of Sumiko's guests view her merely as an accessory and she must comply because "[whoever] bought a ticket was entitled to a dance" (Kutsukake 133). The guarantee of food security overrode respect whenever she allowed them to touch her face or waist in return for "cookies" or "jam" (133). Sumiko finds herself treated as property for men's entertainment, thereby adhering to Harada's expectations of her because she, first and foremost, works for him before she can prioritise her loved one's futures.

The novel continues to focus on the commodification of women's bodies through Sumiko's increasing personal detachment because of her encounters with U.S. soldiers. She performs at the expense of her discomfort and troubles because "[if] she smiled, it meant she was happy, and if she was happy, the GIs were happy" (Kutsukake 149). She accompanies Yoko to see the Buddha statue in Kamakura because Yoko believes her relationship with Jake, an American GI, answers her life goals to no longer "work in the dance hall" or visit "the black market to get extra food for her [family]" (99).³⁸ During their outing, Jake only focuses on Yoko's physical beauty rather than the city, further highlighting Irigaray's musings about the market value of women's bodies (171). Jake repurposes Yoko's explanation of Buddha's ears meaning "big wisdom" by complimenting her ears, ignoring her personality and her culture: "Yours are nice and cute. Good thing you're not wise" (100-01). He reduces Yoko's explanation of an important aspect of Japanese culture to a sexual compliment, which showcases his colonial attitude to Japan. What matters to him is her body, not her intellect nor her culture. The gender dynamics between American GIs and Japanese women indicate a purely physical relationship that masquerades as a liberal expression of Western sexuality and public affection,

³⁸ Located in Japan's Kanagawa prefecture, Kamakura is famous for its 13th-century Great Buddha statue, at 11 metres and is a popular destination (Japan National Tourism Organization).

as seen through Yoko and Jake's "public intimacy" (Nugroho and Rokhman 350). Yoko revels in her romance, completely unaware of the criticism implied in the gesture of a shop owner who "spit[s] onto the ground behind [the couple]" (Kutsukake 102). Yoko focuses on her modern dating attitude of demonstrating public affection which clashes with Japanese norms for couples because women are expected to be less expressive (Nugroho and Rokhman 350).

Despite his "romantic" treatment of Sumiko, Jake is impolite toward her, touching her without her consent for a photo despite Yoko's silent plea to tolerate him as she "smiled in a bright, false way as if to say, Please, please, just humor him, okay?" (Kutsukake 100). To an outside observer, the couple appears happy, but Sumiko notes Jake's lack of interest in Japanese culture as he ignores Yoko's disapproval of taking pictures at a temple with "Jizo statues [that] wore faded red bibs and caps" (102-03). She tolerates Jake's ignorance and refrains from telling him that it is where "women ... honor the dead babies they had miscarried or aborted" while he believes these are just "little Buddhas" (103-04). This episode is a blatant example of the GI's colonial attitude toward both Japanese culture and women. Jake and Yoko's romance is short-lived since in the aftermath of their trip, Yoko "stamped on [their photo at Kamakura] with her bare foot" and called Jake a "[stupid] man ... [who] knew all along he would leave [her]" (104-05). She realizes that she was taken advantage of and was only important to him because she entertained him, but that he was uninterested in a long-term relationship.

Nevertheless, despite the negative aspects of Sumiko's and other young women's work in the entertainment district and their disappointing interactions with American men, the impact of westernized fashion and lifestyle alters the ways in which Japanese women define themselves. Sumiko's rejection of being "a good girl and dutiful daughter" (Kutsukake 113) redefines the traditional Japanese gender norms and her family's expectations in that she challenges "the

Japanese ‘proper girl’ [mentality] – ‘demure and polite ...’” (Kutsukake qtd. in Mărginean 209). In addition, her daring fashion choices indicate that she embraced a “post-war identity” that forces “her former self” to change as “she had become the clothes she wore” (Kutsukake qtd in Mărginean 209). Her fashion sense is a hybrid conjunction of “Japanese ... simplicity and the western modern [along with the] ... democratized American woman” (Mărginean 209). Japanese women saw American fashion as a key “form of [the] ‘American Dream’,” that enabled them to partake in their modern country and even dream about “a romantic liaison with U.S. soldiers” (Nugroho and Rokhman 354). Yet although in Tokyo women get to enjoy a measure of freedom, this is not entirely for their benefit since they satisfy colonial and patriarchal expectations. Yet despite access to Western fashion, Japanese women can only imitate their American counterparts because “racial difference” prevents them from being considered equal to white women (354). Thus, no real emancipation happens because the women remain trapped as objectified commodities for American men.

Gender prejudice remains prevalent in Tokyo beyond Harada’s dance hall. In the novel’s second half, Kutsukake exposes the gender challenges women face, describing Sumiko’s harassment and the aftermath of failed biracial romances which she learns about when she must go into hiding. Sumiko’s encounters with Japanese and American men on Tokyo’s streets exemplifies how the power of looking is a male privilege. Mulvey’s cinematic gaze from men’s observance can be applied to Kutsukake’s text via how Sumiko finds herself undeserving of having gender equality since strangers and her close friend, Mr. Wada, highlight how gender and social norms reduce women’s existence to their physical bodies. The male gaze creates a foundation of “sexual difference” between men who dictate how “erotic ways of looking and spectacle” towards women works for their benefit (Mulvey 833). A woman is considered a

“signifier for the male other” which men curate to “live out [their] ... obsessions through linguistic command,” how their “image of woman ... [make] her [the] bearer of meaning, not [its] maker” (834). Men decide how women exist. Reflecting further on Mulvey, Shohini Chaudhuri describes how men became the “spectator” and woman the “spectacle” for men’s enjoyment (31).³⁹ While the male gaze follows Sumiko everywhere in the city, I would like to illustrate it with the following episode. While Sumiko walks to a bar that Mr. Wada owns, a Japanese rickshaw driver who is attracted by her looks offers to take her where she wants to go, but Sumiko ignores him (Kutsukake 184-85). The encounter reminds her of her work and of the fact that “it wasn’t something [she] could ever get used to, and it made her angry and ... afraid” (184). The man whose gaze she attempts to escape resents her indifference, telling her that she believes herself “too good for ... Japanese men” (185). He acts out both his right to be the spectator and his expectation that woman should play along in the spectacle he has defined for her. He abides to the male-centric gaze upon women, creating an inevitable level of difference because men’s gender is what provides them authority over women (Mulvey 833). Women are the receivers of men’s interpretation of them who find themselves confined to a sensual image of themselves they cannot change (834). An additional factor in this gender imbalance is his national possessiveness toward a fellow Japanese woman; what is simply her way of saying “no” to his advances becomes a slap in the face of Japanese hurt masculinity.⁴⁰ It is ironic that only when Sumiko arrives at Bar Lucky, a place that also serves American men, she feels secure again, especially because Mr. Wada is a man she respects (150). When this feeling disappears an

³⁹ Mulvey argues with Freud that one aspect of viewing, “scopophilia, the pleasure of looking” must be deconstructed because it renders “other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling gaze” while the individual as such is ignored (qtd. in Storey 105).

⁴⁰ Rada Ivekovic and Julie Mostov argue that women’s place in history, particularly in a context of conflict (or, as is the case here, post-conflict), is that of their national group’s “border guards” (12). Thus, women’s sexual contact with the “enemy” (here the American occupation soldiers) is seen here as an affront to Japanese men, tacitly undermining their masculinity.

instance later, Sumiko must witness the potential toxic results of the relationships between American soldiers and Japanese women.

An emotionally unstable American man visits Bar Lucky and projects onto Sumiko images from his past. In an apparent hallucinatory state, he calls her “Keiko,” and apologizes to her, “I’m sorry” without context (Kutsukake 188-89). Sumiko retrieves the soldier’s knife as he falls but the weapon accidentally kills him (189). Wada and Sumiko cannot go to the police because as Wada states, “[the Americans are] in charge” (190), mirroring occupied Japan’s colonial reality. He acts as Sumiko’s confidante, having told her she can leave Harada’s artificial “sphere of influence” (150-51) but now that he suggests she live with him, Sumiko knows the man’s death would turn into a diffusion of responsibility: “He’d hit the man over the head, but she had been the one holding the knife. No, she would have to take care of herself” (192). Here Sumiko manages to break away from patriarchal restrictions and assert her independence. Wada reiterates that she cannot survive alone since only one job is substantive (193).⁴¹ When Sumiko goes to the train station, the money Wada gives her is stolen and since she feels defeated, she starves herself over an unspecified number of days (193). However, the police stop her suicidal behaviour but a nun beside her inside the subway station calls Sumiko “a fallen woman” so the police leave her alone (193-94). The woman, Sister Izumi, takes her to an orphanage atop a secluded hill, where Sumiko learns about the American occupation’s impact on the children born of biracial relationships to Japanese women.

Sister Izumi’s generosity allows Sumiko to escape the dance hall and work to stay at the convent yet the aftermath of U.S-Japan relations continue to manifest in an unexpected way. She learns that nine months after the nuns moved in, “someone left a GI baby in front of the gate”

⁴¹ Women who were the oldest daughters of their families became prostitutes to ensure a steady income out of familial obligation (Dower 133).

and the convent became an orphanage for biracial infants (Kutsukake 204-05).⁴² The women abandoned their children, unable to be good mothers to infants unwanted by their society, but nevertheless leave notes conveying their hopes for them, as one mother insists, “*He is innocent*” (205). Sumiko observes how the nuns treat the infants, creating impromptu birth certificates by using their feet and ink on a “card to form a ‘signature’” (205). In this moment, Sumiko sees the harsh reality of child abandonment because of racism and prejudice. Many Japanese women were involved with “both white and black [American] GIs” in a Japan that shunned their rebellious attitudes (Dower 133). The children were “of mixed blood” and considered “[impure]” (205). The broken romances between American soldiers and Japanese women leave their newborns without loving, stable parents because their mothers try to save them from social rejection and poverty.⁴³ The racial disparity demonstrated here contributes to Japanese women’s difficulties. When Sumiko departs the orphanage to avoid the nuns being questioned by the authorities, the institution’s “Tunnel of Separation” (209) conveys the ethnic distance between the Japanese and biracial children. The children and their mother’s failed romances are defining products of Japan’s defeat and postwar occupation.⁴⁴

Sumiko’s immersion in postwar Tokyo changes her perspective on the world when she eventually returns home to her family. Fumi naively questions if her sister was “a panpan” at the dance hall and even lies to get answers on the pretense that she is “old enough to understand” (Kutsukake 281-82). In turn, Sumiko becomes immune to others’ judgement of her. She ignores

⁴² In 1947, Sawada Miki became “[the] Japanese patron of mixed-blood children” who founded the Elizabeth Sanders Home in 1948 and “helped many ... children relocate in Brazil” (Dower 587).

⁴³ Both their American fathers and the Japanese community rejected biracial children (Dower 211).

⁴⁴ The story of biracial children was not limited to Japan in the context of World War II and its aftermath. It is estimated that thousands of children were fathered by occupation soldiers in virtually every occupied country, either through sexual violence or in consensual relationships. The fate and terrible discrimination these children suffered have only been recently studied and made public. More recent episodes of armed conflict have resulted in similar stories (see Lee; Schwartz).

the rumours that continue to circulate about her even after she finds a new job “at a small trading company” (313) and her appearance resembled “the other young women in the neighborhood” (280). Ultimately, Sumiko manages to merge her recent westernized experiences with her Japanese self. Her story thus reflects Tokyo’s postwar realities with respect to how the occupation affected national and gender identities. While Japanese women endeavoured to embrace the popular aspects of Westernization and a more liberal approach to relationships along with social freedom, the gender prejudice they encounter highlights the adverse effects of their emotional investment through disillusionment and, in many cases, the inability to keep and provide for their innocent children.

CONCLUSION

Under the American Occupation, postwar Japan underwent significant political and sociocultural changes that impacted its citizens in major ways as a rapid Westernization process was ushered into the country. Westernization in Japan marked a new era for its citizens who were heavily influenced by American culture and people alike. These interactions were, however, accompanied by challenges of racial prejudice, gender discrimination, and coming to terms with a hybridized identity.

This paper examined Japanese Canadian writer Lynne Kutsukake's novel *The Translation of Love* as an intricate exploration of how the post-World War II period affected her protagonists' lives in Tokyo as the city faced the American Occupation. Relying on her own family's experience with Canadian internment camps for Japanese Canadians along with American General Douglas MacArthur's historical statement about postwar Japan's "childlike" national identity, Kutsukake created two teenage girls, Fumi Tanaka and Aya Shimamura, as her central characters. It is through their story of a Japanese citizen and a Japanese Canadian expat, respectively, that the reader can follow how U.S.-Japan relations impacted the lives of ordinary people, especially young women. Through a postcolonial a feminist lens, I analyzed the ways the historical context and dynamics shaped interactions between Japanese nationals, Japanese Americans, Japanese Canadians, and Americans in the narrative along with their respective identity struggles and approaches to cultural memory. The paper's first chapter provided a comprehensive historical explanation of pre-and post-World War II Japan and the situation and treatment of ethnic Japanese in North America. This overview complements Kutsukake's writing to make her implicit historical references, embedded through her narrative and characterisations,

clear to readers. In chapters 2 and 3, I proceeded with my analysis using a postcolonial and a feminist theoretical framework, respectively, to demonstrate the impact of the Occupation's imperialist agenda on the characters as well as the double gender face of the Westernized lifestyle.

From the postcolonial framework, I have used the works of Homi K. Bhabha, Sander Gilman, and Edward Said to elucidate the complexities involved in living within an evolving and increasingly hybridized society along with the challenges that rapid social changes posed to people's lives and perceptions of the Other. With Bhabha, we could follow how elements of a third space opened in postwar Japan. In Kutsukake's fictional Tokyo, Gilman's definition of stereotypes and Said's categorization of the Other take hold through numerous examples of how people judge each other, at times unconsciously. In this regard, the novel's characters navigate their own understanding of self even as the outside world interferes with its own notions of what is right and acceptable based on a community-centered approach. Fumi Tanaka and Aya Shimamura foster a friendship considering the improbable likelihood that General Douglas MacArthur will walk into their lives and help Fumi find her sister, Sumiko. Corporal Matt Matsumoto faces an identity crisis in that his American citizenship clashes with his Japanese ethnic heritage while Mr. Kondo, as a teacher, encounters the results of U.S.-implemented policies, which alter Japanese national identity. They all come across the mixed implications of engaging with Japan's societal progression through the nightlife scene and romances between Japanese women and American GIs.

For the analysis of the latter, I have applied Luce Irigaray and Laura Mulvey's feminist theories to demonstrate how the narrative represents the ways that Westernization both furthers and threatens women's social progress. Sumiko Tanaka is the novel's main character who

experiences postwar Tokyo's gendered space and women's evolving roles as they embrace westernised perceptions of femininity. The dance hall lets her understand the realities and fallout of romances between Japanese women and American soldiers, depicted through heartbreak and orphaned biracial children, a prevalent issue in postwar Japan.

Kutsukake uses the American Occupation as a timestamp for one of Japan's definitive points in its existence. Her novel addresses the possibilities of how people from various parts of the world, whose lives intersect during this turbulent period, make amends with world history through their personal stories and their respective takes on cultural memory. This approach to illustrating a complex historical situation through the lens of ordinary people provides possible scenarios and individual trajectories to give a voice to those who experienced one of the most dramatic generational shifts of the 20th century. Since this is a depiction of postwar Japan from a Canadian perspective, future studies may be interested in examining literature about the Japanese Canadian resettlement. Other possible research avenues may include the Japanese American experience, Japanese immigrant communities abroad—i.e. in the United Kingdom and Peru—, along with examples of life writing given the relevance of these historical events. *The Translation of Love* is a defining literary contribution that relays some major implications of political and historical ties between Japan, the U.S., and Canada that certainly merit further exploration.

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